



HAL
open science

Djifanghor Nyun (Casamance, Senegal)

Nicolas Quint

► **To cite this version:**

Nicolas Quint. Djifanghor Nyun (Casamance, Senegal). Friederike Lüpke. Oxford guide to the world's languages: Atlantic, 291-317, Oxford University Press, 2024, Oxford guide to the world's languages: Atlantic. hal-03101164

HAL Id: hal-03101164

<https://hal.science/hal-03101164v1>

Submitted on 5 Jan 2025

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.

OXFORD GUIDES TO THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES

GENERAL EDITORS

Adam Ledgeway, *University of Cambridge*, and Martin Maiden, *University of Oxford*

ADVISORY EDITORS

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, *Central Queensland University* Geoffrey Khan, *University of Cambridge*
Edith Aldridge, *University of Washington* Lutz Marten, *SOAS, London*
Stephen R. Anderson, *Yale University* Marianne Mithun, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Bernard Comrie, *University of California, Santa Barbara* Irina Nikolaeva, *SOAS, London*
Jan Terje Faarlund, *University of Oslo* Chris Reintges, *CNRS, Paris*
Alice Harris, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst* Masayoshi Shibatani, *Rice University*
Bernd Heine, *University of Cologne* David Willis, *University of Oxford*
Paul Hopper, *Carnegie-Mellon University*

PUBLISHED

The Oxford Guide to the Atlantic Languages of West Africa
Edited by Friederike Lüpke

The Oxford Guide to Australian Languages
Edited by Claire Bowern

The Oxford Guide to the Languages of the Central Andes
Edited by Matthias Urban

The Oxford Guide to the Malayo-Polynesian Languages of Southeast Asia
Edited by Alexander Adelaar and Antoinette Schapper

The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages
Edited by Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden

The Oxford Guide to the Transeurasian Languages
Edited by Martine Robbeets and Alexander Saveliev

The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages
Edited by Marianne Bakró-Nagy, Johanna Laakso, and Elena Skribnik

IN PREPARATION

The Oxford Guide to the Bantu Languages
Edited by Ellen Hurst, Nancy Kula, Lutz Marten, and Jochen Zeller

The Oxford Guide to the Papuan Languages
Edited by Nicholas Evans and Sebastian Fedden

The Oxford Guide to the Slavonic Languages
Edited by Jan Fellerer and Neil Bermel

The Oxford Guide to the Tibeto-Burman Languages
Edited by Kristine Hildebrandt, Yankee Modi, David Peterson, and Hiroyuki Suzuki

THE OXFORD GUIDE TO THE
**Atlantic Languages
of West Africa**

EDITED BY

Friederike Lüpke

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, 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 trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© editorial matter and organization Friederike Lüpke 2024

© the chapters their several authors 2024

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

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

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024910095

ISBN 9780198736516

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198736516.001.0001

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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.



To the memory of G. Tucker Childs (1948–2021)

and

Alpha Naby Mané (1964–2021)

Short contents

| | |
|------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Detailed contents</i> | x |
| <i>Series preface</i> | xxxvi |
| <i>List of abbreviations</i> | xxxvii |
| <i>The contributors</i> | xliii |

PART I: Background and classification of the Atlantic languages 1

1. Language, land, and languaging in the Atlantic space 3
FRIEDERIKE LÜPKE
2. A genealogical classification of Atlantic languages 16
KONSTANTIN POZDNIAKOV AND GUILLAUME SEGERER
3. Genetically motivated clusters within Atlantic 48
G. TUCKER CHILDS

PART II: Individual languages and language clusters 59

4. Wolof 61
STÉPHANE ROBERT
5. Fula 97
RAIJA KRAMER
6. Casamance Creole 131
NOËL BERNARD BIAGUI, JOSEPH JEAN-FRANÇOIS NUNEZ,
AND NICOLAS QUINT
7. Mandinka 153
DENIS CREISSELS
8. Bassari 172
LOÏC-MICHEL PERRIN
9. Joola Fooñi 191
ALAIN-CHRISTIAN BASSÈNE
10. Joola Kujireray 211
RACHEL WATSON
11. Joola Keeraak 238
STÉPHANE ROBERT AND GUILLAUME SEGERER
12. Baïnouk Gubëeher 263
ALEXANDER Y. COBBINAH
13. Djifanghor Nyun (Baïnouk) 291
NICOLAS QUINT

| | |
|---|------------|
| 14. Baïnouk Gujaher FRIEDERIKE LÜPKE | 318 |
| 15. Balant (Ganja) DENIS CREISSELS | 346 |
| 16. Sua GUILLAUME SEGERER | 366 |
| 17. Nalu FRANK SEIDEL | 388 |
| 18. Baga Mandori FRANK SEIDEL | 417 |
| 19. Kisi G. TUCKER CHILDS | 437 |
| 20. Bom-Kim G. TUCKER CHILDS | 448 |
| PART III: Atlantic languages from a comparative and typological perspective | 461 |
| 21. Noun inflection and gender in Atlantic languages DENIS CREISSELS | 463 |
| 22. Noun class semantics in Atlantic ALEXANDER Y. COBBINAH | 483 |
| 23. Nominalization in Atlantic RACHEL WATSON | 516 |
| 24. Verbal extensions in Atlantic languages SYLVIE VOISIN | 541 |
| 25. Atlantic consonant mutation FIONA MC LAUGHLIN | 577 |
| PART IV: Atlantic languages in their multilingual environment | 593 |
| 26. Creolization in Atlantic West Africa: The example of Sierra Leone JACQUELINE KNÖRR | 595 |
| 27. <i>Ajami</i> writing practices in Atlantic-speaking Africa FIONA MC LAUGHLIN | 605 |
| 28. Secret languages in the Atlantic area ANNE STORCH, JULES-JACQUES COLY, AND SOPHIE WADE | 620 |
| 29. Multilingual children's language socialization in central Mali IBRAHIMA ABDOUL HAYOU CISSÉ | 635 |
| 30. The spread of Fula as lingua franca in northern Cameroon: Social factors and linguistic outcomes JEAN PIERRE BOUTCHÉ | 653 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 31. Digital language and new configurations of multilingualism: Writing in a Senegal-based discussion forum KRISTIN VOLD LEXANDER AND DANIEL ALCÓN LÓPEZ | 670 |
| 32. Multilingual people and monolingual perceptions: Patterns of multilingualism in Essyl, Basse Casamance, Senegal SAMANTHA GOODCHILD | 688 |
| <i>References</i> | 700 |
| <i>Place index</i> | 734 |
| <i>Person and subject index</i> | 736 |
| <i>Language index</i> | 738 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | | | |
|----------------|---|-------------|---|
| RDPL | reduplication | SUF | suffix(al element) |
| REC/REC | reciprocal | SUFF | suffix |
| RECIP/RECIP | reciprocal | SVI | subject-verb inversion |
| RED | reduplicated form | SVO | subject-verb-object |
| REDUP | reduplication | syll. | syllable |
| REFL/REFL | reflexive | T | term |
| REL/REL/REL | relative/relativizer | TAM | tense-aspect-mood/modality |
| REL | relative linker (Chapter 9) | TAMP | tense-aspect-mood-polarity |
| REM.FUT | remote future | TBR | Tobor Nyun |
| REPET | repetition | Tem. | Temne |
| RESULT/RESULT | resultative | temp | temporal word |
| REV/REV | reversive | TH | theme |
| RP | recent past | Tm | Temne |
| RT | reference time | TMA | tense-mood-aspect |
| RUF | Revolution United Front | TMAP | tense-mood-aspect-polarity |
| RVRS | reversive | TN | transnumeral |
| S | singular (Chapters 10, 23) | t.o. | type of |
| S/s | subject | TOP | Topic |
| s | subject index (Chapter 8) | TOT | |
| Šb | Sherbro | TR/TR | transitive |
| SBJ | subject | TRM | terminative |
| SBJV/SBJV | subjunctive | UGPC | Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole |
| SD | situational dependency | UNINT | Unintentional |
| SEQ | sequential | UPC | <i>Unions des Populations du Cameroon</i> |
| sg/SG/Sg/sg | singular | V/v/v. | verb |
| sI | subject index | V/v | vowel |
| SIL | Summer Institute of Linguistics | (v) | verb |
| SIM | simulative (Chapter 5) | var. | variable |
| SIM | verb suffix for simultaneous action (Chapter 4) | VBLZ | verbalizing noun suffix (-e) |
| SM | subject marker | Vc | verb phrase or compound verb |
| SNS | standard numeral system | VEL | velar |
| s.o. | someone | VEN/VEN/VEN | venitive |
| SOC | sociative/associative | VEN | venitive verbal suffix (Chapter 4) |
| SODÉCOTON | <i>Société de Développement de Coton</i> | VFOC | verb focus/focalization |
| SP | shared inside perspective (Chapter 18) | VH | vowel harmony |
| SP | Spanish (Chapter 6) | VIR | virtual |
| Sp | speaker (Chapter 18) | VP | verb phrase |
| SP, sp. | species (Chapter 4) | VSAL | verb salience |
| sth. | something | VSI | verb subject index |
| SUB | subjunctive (Chapter 12) | VT | thematic vowel |
| Sub/SUB | subordinating/subordinator | WAAW | W. A. A. Wilson |
| SUBJ/SUBJ | subject (Chapters 12, 22) | WEST | western varieties |
| Subj/SUBJ/SUBJ | subjunctive (Chapters 14, 17, 19, 20) | WN | Western Niger |
| SUBORD | subordinator | X | oblique |
| | | Z | Ziguinchor |

The contributors

Alain-Christian Bassène is professor at the Department of Linguistics and Language Sciences of the university of Dakar, Senegal (Université Cheikh Anta DIOP). He obtained his PhD in 2006 at the university of Lyon, France (Université Lumière Lyon 2 - Laboratoire Dynamique du Langage).

Noël Bernard Biagui is a junior researcher in linguistics at CLAD (Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal). A specialist and native speaker of Casamance Creole, he is the author of the first book-length grammar of this language.

Jean Pierre Boutché is a senior lecturer of African linguistics and German studies at the University of Maroua (Northern Cameroon). His activities of research and teaching include Fula grammar, sociolinguistics, contrastive analysis, and second language instruction.

† **G. Tucker Childs** was professor of applied and West African linguistics at Portland State University. He conducted pioneering research on ideophones and was a world-leading specialist on Mel languages. He was a long-time editor of the journal *Studies in African Linguistics* and recipient of the Kenneth L. Hale Award of the Linguistic Society of America in 2018.

Ibrahima Abdoul Hayou Cissé a lecturer in the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics at Université des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Bamako (Mali). His research interests include language, education and human rights, and language acquisition and socialization in multilingual environments.

Alexander Y. Cobbinah is professor at the Linguistic Department of the University of São Paulo, teaching and researching in general and African linguistics. Research interests include language contact, transatlantic linguistics, discourse structure, anthropological linguistics, Bantu languages, and Creolistics.

Jules-Jacques Coly obtained his PhD on the morphosyntax of Joola Kuwaatay at the University of Cologne. His research includes the structure of Joola languages, multimodality, and the expression of emotions in Atlantic languages.

