



## Casamancese Creole

Noël-Bernard Biagui,, Nicolas Quint

### ► To cite this version:

Noël-Bernard Biagui,, Nicolas Quint. Casamancese Creole. MICHAELIS Susanne Maria; MAURER Philippe; HASPELMATH Martin; HUBER Magnus. The Survey of Pidgin & Creole Languages, 2 (3), Oxford University Press, pp.40-49, 2013, Volume II, Portuguese-based, Spanish based and French-based Languages, 978-0-19-969141-8. hal-01169463

**HAL Id: hal-01169463**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01169463>**

Submitted on 29 Jun 2015

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

# Casamancese Creole

NOËL BERNARD BIAGUI AND NICOLAS QUINT

## 1. Introduction

Casamancese Creole (autoglossonym: *kriyol* or *lingu kriston* 'Christian language') is spoken in the Senegalese Province of Lower Casamance (in French: *Basse-Casamance*) in some districts of the city of Ziguinchor (mainly Santhiaba, Boucotte-Corentas, Boudody, Escale, Kandé, and Néma) and in some surrounding villages; to the east: Boutout, Djifanghor, Niaguis, Fanda, Agnack, Sindone, Adéane, and Koundioundou; to the west: Djibonker, Brin; and to the south: Mpak. Although most sources, generally based on Châtaigner (1963: 54), give a figure of over 50,000 speakers (which may well have been accurate in the 1960s, see §3), this number is probably much lower today. According to our own estimate, the number of native speakers does not exceed 10,000, but the total number of fluent speakers could be much higher (perhaps 20,000 people or more), as several Casamancese ethnic groups (mostly Nyuns, but also Manjakus and Mankanyas) still use Casamancese Creole as a lingua franca among [Catholic] Christians (hence the autoglossonym *lingu kriston* 'Christian language' of Casamancese Creole). Many Casamancese Creole speakers live in other regions of Senegal. The area of Dakar is home to the most important community (c.2,500 speakers). Most Casamancese Creole speakers are also fluent in Wolof (the most important lingua franca in Senegal) or can speak it reasonably well; many have a fairly good knowledge of French (the official language of Senegal, also used in Catholic church services); and a fair number are proficient in one or several other African languages (mostly Nyun, Jola, Manding, Mankanya, or Manjaku).

In terms of genealogical affiliation, Casamancese Creole is a member of the Upper Guinea Creoles group, which also includes Cape Verdean Creole, Papiamentu,<sup>1</sup> and Guinea-Bissau Kriyol. The latter is closely related to Casamancese Creole, and there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility (see Intumbo et al., in this volume; these authors regard Casamancese Creole as a dialect of Guinea-Bissau Kriyol). Within Upper Guinea Creoles, Casamancese Creole makes up, together with Guinea-Bissau Kriyol and the extinct varieties of the Senegalese "Petite Côte" (Joal, and probably also Portudal (Saly) and Rufisque), the subgroup of continental Upper Guinea Creoles. Note that the southern Senegalese Province of Casamance is also home to a sizeable number of Guinea-Bissau Kriyol speakers (several

<sup>1</sup> The question of the inclusion of Papiamentu into the Upper Guinea Creoles (which we take here for granted) is still debated. For more details about this topic, see Quint (2000) and Jacobs (2009, 2011).

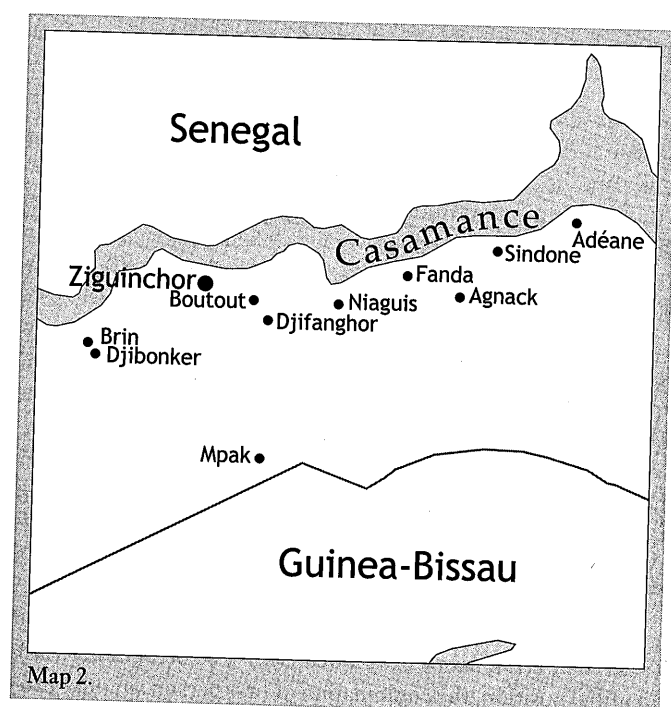
### Casamancese Creole

Autoglossonyms:	<i>kriyol</i> , <i>lingu kriston</i>
Other names:	French: <i>créole casamançais</i> , <i>créole afro-portugais de Casamance</i> , <i>casamançais</i>
Number of speakers:	c. 10,000 (native), between 20,000 and 50,000 (including second-language speakers)
Major lexifier:	Portuguese
Other contributing languages:	Mandinka (Manding, both substrate and adstrate), Wolof (substrate), Nyun (adstrate)
Location:	Senegalese Province of Lower Casamance (in and around the city of Ziguinchor) and diaspora communities (mostly in Dakar)
Official language of Senegal:	French



Map 1.

thousand at least), who can be found in places such as the Tilène district of Ziguinchor and the city of Goudomp. Most of these



are people who have moved to Senegal from Guinea-Bissau since the 1950s.

## 2. Sociohistorical background

Contact between the Portuguese and West Africans began shortly after the former had doubled Cape Bojador in 1423; as a result of these contacts a Portuguese pidgin probably soon arose, which in turn was nativized as a creole both in the Archipelago of Cape Verde and in several places of the *captainship of Cape Verde* area (Quint 2008: 21), that is, the portion of the African coast extending from the mouth of the Senegal river to the peninsula of Freetown (Sierra Leone).

In 1588, the Portuguese founded the city of Cacheu in the Northern region of present-day Guinea-Bissau. In 1645, a first group of settlers (which probably included Portuguese Creole speakers) from Cacheu founded the city of Ziguinchor at a site originally belonging to a Nyun clan (Roche 1976: 23–5). This event can be seen as the beginning of Casamancese Creole. In 1886, the Portuguese handed over Ziguinchor to the French in exchange for other territories. Therefore, since that date, Casamancese Creole has developed independently from the influence of Portuguese, in contrast to the remaining continental Upper Guinea Creole contemporary varieties, all spoken in Guinea-Bissau.

Most African-derived items in Capeverdean Creole of Santiago (see Quint 2008) are also found in Casamancese Creole and Guinea-Bissau Kriyol, which means that Casamancese

Creole shares a common African substrate (mostly Manding and Wolof) with other Upper Guinea Creoles. However, Casamancese Creole also has various non-Portuguese elements of its own, as a result of prolonged contact with adstrate languages spoken in Casamance, mainly Nyun, but Manding and Jola, too.

The first documentations of Casamancese Creole are probably those of Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé (1849), a French resident in Carabane (at the mouth of the Casamance river), and Hugo Schuchardt (1888). Then, in the first half of the twentieth century, several catechisms were written in Casamancese Creole (e.g. Esvan 1922, 1951), which at the time was an important lingua franca in Lower Casamance. Other important sources for the study of the language are Châtaignier (1963), Dalphinis (1981), Alkmim (1983), Doneux & Rougé (1988), and Rougé (1985, 1988). Noël Bernard Biagui is responsible for producing the first comprehensive grammatical and lexical description of the language (Biagui 2012).

## 3. Sociolinguistic situation

Since its very beginning (i.e. the foundation of Ziguinchor in 1645), Casamancese Creole has been the favoured language of Catholic Africans, in particular those belonging to one specific ethnic group, the Nyuns, who live mostly in Lower Casamance and northern Guinea-Bissau. The Nyuns seem to have developed close contacts with the Portuguese very quickly; as early as 1594 (only six years after the foundation of Cacheu, in a region where Nyuns were found in large numbers), d'Almada mentions *estes negros banhus* 'these Nyun Blacks' who live among Portuguese people *como se fossem nados he criados entre nós* ('as if they had been born and raised among us', i.e. the Portuguese). The promptness with which Nyuns welcomed Portuguese influence could possibly be due, at least partly, to the fact that the members of this community were in need of a strong ally to counterbalance the competition of more powerful Mandings and Jolas, who were continuously (and still are) encroaching on Nyun territory.

Today, the Nyuns still make up the majority of Casamancese Creole native speakers, and all the localities – including Ziguinchor – where Casamancese Creole is actively spoken as a first or second language are (or were) inhabited by a majority of ethnic Nyuns. Even where Casamancese Creole replaced the Nyun language long ago in daily life (as happened in Sindone and among Ziguinchor Casamancese Creole speakers), people still retain their ethnic identity and maintain the traditional ceremonies and customs (initiation, folk dances, food avoidances, etc.) of the Nyuns. Non-Nyun Casamancese Creole native speakers also retain their ethnic identity, as is the case for the two pockets of Casamancese Creole-speaking ethnic Jolas, who can be found in Niaguis and Adéane respectively. In other words, although Casamancese Creole is the first language of more than 10,000

people, its speakers do not consider themselves as members of any specific "Creole" ethnic group.

Until the beginning of the 1960s (Chataignier 1963: 53), Casamancese Creole was the main lingua franca in the port and markets of the city of Ziguinchor; it therefore enjoyed a high prestige status and the number of speakers increased regularly. In the following years, due to Senegal's independence and the continuous inflow of northern Senegalese Wolof-speaking civil servants and merchants, Wolof replaced Casamancese Creole as the main business language in Ziguinchor. Casamancese Creole, however, retained its religious prestige and remains to date one of the main languages used in Catholic churches in Ziguinchor and the surrounding areas.

Today, however, Casamancese Creole is clearly receding; this is due to the competition of Wolof (in particular in the Ziguinchor urban area) and Manding (in the eastern part of the Casamancese Creole-speaking area, e.g. Koundioundou and Sindone). Nevertheless, in some native Casamancese Creole-speaking communities (e.g. Christian sections of Niaguis and Sindone), Casamancese Creole is still being passed on to children and is even acquired by newcomers, particularly in Sindone. Conversely, conversions of Casamancese Creole speakers to Islam often lead to language shift, in particular from Casamancese Creole to Manding.

#### 4. Phonology

Casamancese Creole has a system of eight oral vowel phonemes, without nasal counterparts. There are some phenomena of vowel lengthening, but these can be shown to be stress-dependent (see below). /ɛ, ɐ, ɔ/ are rare (found in less than 1% of the lexical items each) and generally (/ɛ, ɔ/) or exclusively (/ɐ/) found in words of African (non-Portuguese) stock: *lɔpɛ*<sup>2</sup> 'swaddling clothes', *jigɛɲ* 'ghost sp.', *ʃɛʃ* 'fish sp.'

