Colonial and postcolonial linguistics

Thomas Stolz
Jacobs-University Bremen-Grohn
6 March, 2013
My talk is organized as follows

- Prelude
- Bragging about myself
- Treasure hunt
- The place in the sun
- What is worth studying
- Farewell
- Appendix
Today‘s agenda

• What I want to achieve tonight is giving you a necessarily simplifying account of an innovation of the canon of linguistic topics which I have co-initiated with Ingo H. Warnke in 2009 and which has been selected as a research project within the initiative of academic excellence at the University of Bremen in 2012.

• Starting with summer term 2013, our project will be included in the regular teaching programme of the BA Linguistics and the MA Language Sciences at the University of Bremen.
Disclaimer

• Before we venture into the unknown territory of a brand-new research programme, a clarification is urgently called for.

• Colonial and Postcolonial Linguistics (henceforth: CPL) is not an academically camouflaged attempt at romanticizing or defending colonialism.

• The adherents to CPL consider colonialism a blatant violation of human rights and a crime against humanity.

• Nevertheless, colonialism and postcolonialism too are phenomena which need to be better understood by way of studying them as closely as possible from as many perspectives as possible.

• CPL provides the linguistic approach to colonialism and postcolonialism.
What is (post)colonialism?

- In what follows I refer to the **European-tinged prototype** of colonialism, i.e. everything that relates to the de jure/de facto/imagined possession/occupation by a metropolis of territories in overseas for the purpose of economic exploitation, military control, settlement, increase of national prestige, etc.

- **Postcolonialism**, in turn, is understood here as everything that relates to the aftermath of colonialism.
What is Colonial Linguistics?

• A new intersdiciplinary research program which explores systematically and for the first time all linguistically significant phenomena which are connected to colonialism.
  • The exploration includes the identification, systematization and interpretation of phenomena of this kind.
  • Typical areas to be investigated are: colonialist discourse (pro and con), language contact, language policy, history of descriptive linguistics, etc.
What is Postcolonial Linguistics?

• A separate branch of Colonial Linguistics which is dedicated to the study of the linguistically relevant phenomena related to colonialism after colonialism has ceased.
  – Topics of relevance are (among others) language endangerment, revitalization, purism, language ideologies, language and identity, etc.
The idea behind it

• Our approach is innovative insofar as it requires the active cooperation of different disciplines which normally work in isolation from each other (General and Comparative Linguistics, German Philology, African Studies, Oriental Studies, Austronesian Linguistics, Sinology, Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, Historiography of Linguistics, Ethnology, Anthropology, History and many others).

• The basic concept of CPL calls for close cooperation with academic institutions, individual linguists and speech-communities in the former German colonies.
  – This large-scale cooperation enables us to paint a holistic picture of language and colonialism that cannot be achieved by any of the disciplines on their own.
  • In future, the network should include also Literary Studies and other related disciplines.
Predecessors

• CPL has not developed out of the blue.
• There are three important strands of investigations which focus on the relations of colonialism and language.
• Our approach is broad and thus similar to those of the French pioneer Calvet and his American successor Errington,
• whereas *Missionary Linguistics* displays a rather narrow scope on the linguistic achievements of the early missionaries in the former colonial empires of Spain and Portugal (1492-1821).
Things you might want to read


On being excellent

• On 1st November, 2012 the Creative Unit „Koloniallinguistik/Language in colonial contexts“ (= CULCC) was installed officially at the University of Bremen.
  – CULCC developed within the successful initiative of academic excellence of the University of Bremen.
  – CULCC conducts four interconnected projects for a period of three years (with a budget that slightly exceeds the margins of an average fund by the German Science Foundation [DFG]).
What kind of projects?

• The four projects are meant to provide the necessary basis – empirically, technically and/or logistically – on which future content-oriented project proposals can rely.
  – *Digitales Deutsches Kolonialarchiv* (DDKA) – the digitized archive of German text material related to colonialism;
  – *Kommentierte Gesamtbibliographie der kolonialzeitlichen Sprachforschung* (KOGEBIKOS) – the annotated comprehensive bibliography of linguistic publications on languages of the German colonial empire;
  – *Edition von Archivalien zur kolonialzeitlichen Sprachforschung* (EDARKOS) – the edition of unpublished linguistically relevant material;
  – *Biobibliographisches Lexikon der kolonialzeitlichen Sprachforschung* (BIBILEKOS) – the biobibliographic dictionary of the persons involved in linguistic research in the period of German colonialism.
Dramatis personae

- **Directors**: Thomas Stolz & Ingo Warnke
- **Researchers**: Barbara Dewein, Daniel Schmidt-Brücke, Susanne Schuster, Marina Wienberg
- **PhD-candidate**: Susanne Hackmack
- **Student assistants**: Kevin Behrens, Lisa Czichon, Isabel Motzkeit
- **Associated DFG-project**: Steve Pagel, Christina Schneemann
- **Associated Workgroup Sprachkontakt und Sprachvergleich / Language contact and language comparison**: [some 10 persons]
- **Initiative Koloniallinguistik**: Stefan Engelberg (IDS Mannheim), Birte Kellermeier-Rehbein (Bergische Universität Wuppertal), Peter Mühlhäusler (University of Adelaide/Australia), Doris Stolberg (IDS Mannheim),
Res gestae 2008-2012

• 2 international conferences (Bremen, Potsdam)
• 7 workshops (Bremen, Mannheim, Wuppertal)
• Studies Day (Bremen)
• Foundation of the Initiative Koloniallinguistik
• Foundation of the series Koloniale und Postkoloniale Linguistik / Colonial and Postcolonial Linguistics with the Akademie-Verlag (Berlin)
The future now!