Denis Creissels retired in 2008 after teaching general linguistics at the universities of Grenoble (1971–1996) and Lyon (1996–2008). His research interests centre on linguistic diversity, the description of less-studied languages, and morphosyntactic typology. He has been engaged in fieldwork on a variety of languages, among which Mandinka (Mande) and Balant Ganja (Atlantic) and is currently working on Joola Fóoñi in collaboration with Alain-Christian Bassène.

Samantha Goodchild is guest researcher at the University of Oslo. She has held postdoctoral positions at the University of Galway and at the Center for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan, University of Oslo. Her research investigates the relationship between language, ideologies, and space. She is co-founder and co-director of Language Landscape, a not-for-profit organization which raises awareness of linguistic diversity through academic and public outreach events.

Jacqueline Knörr is a social anthropologist and professor at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/S., Germany. She works on connections between creolization and decolonization in postcolonial contexts, on (re-)migration, gender and generation, on (trans-)ethnic and national identity, and on issues of identity and integration. Regionally, her work focuses on Atlantic West Africa, Indonesia, and Western Central Europe.

Raija Kramer is a former junior professor at the University of Hamburg, specializing in the description and documentation of Adamawa languages and the Fulfulde varieties of northern Cameroon. A particular focus of her research lies in the dynamics of language use and language contact and their impact on linguistic description.

Kristin Vold Lexander, PhD is a researcher at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences and former postdoctoral fellow at MultiLing Center for Multilingualism in Society Across the Lifespan, University of Oslo. Her research interests centre on multilingualism in digitally mediated interaction with a particular focus on Senegal.

Daniel Alcón López works at the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Freiburg. His main interest lies in the search for methodologies of management, representation, and analysis in textual, audiovisual, and sensory data.

Friederike Lüpke is professor of African studies at the University of Helsinki and a Core Fellow at the Helsinki Institute for Advanced Studies (HCAS). She works on Mande and Atlantic languages of West Africa in their societal contexts, focusing in particular on language documentation and description, multilingualism, language in education, and language and writing.

Fiona Mc Laughlin is professor of linguistics and African languages at the University of Florida. She does research on the sociolinguistics of African cities, the sociolinguistics of writing, and the formal phonological and morphological properties of Atlantic languages, including language contact effects.

Joseph Jean-François Nunez is a Wolof teacher at INALCO (Paris, France) and a post-doctoral researcher at SEDYL-UMR 8202. A specialist of contact linguistics and native speaker of Casamance Creole, he has researched in depth the influence exerted by French and Wolof on the actual language practices of today's Casamance Creole speakers.

Loïc Perrin is lecturer at INALCO (the French National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations) in Paris where he teaches the Wolof language. He is associated with LLACAN, the French laboratory of the CNRS specializing in African linguistics. After a PhD in cognitive semantics, which dealt with the representations of time in Wolof, he undertook a description of the Bassari language.

Konstantin Pozdniakov is emeritus professor at INALCO (Paris; African and comparative linguistics, Wolof) and a researcher at LLACAN (CNRS). He was a member of Institut Universitaire de France (IUF). He has authored various publications on Atlantic reconstruction and Niger-Congo languages in general.

Nicolas Quint is a senior researcher in linguistics at LLACAN-UMR8135 (CNRS/EPHE/INALCO, Paris, France). He is mainly involved with the description of languages belonging to the three following groups: Afro-Portuguese Creoles (Capeverdean, Casamance and Guinea-Bissau Creoles, and Papiamentu), Niger-Congo (Kordofanian and Nyun), and Romance (mainly Occitan).

Stéphane Robert is senior researcher in linguistics at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) and a member of the LLACAN research unit specialized in African languages. Her research interests cover Atlantic languages and typology, general linguistics (semantics, grammar, information structure, and discourse), cognitive linguistics, and cognition.

Guillaume Segerer is a researcher at LLACAN (CNRS, France). He has been working for the past twenty-five years on the description, comparison, and classification

of Atlantic languages, especially their Bak branch. He has also created RefLex, a database containing more than 1.5 million words of more than 1,000 African languages.

Frank Seidel studied at the University of Cologne and University of San Diego, achieved his doctoral studies at the Special Research Center ACACIA, University of Cologne and carried out his post-doctoral research at the University of Florida. He is currently employed as an analyst at a logistics company.

Anne Storch is professor of African linguistics at the University of Cologne. Her principal research has been on the various languages of Nigeria, on the Atlantic language region, on Western Nilotic, with a current interest in Digo (Kenya). Her work combines contributions on cultural and social contexts of languages, the semiotics of linguistic practices, epistemes and ontologies of colonial linguistics, as well as linguistic description.

Sylvie Voisin is professor at Aix-Marseille University and member of the DDL research unit of the CNRS. A specialist of field linguistics, she works on the description of Wolof and on the verbal extension system of Atlantic languages. With Stéphane Robert, she co-directed the ANR project Sénélangues (2009–2014) which resulted in the production of sixteen new grammar sketches and collective work on nominal classification (2015).

Sophie Wade is originally from Senegal. She obtained her PhD in African languages and cultures at the University of Cologne. Interested in the empowerment and inclusion of migrants, she coordinated the community project Space2groW. Sophie is also involved in initiatives for self-determination of refugees and migrants and in development cooperation.

Rachel Watson is a research associate at SOAS, University of London. Her research focuses on the Kujireray variety of Joola, spoken in Brin (Jire), nominal classification systems, the epistemology of language, and the use of Joola in European diaspora contexts.

PART I

Background and classification of the Atlantic languages

better understanding of affix order and phonotactics and the role and nature of stress. The phonological and syntactic properties of ideophones, a common feature of Gubëeher, have not been researched at all. The areas of semantics and pragmatics are only starting to be investigated, a paper

on a discourse structure called *tail-head linkage* is in preparation (Cobbinah 2024), discussing data from Gubëeher and various Joola and Upper-Guinea Creoles from an areal perspective. Publications on argument structure, with a focus on zero objects are in preparation.

12.9 Appendix: Participants occurring in examples (B = Baïnounk, J = Joola)

| Code | Gender | Age bracket | Language repertoire |
|------|--------|-------------|---|
| BS | female | 20–25 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Pulaar, Wolof, French |
| HS | female | 40–50 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Pulaar, Wolof, French, Bayot, J. Kaasa, Kriolu, Mandinka |
| GS | male | 25–30 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, Bayot, Joola Kaasa |
| LM | male | 35–40 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, J. Kaasa, Kriolu |
| AB | male | 50–60 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, J. Kaasa, Kriolu, Bayot |
| ES | male | 10–15 | B. Gubëeher, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French |
| MaB | female | 20–25 | B. Gubëeher, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, J. Banjal |
| AS | male | 30–40 | French, Wolof, J. Kaasa, English, B. Gubëeher, J. Kujireray, J. Fogny |
| JHS | male | 60–70 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, Bayot, J. Kaasa, Kriolu, Mandinka, Mancagne, Bassari |
| JMS | male | 40–50 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, J. Kaasa, Kriolu, |
| KC | female | 25–30 | B. Gubëeher, J. Banjal, J. Fogny, J. Kujireray, Wolof, French, J. Kaasa, Bayot |

Djifanghor Nyun (Baïnounk)

NICOLAS QUINT

13.1 General presentation of the language and its speakers

Djifanghor Nyun (JFG) is the traditional Nyun variety spoken in the village of Djifanghor in the Senegalese province of Lower Casamance (7km east of Ziguinchor on the Senegalese national road N6, see Maps 13.1 and 13.2). JFG is called *guñúun* (i.e. the Nyun's language) by its own speakers. It is a home language in the five Djifanghor districts of *Yof* (on the right side of the road when coming from Ziguinchor), *Batáki*, *Nyóogoom*, *Jiléhénom*, and *Sólgo* (on the left side), whose inhabitants are mostly or exclusively Djifanghor Nyuns (see Map 13.3). In Djifanghor, Nyuns are one of the three main ethnic groups of the village, the other two being Joolas (belonging to the Banjal and Fogny subgroups)—who are regrouped around the mosque in the centre of the village and also in its eastern part (towards Niaguis)—and Mankanyas, who live mostly in the western part of the village (towards Boutoute and Ziguinchor).

The five Nyun districts of Djifanghor encompass between twenty and thirty homesteads, i.e. approximately 250 people. However, many Djifanghor Nyuns do not live in their original village anymore: some have settled in close-by villages, due in particular to intermarriages, many more have gone to Ziguinchor, Dakar, and other big Senegalese cities in search of better economic and living conditions or fleeing the conflict between rebels and governmental troops during the Casamance conflict (mainly in the 1980s and 1990s). Therefore, the total number of JFG speakers is much higher than those who live in the village. At any rate, the whole language community (including those who live inside and outside Djifanghor) does not comprise many more than 500 persons.

From a phylogenetic point, JFG can be classified as follows (Chapter 2, this volume):

- phylum: Niger-Congo,
- branch: Atlantic,

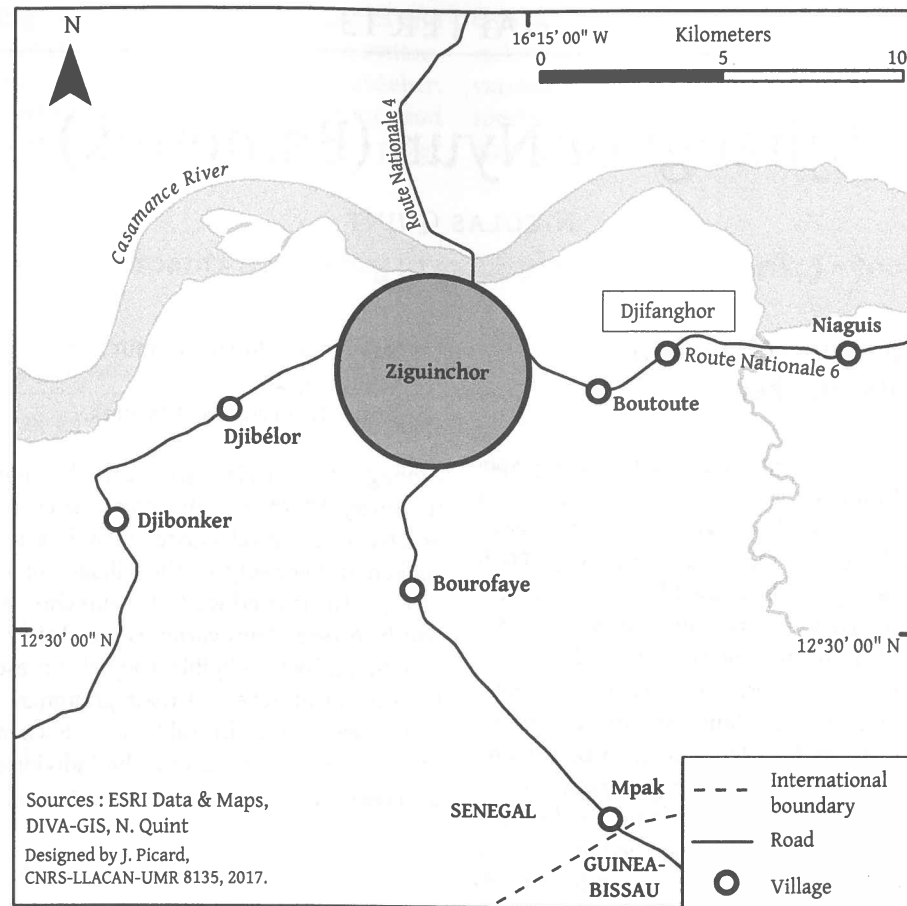
- sub-branch: North-Atlantic,
- family: Nyun,
- linguistic grouping: Baynunk.