Table 1. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	ɛ	ɐ	ɔ
Open		a	

There are 29 consonants in Casamancese Creole. Prenasalized plosives can appear in all positions, in particular (1) after a consonant inside the word: *dismburjá* 'unpack', *segurndadi* 'blindness' and (2) in absolute final position (African-derived items only): *suduyk* 'bird species'. /v, z, ʃ/ are found only in recent borrowings from Portuguese (or lusitanized Guinea-Bissau Kriyol) or French: *voté* 'vote (v.)' (< French *voter*), *zeró* 'zero'

<sup>2</sup> Acute accents on the vowels are used to indicate the place of stress according to the orthographic rules of the language (see Biagui 2012).

Table 2. Consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Labio-velar	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	voiceless	p			t	c	k
	voiced	b			d	j <j>	g
Prenasalized plosive	voiceless	mp			nt	ɲc <ñc>	ŋk
	voiced	mb			nd	ɲj <ñj>	ŋg
Nasal		m			n	j <ñ>	ŋ
					r		
Trill					s	(j) <x>	
Fricative	voiceless		f				
	voiced		(v)		(z)		
Lateral Glide				w	l	j <y>	

Note: Graphemes differing from the IPA symbols are given in angle brackets; the phonemes in parentheses are only found in recent borrowings.

(< French *zéro*), *bixa* ['bifa] 'queue (n.)' (< Portuguese *bicha*). In initial position, the combination of first person singular pronoun *N* and some verbs can give rise to a syllabic nasal: *N ntendé* [ɲ nte'nde] 'I understood'. Consonant clusters are common: *flor* 'flower', *presu* 'price'.

Casamancese Creole is a stress language. Each content word has a stressed syllable (signalled in bold in the following), and this can occupy three different positions; (1) final: *kortá* [kor'ta] 'cut (v.)'; (2) penultimate: *kargu* ['kargu] 'luggage'; and (3) antepenultimate: *lârguma* ['lârguma] 'tear (n.)'. Stress has a distinctive function: *konta* ['konta] '(pearl) necklace' vs. *kontá* [ko'nta] 'tell'. When the stress is on an open (i.e. onset + V) penultimate syllable, the stressed vowel is noticeably lengthened: *sibi* ['si:bi] 'African fan palm, *Borassus aethiopium*' vs. *sibí* [si'bi] 'go up'. However, in pairs such as *sibi* ~ *sibí*, the length contrast can be shown to be only a phonetic phenomenon under the strict dependence of stress (see the *konta* ~ *kontá* pair above, where there is stress contrast but no length contrast); it follows from this that vowel length has no functional load in Casamancese Creole.

There are ten syllabic patterns in Casamancese Creole, the most common of which is CV (67%):<sup>3</sup> *kasa* CV-CV 'house'. Consonantal onsets can occupy up to three segmental positions:<sup>4</sup> *mbruju* CCCV-CV 'bundle (of clothes)', *strada*, CCCV-CV 'road'. Vocalic onsets are rare (5%): *es* 'this one'. Although zero coda is the preferred option (78%), various consonant codas are allowed: *pálm* CV-CVC 'palm (hand)', *miñjer*, CV-CCVC, 'woman'.

<sup>3</sup> This and the following percentages given in this paragraph are based on the analysis of several Casamancese Creole texts (see Biagui 2012).

<sup>4</sup> In this article, a prenasalized plosive phoneme is considered to occupy two segmental positions.

## 5. Noun phrase

The expression of **gender** is limited to natural gender and can be done (1) lexically (about ten instances): *womi* 'man' vs. *miñjer* 'woman'; (2) synthetically (fewer than ten cases, all encoding human beings), in which case the feminine ending always includes *-a*: *primu* '(male) cousin' vs. *prima* '(female) cousin'; (3) analytically (the most common option) by means of *macu* 'male' and *fēmiya* 'female': *fiju macu* 'son (= male child)' vs. *fiju fēmiya* 'daughter (=female child)'. Gender agreement with the noun is limited to two adjectives only: *beju* 'old', and *dudu* 'crazy': *uy womi dudu* 'a crazy man' vs. *un miñjer dudu* 'a crazy woman'.

There is a suffixed **number** marker with three allomorphs: (1) *-s* for nouns ending in an unstressed vowel: *womi* 'man' > *womis* 'men'; (2) *-wus* for those ending in a stressed vowel: *debi* 'bedbug' > *debivus* 'bedbugs' and (3) *-us* for those ending in a consonant: *lébur* 'hare' > *léburus* 'hares'. There is no number agreement. Usually, in a plural noun phrase, the noun is the bearer of the plural marker:

- (1) *Kel bajuda-s kabriyanu Ø bonitu suma yagu.*  
DEM girl-PL Capeverdean PFV (be.)pretty as water  
'Those Capeverdean girls would make a pretty picture  
(lit.: are pretty like water).'

For proper nouns only, there is an associative plural prefix *ba-*, which combines obligatorily with the plural suffix: *ba-Pidru-s* 'Peter and his friends'.

**Noun derivation** is common and involves approximately 20 different suffixes (four of which are still productive). Examples are *pádur* 'priest' > *padurndadi* 'priesthood' (noun to noun); *ardá* 'inherit' > *ardansa* 'inheritance' (verb to noun); and *largu* 'wide' > *larguda* 'width' (adjective to noun).

There is no **definite article**; the **indefinite article** *uy* 'a' precedes the noun and is different from the numeral *uy-soy* 'one'.

**Adnominal demonstratives** precede the noun. They express a double contrast; (1) discourse reference: *e kacor* 'this dog (nearby + visible)' vs. *kel kacor* 'that (previously mentioned + non-visible)'; (2) spatial deixis: *e kacor-li* 'this dog (nearby)' vs. *e kacor-la/ke(l) kacor-la* 'that dog (over there)'.

The corresponding **pronominal demonstratives** are (1) *es* (pl. *esus*) 'this one' vs. *kel-la* 'that one' (pl. *kel-lawus*) for discourse reference and (2) *es-li* (pl. *esus-li*) 'this one' vs. *es-la* (pl. *esus-la*)/*kel-la* (pl. *kelus-la*) 'that one' for spatial deixis.

**Possessives** are dealt with together with personal pronouns (see Table 3).

All **numerals** are Portuguese-derived and precede the noun.

1 *uy-soy*, 2 *dos*, 3 *tres*, 4 *kwátur*, 5 *sinju*, 6 *sis*, 7 *seti*, 8 *witu*, 9 *nobi*, 10 *des*

The teens are produced regularly: 11 = *dés ku uy-soy*, 'ten and one', 12 = *dés ku dos* 'ten and two', etc. The names for tens are the following: *binti* (20), *trinta* (30), *korenta* (40), *sinjkwenta* (50),

Table 3. Personal pronouns and possessives

Person	Pronouns			Possessives		
	Subj.	Obj.	Indep.	Topic	Prenom.	Postnom.
1SG	<i>N</i>	<i>-m</i> [m]	<i>mi</i>	<i>a-mi</i>	<i>ña</i>	<i>di mi</i>
2SG	<i>bu</i>	<i>-bu</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>a-bo</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>di bo</i>
3SG	<i>i</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>yel</i>	<i>yel</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>di sol</i>
1PL	<i>no</i>	<i>-nos / -nu</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>a-nos</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>di nos</i>
2PL	<i>bo</i>	<i>-bos</i> ['bos]	<i>bos</i>	<i>a-bos</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>di bos</i>
3PL	<i>e</i>	<i>-elus/-lus</i>	<i>yelus</i>	<i>yelus</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>di solus</i>

*sesenta* (60), *setenta* (70), *oytenta* (80), *nobenta* (90), *sentu* (100).

There is only one synthetic **ordinal**: *purmedu* 'first'; all the remaining ones follow the pattern "*di* + cardinal": *di dos* 'second', *di tres* 'third', etc.

Most **adjectives** are invariant and follow the noun (see *kabriyanu* in (1), above). The **comparison of adjectives** is described in Table 4.

Genitive constructions follow the pattern "possessum *di* possessor": *kasa di Pidru* [house of Peter] 'Peter's house'.

There are four series of **personal pronouns** and two series of **possessives**.

**Subject and object pronouns** are differentiated for all persons but one (second singular). For the first person plural, the objects forms *-nu* and *-nos* alternate freely. The form *-elus* ['elus] (third-person-plural object) combines only with verbs with an *-á* ending: *N wojá* 'I saw' > *N woj-elus* 'I saw them', whereas *-lus* combines with the remaining verbs: *N wobí* 'I heard' > *N wobí-lus* 'I heard them'.

**Subject pronouns** are obligatory, even with expletive (semantically empty) subjects:

- (2) *I Ø parsi-m kumá i na cobé awosi.*  
3SG.SBJ PFV seem-1SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.SBJ FUT rain today  
'It seems (to me) that it will rain today.'

All **object pronouns** are directly attached to the verb and all but two (*-elus* and *-bos*) are unstressed clitics.

**Independent pronouns** regularly combine with prepositions: *ku mi* 'with me'; and are also used as second-rank (non-clitic) object pronouns in double-object constructions:

- (3) *Dewus ki Ø dá-m bo.*  
God REL.SBJ PFV give-1SG.OBJ 2SG.INDP  
'It's God who brought you to me as a present (to a cherished person)' (lit. 'who gave me you').

When the independent pronouns follow the preposition *pa* 'for/by', the resulting combinations are slightly irregular for the third person: *pa mi* 'for me' but *par-el* 'for him/her', *par-elus* 'for them'.

**Topic pronouns** are characterized by the element *a-* (for all persons but the third persons). They mainly appear clause-initially and are always reinforced by a subject pronoun (see 4):

Table 4. Comparison of adjective (S = subject, A = adjective, X = standard)

Type	Construction	Example
Comparative of equality	SA <i>suma</i> X	<i>Pidru altu suma Jõn.</i> Peter tall like John 'Peter is as tall as John.'
Comparative of superiority	S <i>ma(s)</i> X A	<i>Pidru ma(s) Jõn altu.</i> Peter more John tall 'Peter is taller than John.'
	S <i>ma(s)</i> <i>di ki</i> X A	<i>Pidru ma(s) di ki Jõn altu.</i> Peter more than John tall 'Peter is taller than John.'
	S <i>ma(s)</i> A <i>di ki</i> X	<i>Pidru ma(s) altu di ki Jõn.</i> Peter more tall than John 'Peter is taller than John.'
Absolute superlative	S <i>mutu/pasá</i> A	<i>Pidru mutu altu.</i> Peter very tall 'Peter (is) very tall.'
	S A <i>dimás/pasá/tók</i>	<i>Pidru altu tók.</i> Peter tall very 'Peter is very tall.'
Relative superlative	S <i>ma(s)</i> <i>tudu</i> X A	<i>Pidru ma(s) si yermoyus tudu altu.</i> Peter more his brothers all tall 'Peter is the tallest of (all) his brothers.'
	S <i>ma(s)</i> X <i>tudu</i> A	
	S <i>ma(s)</i> A <i>na X tudu</i> <i>na X tudu S má(s)</i> A	<i>Na si yermoyus tudu Pidru ma(s) altu.</i> in his brothers all Peter more tall 'Peter is the tallest of (all) his brothers.'