• Upcoming events in 2013
  – April – July, 2013 (each Wednesday 6-8 p.m./Rotunde - Cartesium)
    • Series of lectures (Ringvorlesung) on „Koloniallinguistik“ at the University of Bremen
  – 31 May – 2 June, 2013
    • Conference on „Koloniallinguistik“ of the Gesellschaft für Überseeegeschichte (GÜSG) in Bremen
  – 11 – 25 August, 2013
    • DAAD-Summer School on „Koloniallinguistik“ in Bremen
  – 3 – 8 September, 2013
    • International conference on „Colonial and Postcolonial Linguistics“ in Bremen
  – 8 – 9 November, 2013
    • 8th workshop of the Initiative Koloniallinguistik in Wuppertal
  – 19-21 November, 2013
    • 3rd annual meeting Diskurs - interdisziplinär in Bremen
Useful links

- www.culcc.uni-bremen.de
- www.guesg2013.uni-bremen.de
- www.isab.uni-bremen.de
Read all about it!

• 4 edited volumes (with more than 40 articles)
• 3 more in the pipe (1 in press)
• 20 papers published by members of the CU in various journals and edited volumes
• another 10 papers are currently under review
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How come?

- I consider myself a representative of what in German is sometimes referred to – disparagingly – as *Systemlinguistik*.
  - As to theory and methodology, my background is in functional typology.
  - My main areas of interest are morphology, typology, language contact, language change, areal linguistics and languages such as Chamorro, Maltese and Nahuatl.
  - One might rightfully ask how this ties up with the new research program *Koloniallinguistik*...
Personal history

• To avoid blaming others, I take the liberty to feed you with some egocentric bits and pieces of my CV.
• Way back in the past, a ten-year old by the name of Thomas Stolz used to read antiquarian books dealing with the former German possessions in overseas (probably because my beloved grand-father went to Togo as a conscripted sailor on board of one of the imperial fleet’s cruisers and talked my ears off when he started reminiscing about the supposedly glorious past).
• I most probably also fantasized about these „exotic“ places in days gone by.
• A convenient tool to support these dreams were the stamps I collected until I ran out of pocket-money and had to stop.
• This failure to expand marked the early end of my romantic affair with colonial matters.
Collectors item from Kaiser-Wilhelm-Land
German East Africa
Never let go

• The missing stamps notwithstanding, colonial issues never completely ceased to haunt my mind.

• Unsurprisingly, I developed an interest in Pidgin and Creole languages (e.g. my PhD thesis) and language contact outside Europe (e.g. my project on global Romancisation).

• These properly linguistic studies are largely dissociated from Germany’s colonial past.

• The renewed interest in the latter is purely incidental, in a manner of speaking.
Why bother about the Kaiser?

• In contrast to the linguistic aspects of Portuguese and Spanish colonialism, those of German colonialism have never been studied to any noticeable extent.

• However, it can be shown that this neglect is largely unjustified.

• Many linguistic sub-disciplines can gain considerably from scrutinizing this terra incognita.
  – Practical reasons: most of my partners in crime are experts of German; sources which deal with German colonialism are (relatively) easy to come by in Germany...
The Austronesian language Chamorro – spoken in the Marianas (Micronesia) – is one of my favourite research objects.

The language is moderately endangered (by English), scarcely written and largely underdescribed linguistically.

To fill the gaps (e.g. for the purpose of revitalization or Ausbau) one could make use of the material that was produced in the pre-American period.

However, modern speakers of Chamorro are no longer familiar with the languages in which the early texts were written (Latin, Spanish, German, Dutch, Japanese, Russian, French).

Thus, the idea crossed my mind to make these texts accessible to the Chamorro speech-community of today by way of re-editing the material with an English translation-cum-linguistic/historical-commentary.

The German Science Foundation (DFG) liked the idea too and has agreed to finance a three-years project dedicated to the edition of the early sources in and on Chamorro.
No unique case

• It soon dawned upon me that Chamorro is by no means the only language in a situation of this kind.

• Literally hundreds of speech-communities in (former) colonial dependencies of expanding powerful countries suffer a similar fate, i.e. they cannot make use of whatever older texts dealing with their languages exist.

• This is detrimental to all efforts of safeguarding the survival of their languages in the age of globalization.
Treasures to dig up

• Altruistic as this may seem, I frankly admit to ulterior motives – namely the purely linguistic net gain.
• The re-edition of and search for yet unpublished material has proved to bear fruit in the sense that unknown facts about the structural properties and the older stages of a given language have turned up in no small numbers.
• These new pieces of knowledge enable us to review critically extant hypotheses about human language structures in general.
• Meaning: we have struck a bonanza!
KoGEBiKoS

• Susanne Schuster is busy tracing all those publications on languages of the German colonies which have been printed in the period 1884-1945.