Among Nyun varieties, JFG clearly belongs to Western Nyun (Lespinay 1987b: IV) and more specifically to Southwestern Nyun, a dialect cluster including two other varieties, spoken respectively in the villages of Djibonker and Djibelor, both situated west of Ziguinchor. Although the three Southwestern Nyun varieties are clearly related and probably mutually intelligible, they also present important differences at all levels of their grammar, some instances of which are shown in Table 13.1. Such differences justify that each of these varieties be individually described and documented.

13.2 Previous studies and available data on Djifanghor Nyun

The published literature on Djifanghor Nyun is extremely scanty and, insofar as I am aware, consists of two sources only. The first one is Bühnen (1988: 14–22). It is a comparative study of several Nyun-Buy varieties, which gives the form of 200 lexical items (mostly nouns) for each variety, including JFG. The second one is Quint (2015), a chapter devoted to the noun class system of JFG.

Quint (2015) and the present study are based on data I personally collected during three fieldwork sessions (representing approximately eight weeks' stay) in Djifanghor (in 2011, 2012, and 2014). These data comprise over 1,500 JFG lexical items, various nominal and verbal paradigms, as well as several oral texts. Due to this relatively short exposure to the language, I am not yet in possession of enough material to have a complete picture of its grammar. However, what is now available is sufficient to provide a general idea of the main typological and sociolinguistic characteristics of JFG.



Map 13.1 Location of Djifanghor

Table 13.1 Comparison of some frequent items in the three Southwestern Nyun varieties (Djifanghor, Djibonker, and Djibelor)^a adapted from Quint (2015: 408)

| English | Djifanghor (JFG) | Djibonker | Djibelor |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 'one hundred' | <i>kémé</i> | <i>teemer</i> | <i>ñanamkila</i> (14) |
| 'close (v.)' | <i>bubínd</i> | <i>bobiir</i> | <i>bit</i> (20) |
| 'house' | <i>edíh</i> | <i>kəna</i> | <i>ka:na</i> (16) |
| 'nose' | <i>ñankínd</i> | <i>gocínd</i> | <i>ñankínd</i> (14) |
| 'blood' | <i>beleñ ~ mulléñ</i> | <i>goleñ</i> | <i>mulein</i> (15) |
| 'sell' | <i>bətan(n)</i> | <i>botaan ~ bujolaba</i> | <i>botánd</i> (20) |

^a JFG data come from my own fieldwork sessions. For Djibonker and Djibelor, the data are from Cobbinah (2013a) and Bühnen (1988) respectively. For Djibelor, each item is followed by the number of the page where the item was found.

13.3 Main grammatical and typological characteristics

13.3.1 Phonology

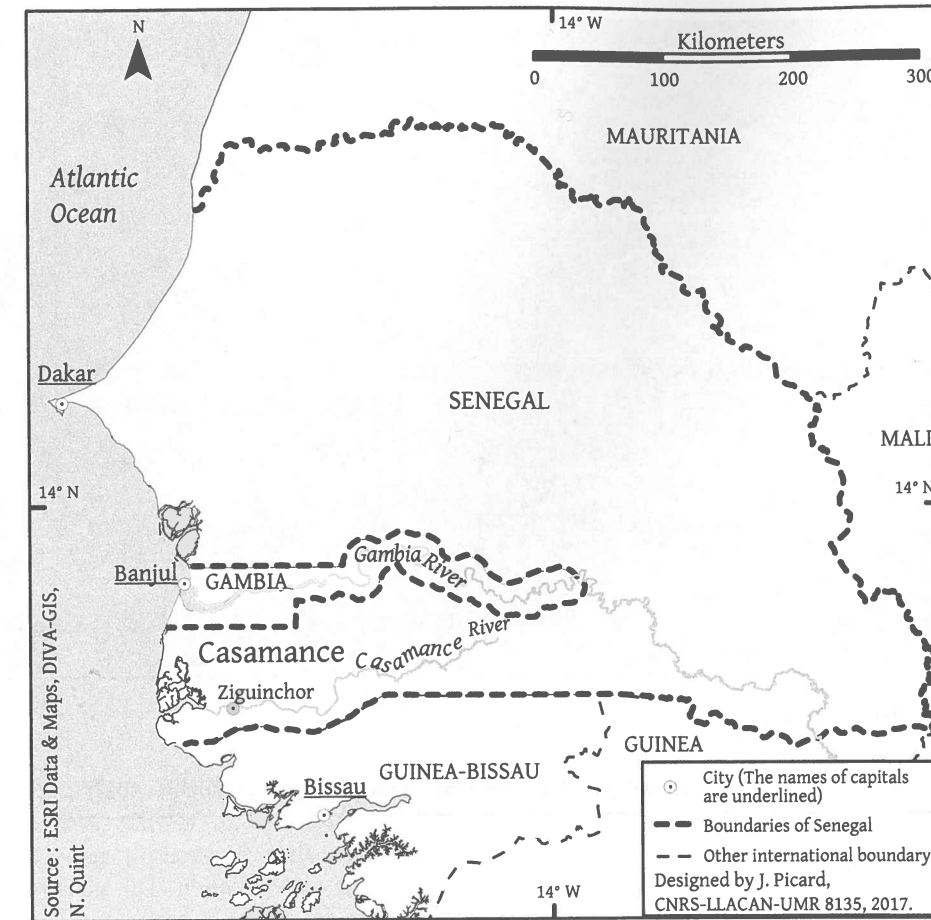
13.3.1.1 Vowels

13.3.1.1.1 Inventory

There are nine vocalic phonemes (Table 13.2) in JFG plus a schwa [ə], whose status will be discussed below. Nasality has no distinctive value.

13.3.1.1.2 Length

Approximately 25% of JFG lexical items contain a long vowel. Vowel length is distinctive, the most convincing minimal pairs being provided by verbs: *has* 'scratch/claw (v.)' vs. *haas* 'like (v.)'; *kir* 'fly (v.)' vs. *kiir* 'die'; *kəl* 'get out from the handle (axe-head)' vs. *kəəl* 'lend each other a hand, work together'. There is no more than one long vowel per word and vowel



Map 13.2 Lower Casamance province

Table 13.2 Vowel chart of Djifanghor Nyun

| | | ATR | Front | Central | Back |
|----------|------------|-----|-------|-------------|------|
| Aperture | Closed | + | /i/ | | /u/ |
| | Mid-closed | - | /ɪ/ | | /ʊ/ |
| | Mid-open | + | /e/ | [ə] (schwa) | /o/ |
| | Open | - | /ɛ/ | /a/ | /ɔ/ |

length is only found in lexical roots (verbs, nouns, adjectives, or adverbials). All long vowels seem to be stressed (see also Section 13.3.1.3).

13.3.1.1.3 Vowel harmony

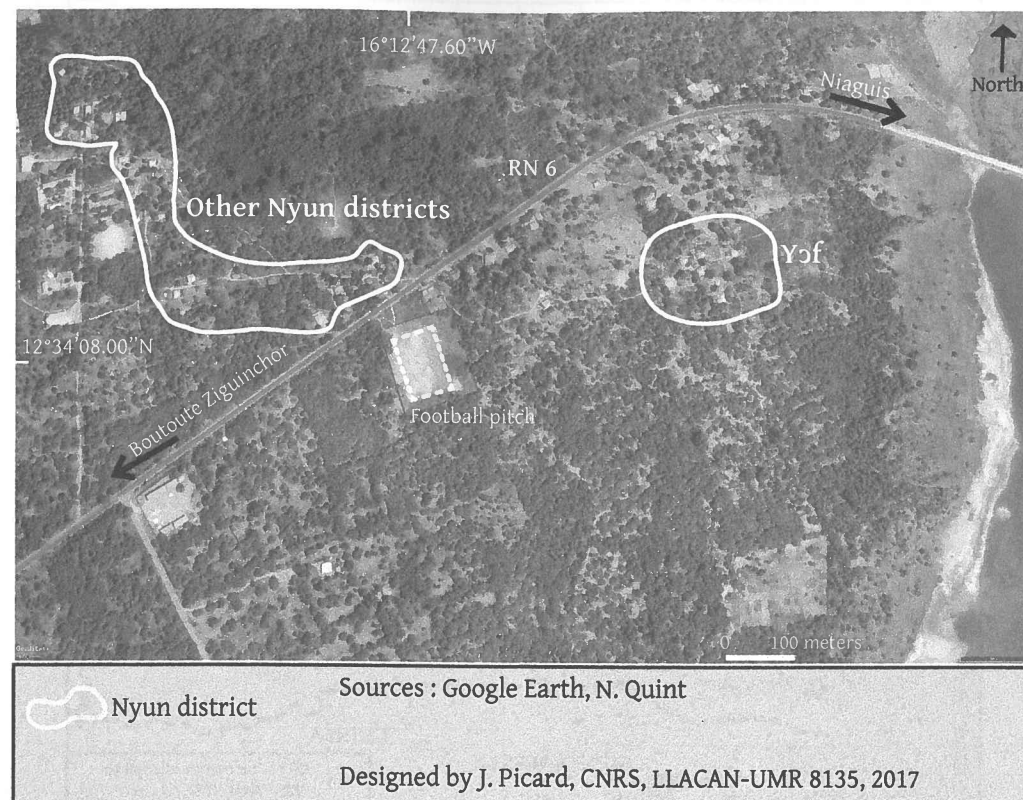
There is a vowel harmony (VH) system in Nyun, probably based on the ±ATR feature¹, with two sets of vowels, +ATR /i,

¹ No acoustic tests were made to check the exact phonetic basis of this vowel harmony.

e, o, u/ and -ATR /ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ/. Vowel harmony is not easy to illustrate with lexical roots, as most of them are monosyllabic. However, its effects are clearer on affixes, in particular those prefixes with an underlying /A/ such as certain noun-class markers and the 3rd person verb subject indices (VSI; see Section 13.3.2.1.5) of verbs inflected for perfective, which are used in Table 13.3 below to illustrate the effects of VH.

As shown in Table 13.3 above, the vowel quality of the 3rd person singular VSI changes (i) partly according to the quality of the first vowel of the lexical root, e.g. *fer*, *hərət*, but also (ii) partly according to the harmonic set to which the first vowel of the lexical root belongs, e.g. verb roots beginning with a +ATR high vowel /i, u/ (*fiibb*, *mukk*) usually combine with a prefix containing a mid-open vowel, e- and o- respectively, instead of a high vowel. This particular behaviour seems to depend on vowel harmony.