- (4) *A-mi N ka Ø sebé.*  
ISG.TOP ISG.SBJ NEG PFV KNOW  
'I do not know.'<sup>5</sup>

Prenominal possessives are always adnominal: *ña kasa* 'my house'. Postnominal possessives may be either (1) adnominal: *tera di bo* [country of you] 'your country' or (2) pronominal: *e tera i di bo* [this country is of you] 'this country is yours'. Although postnominal possessives partly derive from the independent series preceded by *di* 'of', there is a formal distinction for the third persons: *di sol(us)* is the only possible form for the possessive, whereas both *di yel(us)* and *di sol(us)* are attested (according to speakers and communities) in non-possessive use: *no papiyá di yelus = no papiyá di solus* 'we spoke about them'.

Intensifier pronouns are formed with independent pronouns + *me/propi* 'really': *mi-me/mi-propi* 'myself', *bo-me/bo-propi* 'yourself', etc.

## 6. Verb phrase

Nearly all Casamancese Creole verbs are characterized by a final, thematic vowel, often inherited from Portuguese; (1) /a, e, i/ in most cases: *kontá* 'tell', *kumé* 'eat', *durmí* 'sleep (v.)'; (2) more

rarely (mostly items of African stock) /o, u/: *jongó* 'doze', *bambú* 'carry on one's back'.

Casamancese Creole marks aspect and tense on verbs by means of four unbound basic particles, as shown in Table 5.

Casamancese Creole verbs belong to one of two different aspectual classes: (1) dynamic verbs (*bebé* 'drink'), which have past reference when preceded by the perfective marker Ø: *N Ø bebé* 'I drank'; (2) stative verbs (*sebé* 'know'), which have present reference when preceded by the perfective marker Ø: *N Ø sebé* 'I know'.

As shown in Table 6, the actual meanings of the aspect markers may differ according to the stative or dynamic character of the verb, and the same applies to aspect-tense combinations.

The tense marker *bay* seems to be derived both from (1) Portuguese *-va*, suffix of imperfect indicative of the first con-

Table 5. Basic aspect-mood-tense markers

Type	Particle	Label	Position
Aspect	Ø	perfective	preverbal
	ta	habitual	preverbal
	na	imperfective <sup>a</sup>	preverbal
Tense	bay	past	postverbal

<sup>a</sup> The label 'imperfective' is used here with the meaning 'non-habitual imperfective'. For more details about the main values of the imperfective marker, see Table 6.

<sup>5</sup> (4) translates more easily into French as 'Moi (= *a-mi*) je (= *N*) ne sais pas.'

Table 6. Meanings of aspect and tense markers according to the aspectual class of the verb

Aspect	Tense	Asp. class	Meaning	Example	Translation
Ø	unmarked	dynamic	perfective past	<i>N Ø bebé</i>	'I drank'
		stative	present tense	<i>N Ø sebé</i>	'I know'
ta	unmarked	dynamic	habitual present	<i>N ta bebé</i>	'I drink'
		stative	unattested	unattested	—
na	unmarked	dynamic	present progressive, future	<i>N na bebé</i>	'I am drinking, I will drink'
		stative	future	<i>N na sebé</i>	'I will know'
Ø	baŋ	dynamic	pluperfect	<i>N Ø bebé baŋ</i>	'I had drunk'
		stative	imperfective past	<i>N Ø sebé baŋ</i>	'I knew'
ta	baŋ	dynamic	habitual past	<i>N ta bebé baŋ</i>	'I used to drink'
		stative	unattested	unattested	—
na	baŋ	dynamic	past progressive, counterfactual	<i>N na bebé baŋ</i>	'I was drinking, I would drink, I would have drunk'
		stative	counterfactual	<i>N na sebé baŋ</i>	'I would know'

Table 7. Other modality and aspect markers

Type	Particle	Meaning	Position	Example
Adverb	<i>jaŋ</i>	Completive	Postverbal	<i>i beŋ jaŋ</i>
	<i>na</i>	Assertive	Postverbal	<i>i beŋ na</i>
	<i>yar/nos</i>	Epistemic possibility	Preverbal	<i>i yar beŋ/yar i beŋ</i>
Verb	<i>podé</i>	Epistemic possibility; ability	Preverbal	<i>i podé beŋ</i>
	<i>mesté</i>	Volition	Preverbal	<i>i mesté beŋ</i>
	<i>pirsisá di</i>	Necessity	Preverbal	<i>i pirsísá di beŋ</i>
	<i>debé di</i>	Obligation; deontic	Preverbal	<i>i debé beŋ</i>
	<i>teŋ ku/teŋ di</i>	Obligation	Preverbal	<i>i teŋ ku beŋ</i>

jugation (*cantar*-type) and (2) African ad-/substrates; cf. Mandinka *báŋ*, Jola Fogny *ban*, Manjaku *ba*, all meaning 'finish'. In double-object constructions, *baŋ* is inserted between the first and second object (whether they are pronominal or not):

- (5) a. *N Ø dá=bu baŋ yel.*  
 1SG.SBJ PFV give=2SG.OBJ PST 3SG.INDP  
 'I had given you it.'
- b. *N Ø dá Pidru baŋ kóbur.*  
 1SG.SBJ PFV give Peter PST money  
 'I had given Peter (some) money.'

Modality and some other aspectual values are expressed by several adverbs (less grammaticalized than the tense-aspect particles) and semi-auxiliary verbs, which are summarized in Table 7.

Passive voice is marked by the bound suffix *-du*: *kantá* 'sing' > *kantadu* 'be sung', *kumé* 'eat' > *kumedu* 'be eaten'. The agent is never overt.

- (6) a. *Joŋ Ø dá Pidru silafanda.*  
 John PFV give Peter present  
 'John gave Peter a present.' (Active)
- b. *Pidru Ø da-du silafanda.*  
 Peter PFV give-PASS present  
 'Peter was given a present.' (Passive)

Verb derivation is productive and resorts to different morphological devices, for example, (1) suffixation: *pretu* 'black' > *pretusé* 'become black' (inchoative, adjective to verb); *faka* 'knife' > *fakiyá* 'stab' (noun to verb); (2) prefixation: *mará* 'tie (v.)' > *dismará* 'untie' (inversive, verb to verb); (3) reduplication: *capá* 'patch/repair (v.)' > *capá-capá* 'patch in several places'.

Causative is the most common verb extension in Casamancese Creole (attested for more than 50% of basic verbs). It is marked with a compound suffix of the type  $-V_T-nt-V_T$  ( $V_T$  = thematic vowel) and systematically triggers an increase of the valency of the verb by one unit: *disí* 'come/go down (intransitive)' > *disinti* 'bring/get/take down (transitive)', *kumé* 'eat something (transitive)' > *kumenté* 'make someone eat something (ditransitive)'.

Verb negation is regularly marked by *ka*, inserted between the subject and the aspect marker (see however the special case of prohibitive below):

- (7) a. *Joŋ na bay Sicor.*  
 John FUT go Ziguinchor  
 'John will go to Ziguinchor.' (Positive)
- b. *Joŋ ka na bay Sicor.*  
 John NEG FUT go Ziguinchor  
 'John will not go to Ziguinchor.' (Negated)

The paradigm of the imperative and prohibitive of the verb

Table 8. Imperative and prohibitive of the Casamancese Creole verb *bay* 'go'

Person	Imperative		Prohibitive	
2SG	<i>bay!</i>	'go!'	<i>ka bu bay!</i>	'don't go!'
1PL	<i>no bay!</i>	'let's go'	<i>ka no bay!</i>	'let's not go!'
2PL	<i>bo bay!</i>	'go (you all)!'	<i>ka bo bay!</i>	'don't go (you all)!'

Note: The model in this table applies to all Casamancese Creole verbs.

*bay* 'go' is set out in Table 8. This is applicable to all Casamancese Creole verbs.

Most adjectives share some morphosyntactic properties of verbs. In particular, they can combine with tense-aspect markers:

- (8) *E mañjoka Ø fresku, ka na pódur lestu.*  
DEM cassava PFV (be.)fresh NEG FUT (be.)rotten quickly  
'This cassava is fresh, it won't go rotten soon'.

As shown in (8), adjectives, when inflected for perfective (Ø marker) have present-time reference and therefore can be considered to be closest to stative verbs.

Two main predicative copulas are attested: *i*, which has a purely equative/descriptive meaning, and *sá*, which has a resultative meaning.

Predicative noun phrases are always introduced by a copula (either *i* or *sá*):

- (9) a. *Joy Ø i piskador.*  
John PFV COP fisherman  
'John is a fisherman.'  
b. *Joy Ø sá piskador.*  
John PFV COP fisherman  
'John is (now) a fisherman (he used to have another job).'

Predicative adjectives can be optionally introduced by a copula (either *i* or *sá*):

- (10) a. *Joy Ø i beju.*  
John PFV COP old  
'John is old.'  
b. *Joy Ø sá beju.*  
John PFV COP old  
'John looks older (because he doesn't take care of himself, drinks too much. . .).'

Predicative locative noun phrases are always introduced by *sá*.

- (11) *Joy Ø sá na Sicor.*  
John PFV COP in Ziguinchor  
'John is in Ziguinchor.'

## 7. Simple sentences

Casamancese Creole is a strict SVO language; both subject and direct object are unmarked for case, and their relative position to the verb is the only way to retrieve their function. In double-object constructions, either the recipient (R) or the theme (T) can immediately follow the verb. When the recipient follows the theme (12b), it is optionally marked by the preposition *pa* 'for':

- (12) a. *Joy Ø dá Pidru silafanda.*  
John PFV give Peter present  
'John gave Peter a present.' [SVRT]  
b. *Joy Ø dá silafanda (pa) Pidru.*  
John PFV give present (for) Peter  
'John gave Peter a present.' [SVTR]

Reflexive is expressed through the pattern (POSS) + *kabisa* 'head' or (POSS) + *kurpu* 'body'.

- (13) *Joy Ø matá (si) kabisa.*  
John PFV kill POSS.3SG head  
'John committed suicide/killed himself.' (Lit. 'John killed [his] head.')
- (14) *Joy Ø labá (si) kurpu.*  
John PFV wash POSS.3SG body  
'John had a bath/washed himself.' (Lit. 'John washed [his] body.')