• According to her estimate, we expect a turnout of substantially more than 2,000 titles (books [grammars, dictionaries, primers], scholarly articles, reviews).
### Publications

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<th>Titel</th>
<th>Bibliografie</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sedel (1900): Praktische Grammatik der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südostalifikas Teil 1: Nama (Sprache der Nama-Hottentotten)</td>
<td>BKO</td>
<td>25.02.2013-10-33</td>
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<td>Ladmann (1931), Tiefakten und andere Erzählungen in Sukheli: wiedergegeben von Leuten aus dem Inneren Deutsch-Ostafrikas</td>
<td>BKO</td>
<td>25.02.2013-10-02</td>
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<td>Schröder (1910): Kollar Mitraman: Handbuch der deutschen Sprache für die Schulen in Kamerun; für laute bearbeitet von H. Reker</td>
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<td>Nekki (1910): Fabel für die Schulen in Jaunde (Kamerun)</td>
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<td>Vellin (1941): [Source: Vellin 1913, Unchanged reprint:] Praktische Sukheli-Grammatik</td>
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<td>Vellin (1913): [Source: Vellin 1904, Updated reprint, reprinted in Vellin 1932, 1941:] Praktische Sukheli-Grammatik</td>
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<td>(1919): Lehrbuch der Onambo-Sprache (Review)</td>
<td>BKO</td>
<td>22.02.2013-12-02</td>
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<td>Mishke (1911): [Source: Mishke 1902, Updated for this reprint:] Lehrbuch der Hauptsprachen (Hausa-Sprache)</td>
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<td>Sauerland (1933): Erzählung von Qua: durch den Einfluss von (Bantu)</td>
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<td>Sauerland (1933): Erzählung von Qua: durch den Einfluss von (Bantu)</td>
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<td>van Wermel (1910): Das Ottogia</td>
<td>BKO</td>
<td>21.02.2013-09-59</td>
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<td>Mächel (1935): Die Frage der Metilere im Qua</td>
<td>BKO</td>
<td>21.02.2013-09-42</td>
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<td>Heepe (1929): Sukuma-Chronik von Pate</td>
<td>BKO</td>
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• Marina Wienberg‘s task is to tour the archives (mainly, but not exclusively) of missionary societies to search their shelves for forgotten manuscripts.

• A number of early finds have been made already – even in walking distance from Bremen Central Station, namely in the Überseemuseum.
From Cohn’s diary
An unknown tongue

• Author: Ludwig Cohn (1865-1945), zoologist (Newguinea, Salomon Islands, Admirality Islands)

• Locality: Manus (= „Große Admiralitätsinsel“)

• The glossonym (= name of the language) is not known. The language used to be spoken in the village Albunai on the southern coast in the vicinity of Kelaua Hafen.
On closer scrutiny

• The language can be easily (and unsurprisingly) classified as an Austronesian language of the Melanesian branch, if we have a closer look at the left page of the fragment of Cohn’s diary.
  – It can be shown that there are significant similarities to other Austronesian languages which cannot be attributed to chance.
  – Trial number, morphological structure and phonological correspondences
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# Similarities

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Labels:
To what end do we study...

• To investigate German colonialism linguistically is only the first step towards the final goal.
• Other colonialisms have to be studied according to the same formula to allow us to compare, generalize and draw conclusions about the relation of language and colonialism in general.
  – Note that Belgian, Danish, French, Italian and Swedish colonialism have not been subject to linguistic scrutiny either.
  – For British colonialism, there are a small number of recent publications which focus mainly on India and South Africa.
A twin formula

• It is high time now to define the basic concepts of CPL.
• CPL combines two major categories, namely those of colonialism and postcolonialism.
• Superficially, these notions appear to be almost self-explanatory.
• However, things are much more complicated – and since I prefer simple solutions, I rely on the following rules of thumb.
Colonial linguistics

• According to Warnke’s Ternary Formula, we distinguish three dimensions:
  – Kolonial – refers to everything that associates with colonialism (independent of a given time-frame).
  – Kolonialzeitlich – refers to everything that happened during the period of de-jure colonialism.
  – Kolonialistisch – refers to socio-cultural practices and attitudes of colonizers and their associates.
Coming to terms

- Colonial Linguistics thus is the discipline which explores the entire array of phenomena which connect language to colonialism and vice versa.
- In contrast to Errington (2008: 123sqq), we differentiate between the linguistic practice under the conditions of colonialism (= „Kolonialzeitliche Sprachforschung“) and Colonial Linguistics (= „Kolonialallinguistik“) i.e. the meta-level on which the former is evaluated.
Postcolonial linguistics

• In analogy to Colonial Linguistics, we conceive of Postcolonial Linguistics as follows:
  – *Postkolonial* – refers to everything that associates with postcolonialism (independent of a given time-frame).
  – *Postkolonialzeitlich* - refers to all those phenomena which relate to effects of colonialism after de-jure colonial rule has come to an end.
  – *Postkolonialistisch* - refers to socio-cultural practices and attitudes of de-colonizers and their associates.
Accordingly