Note that, at least for /A/ prefixes, vowel harmony is mainly observable in the speech of older speakers (above forty years) while the younger tend to realize an /a/ form



Map 13.3 Djifanghor village

Table 13.3 Effects of vowel harmony on the 3rd person singular verb subject index of the verb inflected for perfective

| Lexical root | | | S3SG.PFV | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| JFG verb | 1 st vowel | Harmonic set | Speakers | | Meaning |
| | | | Old | Young | |
| <i>fibb</i> 'gore (v.)' | /i/ | +ATR | <i>e-fibbi</i> | <i>a-fibbi</i> | 'it gored' |
| <i>feg</i> 'see' | /e/ | +ATR | <i>e-fégi</i> | <i>a-fégi</i> | 's/he saw' |
| <i>mukk</i> 'end (v.)' | /u/ | +ATR | <i>o-múkki</i> ~ <i>a-múkki</i> | <i>a-múkki</i> | 'it's finished' |
| <i>kob(b)</i> 'chew' | /o/ | +ATR | <i>o-kóbbi</i> | <i>a-kóbbi</i> | 's/he chewed' |
| <i>ɲis</i> 'wash' | /ɪ/ | -ATR | | <i>a-ɲisi</i> | 's/he washed' |
| <i>lob</i> 'sting' | /ʊ/ | -ATR | <i>a-lóbi</i> | <i>a-lóbi</i> | 'it stung' |
| <i>fer</i> 'be white' | /ɛ/ | -ATR | <i>ɛ-féri</i> | <i>a-féri</i> | 's/he's white' |
| <i>hərət</i> 'be hot (chili)' | /ɔ/ | -ATR | <i>a-hórəti</i> | <i>a-hórəti</i> | 'it's hot' |
| <i>tak</i> 'cut' | /a/ | -ATR | | <i>a-táki</i> | 's/he cut' |

Table 13.4 Consonant chart of Djifanghor Nyun

| | | | Labials | Alveolars | Palatals | Back |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------|----------------------|------|
| Plosives | oral | voiceless | /p/ | /t/ | /c/ | /k/ |
| | | voiced | /b/ | /d/ | /ɟ/ <j> ^a | /g/ |
| | pre-nasalized | voiceless | /mp/ | /nt/ | /ɲc/ <ñc> | /ŋk/ |
| | | voiced | /mb/ | /nd/ | /ɲɟ/ <ñj> | /ŋg/ |
| nasal | | | /m/ | /n/ | /ɲ/ <ñ> | /ŋ/ |
| Fricatives | | | /f/ | /s/ | | /h/ |
| Glides/trill | | | | /r/ | /j/ <y> | /w/ |
| Lateral | | | | /l/ | | |

^a When the grapheme used to represent a phoneme differs from the IPA conventions, this grapheme is indicated between < and >.

independently of the first vowel of the lexical root the prefix attaches to.

13.3.1.1.4 Status of the schwa

Approximately 13% of the available 1,500 JFG lexical items contain one (or several) schwas [ə]. However, this schwa does not seem to enjoy a phonemic status as, contrary to all other JFG vowels, it is almost never stressed (see Section 13.3.1.3), nor lengthened. Rather it seems that most (if not all) phonetic [ə] are reduced, unstressed vocalic sounds found in certain (i) prefixes: *bəkúrk* 'black arboreal squirrel' and *bənaal* 'road', where it can be shown through agreement that *bə-* is a reduced form of noun class prefixes /bA/ and /bU/ respectively; and (ii) suffixes of the language: *bəppəl* 'roll down (a sleeve)', *fəkkən* 'fatten', where *-əl* and *-ən* are a reversive and a causative verbal suffix respectively, both these suffixes being also liable to associate with different vowels in other items, e.g. *-il*, *-ol*, *-ul* for the reversive and *-in*, *-on*, *-un* for the causative. In other instances, (iii) [ə]s are inserted as epenthetic sequences in some lexemes (often borrowings) in order to avoid unaccepted consonant clusters, e.g. *sáapəta* 'shoe' (< CC *sapatu* /sa'patu/ < PT *sapato* /sə'patu/), *gərisiya* 'church' (< CC *girsiya* < PT *igreja*), *lítə* 'litre' (< FR *litre* /litr/).

In some cases at least, the presence of /ə/ is probably under the dependence of vowel harmony rules, e.g. most occurrences of /Cə/ as a reduced form of a /CA/ noun class prefix are associated with lexical bases beginning with a /u/: *əwúulund* 'midge sp.', *bəpúur* 'boat' (< CC *bapor*), *bəkúrk* 'black arboreal squirrel', *dəwúl* 'heat', *jəmúut* 'beard', where the prefixed elements *ə-*, *bə-*, *də-*, *jə-* are the respective conditioned allomorphs of the prefixes /A-, bA-, dA-, jA-/.

13.3.1.2 Consonants

There are twenty-seven consonantal phonemes in JFG. Like most neighbouring languages, JFG distinguishes four places of articulation (labials, alveolars, palatals, back) throughout its whole plosive system. Table 13.4 presents the consonants.

There does not seem to be any limitation about position: all consonants can appear at the beginning, at the middle, or at the end of a word. This also applies to the prenasalized plosives, which are attested in all positions, in particular: (i) initial²: *mbéhen* 'over there', *ndíhen* 'men', *ñjaráah* 'children'; and (ii) final: *budúgund* 'he-goat', *gukóñj*, 'gourd sp.', *guleñk* 'pubic/underarm air', *ñəmp* 'hide (v.)'.

Gemination is quite common (13% of lexical items) in JFG. It is attested for all oral and nasal plosives (except /ŋ/) plus /l/ and /r/ (possibly /s/), and exclusively in (i) medial position: *baddukánd*, 'red ground squirrel', *balláb* 'ceiling', *bənáppi* 'bull', *síggil* 'eye', *sírrám* 'surname'; and (ii) final position (mainly verb roots): *fubb* 'spill', *kek* 'unpick (cloth)', *rənn* 'be clean', *síled* 'wall', *ɲəññ* 'pinch (v.)'. Gemination seems to have no distinctive value.

Only diconsonantal clusters are allowed: (i) the only attested initial clusters are some prenasalized, non-phonemic sequences: *nfəhən* 'that (snail)', *nsɪ* 'this (baobab)', *nha* 'these (holes)', *nrande* 'where is it? (scorpion)'; consonantic clusters are also extremely rare in (ii) medial position (less than 1% of lexical items): *kələamtə* 'grown-up (n.)', *manfərma* 'health', *ɲáñma* 'urticating plant sp.', *síhwínd* 'fan palm fibre', *siñlét* 'trap', *tunhók* 'crow sp.', *wəjé* 'earring' (< CC *worejera*);

² Note, however, that prenasalized plosives are not attested at the beginning of lexical roots, and that comparison with other Nyun varieties seems to indicate that initial prenasalized plosives in JFG are due to the loss of an old initial high vowel, e.g. **indíhen* > *ndíhen* 'men'.

and (iii) final position (four attested cases): *bəkiɾk* 'black arboreal squirrel', *gukélk* 'mangrove', *kumatarm* 'perch-like fish sp.', *lɛrmp*³ 'cattle egret'.

13.3.1.3 Stress

JFG is a stress language. Each content word or polysyllabic function word has a stressed syllable, indicated (when available) with an acute stress throughout this chapter. The stress generally falls on the lexical root of nouns and verbs: *gu.láar* [PREF.ROOT] 'slap (n.)'. When the root is longer than one syllable, the stress preferably falls: (i) on the first syllable of the root: *a-káaɾiɾi* [PREF-ROOT.SUF] 's/he dares', *a.lápac* [PREF.ROOT] 'gnat', *déegen* 'yesterday', *fébbi* 'goat', *gu.láamək* [PREF.ROOT] 'oar'; (ii) otherwise on the heaviest syllable (e.g. consonantal coda): *a.ɾimíɾi* [PREF.ROOT] 'caterpillar', *bə.tilimbón* [PREF.ROOT] 'flute'. When many suffixes are added to a root, the stress may fall on one of these: *gu.saf.undín.ah* [PREF.ROOT.SUF.SUF] 'whining (=whine.DVN)'. The stress seems to only have a demarcative function and no lexical minimal pairs based on stress have been found.

13.3.1.4 Syllabic structure

The following syllabic structures are attested: V: *edíg* 'ant sp.', VV: *úutut* [HPX] 'very (red)', CV: *gudék* 'travel', CVV: *sikáaral* 'shrub sp.', CVC: *sibók* 'baobab', CVVC: *buyáan* 'heifer', CVCC: *gukélk* 'mangrove'.

From a strictly syllabic point of view, it seems advisable to consider prenasalized plosives /^NC/ as /CC/ sequences (i.e. occupying two skeletal positions), as no *CVV^NC syllable has been recorded in JFG, although CVVC syllables do exist (see *buyáan* above). This being so, *gumb* 'today' is better analysed as exemplifying the CVCC syllabic structure and *lɛrmp* 'cattle egret' (see Section 13.3.1.2) is the unique known case of a CVCCC syllable in JFG.

13.3.1.5 Word structure

Most JFG lexical roots and function words are mono- or disyllabic. However, actual Nyun nouns and verbs are often produced through the addition of various prefixes and suffixes to the lexical root, which can give rise to words of many syllables (when identified, the root is indicated in bold in the following words): *di.boo.bat* [3 syll.] 'brain', *gu.soo.pá.ham* [4 syll.] 'hoe sp.', *a-dúp.pə.la.hi* [5 syll.] 's/he moved', *muɲ.kaa.ná.ho.moɲ* [5 syll.] 'granaries', *ju.muk.ku.li.ná.hum* [6 syll.] 'end (n.)'. Be that as it may, except for a few nouns and

³ Note that, from a phonological point of view /rmp/ is a dissonantal cluster: vibrant /r/ + prenasalized plosive /mp/.

some inflected forms of derived verbs, the huge majority of JFG attested words do not have more than four syllables.

13.3.2 Morphology

13.3.2.1 Noun phrase

13.3.2.1.1 The noun

13.3.2.1.1.1 NOUN-CLASS MORPHOLOGY AND AGREEMENT

Like all neighbouring Atlantic languages (Joola, Balant, Mankanya) and many other Niger-Congo languages, JFG nouns have a rich noun class morphology. In fact, JFG and the other Nyun varieties may well hold the absolute record in Niger-Congo as concerns the number of different agreement patterns in their noun-class system: JFG for example exhibits twenty-nine such patterns, the details of which are provided in Appendix 13.6.1. The various agreement markers can be subsumed by the general formula $(C_c)V_c(N_c)$ with:

- C_c = class consonant (14 values: Ø, P, T, K, B, D, J, G, F, S, H, M, Ñ, R).
- V_c = class vowel (4 values⁴: I, A, U, Ø).
- N_c = class nasal (2 values⁵: Ø, N).