For reciprocal constructions, Casamancese Creole resorts to the pronoun *gútur* (< *uy* 'a' + *wútur* 'other') 'each other/one another'.

- (15) *E Ø keré gútur.*  
3PL.SBJ PFV love each.other  
'They love each other.'

Casamancese Creole has three sentence particles: *nos* (pre-subjectal) is a question particle (see 16), *de* (sentence-final) has an exclamative/assertive value, and *me* (postverbal or sentence-final) can either introduce a question requiring a specific validation or validate the assertive answer to this question.

## 8. Interrogative and focus constructions

Neutral yes-no questions are optionally introduced by *nos*:

- (16) *Nos i na bey li awosi?*  
Q 3SG.SBJ FUT come here today  
'Will he come here today?'

The most common question words are *key* 'who', *kisá* 'what', *kal* 'which', *kumá* 'how', *nundé* 'where', *pabiya* 'why', and (*na*) *kal wora/diya/mis/anu/tempu* [(at) which hour/day/month/year/time] 'when'. Interrogative words always occur at the beginning

of the sentence and are followed by the object relative *ku*:

- (17) *Kumá ku bu na tesé-l?*  
 how REL.NSBJ 2SG.SBJ FUT bring-3SG.OBJ  
 'How will you bring it?'

Focus constructions follow the pattern "copula *i* (optional) + focus + relative pronoun":

- (18) a. *Joy Ø lebá-l kasa.*  
 John PFV take-3SG.OBJ house  
 'John took him/her back home.' (neutral)  
 b. (i) *Joy ki Ø lebá-l kasa.*  
 COP John REL.SBJ PFV take-3SG.OBJ house  
 'It's John who took him/her back home.' (Focalized)

## 9. Complex sentences

The main Casamancese Creole clause **coordinating conjunctions** are *ma* 'but', *niy* 'nor', *pabiya* 'because', and *wo* 'or'. For **additive clause coordination**, Casamancese Creole resorts exclusively to juxtaposition, as there is no overt additive conjunction at clause level (contrasting with *ku* 'and/with', used for additive coordination of noun phrases):

- (19) *N Ø yentrá, N Ø pañá turpesa, N Ø*  
 1SG.SBJ PFV come.in 1SG.SBJ PFV take stool 1SG.SBJ PFV  
*sintá.*  
 sit.down  
 'I came in, took a stool and sat down.' (Sucession)  
 (20) *I na rí, i na corá.*  
 3SG.SBJ PROG laugh 3SG.SBJ PROG cry  
 'He's laughing and crying (at the same time).'  
 (Simultaneity)

**Complement clauses** are generally introduced either by *kumá* (declaratives) or *nti/pa* (volitives):

- (21) *Mariya Ø fálá kumá Joy Ø bey.*  
 John PFV say COMP John PFV come  
 'Mary said that John had/has come.' (Declarative)  
 (22) *Mariya Ø mesté nti Joy Ø bey.*  
 Mary PFV want COMP John PFV come  
 'Mary wants John to come.' (Volitive)

Other common **subordinating conjunctions** are *antu ku/antu pa/antu di* 'before', *kontrá/wora ku* 'when (past)', *ma nuyku*, 'even if', *si* 'if', *soy si/te menu*, 'unless', and *wora di/wora pa* 'when (future)'.

**Relative clauses** follow the head noun. They are introduced by the relative markers *ki* (subject) and *ku* (non-subject).

- (23) *Kel miñjer ki Ø bey awonti ka Ø*  
 DEM woman REL.SBJ PFV come yesterday NEG PFV  
*konsé-m.*  
 know-1SG.OBJ  
 'The woman who came yesterday does not know me.'

- (24) *Kel miñjer ku Pidru Ø wójá awonti i*  
 DEM woman REL.NSBJ Peter PFV come yesterday 3SG.SBJ  
*Ø ka di li.*  
 PFV NEG from here  
 'The woman whom Peter saw yesterday is not from here.'

When the relativized element is a prepositional noun phrase, the relative subordinate clause follows the pattern "*ku* + noun phrase + preposition + resumptive pronoun":

- (25) *Kel miñjer ku no Ø bey ku yel Ø*  
 DEM woman REL.NSBJ IPL.SBJ PFV come with 3SG.INDP PFV  
*i boy algey.*  
 COP nice person  
 'The woman with whom we came is a nice person.'

## 10. Other features

Casamancese Creole has more than 50 **intensive adverbs**, here referred to as **ideophones**. Each of these ideophones is exclusively attached to one (or a few) adjective(s) or verb(s), whose expressive power is intensified by the ideophone:

- (26) *E biñu Ø melá cut.*  
 DEM wine PFV (be.)sweet IDEO  
 'This palm-wine is very sweet.'  
 (27) *I Ø negá lot bay.*  
 3SG.SBJ PFV refuse IDEO go  
 'He adamantly refused to go (there).'  
 (28) *Bu wuju Ø pretu na nok.*  
 POSS.2SG eye PFV (be.)black ASS IDEO  
 'Your eyes are as black as coal.'

# Noël Bernard Biagui and Nicolas Quint

## Glossed text

This text is an abbreviated version of a traditional folk story collected from native Casamancese Creole speakers in 2010 at Sindone (Senegal). The recorded version was made in 2011 by Noël Bernard Biagui.

*Lutu di limáryas di matu ku di kasa*  
wrestling of animals of bush with of house  
Of the wrestling match which once took place between  
domestic and wild animals.

*Uŋ diya, wonsa Ø juntá sañcu ku kacor*  
ART.INDF day leopard PFV gather monkey with dog  
Once upon a time, the leopard organized a wrestling match

*pa e Ø lutá. Kacor Ø mas bay*  
COMP 3PL.SBJ PFV wrestle. dog PFV (be.)more PST  
for the monkey and the dog. The dog was stronger than

*sañcu tené forsa. I Ø kargá=l te*  
monkey have strength 3SG.SBJ PFV lift=3SG.OBJ until  
the monkey. He lifted the monkey above his shoulders, and

*riba. I Ø batí na coy tim, sañcu Ø*  
top 3SG.SBJ PFV beat on floor IDEO monkey PFV  
then threw him down to the ground with so much violence  
that the monkey

*koko. Wonsa Ø falá kacor pa i Ø*  
defecate leopard PFV say dog COMP 3SG.SBJ PFV  
defecated, after which the leopard would have the dog

*kumé=l. Kacor Ø ñjátá kumá i na*  
eat=3SG.OBJ dog PFV be.offended COMP 3SG.SBJ FUT  
eat the monkey's excrement. The dog was greatly offended  
by this unfair treatment. He then declared that he would

*bay kasa Ø biská limárya di kasa ki na*  
go house PFV look.for animal of house REL.SBJ FUT  
go home in order to find another fellow domestic animal  
who would

*bey torná=l. Na kamiñu i Ø kontrá*  
come avenge=3SG.OBJ on way 3SG.SBJ PFV meet  
avenge him. On his way, he ran into the

*ku karnedu. Karnedu puntá=l: «Ø I kisá*  
with sheep sheep ask=3SG.OBJ PFV COP what  
ram, and this asked him: "Why on earth

*ki Ø tey ku bu na ribá kasa*  
REL.SBJ PFV have COMP 2SG.SBJ PROG return house  
are you coming home at such an early

*sedí?» Kacor Ø rispondé=l: «lutu ki Ø*  
early dog PFV answer=3SG.OBJ wrestling REL.SBJ PFV  
time?" And the dog answered: "In that wrestling match

*sá pa la, si bu Ø durbá bu*  
COP over there if 2SG.SBJ PFV throw.down POSS.2SG  
they have made over there, whenever you manage to throw  
down your

*kumpañedu wonsa ta falá-bu bu Ø kumé*  
companion leopard HAB say-2SG.OBJ 2SG.SBJ PFV eat  
opponent, the leopard will have you eating the loser's

*si koko.» Karnedu Ø falá kacor: «Ø*  
POSS.3SG excrement sheep PFV say dog 2SG.SBJ  
excrement." Then the ram said to the dog:

*Bey no ribá N Ø bay kontá*  
come.IMP IPL.SBJ return.IMP ISG.SBJ PFV go tell  
"Come on, let's go back there, so that I can tell

*wonsa bardadi pabiya kisá k=i na*  
leopard truth because what REL.NSBJ=3SG.SBJ PROG  
the leopard what's what, for what he is

*fasi i Ø ka niñ kamiñu. Si tambey*  
do 3SG.SBJ PFV NEG not.one road if also  
doing is no way to behave. Now, if he wants to show off his

*forsa k=i na bendé N na*  
force REL.NSBJ=3SG.SBJ PROG sell ISG.SBJ FUT  
strength just let me get my hands on him and he will

*kumprá-l. E Ø baye Ø cigá,*  
buy=3SG.OBJ 3PL.SBJ PFV go 3PL.SBJ PFV arrive  
see!" There they went and when they reached the  
wrestling-place,

*karnedu Ø falá: «Wonsa kisá ku bu*  
sheep PFV say leopard what REL.NSBJ 2SG.SBJ  
the ram spoke these words to the leopard: "My friend, you

*Ø sá ku yel i ka Ø balí. Si*  
PFV COP with 3SG.INDF 3SG.SBJ NEG PFV good if  
are behaving the wrong way. If the monkey and

*kacor ku sañcu na geriyá si bu ka Ø*  
dog with monkey PROG fight if 2SG.SBJ NEG PFV  
the dog are fighting each other and if you

*podé rapartí=lus dis-élus la.» Wonsa*  
can separate=3PL.OBJ leave.IMP-3PL.OBJ there leopard  
cannot separate them, then why don't you leave them as they  
are?" The leopard

*Ø pañá reba kumá i na matá karnedu.*  
PFV take anger COMP 3SG.SBJ FUT kill sheep  
got angry and told the ram that he would kill him.

*Kontrá i Ø juktá pa Ø bafá karnedu,*  
when 3SG.SBJ PFV jump COMP PFV take sheep  
Then he jumped at the ram in order to catch hold of him,

kel-la Ø ribá tras i Ø mbuká=l,  
DEM.PR PFV return back 3SG.SBJ PFV gore=3SG.OBJ  
but this swiftly stepped back and then gored the  
wonsa Ø kay i Ø moré. Kacor tambey Ø  
leopard PFV fall 3SG.SBJ PFV die dog also PFV  
leopard so fiercely that the beast fell dead to the ground.  
Thereafter, the dog

koré i Ø bafá sañcu i Ø sutá=l  
ran 3SG.SBJ PFV take monkey 3SG.SBJ PFV hit=3SG.OBJ  
rushed at the monkey, he grabbed him and undertook

pa Ø matá. Sañcu Ø kaplí i Ø sibi  
COMP PFV kill monkey PFV escape 3SG.SBJ PFV go.up  
to beat him to death. However, the monkey managed to  
force his way out and took refuge

na po. Disna ke diya, sañcu ku kacor Ø  
on tree since DEM.AD day monkey with dog PFV  
on a tree. Since that day, the monkey and the dog

kabá filá tok awosi.  
stop agree until today  
have not been friends anymore.