- Postcolonial Linguistics thus is the discipline which explores the entire array of phenomena which connect language to postcolonialism as a direct or indirect effect of colonialism.
- We insist on the connection to prior colonialism to prevent us from becoming indistinguishable from other research programmes within the framework of (general) linguistics.
# Time line

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<tr>
<td>1800-1883</td>
<td>preparatory phase</td>
<td>Germany has no colonies but German nationals work abroad (as e.g. missionaries) and describe languages of the future German overseas possessions.</td>
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<td>1884-1919/20</td>
<td>phase of de jure colonialism</td>
<td>Imperial Germany acquires and rules territories in Africa, China and Oceania until the end of the 1st World War. The League of Nations denies Germany the right to regain its former colonies which are distributed among Australia, Belgium, France, Japan, New Zealand, South Africa, UK, and USA</td>
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<td>1920-1945</td>
<td>phase of revanchism</td>
<td>Very intensive German propaganda to support claims to revising the Versaille Treatise and its ban of Germany from the number of colonial powers.</td>
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<td>1946-</td>
<td>post-colonial phase</td>
<td>Active support for a restitution of the former colonies ceases with the end of the 2nd World War. Many of the erstwhile possessions gain independence.</td>
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# Degrees of intensity

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<th>period</th>
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<th>What happened on the book market</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800-1883</td>
<td>preparatory phase</td>
<td>Occasionally, descriptions of and text anthologies in individual – mostly African – languages are produced.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884-1919/20</td>
<td>phase of de jure colonialism</td>
<td>First steps towards the systematic stock-taking of the linguistic diversity of the German possessions are taken. Early forms of institutionalization and professionalization of field linguistics develop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1945</td>
<td>phase of revanchism</td>
<td>The bulk of the material on languages of the German colonies is published posterior to the 1st World War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-</td>
<td>post-colonial phase</td>
<td>Occasional late-comers dating back to research conducted much earlier are published.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chronology

• 1884 – Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Togo, Kamerun; Marshall-Inseln
• 1885 – Deutsch-Ostafrika; Deutsch-Neuguinea
• 1897 - Kiautschou
• 1899 – Yap, Palau, Karolinen, Marianen
• 1900 – Samoa
• 1914-18 – 1st World War
• 1919 – Peace Treaty of Versailles: colonies have to be ceded to the victorious allies
• 1920 – League of Nations: rejects Germany’s claim to trusteeship over at least one of her former colonies
Newcomers - unprepared

• What makes German colonialism especially interesting (not only) in linguistic terms is the fact that in contrast to established colonial powers such as Britain, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain, Germany had absolutely no experience in colonial matters.

• This means (among other things) that when the Germans seized whatever colonies they could get they lacked all practical knowledge about the countries, their inhabitants, their culture and – their languages.

• Although Germany was a multilingual country in 1884 (with 7 alloglott languages), the linguistic diversity of the new overseas possessions went beyond all imagination.
A plethora of languages

- Togo: 43 languages
- Cameroon: 286 languages
- Namibia: 28 languages
- Tansania: 131 languages
- Papua-Newguinea: 817 languages
- Micronesia + Samoa: 29 languages
- Kiautschou: 2 languages
- total: 1,336 languages
German possessions in Africa
Togoland
(Defoid, Gur, Kwa, Mande)
Kamerun
(Bantu, Chadic, Nilo-Saharan, Weskos, West-Atlantic)
Deutsch-Südwestafrika
(Afrikaans, Bantu, Khoisan)
Deutsch-Ostafrika

(Arabic, Bantu, Cushitic, Khoisan, Nilotic)
Kiautschou
(Chinese, Pidgin-English)
German possessions in the Pacific
(English, Indo-Pacific, Melanesian, Micronesia, Polynesian, Spanish, Tok Pisin)
In a different order
Major islands in the Bismarckarchipel

(Austronesian: Melanesian branch)
Focus on Newguinea
Hundreds of languages
A selection of topics

• On the next few slides, I present specimens of topics that keep our minds busy.
• Note that these examples are there exclusively for illustration – they do by no means exhaust the catalogue of issues which are addressed by proponents of CPL.
  – Owing to my own expertise, my presentation is clearly biassed...
Colonial discourse linguistics

• Ingo H. Warnke and his workgroup focus on aspects of colonial discourse.

• They identify the typical discursive patterns (down to their morphosyntactactic properties) which recur in texts of all genres which refer to colonial matters one way of the other.

  – Consider the following quote from a non-linguistic source of the late 19th century.
„Noch geringeren kulturellen Nutzen hat man bei
denjenigen Negern erzielt, die ihre Erziehung in Europa und
insbesondere in Deutschland genossen haben. Die bisher in
Kamerun gemachten Erfahrungen – so heißt es über diesen
Punkt in der Denkschrift des Auswärtigen Amtes – sind
ebenso, wie die der anderen Kolonialregierungen zum
größeren Teil ungünstig gewesen. Das Verhältnis der
Mißerfolge zu den Erfolgen beträgt vielleicht 10:1. Die
meisten solcher Neger haben in Deutschland bloß Dinge
gelernt, die sie nicht kennen sollten; sie werden für
gewöhnlich maßlos verwöhnt und dementsprechend
ingebildet und bringen dann für ihren Beruf nur ganz
ungenügende Kenntnisse mit.“
No admittance!