In most JFG nouns, a class prefix closely reflecting the archetypal class agreement form is attached to the nominal root: *bajáj* 'palm tree' (class BA), *guhóon* 'bone' (class GU), *kompán* 'honey' (class KUN). However, in two cases at least, there is no correlation between the initial part of the noun and the agreement pattern observed on its dependents: (i) in classes A and U, some nouns have a *zero prefix*. Thus there is no morphological clue allowing to predict why the nouns *kobór* 'hare' and *dihen* 'man' control respectively agreement patterns belonging to class A and U (see Appendix 13.6.1); (ii) in class ÑAN-IN, there is a conflict between (a) typical morphologically based agreement, e.g. *ñannáaf ñannák* 'two farmers', where the class-marker *ñan* associated with the numeral root *-nak* 'two' is identical to the prefix found in the noun *ñannáaf* 'farmers', and (b) semantically based agreement, e.g. *ñannáaf mnák* 'two farmers' where the marker associated with the numeral root *-nak* 'two' is identical to the

⁴ The many different vowel qualities attested in the class-agreement patterns given in Appendix 13.6.1 are mainly due to vowel harmony (see Section 13.3.1.1.3 above).

⁵ For noun classes where $N_c = N$, the class nasal is not realized in all agreement patterns (see Appendix 13.6.1), e.g. *sibók* 'baobab' (class SI) and *smjkm* 'rope' (class SIN) control different agreement forms for the 'which' interrogative, i.e. *sibéede* vs. *simbeede* respectively, but both classes control the same form for the affirmative locative copula, namely *nsej*.

archetype of class IN, due to the fact that *ñannáaf* 'farmers' encode a |HUMAN| referent (see more details in next section and in Section 13.4.2.1).

13.3.2.1.1.2 NUMBER AND NOUN-CLASS SEMANTICS

In JFG, nouns can be inflected for number by means of three different processes:

- (i) class prefix alternation (73% of pluralizable nouns). For this type, number can be inflected for (a) two values (singular (SG) vs. plural (PL)): *busúmal* 'snake sp.' (SG, **bu**⁶) vs. *isúmal* (PL, **i**); *sidíh* 'foot' (SG, **si**) vs. *hedíh* (PL, **ha**) or (b) three values (singular (SG) vs. calculable plural (PLC) vs. incalculable plural (PLI)⁷): *ayón* 'tsetse fly' (SG, **a**) vs. *iyón* (PLC, **i**) vs. *buyón* (PLI, **bi**); *gusáh* 'bean' (SG, **gu**) vs. *hasáh* (PLC, **ha**) vs. *basáh* (PLI, **ba**).

For (i), most (or all) of the nouns which share the same prefix pairing (SG/PL) or triad (SG/PLC/PLI) also share a common semantic feature: e.g. (a) all nouns having a **u** (SG)/**ñan** (PL) prefix pairing encode |HUMAN BEINGS|: *ugmaal* (SG)/*ñangmaal* (PL) 'foreigner', *usáanum* (SG)/*ñansáanum* (PL) 'rich person'; (b) all nouns having an **a** (SG)/**i** (PLC)/**bi** (PLI) prefix triad encode |INSECTS| or |SMALL INVERTEBRATES|: *añwñ* (SG)/*iñwñ* (PLC)/*buñwñ* (PLI) 'small black ant'; *əɲwón* (SG)/*ijwón* (PLC)/*buywón* (PLI) 'leech'. Therefore, the different prefix pairings and triads observed in JFG generally correspond each to a specific semantic class⁸.

- (ii) suffixed plural marker *-(y)ɲ/ɲ/ɲ* (27% of pluralizable nouns): *béndɛɲ* 'needle' (SG, **A**⁹) > *bendéɲɲ* (PL, **A**); *jerég* 'crocodile' (SG, **A**) > *jeréɲɲ* (PL, **I**). The

⁶ In this paragraph, for each inflected noun, I indicate in bold lowercase letters, after the number value, the basic form of the class prefix (CLPF, see second column ('prefix') of Appendix 13.6.1) associated with the inflected noun. Bold lowercase letters will be used throughout this chapter to refer to nominal class prefixes borne by the noun.

⁷ The calculable plural is used when the noun is combined with a numeral bigger than one (e.g. from two onwards). The incalculable plural is used for all other plural contexts. The contrast calculable vs. incalculable plural seems to be a typological rarity. It is also found in several other Nyun varieties (Sauvageot 1967a, b; Bao Diop 2013: 140–1, 2015: 400; Cobbinah 2013a: 23, 125–35, 270–92, 303–5; Cobbinah and Lüpke 2014; Lüpke 2016c), as well as in some Joola languages (probably due to Nyun influence), e.g. Keerak (Chapter 11, this volume) and Kujieraray (Chapter 10, this volume).

⁸ For more details on those classes, see also Appendix 13.6.2 and Quint (2015, 2022).

⁹ In this paragraph, for each inflected noun, I indicate in bold small uppercase letters, after the number value, the archetypal form of the agreement class (CL, see third column ('archetype') of Appendix 13.6.1) controlled by this inflected noun. Bold small uppercase letters will be used throughout this chapter to refer to agreement classes controlled by the noun.

plural suffix is often repeated on several types of dependents of the nouns, such as indefinites (1) and numerals (2) from one to four:

- (1) *hə-ɲj-ɲj* *hu-duk-ɲj*
CLPF.hu-thing-PL CL.HU-thing-PL
'other things'
- (2) *kən-tédah-ɲj* *kan-nák-ɲj*
CLPF.kan-kitchen-PL CL.KAN-two-PL
'two kitchens'

A majority of the nouns which resort to a plural suffix have a zero prefix (see Section 13.3.2.1.1.1). Furthermore, the (SG/PL) agreement class pairings controlled by these nouns often depend on the semantics of their referents: (a) most identified borrowings in JFG (e.g. from CC, French, or Wolof) do have a plural suffix and control a **A** (SG)/ **A** (PL) class agreement, e.g. *gərisiya* 'church' (<CC *girisya*) > *gərisiya amma* 'this church' > *gərisiyayoy amma* 'these churches'; *káyet* 'notebook' (<FR *cahier*) > *káyet amma* 'this notebook' > *káyetoy amma* 'these notebooks'; (b) most nouns having a plural suffix and controlling an **A** (SG)/ **I** (PL) class agreement encode |HIGHER VERTEBRATES| such as mammals, birds, or reptiles, e.g. *fáli amma* 'this donkey' > *fályoy immi* 'these donkeys'; *soróɲk amma* 'this stork' > *soróɲkoy immi* 'these storks'; (c) nouns having a plural suffix and encoding |HUMANS| often control a **U** (SG)/ **I** (PL) class agreement, e.g. *gibés ummu* 'this lover' > *gibésoy immi* 'these lovers'.

- (iii) root suppletion. Only three such cases have been documented: (a) *keláamto* (SG) 'adult/elder' vs. *jekéleɲ* (PL) 'adults/elders'; (b) *wəl* (SG) 'child' vs. *ñjaráh* (PL) 'children'; (c) *wur* (SG) 'person' vs. *ñjamáɲ* (PL) 'people' (<Mdka *jamáa* 'crowd' (Creissels 2011)).

Some nouns (ca. 10% of the total) are not inflected for number. In most cases, this lack of inflection seems to depend on semantic factors, as the referents encoded are generally abstract or mass nouns, thus less prone to be inflected for number, e.g. *ahár* 'meat' (**A**), *bajór* 'trickery/craftiness' (**BA**), *kuyg* 'hunger' (**KUN**), *muhós* 'oil' (**MUN?**), *tullóm* 'wax' (**TIN**).

13.3.2.1.1.3 NOUN DERIVATION

Noun derivation is widespread and resorts to two main devices:

- (i) class prefixes: (a) noun > noun: *uñúun* '(Djifanghor) Nyun person' > *guñúun* 'Nyun language' (use of the prefix **gu** (no plural) to derive language names); *bənáppi* 'bull' > *kənáppi* (SG)/*ñenáppi* (PLC)/*janáppi* (PLI) 'bull-calf' (use of the prefix triad **kə** (SG)/**ñə**

(PLC)/ja (PLI) to derive diminutives); *begid* 'girl' > *degid* (SG)/*dngid* (PL) (use of the prefix pairing *da* (SG)/*di* (PL) to derive 'big, tall girl' augmentatives); (b) verb > noun¹⁰: *footən* 'blow (wind)' > *bafootən* 'wind'.

(ii) class prefixes + suffix: verb > noun: *dufah* 'draw (from a well)' > *gudufáhom* 'bucket', lit. 'drawing stuff'.

Several JFG nouns are obviously built with reduplicated roots: *alináalin* 'spider', *korendárend* 'dragonfly', *smláklak* 'uvula'. However, there does not seem to be any productive derivational use of reduplication in synchrony.

13.3.2.1.2 Articles and demonstratives

There is a **definite article**, -ɔ¹¹. It is suffixed to the last syllable of the noun (either singular or plural): *siyán* 'medicine' > *siyáno* 'the medicine'; *begid* 'girl' > *begidoŋ* 'girls' > *begidoŋə* 'the girls'. Although the definite article is frequently used, contextually definite nouns may be used without it: see below (29, 30) the behaviour of *bukor(ŋ)* 'hen(s)'. There is no **indefinite article**.

Adnominal demonstratives (see forms in Appendix 13.6.1) encode two notions: (i) spatial deixis, in which case the demonstrative follows the noun: *konnə ŋko* 'this wine' (proximal) vs. *konnə ŋkəshən* 'that wine' (distal); (ii) discourse reference, in which case the demonstrative precedes the noun *kum konnə* 'this/that wine' (which was previously mentioned). Pronominal demonstratives seem to be identical to the adnominal forms: *mmi bəriŋə* 'those (people) of ancient times' (as opposed to 'us').

13.3.2.1.3 Numerals

The numeral system resorts to several bases: it is biquinary (using 5 and 2 as sub-bases) for lower numbers, vigesimal (base-20) for the tens, and decimal for the hundreds. Its primary components are 1 = *-mundika*, 2 = *-nák*, 3 = *-láal*, 4 = *-rénnek*, which all agree in class with the noun (see Appendix 13.6.1).

5 is *kiláh* (a term certainly linked with *siláh* 'hand'), which serves as a basis for the second pentad: 6 = *kiláh ŋgə mundika* 'five with one' (i.e. 5+1), 7 = *kiláh ŋgə inák* (5+2), 8 = *kiláh ŋgə iláal* (5+3), 9 = *kiláh ŋgə irénnek* (5+4).

10 is *háala* (probably linked with *haláh* 'hands') and the teens are analytically derived from the first two pentads: 11 = *háala ŋgə mundika* 'ten with one', etc.

¹⁰ For more details about deverbal nouns, see also Section 13.3.2.2.2.

¹¹ This definite article is probably borrowed from Mandinka. A similar article is also found in Niamone/Guñamolo (Bao Diop 2013: 145–6). However, the Nyun varieties spoken in Djibonker (Chapter 12, this volume), Djibelor (Cobbinah p.c.), and Agnack (Chapter 14, this volume) have no definite article.

From 20 to 90, the names for tens are built on the term *unám/ñannám* 'king/s'¹²: 20 = *unám* '[one] king', 30 = *unám ŋgə háala* '[one] king with ten', 40 = *ñannám innák* 'two kings', 50 = *ñannám innák ŋgə háala* (i.e. 20x2+10), 60 = *ñannám iláal* (20x3), 70 = *ñannám iláal ŋgə háala* (20x3+10), 80 = *ñannám irrénnek* (20x4), 90 = *ñannám irrénnek ŋgə háala* (20x4+10).