## References

- Alkmin, Tânia Maria. 1983. *Les «portugais» de Ziguinchor (Sénégal): Approche sociolinguistique d'une communauté créolophone*. Paris: Université Paris 5 René Descartes Thèse pour le Doctorat de troisième cycle.
- Almada, André Alvares. [1594] 1964. Tratado breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde dês do Rio de Sanaga, dês do Rio de Sanaga até os baixos da Santa Ana. In Brasio, A. (ed.), *Momumenta Missionária d'África Ocidental*, 229–378. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar/Academia Portuguesa de História, Segunda Série, III.
- Bal, Willy. 1980. Devinettes en créole portugais du Sénégal recueillies par Abel Châtaigner. In d'Heur, Jean Marie & Cherubini, Nicoletta (eds.), *Études de Philologie Romane et d'Histoire Littéraire offertes à Jules Horrent*, 543–50. Liège: Gedit.
- . 1983. A propos du système verbal du kriol ou créole à base portugaise du Sénégal. *Romanica Gandensia* XX. 15–27.
- Bertrand-Bocandé, Emmanuel. 1849. Note sur la Guinée portugaise ou la Sénégalie méridionale. *Bulletin de la société de géographie de Paris*, 1re section, N°67–72, 3e série, Vol. XII, 57–69. Paris: Librairie de la Société de Géographie chez Arthus-Bertrand.
- Biagui, Noël Bernard. 2012. *Description générale du créole afro-portugais parlé à Ziguinchor (Casamance)*. Dakar/Paris: Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD)/Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO).
- Châtaigner, Abel. 1963. Le créole portugais du Sénégal: observations et textes. *Journal of African Languages* 2(1). 44–71.
- Dalphinis, Morgan. 1981. *African language influences in Creoles lexically based on Portuguese, English and French, with special reference to Casamance Kriul [sic], Gambian Krio and St. Lucian Patwa*, Vol. 1. London: University of London PhD thesis.
- Dieng, Sady. 1985. *Étude contrastive des lexies du créole endogène «portugais» et du wolof*. Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2 Thèse pour le Doctorat de troisième cycle.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1979. *Systèmes phonologiques des langues de Casamance et français parlé par les élèves casamançais du CMI (cours moyen première année)*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD).
- & Rougé, Jean-Louis. 1988. *En apprenant le créole à Bissau ou Ziguinchor*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Esvan, Jean Marie. 1922. *Katésismu di doctrina kristõ (Ziguinchor (Casamance) Mission Catholique)*. Braga: Typographia Souza Cruz.
- . 1951. *Katéchisme di doktrina kriston (Mission Catholique Ziguinchor (Sénégal))*. Paris: Les presses missionnaires.
- Jacobs, Bart. 2009. The Upper Guinea origins of Papiamentu: Linguistic and historical evidence. *Diachronica* 26(3). 319–79.
- . 2011. *The Upper Guinea origins of Papiamentu*. Munich/Coimbra: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München/Universidade de Coimbra PhD dissertation.
- Moreau, Marie-Louise. 1994. Ziguinchor, ville créole? Jalons pour l'histoire du créole portugais. In Barbier-Wiesser, F.-G. (ed.), *Comprendre la Casamance*, 179–89. Paris: Éditions Karthala.
- Peck, Stephen Madry. 1988. *Tense, aspect and mood in Guinea-Casamance Portuguese Creole*. Los Angeles: University of California PhD thesis.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2000. *Le cap-verdien: Origines et devenir d'une langue métisse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- . 2008. *L'élément africain dans la langue capverdienne*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Roche, Christian. 1976. *Conquête et résistance des peuples de Casamance, 1850–1920*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions africaines.
- . 2000. *Histoire de la Casamance: Conquête et résistance 1850–1920*. Paris: Karthala.
- Rougé, Jean Louis. 1985. *Formation et évolution du créole de Guinée-Bissau et de Casamance*. Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2 Thèse pour le Doctorat de troisième cycle.
- . 1988. *Petit dictionnaire étymologique du kriol de Guinée-Bissau et Casamance*. Bissau: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (INEP).
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1888. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch, II. Zum Negerportugiesischen Senegambiens. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 12. 301–22.

# The Survey of Pidgin and Creole Languages

EDITED BY

Susanne Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer,  
Martin Haspelmath, and Magnus Huber

IN COLLABORATION WITH

Melanie Revis

VOLUME II

*Portuguese-based, Spanish-based, and  
French-based Languages*

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trademark of  
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Editorial matter and organization Susanne Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer,  
Martin Haspelmath, and Magnus Huber 2013

© The chapters their several authors 2013

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First edition published in 2013

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in  
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the  
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted  
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics  
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the  
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the  
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form  
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

ISBN 978-0-19-969140-1 (Vol. 1)

ISBN 978-0-19-969141-8 (Vol. 2)

ISBN 978-0-19-969142-5 (Vol. 3)

ISBN 978-0-19-969143-2 (Set)

ISBN 978-0-19-967770-2 (Atlas and Set)

Typeset in Ehrhardt

by Peter Kahrel Ltd, Lancaster

Printed by the MPG Printgroup, UK

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and  
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials  
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

# CONTENTS

## Portuguese-based, Spanish-based, and French-based Languages

<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
<i>About the Authors</i>	xv
Introduction	xx
<b>Portuguese-based languages</b>	<b>I</b>
1. Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago <i>Jürgen Lang</i>	3
2. Cape Verdean Creole of Brava <i>Marlyse Baptista</i>	12
3. Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente <i>Dominika Swolkien</i>	20
4. Guinea-Bissau Kriyol <i>Incanha Intumbo, Liliana Inverno, and John Holm</i>	31
5. Casamancese Creole <i>Noël Bernard Biagui and Nicolas Quint</i>	40
6. Santome <i>Tjerk Hagemeijer</i>	50
7. Angolar <i>Philippe Maurer</i>	59
8. Principense <i>Philippe Maurer</i>	72
9. Fa d'Ambô <i>Marika Post</i>	81
10. Diu Indo-Portuguese <i>Hugo C. Cardoso</i>	90
11. Korlai <i>J. Clancy Clements</i>	102
12. Sri Lanka Portuguese <i>Ian R. Smith</i>	111
13. Papiá Kristang <i>Alan N. Baxter</i>	122
14. Batavia Creole <i>Philippe Maurer</i>	131

## Contents

### Spanish-based languages

		<b>141</b>
15.	Ternate Chabacano <i>Eeva Sippola</i>	143
16.	Cavite Chabacano <i>Eeva Sippola</i>	149
17.	Zamboanga Chabacano <i>Patrick O. Steinkrüger</i>	156
18.	Papiamentu <i>Philippe Maurer</i>	163
19.	Palenquero <i>Armin Schwegler</i>	182

### French-based languages

		<b>193</b>
20.	Haitian Creole <i>Dominique Fattier</i>	195
21.	Guadeloupean Creole and Martinican Creole <i>Serge Colot and Ralph Ludwig</i>	205
22.	Guyanais <i>Stefan Pfänder</i>	220
23.	Louisiana Creole <i>Thomas A. Klingler and Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh</i>	229
24.	Reunion Creole <i>Annegret Bollée</i>	241
25.	Mauritian Creole <i>Philip Baker and Sibylle Kriegel</i>	250
26.	Seychelles Creole <i>Susanne Maria Michaelis and Marcel Rosalie</i>	261
27.	Tayo <i>Sabine Ehrhart and Melanie Revis</i>	271

### Language index

283

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Meaning		
I	first person	CL	class
2	second person	CLF	classifier
3	third person	CNS	consuetudinal
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb	CNTRFAC	counterfactual
ABIL	ability (verb), abilitive mood	COLL	collocative, associative plural
ABL	ablative, movement away from something	COM	comitative
ABS	absolutive	COMP	complementizer
ACC	accusative	COMPAR	comparative affix/marker
ACCID	accidental	COMPL	accomplished, completive
ACT	action marker	COMPL1, COMPL2	completive1, completive2
ADD	additive	CONC	concessive
ADJ	adjective, adjectival suffix	COND	conditional
ADJ2	second adjective marker	CONF	confirmation particle
ADJ3	third adjective marker	CONJ	conjunction
ADJZ	adjectivalizer	CONN	connective
ADMON	admonitive	CONT	continuative, continuous, ongoing action
ADR	addressive	CONTR	contrastive
ADV	adverb, adverbial	COP	copula, equational copula
ADVERS	adversative	CPD	compound, component derived by tone deletion
ADVZ	adverbializer		
AFF	affirmative	CSEC	consecutive
AG	agent, agentive	CTPL	contemplated aspect
AGR	agreement	CVB	converb
ALL	allative	DAT	dative
ANAPH	anaphoric	DECL	declarative
ANIM	animate	DEF	definite
ANT	anterior	DEFRCLT	deferential clitic
ANTIP	antipassive	DEG	degree (particle, word)
APPL	applicative	DEIC	deictic
ART	article	DELIM	delimitative
ASP	aspect (marker, particle)	DEM	demonstrative
ASS	associative (plural)	DEP	dependent (pronoun)
ASSOBL	associative (obligation)	DESID	desiderative
ASSOC	associative (preposition)	DET	determiner
ATT	attenuative	DETRANS	detransitivizing
ATTR	attributive marker	DIM	diminutive
AUX	auxiliary	DIR	direction, directional
BE	identity-copula, locative-existential copula	DISASS	disassociative
BEN	benefactive	DISC	discourse marker
BGND	background	DISC.PCL	discourse particle
CAUS	causative	DIST	distal
CIS	cislocative, movement towards speaker	DISTR	distributive

## Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning		
DO	direct object	INDF	indefinite
DS	different subject	INDP	independent
DU	dual	INF	infinitive
DUB	dubitative, uncertain knowledge	INFL	inflectional marker
DUMMY	dummy pronoun	INGR	ingressive
DUR	durative	INS	instrumental
EMPH	emphatic, emphasis	INSIST	insistence
ENCL	enclitic	INT	intentional, intentionalis
EPIST	epistemic	INTENS	intensifier, intensive, intensity
EQ.COP	equational copula	INTERJ	interjection
ERG	ergative	INTERM	intermediate (between distal and proximal)
EVID	evidential	INTFR	intensifier
EXCL	exclusive	INTIM	intimate
EXCLAM	exclamation	INTR	intransitive
EXIST	existential	INV	inverse marker
EXPL	expletive	IO	indirect object
F	feminine, female	IPFV	imperfective
FAM	familiar	IRR	irrealis
FILL	filler (item)	ITER	iterative
FIN	finite	JUDG	judgment
FOC	focus (marker)	LINK	link vowel, link consonant
FPST	far past	LK	linker
FUT	future	LOC	locative
FV	final vowel	LOCV	locative verb
GEN	genitive	LOG	logophoric personal pronoun
GENER	generic	M	masculine
GER	gerund	MIR	mirative
H	high toneme	MKD	marked
HAB	habitual	MOD	modal (auxiliary, verb, particle), modality
HABIL	habilitative	MOD.AUX	modal auxiliary
HAVE	possession predicate	MODIF	modifier
HL	highlighter	MOOD	mood particle
HON	honorific	N	neuter
HORT	hortative	NACCOMPL	non-accomplished
HUM	human	NARR	narrative
IDENTITY.COP	identity copula	NECESS	necessity
IDEO	ideophone	NEG	negation, negative
IGN	ignorative	NEG.FIN	negator preceding a finite verb
IMM.PST	immediate past	NEG2	2nd negative marker
IMP	imperative	NFIN	non-finite
IMPRS	impersonal pronoun	NFUT	non-future
INAB	inability	NHON	non-honorific
INACC	inaccomplished	NMLZ	nominalizer, nominalization, nominalizing suffix
INAN	inanimate		
INC	inchoative	NOM	nominative
INCEP	inceptive (future)	NP	noun phrase
INCL	inclusive	NPST	non-past
INCOMPL	incompletive	NSBJ	non-subject
INCORP	incorporated (noun)	NSG	non-singular
IND	indicative	OBJ	object (marker)

## Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning		
OBL	oblique	RED	reduplication
OBLIG	obligative (mood marker), obligatory	REFL	reflexive
OBV	obviative	REL	relative, relativizer
OPT	optative	REL.PCL	relative particle
ORD	ordinal	REL.PRO	relative pronoun
ORD.NUM	ordinal numeral	REM	remote
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb	REP	repetition, repetitive
PASS	passive	REPORT	reportative
PAUC	paucal	REQ	requestative
PCL	particle	RES	resultative
PERM	permission, permissive	S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb
PERMANENT	permanent state	SBJ	subject
PFV	perfective, narrative perfective (marker)	SBJV	subjunctive
PL	plural	SENT.PCL	sentence particle
PM	predicate marker	SEQ	sequence marker
POL	polite	SG	singular
POSS	possessive, possessor, adpositional, possessive marker	SIML	similative
POSTP	postposition	SM	subject marker
POT	potential	SPECUL	speculative
PRED	predicative	SS	same subject
PREP	preposition	STANDARD.MARKER	comparative standard
PRESV	presentational, presentative	STAT	stative
PRET	preterite	SUBORD	subordinator
PRF	perfect	SUPERL	superlative
PRO	pronoun, resumptive pronoun	SUPPL	suppletive
PROG	progressive	SVC	serial verb construction
PROG2	second progressive	TA	transitive animate
PROH	prohibitive	TAM	tense aspect mood
PROX	proximal/proximate	TEMP	temporal
PRS	present (tense)	TMA	tense mood aspect
PSREFL	pseudo-reflexive pronoun	TNS	tense particle
PST	past, past before past	TOP	topic
PTCP	participle	TR	transitive
PURP	purpose, purposive	V	verb
Q	interrogative, question (word, particle, marker)	V.PREF	verbal prefix
Q.TAG	question tag	VAL	validator
QUANT	quantifier, quantitative	VLZ	verbalizer
QUOT	quotative	VOC	vocative
RECP	reciprocal	VOL	volitive
		VPCL	verb particle

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors would like to express their gratitude to a number of institutions and people without whose help and collaboration the *Survey of Pidgin and Creole Languages* and the entire *APiCS* project would not have been possible.

First, we are grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) for providing crucial funding for Susanne Maria Michaelis and Melanie Revis and for several Gießen-based student assistants over a period of three and a half years (2008–2011) through Justus Liebig University Gießen. The efficient administration at the DFG and in Gießen allowed us to concentrate on our research.

Second, we thank the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig), and in particular the director of the Department of Linguistics, Bernard Comrie, for generously funding seven conferences and workshops between 2006 and 2010, as well as providing funds for Leipzig-based assistants and reliable technical support.

Among the people who helped the editors in putting together the four *APiCS* volumes, our collaborators Melanie Revis and Bradley Taylor stand out. In particular the handling of the different versions of the chapters for the *Survey* and the correspondence with the authors was largely in Melanie's hands. Brad's full control of the database and his patience with the contributors' questions was equally central for the project. Claudia Schmidt helped us organize all the workshops and conferences, from the website to the coffee breaks and travel claim forms. Thanks to you all for your super-efficient work!

We had the pleasure to work with several highly motivated and committed student assistants, both in Gießen and in Leipzig: Oleg Batt, Tyko Dirksmeyer, Lea Gleixner, Sabine Günther, Alexander Jahraus, Christina Klempel, Sven Langbein, Verena Pietzner, Sandy Schaber, Eva-Maria Schmorte, Ulrike Schneider, Hermann Sonntag, Bianca Widlitzki. No matter how fascinating a project may be, there will always be tasks of the more monotonous kind. It was our student assistants who bore the brunt of these chores, but we hope that they got a sense of the excitement of a large-scale collaborative project on some of the world's most intriguing languages.

Finally, we would like to thank the contributors for their patience and devotion to a project that certainly demanded more personal commitment than the average publication. It is their perseverance that made *APiCS* possible.

Susanne Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer,  
Martin Haspelmath, and Magnus Huber  
*Leipzig, Zürich, and Gießen, March 2013*

## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**PHILIP BAKER** has published articles and books on Mauritian and related creoles since 1969. He has also done research and published on Chinese Pidgin English, various Pidgin Englishes of Australia and Melanesia, and the Creole English of St Kitts. His linguistic research has always been combined with other careers as a film editor, newspaper editor, in distance teaching and, currently, in publishing. He retired as Professor of Contact Linguistics at the University of Westminster in 2008 and now divides his time between London and Sri Lanka.

**MARLYSE BAPTISTA** is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole* (John Benjamins, 2002) and the co-editor with Jacqueline Guéron of *Noun Phrases in Creole Languages* (John Benjamins, 2007). She specializes in the morpho-syntax of creole languages, their genesis, and development. She is also interested in their representation in education. More recently, she has started to examine the cognitive processes involved in creole formation and is currently collaborating on the design of experiments testing some of these processes.

**ALAN N. BAXTER** has until recently taught Linguistics in the Department of Portuguese of the University of Macau (China). He is now based at the Federal University of Bahia (Salvador, Brazil). His published work includes *A Grammar of Kristang (Malacca Creole Portuguese)* (Pacific Linguistics, 1988), the co-authored works *A Dictionary of Kristang – English* (Pacific Linguistics, 2004) and *O Português Afro-Brasileiro* (Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, 2009), in addition to descriptive papers in scholarly books and journals. He is primarily interested in language variation and contact involving Portuguese, and the description and typology of Asian varieties of Creole Portuguese.

**NOËL BERNARD BIAGUI** is currently a Ph.D. student at LLACAN (Paris), where he is writing a dissertation devoted to the linguistic description of his mother tongue, Casamancese Creole. He also has experience in Niger-Congo linguistics, having studied the grammar (phonology and class-system) of the Nyun dialect of Djibonker (Casamance, Southern Senegal) for his Masters in Linguistics, defended at Cheikh Anta Diop University (Dakar, Senegal) in 2005.

**ANNEGRET BOLLÉE** is Professor emerita of the University of Bamberg, where she taught Romance linguistics (French, Italian, and Spanish) from 1978 to 2002. Her research activities focused on Indian Ocean Creoles. She has published a grammar of Seychelles Creole based on fieldwork in the islands (1977) and a book on the development of Reunion Creole, based on an edition of eighteenth-century religious texts (2007). After completing the *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français de l'Océan Indien* (4 vols, 1993–2007) she is now preparing a *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français d'Amérique* in collaboration with Dominique Fattier (Cergy-Pontoise) and Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh (Regensburg).

**HUGO C. CARDOSO** has conducted research mostly on Portuguese-lexified contact languages, especially the Indo-Portuguese Creoles of India but also Suriname's Saramaccan. His main interests include language description and documentation, language contact theory, typology and historical linguistics. He also published on topics of a sociolinguistic and ethnological nature. He is the author of *The Indo-Portuguese Language of Diu* (2009, LOT dissertation) and co-editor of *Gradual Creolization; Studies Celebrating Jacques Arends* (2009, John Benjamins).

**J. CLANCY CLEMENTS** is Professor of Linguistics and Spanish & Portuguese at Indiana University (Bloomington). He researches and teaches in the areas of functional syntax and contact

## About the Authors

linguistics, especially pidgins and creoles, with a focus on Asian-Portuguese creoles. His main publications are: *The Genesis of a Language: The Formation and Development of Korlai Portuguese* (John Benjamins, 1996) and *The Linguistic Legacy of Spanish and Portuguese: Colonial Expansion and Language Change* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

SERGE COLOT is associate Professor at The Université des Antilles et de la Guyane. He was trained at the University of Poitiers and the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane. He mainly works on lexical and grammatical aspects of his native language, Guadeloupean Creole, and the closely related Martinican Creole. Among his publications is *Guide de lexicologie créole* (2001, Presses Universitaires Créoles).

SABINE EHRHART is Associate Professor for ethnolinguistics at the University of Luxembourg and is mainly teaching in the teacher education programs of the University of Luxembourg. She is an expert on language contact and educational policy in plurilingual settings; her research approach is focused on an ecological approach to plurilingualism. She received her Ph.D. for her thesis on contact languages in New Caledonia (especially Tayo) from Augsburg University and in 2006 she gained her habilitation on "Language Contact in Natural and Institutional Settings" from Sorbonne University, Paris. In 2006 she created the LACETS group with the objective of creating a link between theory, research, and school practices in the multicultural environment of Luxembourg.

DOMINIQUE FATTIER teaches linguistics at the University of Cergy-Pontoise (France). She is the author of the *L'Atlas linguistique d'Haïti: cartes et commentaires* (1998). She is currently working on various topics: language evolution, genealogical aspects within creole studies (origins of creole vernaculars), lexicology, dialectology, grammatical description of Haitian Creole, teaching materials for closely related languages (Creoles – French), and regional French of Haiti.

TJERK HAGEMEIJER is a researcher at the Centre of Linguistics of the University of Lisbon (CLUL). He is primarily interested in diachronic and synchronic aspects of the Gulf of Guinea creoles, particularly Santome, both from a theoretical and a descriptive point of view. His current research interests concern language and gene co-evolution in the formation and development of the Gulf of Guinea creoles, standardization of these languages, and the syntax of L1 and L2 varieties of Portuguese spoken in Africa.