• The author argues against admitting Africans to the German school system.
  – This is a recurrent theme throughout the period of German de jure colonialism.
  – The reasons which are put forward to support this point of view remain pretty much the same.
  – What has to be studied thoroughly is how the argument is embedded in the context and how it is represented morphosyntactically.
Language contact

• Another vast area to be researched is the phenomenology of language contact.
• Before the so-called Schutzgebiete (= „protectorates“) were founded, German and the autochthonous languages of the colonies had not been in contact directly.
• Within the short period of German presence in most of the colonies, all kinds of linguistically interesting contact-induced processes were triggered.
Loanwords

- Stefan Engelberg and Doris Stolberg conduct a project at the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS) in Mannheim.
  - This project aims at identifying all German loanwords that have survived in contemporary languages of the Pacific region.
  - In this way they can measure the impact the German language has had in Germany’s Pacific possessions.
  - So far they have identified some 60 items.
    - However, lexical borrowings from German can be found also outside Oceania.
Swahili (Brauner/Hermes 1986: 53)

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<tr>
<th>W1</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m$-</td>
<td>$kuu$</td>
<td>$w$-</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
<td>$\text{shule}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl1.Sg-</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>Cl1-</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Cl5.Sg-</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
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</table>

'The director of the **school** is Mr Temu.'
Fate of a noun

- The German common noun *Schule*, 'school', is firmly established in present-day Swahili although the German period came to an end almost a century ago.
  - It has retained its original meaning.
  - Like many loanwords (from a variety of languages), it takes no concord prefixes and thus contributes to strengthening noun class 5 (which is potentially detrimental to the survival of the noun-class system as such).
Overseas varieties

• Birte Kellermeier-Rehbein of the Bergische Universität Wuppertal is an expert of Südwester-Deutsch – the variety of German that is spoken natively by some 25,000 persons in Namibia (the former Deutsch-Südwestafrika, the only settlers colony Germany ever established).

  – Especially in the lexicon, Südwester-Deutsch bears the mark of contact influence by the languages of its Nambian surroundings.

  – The noticeable impact of Afrikaans notwithstanding, Südwester-Deutsch is still interintelligible with other varieties of German which are relatively close to the spoken standard.
German in Namibia
(Kellermeier-Rehbein 2012: 306)

• *cho*, [adj.] [χɔ̃] (< Afrikaans *gou*): (colloq.) fast, briefly: „Ja, wir backen heute ein Brot, was ganz *cho* geht...“ [„Yes, we will bake bread today, what will be done very quickly...“].

• *Damm*: Stausee (< Afrikaans *dam*) [„reservoir“]

• *jobben*: funktionieren, klappen (< English *to job*): „Irgendetwas *jobbt* hier nicht.“ [„Something isn’t working here.“]

• *net*, [adv.] (< Afrikaans *net*): einfach, nur, gerade, eben: „Das machst du *net* so *cho* im Pott und *choist* das *net* auf’s Rost.“ [„You make it simply very quickly in the saucepan and your pour it simply on the barbecue."

• *Oukie* ['ɔ̃kɪ:] (< Afrikaans *oukie*): 1 – (colloq.) young man: „Ich weiß nicht, fragt diesen Oukie.“ [„I don’t know, ask this young man.“]. 2 – fellow: „*Oukie, alles alright bei dir?*“ [„Hi man, everything ok with you?“]
Contact varieties

• In contact with German, special contact varieties of autochthonous languages arose.
  – A particularly intriguing example is Ndjobi-Ewondo = Rogue-Ewondo in Cameroon.
  – Germain Nyada (University of Bayreuth) argues that German individuals used Ndjobi-Ewondo (= Jaunde) in their dealings with Africans in Cameroons who in turn employed among themselves unless they were native speakers of proper Ewondo.
    • The contact variety is still being used occasionally today although it is socially stigmatized.
Jaunde (Nyada 2009: 228)

German Jaunde [no predicate]

Ah, Dominik, commander  \( \{\emptyset \} \)  a ne  \( \{a\ ne\} \)  abē.