Hundreds are produced using the term *kemé*: 100 = *kemé*, 200 = *kemé anákoŋ* (with *a-nák-ŋ* = CL-TWO-PL), etc.

Numerals always follow the nouns they refer to: *ndíhen inak* 'two men'.

Also, from 2 on, the noun always agrees in number (plural) with the numeral. For these nouns which have a calculable plural (see Section 13.3.2.1.1.2 above), this form is compulsorily used (to the exclusion of the incalculable plural) when the noun is combined with any numeral (3a):

(3) a. *ha-sáh* *ha-láal*
 ☺ CLPF.ha.PLC-bean CL.HA-three
 'three beans'

*b. *ba-sáh* *ba-láal*
 ☹ CLPF.ba.PLI-bean CL.BA-three
 'three beans'

JFG, like many other West African languages (including Casamance Creole and Wolof), has an additional numeral system only used to count money (officially expressed in Senegal in CFA [Franc], i.e. the standard currency unit). The units are segmentally either similar or identical to those of the standard numeral system (SNS) but they are given other values: (i) *háala* (=50CFA); (ii) *unám* 'king' (=100CFA); (iii) *kemé* (=500CFA); and (iv) *wíli* (=5,000CFA). Those units combine with numerals according to a set of specific rules which can differ from the standard numeral system (SNS, used to count anything other than money): compare *kemé anákoŋ* (500 x 2) = 1,000CFA, with *[ndíhen] kemé anákoŋ* (100 x 2) = 200 [men] (SNS).

13.3.2.1.4 Other determiners of the noun

Attributive (4) and **indefinite adjectives** (5) always show class agreement (see Appendix 13.6.1) and invariably follow the noun:

(4) *kə-fək* *kə-fər*
 CLPF.kə.DIM-pig CL.KƏ-white
 'a white piglet'

¹² The use of 20 = *unam* 'king' is also attested in several other Nyun varieties: Djibonker (Chapter 12, this volume), Guñamolo (Bao Diop 2013), and Gujajer (Chapter 14, this volume).

Table 13.5 Personal pronouns and possessives

| Person | Pronouns | | | Possessives | |
|----------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| | independent | VSI | object | attributive | predicative |
| 1SG | <i>mɛ</i> | | <i>-om/um</i> | <i>-X.um</i> | <i>CL-naam or -Y.um</i> |
| 2SG | <i>éfi</i> | | <i>-ə</i> | <i>-X.en</i> | <i>-Y.en</i> |
| 3SG | <i>mor</i> | <i>a-</i> | <i>-em/om</i> | <i>-X.unoŋ</i> | <i>-Y.unoŋ</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>min</i> | <i>n- + -min</i> | <i>-min</i> | <i>-X.untrɔŋ</i> | <i>-Y.ontrɔŋ</i> |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>mínoŋ</i> | <i>n- + -(mín)ŋ</i> | <i>-mínoŋ</i> | <i>-X.untɔŋ</i> | <i>-Y.ontɔŋ</i> |
| 2PL | <i>nijkináanoŋ</i> | <i>-uŋ</i> | <i>-noŋ</i> | <i>-X.unáanoŋ</i> | <i>-Y.onáanoŋ</i> |
| 3PL | <i>mereŋ</i> | <i>aŋ-</i> | <i>-niŋ</i> | <i>-X.ánimɔŋ</i> | <i>-Y.onímɔŋ</i> |

(5) *bu-nóm* *bu-duk*
 CLPF.bu-day/time CL.BU-other
 'another day/time'

Relative clauses follow the noun. They are introduced by a **relative pronoun** which also agrees in class with the noun it refers to:

(6) *be-gid-ŋ-ə*

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>mbay</i> ¹³ | <i>mɛ</i> | <i>feg-ni</i> |
| CLPF.ba-girl-PL-DEF | CL.BA.REL.PR | S1SG SEE.PFV-REL |

 RELATIVE CLAUSE

'The girls (**that**) I saw'.

Genitive constructions follow the pattern [possessum + PREP + possessor]. The genitive preposition (PREP) has three values: (i) *kə*: *konnə kə Maríya* 'wine of/from Mary', i.e. 'Mary's wine', *dríñileŋ (< dríñilen) kə jakáam* 'snot from sea', i.e. 'jellyfish'; (ii) *nsɪ*: *súhon nsɪ Maríya* 'Mary's fan palm'; and (iii) zero: *kəsós Maríya*, 'Mary's chick'. Actually, this morphological pattern is quite unique in JFG: (a) the alternation *kə*/zero seems to depend on the last phoneme of the possessum, as words ending in V or nasal consonant favor *kə*; (b) the use of *nsɪ* seems to be linked with noun class agreement as it only occurs with nouns controlling the S1 class-agreement.

13.3.2.1.5 Personal pronouns and possessives

Five different series at least can be distinguished (Table 13.5).

¹³ The relative pronoun *mbay* (referring to *begid* 'girl') seems to be an irregular form contrasting with *bay*, the expected form of the relative pronoun for class BA (see Appendix 13.6.1).

For **first plural persons**, JFG consistently distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive forms. Note that, for pronouns, the inclusive marker is morphologically derived from the exclusive: *mínoŋ* (1PL.INCL) < *min* (1PL.EXCL) + *-ŋ* (plural suffix, see Section 13.3.2.1.1.2).

Independent pronouns assume two main types of functions:

- (i) they indicate the subject of the verb: *mɛ fégi*, 'I saw'. Independent pronouns are not always compulsory as subject markers when the overall context allows the hearer to retrieve the identity of the subject: *nɛnd-ém?* [give-O3SG.PFV] 'did you give [it (= the bottle) to] him?' Out of context, this form could also mean 'did I give [it to] him?' but, in current speech, the intonation suffices to understand that the person who utters the sentence is speaking to someone else, i.e. 'you' (S2SG). Furthermore, when the subject is semantically empty, JFG uses no independent pronoun: *ə-múkki* [VSI.3SG-finish.PFV] '(it's) finished', *a-limi* [VSI.3SG-rain.PFV] 'it rained'.
- (ii) they also are used after a preposition (only 3rd person forms are attested in the corpus), in which case they agree in class with the noun they refer to:

(7) *E-dek-i* *ŋkə kə-mór*
 VSI.3SG-go-PFV with CL.kə-INDEP.3SG
 'S/he went with it', i.e. 's/he took it away with her/him' (= *kətáhal* 'small basket').

Verb subject indices (VSI) are personal clitics coding for the subject of the action. They are found in several aspects of the JFG verb and can be: (i) prefixal: *e-fégi* 's/he saw'; (ii) suffixal: *nijkináanoŋ fegomɔŋ* 'you (PL) saw him/her'; or (iii) consist of a combination of a prefix and a suffix: *n-fégi-min*

'we (EXCL) saw'. The VSIs associated with a given verbal form belong to the domain of bound morphology and are compulsory.

Object pronominal markers (or object pronouns) are all post-verbal clitics directly attached to the verb: *mε fegem*, 'I saw **him/her**'. There is a certain degree of interaction between VSIs and object pronouns (see Appendices 13.6.3-6), which accounts for the variations observed on these object pronouns according to the verbal subject: compare *éfi feg-om* [S2SG see.PFV-O1SG] 'you (SG) saw **me**' and *nijkináanoy feg-um-uy* [S2PL see.PFV-O1SG-VSI.2PL] 'you (PL) saw **me**'. Note also that, as illustrated by the later verb form, object markers attach to the verb before suffixal VSIs. Third person object pronouns can never code for an inanimate referent, thus *mε fegem*, 'I saw **him/her**' can only refer to an animate object (human, mammal, even insect) while the JFG equivalent of English 'I saw it [this bench]' is either *mε fegi* 'I saw' (where the context allows the hearer to identify the object) or (8), where the object is expressed as a full noun phrase:

- (8) *Mε feg-i bu-nóhóm mbu*
 S1SG see-PFV CLPF.bu-bench CL.BU.DEM.PROX
 'I saw this bench'.

Attributive possessives are all nominal clitics. Each attributive possessive comprises two parts: a personal marker (PM), whose forms are found in Table 13.5, and a linking element (LE, mentioned as X in Table 13.5). Attributive possessives attach to the noun following several morphological rules: (i) if the last phoneme of the possessed noun is /p, b, f, r, h/ the final consonant is dropped and LE = /k/, e.g. *buhóof* 'head' > *buhóo-k-um* [head-LE-PM.1SG] 'my head'; (ii) if the last phoneme is /m, n/, the nasal consonant becomes velar and LE = /k/, e.g. *gukónom* 'finger' > *gukónoy-k-um* 'my finger'; (iii) if the last phoneme is /ŋ/ or a vowel, this phoneme is maintained and LE = /k/, e.g. *ónε* 'snake' > *ónε-k-um* 'my snake'; (iv), in all remaining cases, LE = /(u)h/ (1SG), /(i)j/ (2SG), or zero (other persons), e.g. *gubúil* 'lower lip' > *gubúil-h-um* 'my lower lip', *gugend* 'hair' > *gugend-uh-um* 'my hair', *bukúnd* 'fence' > *bukúnd-iy-εn* 'your (2SG) fence', *bukúnd-unoy* 'his/her fence'.

Predicative possessives are formally very close to attributive possessives. The personal markers (PM) for predicative possessives are given in Table 13.5. The linking element (LE, mentioned as Y in Table 13.5) is /h/ and the sequence LE-PM regularly attaches to the proximal demonstrative (9):

- (9) *Kó-fék ηkó*
 CLPF.kó.DIM-pig CL.Kó.DEM.PROX
ηkó-h-um
 CL.Kó.DEM.PROX-LE-PM.1SG
 'This piglet is mine.'

The 1SG predicative possessive has an optional form *-naam* 'be mine', which shows class agreement with the noun and is unparalleled for other persons:

- (10) *Kó-fék ηkó*
 CLPF.kó.DIM-pig CL.Kó.DEM.PROX
kó-naam
 CL.Kó-POSS.PRED.1SG
 'This piglet is mine.'

13.3.2.1.6 Structure of the noun phrase

The basic word order of JFG noun phrases is as follows: (CLPF)-NOUN-(PL)-DEF + DEPENDENT (=Adjective, Genitive, Numeral, or Relative Clause)

This formula (illustrated in (6)) above clearly shows that, as regards noun phrases, JFG is a head-initial language.

13.3.2.1.7 The oblique noun phrase

JFG uses prepositions to indicate oblique noun phrases (coding for diverse types of adjuncts). Some of the most common prepositions are *a* 'at/in', *biriy/birimán* 'since', *fó* 'until', *ηkó* 'with', *raaf* 'over/near', *reηku*, 'under'.

- (11) *Jet n-deka-min*
 HAB1 VSI.1PL.EXCL-go.HAB2?-VSI.1PL.EXCL
gu-saw ηkó jihi-yoy
 CLPF.gu-hunt with dog-PL

'We would go hunting with dogs (when we were children).'