MARTIN HASPELMATH is senior scientist at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and Honorary Professor at the University of Leipzig. His research interests are primarily in the area of broadly comparative and diachronic morphosyntax (*Indefinite Pronouns*, 1997; *From Space to Time*, 1997; *Understanding Morphology*, 2002) and in language contact (*Loanwords in the World's Languages*, co-edited with Uri Tadmor, 2009). He is one of the editors of Oxford University Press's *World Atlas of Language Structures* (2005).

JOHN HOLM holds the chair of English Linguistics at the University of Coimbra in Portugal. He completed his doctoral dissertation at the University of London on the Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast in 1978 and then taught at the College of the Bahamas (1978–1980) and the City University of New York (1980–1998) before coming to Coimbra. His books include *Pidgins and Creoles* (1988–1989), *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles* (2000), *Languages in Contact: The Partial Restructuring of Vernaculars* (2004), and *Comparative Creole Syntax*, edited with Peter Patrick (2007). He was a founding member of SPCL and ACBLPE.

MAGNUS HUBER is Professor of English at the University of Gießen and has taught close to 100 courses in a wide variety of subjects in English linguistics. He is an expert on English-based pidgins and creoles and is particularly interested in these languages' historical evolution and present structure. He is the author of *Ghanaian Pidgin English in its West African Context* (1999) and edited *Spreading the Word: The Issue of Diffusion Among the Atlantic Creoles* (1999) and *Synchronic and*

## About the Authors

*Diachronic Perspectives on Contact Languages* (2007). His other research interests include World Englishes, (historical) sociolinguistics, dialectology, corpus linguistics, and historical linguistics particularly on the levels of phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax.

INCANHA INTUMBO was born in Guinea-Bissau and is a native speaker of Kriyol, its Portuguese-based creole. He is writing his doctoral dissertation on an ethnic variety of this language with John Holm at the University of Coimbra in Portugal. He is a member of Coimbra's linguistic research institute CELGA (Centro de Estudos de Linguística Geral e Aplicada). He has been working on substrate and superstrate influences on Guinea-Bissau Kriyol and publishing in this area since 2004. He is the author of the book *Estudo Comparativo da morfo-sintaxe do crioulo guineense, do balanta e do português* (Lincom Europa, 2008).

LILIANA INVERNO teaches linguistics and Portuguese as a Foreign Language at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels at the University of the Algarve in Portugal. She is a member of the University of Coimbra's linguistic research institute CELGA (Centro de Estudos de Linguística Geral e Aplicada). Her main area of research is the contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese morphosyntax in Angola, an area in which she has been publishing since 2003. Her doctoral dissertation, *Contact-induced Restructuring of Portuguese Morphosyntax in Interior Angola: Evidence from Dundo (Lunda Norte)*, supervised by John Holm, is the first in-depth description of this variety.

THOMAS A. KLINGLER is Associate Professor of French and Linguistics at Tulane University in New Orleans. His research focuses on French and Creole in Louisiana. He is the author of *'If I Could Turn My Tongue Like That': The Creole Speech of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana* and co-editor of the *Dictionary of Louisiana Creole* and of the *Dictionary of Louisiana French as Spoken in Cajun, Creole, and American Indian Communities*.

SIBYLLE KRIEGLER is Professor of Linguistics at Aix-Marseille Université and group leader at the Laboratoire Parole et Langage (CNRS, UMR 7309) in Aix-en-Provence. She has published on the grammar of French creoles in the Indian Ocean and has developed a special interest in comparative linguistics and language contact. She is co-editor of the first online journal in creole studies, *Creolica* (<http://www.creolica.net>).

JÜRGEN LANG has held a chair for Romance Linguistics at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg (Germany) for twenty years. After a Ph.D. thesis on the theoretical bases of dialectology he published work on grammar (French and Spanish), historical linguistics (mainly concerning Spanish), and pragmatics (mainly concerning French), finally becoming a creolist. He is the coordinator of a Creole-German-Portuguese dictionary of the creole of Santiago Island (Cape Verde) published in 2002, and the author of the book *Les langues des autres dans la créolisation: Théorie et exemplification par le créole d'empreinte wolof à l'île Santiago du Cap Vert* (2009).

RALPH LUDWIG is Professor of Romance Linguistics at the University of Halle (Germany). His main research areas are orality studies, francophone and Latin American language variation, contact linguistics and creole studies, as well as francophone literature. He has, for example, co-edited the *Dictionnaire du créole guadeloupéen* (second ed. 2002) and the *Corpus créole. Textes oraux dominicains, guadeloupéens, guyanais, haïtiens, mauriciens et seychellois* (2001).

PHILIPPE MAURER is a creolist working on Ibero-Romance based creoles, mainly on Papiamentu (*Les modifications temporelles et modales du verbe dans le papiamentu de Curaçao*, 1988) and on the Gulf of Guinea creoles (*L'angolar: un créole afro-portugais parlé à São Tomé*, 1995, and *Principense. Grammar, texts, and vocabulary*, 2009). He is the author of the monograph *The Former Portuguese Creole of Batavia and Tugu* (Battledridge, 2011).

SUSANNE MARIA MICHAELIS is currently a creolist at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig. Between 2008 and 2011, she held a research position in the APiCS

## About the Authors

project at the University of Gießen. Her early work, at the University of Freiburg and at the University of Bamberg, focused on French-based Indian Ocean creoles, in particular Seychelles Creole (*Temps et aspect en créole seychellois*, 1993; *Komplexe Syntax im Seychellen-Kreol*, 1994). More recently, she has adopted a comparative approach with a focus on substrate explanations (e.g. Ditransitive constructions: creole languages in a cross-linguistic perspective, *Creolica* 2003). She is also editor of *Roots of Creole Structures* (John Benjamins, 2008) and co-editor of the anthology *Contact Languages: Critical concepts in linguistics* (Routledge, 2008).

INGRID NEUMANN-HOLZSCHUH is Professor of Romance Linguistics (French and Spanish) at the University of Regensburg (Germany). Her main academic interests are creole studies, the varieties of French in North America, Spanish diachronic linguistics (especially syntax), as well as language change and language contact. She has published the first comprehensive grammar of Louisiana Creole (*Le créole de Breaux Bridge, Louisiane. Étude morphosyntaxique – textes – vocabulaire*, 1985) and is the author of a monograph on Spanish syntax (*Die Satzgliedanordnung im Spanischen: Eine diachrone Analyse*, 1997). She is currently working on a comparative grammar of Acadian and Louisiana French as well as on the *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles des Antilles* (together with Annegret Bollée).

STEFAN PFÄNDER is Professor of Romance Linguistics at the University of Freiburg and also Director of the Hermann Paul School of Language Sciences. Previously he was Assistant Professor at the University of Halle-Wittenberg. His research interests focus on corpus-based linguistic description of modern Spanish and French grammar as well as regional variation, contact languages, and emergent language change, especially concerning the varieties spoken in South America, the Caribbean, and western Africa.

MARIKE POST studied General Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam. She wrote her MA thesis on Portuguese-based creoles of West Africa and is currently working on a description of the grammar of Fa d'Ambô. She wrote a number of articles on the subject.

NICOLAS QUINT is Directeur de Recherche in Linguistics at the CNRS and is currently a member of LLACAN (Paris), a research unit specialized in African languages. Since 1995, he has been regularly working on Afro-Iberian creoles, in particular Cape Verdean, Casamancese Creole and Papiamentu, and has published several dozens of articles and books on these languages (including a Cape Verdean Grammar, comparative studies and dictionaries). His field of expertise includes Kordofanian (Koalib and other Heiban languages), Romance (Occitan, Spanish and Portuguese), and descriptive linguistics.

MELANIE REVIS is currently pursuing her doctoral degree at Victoria University of Wellington about language maintenance among Colombians and Ethiopians in New Zealand. She was previously an assistant in the APiCS team at Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany. Her research interests include language contact, language maintenance and structural aspects of pidgins and creoles.

MARCEL ROSALIE is the current Director General for Culture of the Republic of Seychelles. He previously worked at the National Heritage Research Section and recorded and transcribed many spoken texts in Seychelles Creole. He is co-editor of *Parol ek Memwar* (1994, together with Annegret Bollée) and a close collaborator of Susanne Maria Michaelis, with whom he has worked on the grammar and lexicon of Seychelles Creole. His present work, as a member of the Seychelles Creole Language Committee, is focusing on the production of a Creole monolingual dictionary.

ARMIN SCHWEGLER is Professor of Spanish linguistics at the University of California, Irvine. For several years, he has been co-editor of the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* and the *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* (RILI). The author of over fifty scholarly articles and several books, his research emphasizes the study of Spanish, Palenquero (Colombia), and Palo Monte ritual speech (Cuba) from a linguistic perspective, while also exploring language in its

## About the Authors

social, cultural and historical contexts. He has lived in Palenque on many occasions, and speaks the creole fluently.

**Eeva Sippola** is the author of *Una gramática descriptiva de chabacano de Ternate (A descriptive grammar of Ternate Chabacano)*, University of Helsinki, 2011), based at Aarhus Universitet in Denmark. She has worked on the Chabacano varieties of Manila Bay, where she has done extensive fieldwork. Her current research interests are concentrated on descriptive and comparative linguistics of the Ibero-Asian creoles, the sociolinguistics of minority languages and pedagogical methodologies.

**Ian R. Smith** holds a doctorate in Linguistics from Cornell University. He has taught at Monash University, the National University of Singapore, the University of Sydney, and at York University, where he is Associate Professor of Linguistics. His primary research field is language contact. He has published works on South Asian languages, English and Kugu Nganhcara. He has a long-standing interest in Sri Lanka Portuguese, and is the author of *Sri Lanka Creole Portuguese Phonology* as well as articles on its grammatical structure and historical development. He is working on a second book on the language.

**Patrick O. Steinkrüger** is a specialist in Romance languages, especially Catalan and Spanish-based creoles of South Asia. Currently he is a Visiting Professor at the Institute of Romance Linguistics and Literature at Frankfurt University, Germany. He has until recently taught at the ZAS (Centre for General Linguistics) in Berlin. He co-edited *On Inflection* (Mouton de Gruyter, 2009) with Manfred Krifka and published numerous articles on Zamboanga Chabacano.

**Dominika Swolkién** is an assistant lecturer at the University of Mindelo, Cape Verde. She is currently finishing her Ph.D. dissertation on the variety of Cape Verdean Creole spoken on the island of São Vicente with John Holm at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. Her research focuses on the role that socio-historical factors have played in shaping the modern morpho-syntactic structure of this variety. She is involved in the Master's Program in Creolistics and Cape Verdean language run by the University of Cape Verde, being deeply concerned about the standardization of the language and dissemination of scientific knowledge about creoles within the creole-speaking community.