„Ah, Dominik, the commander is a bad person.“

Native Jaunde
Wrong number

German Jaunde [singular]

Bissimbi asú.
Besimbi ba sù

„The soldiers are coming.“

Native Jaunde [plural]
Wrong language

German Jaunde [based on Eton]

awou maha
nkòt nkòt

„very dry“

Native Jaunde
Pidgins and Creoles

• A linguistic phenomenon that is typically associated with colonialism is the genesis of Pidgins and Creoles.
  – Of the known 200 or so languages of this group, no more than four are connected to German,
    • the only Creole (i.e. language with native speakers) is the largely understudied *Unserdeutsch* of Rabaul.
    • Among the German-based Pidgins, that of Kiautschou is perhaps the best known example of Pidginization of German.
Kiautschou German  (Holm 1989: 616)

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<td>Ik</td>
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<td>Deutsch.</td>
<td>Gobenol</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>gebene</td>
<td>pamischu</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>Otel</td>
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<td>l</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>governor</td>
<td>has</td>
<td>given</td>
<td>permission</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ich</td>
<td>kann</td>
<td>Deutsch</td>
<td>Gouverneur</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td>gegeben</td>
<td>Erlaubnis</td>
<td>öffnen</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>English</td>
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</table>

'I know (some) German. The governor has given (me) permission (to) open (a) hotel.'
'Come, (have a) look. (I do) not have any guests,...'
...and terminated!

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>habe</td>
<td>dima,</td>
<td>bei</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>bei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>have</td>
<td>rooms</td>
<td>by</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nicht</td>
<td>habe</td>
<td>Zimmer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
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',...(I) have no rooms, (but) soon (I will).'
Ingredients

• The German Pidgin of Kiautschou reflects the structure of another Pidgin that existed prior to the genesis of the German-based variety.
  – Chinese Pidgin English was spoken along the Chinese coastline from the turn of the 19th century onwards.
  – The German Pidgin is a case of relexification of its English-based predecessor.
  • The confluence of four languages – Chinese, English, German, Portuguese – in one Pidgin is indicative of the cosmopolitan situation in Chinese sea-ports in the 19th century.
Imperial Germany failed to develop a consistent language policy for her overseas possessions. Whether or not German should be taught in the colonies was a politically controversial issue.

- In contrast to the orders issued in Berlin, the governor of Samoa encouraged the use of English to the detriment of German.

- To preclude that the languages of competing colonial powers could gain influence in German colonies, selected autochthonous languages were given status (though not systematically).
  - Kenneth Orosz reports on a period in the history of German language policy in Cameroon.
Back to Cameroon (Orosz 2008: 171)

„Although he was very much in favor of using schools to inculcate a sense of patriotism in colonized pupils, Schlunk pointed out that the German language was hardly a necessary component of that process. Much as it might help by providing a shared sense of identity between colonizer and colonized, «it could also have the opposite effect, since it would enable the natives to read all that undesirable literature which preaches internationalism instead of patriotism [i.e. socialism]».“
“Furthermore, while some German speaking natives would always be necessary to help run the colonies, the vast majority had no use for the language since they were destined to remain small scale farmers and were unlikely to ever have direct dealings with Europeans. Taking the time to teach the masses German, noble as it might be, was therefore a waste of time. Worse yet, as others had already noted, it ran the risk of creating unrest amongst the masses by generating unrealistic expectations for social advancement and false hopes of acquiring better career opportunities.”
Therefore

„For these reasons, Schlunk argued that German must never become the language of instruction and should be limited to a small African elite who learned it as a foreign language in high school only. As for the rest or the educational system, Schlunk felt that it should be conducted exclusively in the vernacular, preferably one which could serve as a regional lingua franca and which was not too different from the pupils‘ own maternal language.“
Unclear situation

- Schlunk’s line of arguing corresponds nicely to that of Schmidt who considered European education for Africans to be a waste.
  - In both cases, education is seen as a potential danger that might in the end help the colonized to question the rule imposed by the colonizers.
    - Interestingly, Winfried Speitkamp depicts the position of the Imperial government as being clearly in favor of German as the means of communication in the colonies.
    - In his mind, it was the missionaries who promoted the autochthonous languages and those of competing colonial powers such as Britain.
„Noch mehr Kontroversen löste die Frage der Schulsprache aus. Die Missionen machten die jeweilige Muttersprache nicht nur zum neben Religion wichtigsten Unterrichtsfach, sondern benutzten sie in der Regel auch als Unterrichtsfach, so Ewe in Togo oder Otjiherero in Südwestafrika. Nicht wenige Missionsschulen führten zudem Englisch im Fächerkanon. Die Kolonialverwaltung setzte sich dagegen für die deutsche Sprache ein [...].“ (Speitkamp 2005: 100)
Too late

• A kind of compromise is *Kolonial-Deutsch* – an invention of a Dr. Schwörer publicized in 1916 when most of Germany’s colonies were already in the hands of the allies.

  – Susanne Mühleisen (University of Bayreuth) critically evaluates Schwörer’s proposal and demonstrates that it is a linguistically untenable construct based on prejudices about the intellectual capacities of the colonized.
Dr. Schwörer’s Kolonial-Deutsch

1. Sprachprobe.

Gespräch eines Weißen mit einem Eingeborenen.