13.3.2.2 Verb phrase

13.3.2.2.1 The verb root

All JFG basic (or underived) verb roots begin with a consonant and over 95% are monosyllabic. Of these, the huge majority (ca. 95% too) fits into one of the three following syllabic formulae: (i) CVC: *ñej* 'wash'; (ii) CVCC: *bópp* 'roll (a sleeve) up'; (iii) CVVC: *lεεñ* 'bleed'.

13.3.2.2.2 Inflections

For **indicative** verbs, the simplest inflectional pattern is the **perfective aspect** (see Appendix 13.6.3): (i) if the verb is not followed by an object clitic (see Table 13.5), the perfective marker is /i/: *feg* 'see' > *mε feg-i* [Pidru] 'I saw [Peter]'; (ii) if the verb is followed by an object clitic, the perfective marker is zero: *mε feg-em* [S1SG + see.PFV-O3SG] 'I saw **him/her**'. When combined with a dynamic verb (such as *feg* 'see'), the perfective generally has a past reading. However, as happens in many neighbouring Atlantic and Mande languages, stative

verbs inflected for perfective often have a present reading: *min* 'can, be able to' > *mε min* 'I can'; *fer* 'be white' > *ε-féri* 's/he is white'.

JFG also has two **imperfective** forms, which apparently share similar future values:

- (i) a synthetic imperfective (IPFV1, see Appendix 13.6.4), generally marked either (a) with a suffix *-(i)ne/(i)ne/(i)ni* (mostly when not followed by an object clitic): *mε feg-ine* [Pidru], 'I will see [Peter]', or (b) by /Vŋ/ (in a majority of combinations with an object clitic): *mε feg-iŋ-k-eem* [S1SG see-IPFV1-LE-O3SG] 'I will see him/her'.
- (ii) an analytic imperfective (IPFV2), produced by means of the preposition *fó* 'until': *fó mε feg* [IPFV2 S1SG see] 'I will see'. When combined with object clitics, the imperfective forms which follow *fó* seem to be the same as those observed for perfective (see Appendix 13.6.3): compare *mε feg-em* 'I saw **him/her**' and *fó mε feg-em* 'I will see **him/her**'.

The **habitual aspect** is also rendered through two different inflectional patterns:

- (i) a **typical habitual**, characterized by the preverbal marker *jet~get* (see (11) above) and some specific habitual verb suffixes, such as *-o* for singular subjects (12):

- (12) *Nay get yik-o*
 There HAB1 get-HAB2
kó-pesu-k-um
 CLPF.Kó.DIM-penny-LE-POSS.1SG

'That way I (manage to) earn my living', lit. 'there I get my small penny'.

- (ii) a **frequentative**, which resorts to the reduplication of the verb root: *mal* 'hit' > *ga-mal-ε-mal* [HAB-hit-VSI.3SG?-hit.RED] 'he frequently hits'. When a verb inflected for frequentative combines with an object clitic, the latter is inserted after the first verb root: *mε gi-fegi-em-feg* [S1SG HAB-see.-O3SG-see.RED] 'I see **him/her** (everyday)'.

Both habituales have not exactly the same value: the frequentative lays the stress on the high number of repetitions and/or the frequency of the verbal action, while the analytic habitual strictly expresses habituality (without any particular emphasis). The initial /g/ observed in frequentative forms is probably related to the initial /g/ of *get*.

Progressive aspect may be expressed in two ways at least:

- (i) through an inflected form of the deverbal noun (= DVN, see below): *feg* 'see' > *bifeg* 'fact of seeing' > *mε bifeg* [Pidru] 'I am seeing [Peter], I can see [Peter]'. This form also has a value of near future: *mε bifeg* 'I am going to see, I am about to see'.
- (ii) through an auxiliary construction making use of one of the two JFG copulas + the deverbal noun: (a) locative copula (see Appendix 13.6.1): *mε mōŋ¹⁴ bi-feg* (Pidru) [S1SG COP.LOC CLPF.bi?-see.DVN] 'I am seeing (Peter)'; (b) descriptive copula (see also Section 13.3.2.2.5):

- (13) *Pidru a-gui-i bu-wór*
 Peter VSI.3SG-COP.DESCR-PFV CLPF.bu-cast.DVN
rédiya
 net
 'Peter is casting [his] net'.

There is one **past tense** marker *yeet*. It always follows the verb and can combine with the perfective aspect: *mu* 'be (there)' > *a-mu* [VSI.3SG-be.there.PFV] 'there is' > *a-mu-yeet* 'there was'; *pemb* 'take' > *ε-pémb-i* [VSI.3SG-take-PFV] 's/he took, s/he has taken' > *ε-pémbi-yeet* 's/he had taken'.

Several other modal and aspectual values are expressed by (i) suffixes: *mε kobbi* 'I ate' > *mε kobbari* 'I have already eaten (once sth.)'; (ii) various auxiliaries: *bat* 'be about to', *boh* 'be still doing' (14), *mukkun* 'finish' (completive (15)):

- (14) *Boh-i be-yeg-o*
 be.still.doing-PFV CLPF.bu/bi?-understand.DVN-Q
gu-ñúun?
 CLPF.gu-Nyun
 'Are you still understanding Nyun?' (to the linguist returning to the field)

- (15) *A-kobb-i a-mukkun*
 VSI.3SG-eat-PFV VSI.3SG-finish.NFIN
 'S/he ate everything, s/he finished to eat', lit. 's/he ate, s/he finished'.

Verb negation is expressed synthetically by means of several suffixes according to the aspect the verb inflects for:

- (i) for perfective, the negative suffix always contains the sequences /ir/~ur/ (see Appendix 13.6.5): *mε fégi*, 'I saw' > *mε fεgíri* 'I didn't see'; *ε-fégi* 's/he saw' > *fεgúroy* 's/he didn't see'.
- (ii) for the two imperfectives as well as for synthetic progressive, there is one common negative form

¹⁴ The form *mōŋ* of the locative copula is used with a singular noun. It obviously is a shortened form of *ammōŋ* (see Appendix 13.6.1), the form of that copula which corresponds to class U, whose nominal referents generally code for [HUMAN BEINGS].

(see Appendix 13.6.6) which includes both a prefix /bV/- (V changes according to the person of the subject) and a suffix, which generally contains the sequence /ə/ or /i(j)/: *fə mɛ dek*, 'I will go' or *mɛ bidék/gudék*, 'I am going' > *mɛ bi-dék-ə* [S1SG NEG1-go-NEG2] 'I **won't** go, I am **not** going'; *mor bi-feg-unoy* [S3SG CLPF.bi?-see.DVN-POSS.ATTR.3SG] 's/he is going to see him/her' > *mor be-feg-i-em* [S3SG NEG1-see-NEG2-O3SG] 's/he is **not** going to see him/her'. Note that, at least in synchrony the negative prefix /bV/- is clearly different from the class prefixes of deverbals, as (a) its vowel changes according to the subject, (b) it always begins with /b/ (independently from the prefix of the deverbals), and (c) in transitive constructions, the negative forms in /bV/- combine with object clitics, NOT attributive possessives as deverbals do: compare the glosses of *mor bifeg-unoy* and *mor be-feg-i-em* above.

- (iii) for habitual, the negative form is produced by means of a negative copula combined with the suffixes of the typical habitual: *mɛ gedek-e-dek* 'I frequently go' > *mɛ g-uroy dek-ə* [S1SG COP.DESCR-NEG-go-HAB] 'I **don't** frequently go'.
- (iv) for analytic (auxiliary-based) progressives, the formula of the negative form is negative copula + deverbals: *mɛ məŋ gu-rooh* [S1SG COP.LOC CLPF.gu-drink.DVN] 'I am drinking' > *mɛ guy-ir-i gu-rooh* [S1SG COP.DESCR-NEG-PFV CLPF.gu-drink.DVN] 'I am **not** drinking'.

The paradigm of the **imperative** and **prohibitive** of the verb *pemb* 'take' is set out in Table 13.6. This is applicable to most JFG verbs.

Table 13.6 Imperative and prohibitive of the JFG verb *pemb* 'take'

| Person | Imperative | Translation | Prohibitive | Translation |
|----------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 2SG | <i>pembét!</i> | take! | <i>bəkə pemb!</i> | don't take! |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>mpémboy!</i> | let's take! | <i>bəkə mpémboy!</i> | let's not take! |
| 2PL | <i>pembətey!</i> | take (you all)! | <i>bəkə pembey!</i> | don't take (you all)! |

Other inflectional characteristics of JFG verbs include: (i) a **subjunctive mood** characterized by a zero ending and used inter alia in jussive contexts as in (16) (see also (15)); and (ii) a series of centripetal (CTP) suffixes which combine in particular with motion verbs: (a) imperative: *dek* 'go' > *dék-et!* [go-IMP.2SG] 'go!' vs. *duk-ulə!* [go-IMP.2SG.CTP] 'come!'; (b) perfective: *dəh* 'carry, take away' > *mɛ dəh-i* [S1SG

bring-PFV] 'I took away' vs. *mɛ dəh-et-i* [S1SG bring-CTP-PFV] 'I brought'.

(16) Diin *a-kaan* *manfərma*
 God VSI.3SG-do/make.NFIN success

'May God give (you) success', lit. 'God do success'.

13.3.2.2.3 Deverbals

All JFG verbs have a **deverbal noun** (= DVN) or infinitive, which is used in progressive constructions (see Section 13.3.2.2.2 above) and is produced through the adjunction of a class prefix to the verb root: e.g. *feg* 'see' > *bifeg* 'fact of seeing, see.DVN'. Various class prefixes are used to form the deverbals: *kəf* 'kill' > *bukəf* 'kill.DVN'; *hund* 'snore' > *guhünd* 'snore.DVN'; *saf* 'neigh' > *hasaf* 'neigh.DVN'; *for* 'cover (house)' > *kanfor* 'cover.DVN'; *sal* 'urinate' > *mumsal* 'urinate.DVN'; *kuuj* 'wrestle' > *sijkúuj* 'wrestle.DVN'. However, the vast majority of deverbals have either a **bu** or a **gu** class prefix (85% and 7% of non-derived verbs respectively). In some cases, the choice of the DVN class prefix most likely depends on the semantics of the verb it attaches to, e.g. the class prefix **si(n)** is mainly associated with verbs conveying either: (i) a notion of |RECIPROCALITY-INTERACTION|: *simbótai* 'be.each.other's.rival.DVN (love affairs)'; *sinfégahi* 'meet.each.other.DVN'; *siñit* 'have.sex.DVN'; *sijkúuj* 'wrestle.DVN'; or (ii) |LOSS OF CONSCIOUSNESS|: *sijkánuh* 'get.drunk.DVN'; *sijkéem* 'sleep.DVN'. Furthermore, several deverbals (with different class prefixes) may be available for one and the same verb root, e.g. *ɲaf* 'go up' > *jaɲaf* 'go.up.DVN' and *bəɲáf* 'serve/cover.DVN (animals)'; *dek* 'go' > *bidék* 'go.DVN' or *gudék* 'go.DVN'; both of these forms can be used in progressive constructions, however *gudék* also has the specific meaning of 'time, occurrence' which does not seem to be attested for *bidék*. Therefore, many of these deverbals are not real synonyms and the class prefix obviously contributes to, or is linked with, the semantics of the resulting deverbals. When the deverbals are used predicatively and combines with a pronominal object argument, this object argument has the form of the attributive possessive (see Table 13.5) in affirmative sentences¹⁵: *mor bi-feg Pidru* [S3SG CLPF.bi?-see.DVN Peter] 'he is going to see Peter' > *mor bi-feg-unoy* [S3SG CLPF.bi?-see.DVN-POSS.ATTR.3SG] 'he is going to see **him**', lit. 'he, his, seeing'.