## INDEX VOL. II

### A

African languages 21, 32, 40, 183, 186,  
205-6, 216, 229, 268  
Afro-Portuguese 31, 164-6, 178  
Algonquian 229  
Aluku 221  
American Indian languages 183  
American Spanish 188  
Amerindian languages 183  
Angolan Bantu 216  
Angolan Portuguese youth slang popular in  
Lisbon 32  
angolar 59  
Angolar 50-1, 59-62, 64-8, 70, 72, 165  
Annobonense 81  
Annobonese 81, 88  
Arabic 156  
Arawak 220-1, 226  
Atlantic creoles 156-7, 173, 182, 185, 189  
Austronesian languages 159-60, 272

### B

badju 3  
Bahasa Indonesia 136  
bahra 143  
Balanta 4, 31, 33  
Banhu 32  
Bantu languages 50, 59-60, 66, 70, 82, 164,  
182-3, 185, 216, 250-1, 253, 259,  
261-2, 266, 268  
Bantu languages of East Africa 250  
Batavia Creole 131-7  
Batavia Malay 131  
Bengali 250  
Berbice Dutch 165  
Bhojpuri 250-1, 254, 259  
Biafada 31  
Bijago 4  
Bijagó 31, 33  
Bravense 12-13  
Brazilian Portuguese 188  
Breton 216  
Broken 154  
broken English 111  
broken Spanish 149, 156  
Bubi 82

### C

Caawàc 271

Cajun French 230

Cantonese 122

Capeverdean 41, 43

Cape Verdean 3-5, 12-14, 16-17, 20-4, 27,  
40, 60, 72-3, 136, 165, 173

Cape Verdean Creole 3-4, 12-14, 16-17, 20,  
23-4, 27, 40, 72-3, 165

Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago 3, 12, 24

Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente 3, 12,  
20, 27

Carib 206, 216

Cariban 205-6, 216

casamançais 40

Casamancese Creole 40-2, 44-8

Cavite Chabacano 143, 149-53, 156, 160

Cebuano 156-8, 160-1

Cêmuhi 271

Ceylon-Portuguese 111

chabacano 143

Chabacano 143-6, 149-54, 156-61

Chabacano de Zamboanga 156

Chabakano 156

chavacano 143

Chavacano 149, 156, 160

Chinese 122, 127, 132, 156-7, 242, 251, 259

Chinese languages 22

Cotabato 156, 160

créole 40, 205-6, 220, 241, 261

créole afro-portugais de Casamance 40

créole casamançais 40

créole guyanais 220

créole martiniquais 206

Creole Portuguese 31, 102, 122

créole réunionnais 241

créole seychellois 261

crioulo 3, 20, 31, 102

Crioulo 12, 50

Crioulo da ilha de Brava (Cabo Verde) 12

crioulo da ilha de Santiago (Cabo Verde) 3

crioulo da ilha de São Vicente (Cabo Verde)  
20

Crioulo Forro 50

### D

dialect 40, 112, 114, 233, 271

Dialecto 50

dialecto português de Malaca 122

dialecto 72

Diola 4, 31

dioleto 72

dioleto 59

Dioleto 50

Djakanka 32

Dravidian languages 118

Drubéa 271

Dutch 4, 111-12, 122, 131-2, 134, 143,  
163-7, 174, 176, 178, 220-1, 250

### E

Early Modern Portuguese 133

Edo 50, 62-3, 72, 81, 165

English 3-4, 13-14, 20-2, 27, 31, 36-7, 50,  
81, 107, 111-12, 118, 120, 122-3, 126,  
143-4, 149-50, 156-8, 160-1, 163, 166,  
178-9, 205-6, 216, 220-1, 224, 226,  
229-31, 235, 250-4, 258-9, 261-3, 268,  
274

English Creole 163

español quebrao 156

European languages 34, 164, 171-2, 177-8

Ewe 178-9, 220

### F

Fa d'Ambô 50, 59, 72, 81-2, 85-6, 165

Fang 82

Filipino 143-4, 149-50

Fôlô 50

Fongbe 216, 220

fôrô 72

Forro 50

franse 229

French 4, 13, 32, 40-2, 44, 163, 178, 186,  
205-10, 213-14, 216-17, 220-6, 229-  
32, 235-6, 241-8, 250-9, 261-8, 271-9

French Guianese Creole 220-1

Fula 31

### G

Gbe 164, 220, 251

Gbe languages 251

German 161, 229, 246

Guadeloupean Creole 205, 207-9, 211, 216

Guadeloupean French 207

Guinea-Bissau Creole 31

Gujarati 251

Gulf of Guinea creoles 51, 59-60, 70, 76, 82

guyanais 220

Guyanais 220-6

## Index

### H

Haitian Creole 221, 229, 231, 233, 243  
 Hiligaynon 156-8, 160  
 Hindi 102, 104, 122  
 Hmong 221  
 Hokkien (Chinese) 122, 156-7

### I

Ilonggo 160  
 Indian languages 132, 183  
 Indian Ocean Creoles 247  
 Indic languages 254, 259  
 Indonesian 132, 156  
 Indo-Portuguese 102, 131, 241, 247-8, 250

### J

Java 131  
 Javanese 131-3  
 Jola 40-1, 45

### K

Kalin'a 221  
 Kassanga 32  
 Kikongo 50, 60, 72, 81, 178-9, 182-3, 185-6, 188  
 Kimbundu 59, 61-2, 66, 70-1, 216  
 Kobiana 32  
 Kongo 50, 184, 268  
 Konkani 122  
 Korlai 102-9  
 Korlai Creole Portuguese 102  
 kreol 241, 261  
 kreol renyone 241  
 kreol reyon 241  
 kreyòl 229  
 kréyòl 205, 220  
 kréyòl Gwadeloup 205  
 kréyòl Matinik 206  
 kriol 20  
 kriol d'Sonsent 20  
 kriolu 3  
 Kriolu 12  
 Kriolu di Dja Braba 12  
 Kristang 122-4, 126, 131, 133  
 kriyol 40  
 Kriyol 31-7, 40-2, 165

### L

languages of the Benin area 259  
 Latin 103, 120, 183-4, 205-6, 216, 272  
 Lengua 182  
 lingu kristonj 40  
 Louisiana Creole 229-33, 235-6  
 Louisiana Regional French 230-1  
 lunga Ngola 59  
 lung'Ie 72

Lungwa Santome 50

### M

Macao Creole 131, 133  
 Maharati 251  
 Makonde 253, 262  
 Makua 262  
 Malagasy 241, 244, 247, 250-1, 253, 259, 261-2, 268  
 Malaqueiro 122  
 Malaquenho 122  
 Malaquense 122  
 Malaquês 122  
 Malay 122-3, 131-3, 136-8, 143  
 Malayalam 122  
 Mande languages 4, 32  
 Manding 40-2, 259  
 Mandinga 31  
 Mandinka 3-4, 12, 36, 40, 45, 250  
 Manjaku 4, 31, 36, 40, 45  
 Mankanya 4, 31, 40  
 Maranao 157  
 Marathi 102-9  
 Maroon creole 59  
 Martinican Creole 205-9, 211-16, 220, 223  
 Mauritian Creole 250-7, 259, 261-3, 265, 273  
 Melanesian languages 271-3, 279  
 Mindanao 156, 160  
 Mwera 262

### N

Nago 251  
 Nahuatl 157, 160  
 Ndyuka 221  
 Negerhollands 165  
 Niger-Congo family 12  
 Nigerian languages 72  
 Norman French 216  
 nɔlinj 102  
 Numèè 271  
 Nyamwezi 262  
 Nyelâyu 271  
 Nyun 40-1

### O

o crioulo de Korlai 102

### P

Palenquero 156, 182-90  
 Palikur 221  
 Pamaka 221  
 Papel 4  
 Papiá Kristang 122-4, 126, 131  
 Papiamentu 40, 136, 156, 163-8, 170, 172-9, 182, 189

parangi paasai 111  
 Patois (de St Louis) 271  
 Pepel 31  
 Philippine languages 144, 158, 160  
 Pichi 81  
 Pilipino 156-8, 160  
 Plantation Society French 230  
 Poitou Saintonge French 216  
 Polynesian 157, 271-3  
 portugees 111  
 Portuguese 3-6, 8, 12-13, 20-3, 27, 31-6, 40-4, 50, 52, 55-6, 59-62, 66-8, 70, 72-4, 81, 102-5, 107-9, 111-15, 117-18, 120, 122-3, 125, 131-7, 143, 156-7, 160, 163-6, 168-9, 171, 173-4, 177-8, 185-6, 188, 220-1, 223, 226, 241, 247-8, 250, 259  
 Portuguese Creole 31, 41, 131-2, 156  
 Portuguese Creole of the Indonesian island of Ternate 156  
 Principense 50-1, 59-60, 65, 67, 72-3, 75-9, 136, 165, 172  
 proto-Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole 31  
 purtugees 111

### R

Reunion Creole 241-7, 250  
 reyone 241

### S

Saamaka 221  
 Samal 157  
 Santiago Creole 3-5, 7-9, 27  
 Santiago Creole 3-5, 7-9, 27  
 Santome 50-6, 59-61, 63, 65, 67, 72-3, 76, 81, 165-6, 168, 172-3  
 São-Tomense 50  
 Sarakolé 32  
 Seychelles Creole 250, 261-8  
 Sinhala 111-14, 118  
 South Asian languages 131  
 Southern Mindanao Creole 156  
 South Indian languages 132  
 Spanish 3, 8, 81-2, 111, 143-5, 147, 149-52, 156-61, 163-6, 168-9, 171, 173-4, 176, 178, 182-6, 188-90, 205-6, 216, 229-30, 248  
 Sri Lanka Portuguese 111-12, 114-15, 118  
 Standard French 207-8, 230-2  
 Standard Portuguese 111-12  
 Sukuma 262  
 Swahili 262, 268

### T

Tagalog 143-6, 149-51, 154, 156-8, 160  
 Tamil 111-12, 114, 116-18, 120, 205-6, 216,

# Index

247-8, 250-1, 259, 261  
 Tanda 32  
 Tausug 157, 160  
 Tayo 271-80  
 Teko 221  
 Telugu 251  
 Temne 3-4, 12  
 Ternate Chabacano 143-6, 150, 156  
 ternateño 143  
 Tugu (Creole) 131, 133, 135-8  
 Tupi 248

**U**  
 Upper Guinea Creoles group 40, 165

**V**  
 Visayan language 157, 160

**W**  
 Wayampi 221  
 Wayana 221  
 West African languages 183, 205-6, 216,  
 229, 268

Western Malayo-Polynesian 157  
 Wolof 3-4, 7, 12, 40-2, 250, 259

**Y**  
 Yakan 157, 160  
 Yao 262  
 Yoruba 72, 81, 250-1

**Z**  
 Zamboanga Chabacano 143, 156-60  
 Zamboangueño 156