W (Plantagebeamter): „Bist du bei unsere Pflanzung? Kannst du Deutsch?“


W: „In was für eine Schule bist du gewesen?“

E: „Ich bin nit gewesen in Schule; ich tat lernen ne neue Sprache von einige Kameraden, die sind gewesen in Schule von de Mission.“

W: „Ist dir schwer gewesen, Deutsch lernen?“

E: „Nein, bana, gar nit schwer. De neue Sprache ist gut für die Eingeborenen; de ist leicht für uns, weil de hat nit viele Worten. Ich habe können sagen keine deutsche Wort vor fünf oder sechs Monaten. Niemand tat verstehen mir an Anfang. Das ist gewesen mir gut für meine Arbeit. De Vormann (Auffänger) tat zanken mir oft; ich habe nit können verstehen, was er tat behalten. Ja, de neue Sprache ist sehr gut für uns.“


2. Sprachunterricht.

Aufseher (Eingeborener, der gut R. D. spricht): „Ich will nun wieder halben Schule für euch, weil ich habe Zeit an diese Abend für eine halbe Stunde. Aber ihr müßt gut aufpassen; denn ihr müßt lernen die deutsche Sprache so schnell wie möglich. Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist das?“ (zeigt eine Hand).

A (Auffänger): „Diese sein Ande.“

Aufseher: „Gut, aber du mußt sagen: „Das ist eine Hand“. B, sagen mir, was ist diese Sache?“ (zeigt eine Grammatik).

B (Auffänger): „Diese Sage is eine Buke fl lesen die daitse Spage.“

Aufseher: „Ja, ist recht, aber deine Sprache ist noch nicht gut.“ (korrigiert B) „So nun will ich wieder C fragen. Ich tat gestern fragen de gleiche Sache.“ (zeigt ein Kalender-Bild) „Wer ist das? C? Tust du nun wissen?“

C (Auffänger, sehr unerfahren): „Ne, is glose Mann, abe ig wissen mir, was ise.“

Hier soll anmährend die Aussprache der noch ungelernten Eingeborenen Anleitung der Wörter, Erklärung eines unklaren Ausdrucks zum Ausdruck gebracht werden. Es erforderte sehr viel Zeit überflüssiger Worte beraubt verwendet werden, um ihnen den Schwierigen die sehr schwierigen schwierig auszupreßenden Wörter des R. D. einigermaßen richtig beibringen wollte.
Historiography of linguistics

• The last chapter of my survey of areas of research of CPL is devoted to the history of thought of my own discipline.
  – Linguistic research under the conditions of colonialism has a lot to teach us because we see
    • how certain practices of linguistic data collection, transcription and analysis developed,
    • how systems of analytical categories were created,
    • how linguistic disciplines, academic institutions and communities arose,
    • how traditions came about that determine what can be done linguistically with certain languages still today, etc.
Wunderkinder

• Many (probably most of the) individuals who were involved in linguistic research during the German colonial epoch had no proper philological training.
  – Nevertheless, we have evidence of various missionaries, explorers and administration staff who produced grammars and/or dictionaries of the autochthonous language(s) of their neighborhood within a year or less after arrival in the colony.
    • How was this possible? How much help did they receive from whom?
    • Is their work up to the linguistic standards – past and present?
A good memory

• Barbara Dewein dedicates much of her time to the life and work of Hermann Costenoble, a son of the first German settlers on Saipan.
  – He wrote a bulky grammar of Chamorro which he terminated some 20 years after had to leave the German colony and the Chamorro speech-community.
  • Apart from leading an adventurous life and dying tragically, Costenoble has provided us with a grammar of Chamorro that can easily compete with the modern reference grammar of the same language.
Costenoble in the Philippines
What is a category?

- Susanne Hackmack looks into the systems of categories that were used to describe the grammar of the autochthonous languages of the German colonies.
  - Mathilde Hennig (University of Gießen) argues that these languages were described according to the patterns established in traditional German school-grammar.
    - This is probably too onesided an interpretation (although it certainly covers a substantial segment of the linguistic contributions of colonial times.)
When things aren‘t German enough

• In connection to the problem of the metalanguage and the system of categories behind it, one has to mention structural phenomena of autochthonous languages of the German colonies which seemed „exotic“ to the observer because there are no one-to-one equivalents in German.
  – How have linguists of the past handled phenomena of this kind?
Double articulation

• „kp ist ein velarer p-Laut, der in den Sudansprachen häufig vorkommt. Der entsprechende weiche Laut wird gb geschrieben. Man übe beide Laute an den Wörtern kpëm Kassadagemüse, mkpada Buschmesser, zamgba sieben.“

• „gb und ṁ treten nur vereinzelt auf, s. 12. So viel ich sehe, sind es echte Velarlabialen, bei denen am Velum und an den Lippen gleichzeitig ein Verschluss gebildet und geöffnet wird. Bei ṁ ergibt sich dann eine Art Saugbewegung an den Lippen, eine Art labialen Schnalzes.“


Progress

• Hundreds of languages in a large area that reaches from West Africa far into Central Africa have a series of double articulated labio-velar stops (= /k̥p/, /g̥b/, /m̥ŋ/, /ɠ̥ɓ/).

