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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,¹ 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

¹ 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). /ε, ɛ, ɔ/ are rare (found in less than 1% of the lexical items each) and generally (/ε, ɔ/) or exclusively (/ɛ/) found in words of African (non-Portuguese) stock: *lɔpɛ*² 'swaddling clothes', *jigɛɲ* 'ghost sp.', *ʒɛʒ* 'fish sp.'

Table 1. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid	ɛ	ɛ	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'

² 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	ʃ(j)	g
Prenasalized plosive	voiceless	mp			nt	ɲc(ɲc)	ŋk
	voiced	mb			nd	ɲj(ɲj)	ŋg
Nasal		m			n	ɲ(ɲ)	ŋ
	Trill				r		
Fricative	voiceless		f		s	(ʃ) (x)	
	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: *kontá* [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 aethiopicum*' vs. *sibi* [si'bi] 'go up'. However, in pairs such as *sibi* ~ *sibi*, 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%):³ *kasa* CV-CV 'house'. Consonantal onsets can occupy up to three segmental positions:⁴ *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'.

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

⁴ 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 *sinjku*, 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</i> / <i>-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 Jɔŋ.</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) Jɔŋ altu.</i> Peter more John tall 'Peter is taller than John.'
	S <i>ma(s) di ki</i> X A	<i>Pidru ma(s) di ki Jɔŋ 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 Jɔŋ.</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.'
	SA <i>dimás/pasá/tɔk</i>	<i>Pidru altu tɔk.</i> Peter tall very 'Peter is very tall.'
Relative superlative	S <i>ma(s) 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.'⁵

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 ^a	preverbal
Tense	bay	past	postverbal

^a 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.

⁵ (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
∅	unmarked	dynamic	perfective past	<i>N ∅ bebé</i>	'I drank'
		stative	present tense	<i>N ∅ 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'
∅	baŋ	dynamic	pluperfect	<i>N ∅ bebé baŋ</i>	'I had drunk'
		stative	imperfective past	<i>N ∅ 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>jay</i>	Completive	Postverbal	<i>i bey jay</i>	'he has (already) come, here he is!'
	<i>na</i>	Assertive	Postverbal	<i>i bey na</i>	'he came (indeed), he DID come'
Verb	<i>yar/mos</i>	Epistemic possibility	Preverbal	<i>i yar bey/yar i bey</i>	'he may/might have come, perhaps he has come'
	<i>podé</i>	Epistemic possibility; ability	Preverbal	<i>i podé bey</i>	'he may/might come; he is able to come'
	<i>mesté</i>	Volition	Preverbal	<i>i mesté bey</i>	'he wants to come'
	<i>pirsisá di</i>	Necessity	Preverbal	<i>i pirsisá di bey</i>	'he needs to come'
	<i>debé di</i>	Obligation; deontic	Preverbal	<i>i debé bey</i>	'he must/has to come; he should come'
	<i>tey ku/tey di</i>	Obligation	Preverbal	<i>i tey ku bey</i>	'he must come'

jugation (*cantar*-type) and (2) African ad-/substrates; cf. Mandinka *bány*, 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 ∅ dá=bu baŋ yel.*
 ISG.SBJ PFV give=2SG.OBJ PST 3SG.INDP
 'I had given you it.'
- b. *N ∅ dá Pidru baŋ kóbur.*
 ISG.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. *Foy ∅ dá Pidru silafanda.*
 John PFV give Peter present
 'John gave Peter a present.' (Active)
- b. *Pidru ∅ 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. *Foy na bay Sicor.*
 John FUT go Ziguinchor
 'John will go to Ziguinchor.' (Positive)
- b. *Foy 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!'
IPL	<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 *ñútur* (< *uy* 'a' + *wútur* 'other') 'each other/one another'.

- (15) *E Ø keré ñútur.*
 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', *nij* '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 sintá.*
 ISG.SBJ PFV come.in ISG.SBJ PFV take stool ISG.SBJ PFV sit.down
 'I came in, took a stool and sat down.' (Succession)

- (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 kul/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 konsé-m.*
 DEM woman REL.SBJ PFV come yesterday NEG PFV know-1SG.OBJ
 'The woman who came yesterday does not know me.'

- (24) *Kel miñjer ku Pidru Ø wójá awonti i Ø ka di lí.*
 DEM woman REL.NSBJ Peter PFV come yesterday 3SG.SBJ 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 i boy algey.*
 DEM woman REL.NSBJ IPL.SBJ PFV come with 3SG.INDP PFV 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.

Uñ 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

kokó. 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 1SG.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 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 1SG.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 *sibí*
 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.

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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, intensitive, 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	NOM	nominative
INC	inchoative	NP	noun phrase
INCEP	inceptive (future)	NPST	non-past
INCL	inclusive	NSBJ	non-subject
INCOMPL	incompletive	NSG	non-singular
INCORP	incorporated (noun)	OBJ	object (marker)
IND	indicative		

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	VBLZ	verbalizer
QUOT	quotative	VOC	vocative
RECP	reciprocal	VOL	volitive
		VPCL	verb particle

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