• German linguists struggled with this class of phonemes for quite some time –
  – at first, they refrained from providing an exact phonetic description
  – but later on the quality of their analysis increased considerably so that it came close to the modern hypotheses of double articulation.
Preparing for the end

• In the lexicon entry on languages of the Deutsche Koloniallexikon, Carl Meinhof laconically states (vol. III, p. 387):

• „Die Zahl der Eingeborenen-S[prachen] in den deutschen Kolonien ist sehr groß. Noch immer sind sie nicht sämtlich bekannt, obwohl Missionare, Beamte und Gelehrte eifrig an ihrer Erforschung arbeiten.“
Not knowing everything

• In a way this is the sum total of linguistic research of languages of the German colonies conducted by German nationals during the colonial epoch, because the *Deutsche Koloniallexikon* saw the light of day only in 1920.

• What is said there about the uncertain quantities also holds of the qualities, meaning: not only was the number of languages unknown but the range of properties of most of the languages of the German colonial empire had yet to be explored.

• We most probably know much more nowadays – however, many of the gaps remain and, what is more, some of the achievements of the *kolonialzeitliche Sprachforschung* have been forgotten or never taken notice of because they are written in German – a language that has disappeared from the scene a long time ago.
Time permitting

• **Glimpses of:** *Colonial geonyms* – a project conducted by Ingo H. Warnke and Thomas Stolz

• We investigate the name-giving practice in German colonies (and beyond) to determine in what ways Germanizing the map of the territories under scrutiny constitutes an act of linguistic appropriation of somebody else’s country.

• Postcolonial reactions to colonial geonyms are taken account of, too.
Le droit de nommer

„Mais dire que les premiers occupants laissent en
générale aux lieux les noms qu’ils leur ont donnés,
alors que leur langue disparaît, ne suffit pas. D’une part
en effet cette thèse générale est fausse dans certains
cas particuliers, plus précisément dans une grande
partie des situations coloniales modernes. Le
colonisateur a souvent débaptisé des lieux pour leur
donner des appellations plus conformes à sa tradition
[...]. Et si, lors de la décolonisation, certaines villes ont
été de nouveau rebaptisées, il faut bien voir que le
phénomène n’est pas général [...] et que ce rebaptême
ne consiste pas toujours à revenir au nom d’origine
[...].“ (Calvet [1974] 2002: 143-4)
Mit der Einführung der deutschen Gebietsbezeichnungen wird das Gebiet dem 'emotionalen' und 'kognitiven' Besitz der dort lebenden Einwohner entzogen und in den Besitz und das Verfügungsrecht der deutschen Kolonisatoren übergeführt. Die deutsche Bezeichnung ignoriert die gewachsenen politischen Formationen, die kulturellen und die nationalen Rechtsverhältnisse und unterstellt das Gebiet der europäischen Raumideologie von Grenzen und Grenzziehung [...]“
A misunderstanding

„De Vader van de Revolutie [= Mobutu] had zich gebaseerd op een van de vroegste schriftelijke documenten: een Portugese kaart uit de zestiende eeuw. Daar stond de brede rivier die door zijn land kronkelde aangeduid als ‘Zaïre‘. Maar kort na de naamsverandering kwam Mobutu tot de ontdekking dat het om een stupiditeit ging: Zaïre was de krakkemikkige spelling van het woord nzadi, een doodgewoon woord in het Kikongo dat ‘rivier‘ betekent. Toen de Portugezen in het mondingsgebied van de rivier aan inboorlingen vroegen hoe zij die grote, kolkende watermassa daar noemden, hadden die gewoon geantwoord: ‘Rivier!‘ Nzadi, herhaalden ze. Zaïre, verstanden de Portugezen. Tweeendertig jaar lang zou Zizi’s land zijn naam te danken hebben aan de slordige fonetiek van een Portugese cartograaf van vier eeuwen geleden.“
(Reybrouck 2011: 351-2).
## Angola – before and after

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>KiKongo</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ambrizete</td>
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<td>N’gunza</td>
<td>Teixeira de Sousa</td>
<td>Luau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paiva Couceiro</td>
<td>Gambos</td>
<td>Veríssimo Sarmento</td>
<td>Lucapa</td>
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## Forts on the Slave Coast

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## Recurrent patterns

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<td>-Wilhelmsland</td>
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Structural traits

• Polysyllables
  – No monosyllabic toponyms (there is no evidence of Köln, Bonn, Kiel, Mainz, Trier, Ulm, etc. in German colonies – in contrast to German immigration centers e.g. in the USA)

• Transparent compounds
  – binary formations
    • Proper name + classificator (Sperber + Hafen)
    • Classificator + proper name (Kap + König Wilhelm)
    • Neu- + proper name (Neu- + Lauenburg)
General rules

Toponym \( \rightarrow \) X Y
X \( \rightarrow \) Name, Classificator, Neu-
Y \( \rightarrow \) Name, Classificator
Special rules

\[
X \to \begin{cases} 
\text{Name} & / \text{___ Classificator} \\
\text{Classificator} & / \text{___ Name}_{\text{[personal]}} \\
\text{Neu-} & / \text{___ Name}_{\text{[toponym]}} 
\end{cases}
\]

\[
Y \to \begin{cases} 
\text{Classificator} & / \text{Name} ___ \\
\text{Name} & / \begin{cases} 
\text{Classificator} \\
\text{Neu-} 
\end{cases} ___ 
\end{cases}
\]