13.3.2.2.4 Derivation

Verb derivation is a highly productive phenomenon (55% of a corpus of ca. 750 JFG verbal items are derived forms). It seems to be exclusively a verb > verb morphological process and essentially resorts to suffixation. The main verb extensions are:

¹⁵ For negative polarity, see Section 13.3.2.2.2 above.

- (i) causative (mark -/Vn/): *fəkk* 'be fat' > *fəkkən* 'fatten (an animal)'; *tann* 'sell sth.' > *tánnm* 'sell sth. to s.o.';
- (ii) reversive (mark -/Vl/): *bind* 'close' > *bindil* 'open';
- (iii) reflexive/middle voice (mark -/ah/): *guur* 'anoint (v.)' > *gúurah* 'anoint oneself'. The mark -/ah/ is also used to produce a passive extension: *bind* 'open (v.)' > *bindah* 'be opened'. The passive extension behaves differently from the reflexive at two respects at least: (a) it cannot combine with the -i perfective marker (17); and (b) it can be used attributively, in which case it agrees in class with the noun (18):

(17) *Gu-buyut-ə* *e-bind-ah*
 CLPF.gu-door-DEF VSI.3SG-close-PASS

'The door is closed', lit. 'has been closed' (perfective).

(18) *kə-kat* *kə-rúdd-ah*
 CLPF.kə.DIM-fish CL.Kə-smoke-PASS

'Smoked fish'.

- (iv) applicative (two forms, marked by -/Vr/ and -/Vm/ respectively): *dəh* 'carry/bring sth. (v.)' > *dəhər* 'bring sth. to s.o.'; *joon* 'be nice' > *jóonim* 'benefit to s.o.'. Although the semantic difference between the two applicative extensions is not totally clear-cut, the -/Vr/ form seems to be favoured with a human object encoding the RECIPIENT of the action while the -/Vm/ form is most typically used with a human object coding for the EXPERIENCER: this difference is illustrated by the examples adduced above.
- (v) reciprocal (mark -/ai/): *wul* 'see' > *wúlar* 'see each other, meet'.
- (vi) pluractional (mark -/am/): *gus* 'stir (dough. . .)' > *gúsam* 'stir several ingredients together'.

Two of these basic verb extensions can frequently be combined with one and the same verb root: (i) CAUS + REFL: *mukk* 'end (v.), come to an end' [intr.] > *múkk-ən* [end-CAUS] 'finish sth.' [tr.] > *múkk-ən-ah* [end-CAUS-REFL] 'finish/be finished (with sth.)/stop (doing sth.)' [intr.]; (ii) REV+CAUS: *bokk* 'get tired' [intr.] > *bokk-ul-in* [get.tired-REV-CAUS] lit. 'make get untired', i.e. 'make s.o. rest' [tr.]; and (iii) REV+REFL: *ñapp* 'walk slowly' [intr.] > *ñápp-əl* [walk-REV] lit. 'unwalk', i.e. 'to trample on sth. (rice to remove the husk)' [tr.] > *ñápp-əl-ah* [walk-REV-REFL] 'trample the rice to remove the husk' [intr.].

In addition to suffixed verb extensions, JFG also displays some cases of **verb reduplications** (ca. 1-2% of attested verb items). Two types of reduplication can be distinguished:

- (i) **iconic reduplication**, which underlines a salient sensorial (acoustic, gustative...) semantic

component of the reduplicated verb: *mél-mél* 'be sweet', *wák-wák* 'cackle (hen)'. Iconic reduplication seems to be mostly a lexical phenomenon, as the corresponding simple (i.e. non-reduplicated) forms (**mél*, **wák*) are not attested for this type.

- (ii) **pluractional reduplication**, in which the reduplication entails the idea of a multiplicity of actions. This type seems to be a clearer case of morphological derivation, as the reduplicated verb can sometimes be contrasted with a simple(r) form: *tak* 'cut sth.' > *tók-tək-in* [cut-cut.RED-CAUS] 'cut sth. into several pieces (a log)'; *wuul* 'be hot' > *wuul-wuul-in* [be.hot-be.hot.RED-CAUS] 'singe (a poultry) to burn off the down'.

13.3.2.2.5 Qualifying verbs

The lexical bases used as attributive adjectives (see Section 13.3.2.1.4) can also be used predicatively as stative qualifying verbs, e.g. *fər* '(be) white':

(19) = (4) *kə-fək* *kə-fər*
 CLPF.kə.DIM-pig CL.Kə-white

'a white piglet' [attributive use of *fər*]

(20) *ɛ-fər-i*
 VSI.3SG-be.white-PFV

'it is white (the piglet. . .)' [predicative use of *fər*]

In at least one case, the qualifying verb has a slightly different root from the corresponding attributive base: compare *tilit* 'small/little' (attributive) and *tilet* 'be small/little' (qualifying verb).

Comparative constructions are particularly frequent with qualifying verbs. They involve the auxiliary *fatt* 'surpass' combined with a specific deverbals (prefix *ba-*):

(21) *A-fátt-i* *Pidru ba-lékk*
 VSI.3SG-surpass-PFV Peter CLPF.BA-be.tall/high
 'He is taller than Peter', lit. 'he surpasses Peter [as regards] height'.

13.3.2.2.6 Various types of copulas and equative constructions

Two predicative copulas are frequently used in JFG:

- (i) the **locative copula** is obviously derived from a demonstrative (i.e. non-verbal) paradigm (see Appendix 13.6.1). It agrees in class with the subject (22) and cannot be inflected for aspect, tense, or polarity. There also exists an interrogative form of the locative copula (see Appendix 13.6.1 and Section 13.3.3.4 below).

- (22) *bu-jəŋka-yə mbəŋ rɛŋku*
 CLPF.bu.cassava-DEF CL.BU.COP.LOC under
bundhəm-ə
 bench-DEF
 'The cassava tuber is under the bench'.

(ii) the **descriptive copula** *gui* behaves morphologically like a verb (it can be inflected for tense, aspect, and polarity) and has three main types of usage: (a) **descriptive constructions**, corresponding roughly to English 'it's/this is/these are + noun' (23); (b) **progressive** (see (13) in Section 13.3.2.2.2); and (c) as a suppletive form used instead of the locative copula in presence of verb morphemes which cannot be combined with the locative copula¹⁶: compare (24), where the locative copula is used without any verb morphology with (25), where the descriptive copula is combined with verb focus morphology.

- (23) *əŋ-gui-i ñan-ráafə*
 VSI.3PL-COP.DESCR-PFV CLPF.ñan-human.being
 'These are (nice/good) people'.
- (24) *ummóŋ Dákar*
 CL.U-COP.LOC Dakar
 'S/he is in Dakar'.
- (25) *biim Dákar gə-gui-ni*
 there Dakar FOC1-COP.DESCR-FOC2
 'It's in Dakar that s/he is' or 'S/he is in Dakar'.

JFG also has a **presentational** copula-like predicative element which, like the locative copula, agrees in class with the noun (see Appendix 13.6.1) and cannot combine with any verbal morphological marker: *dihen ummummu!* [man CL.U.PRESTL] 'here is a man!'

Equative constructions (X=Y) are usually produced with a zero copula:

- (26)

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>Mɛ</i> | <i>u-líŋ</i> | <i>kə</i> | <i>ha-táhal.</i> |
| S1SG | CLPF.u-weave | PREP.of | CLPF.ha.PL-basket |

 X Y

'I am a basket-weaver', lit. 'I weaver of baskets'.

- (27)

| | |
|------------|---------------|
| <i>Éfi</i> | <i>hánde?</i> |
| S2SG | who |

 X Y

'Who are you?', lit. 'you who'.

¹⁶ The presence of verbal morphemes expressing polarity is the reason why only *gui* can be used for the negative analytic progressive (see Section 13.3.2.2.2).

13.3.2.2.7 Structure of the verb phrase

For JFG verb phrases other than imperatives/prohibitives (see Table 13.6 above), the basic word order is as follows:

S + (VSI)-V-NEG-O-(VSI) + PST

This formula does not take aspect markers into account, as these occupy diverse syntactic slots in the verb phrase.

When an auxiliary verb is used, the order is invariably: S + AUX + V (see (13)).

13.3.2.3 Adverbials

13.3.2.3.1 Spatial reference

JFG has a complex deictic spatial system, with four degrees at least, presented here from closest to most remote: *nanjá/mbi* 'here' (1st degree) < *naŋ* 'there' (2nd degree, close to the addressee) < *biim* 'over there' (3rd degree) < *mbéhen* 'far away' (4th degree).

13.3.2.3.2 Time reference

As regards days and years (Table 13.7), JFG possesses simple forms for the reference time (RT) and the immediately neighbouring time-units (±1). Most other time-units are compound or derived items: (i) in the day series, +2 derives from +1 (*júkum*) and the *-aan* ending (indicating remoteness?) of -2 is probably akin to the final sequence of *guddiyaan* (-3 of the year series); (ii) in the year series, +2 seems to be related to the distal demonstrative of class BU (*mbəshən*, see Appendix 13.6.1) followed by a 3SG possessive marker (see Table 13.5), while -3 and -2 are obviously derived from *gúddi* 'year'.

13.3.2.3.3 Intensifiers or 'ideophones'

Like many other Niger-Congo languages, JFG possesses intensifying adverbs or **ideophones**, each of which specifically intensifies or nuances the meaning of one (or a few) verb(s) or adjective(s) (28):

- (28) *kə-fək kə-ráhi ñətətət*
 CLPF.kə.DIM-pig CL.Kə-black IDEO
 'A piglet as black as coal', lit. 'intensively/very black'.

13.3.3 Sentence structure

13.3.3.1 Nuclear sentence

In JFG, the nuclear sentence follows a strict SV(O) order.

- (29) *Bə-kór a-kéepəl-i*
 CLPF.ba-hen VSI.3SG-hatch.REV-PFV

| | |
|---|---|
| S | V |
|---|---|

Table 13.7 Adverbials coding for temporal reference (days and years)

| Unit | -3 | -2 | -1 | RT | +1 | +2 |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Day (day) | ? '3 days ago' | <i>dandáan</i> '2 days ago' | <i>déegen</i> 'yesterday' | <i>gumb</i> 'today' | <i>júkum</i> 'tomorrow' | <i>topuku júkum</i> 'in 2 days' |
| Year (year) | <i>guddiyaan</i> '3 years ago' | <i>guddíyo</i> '2 years ago' | <i>fáarə</i> 'last year' | <i>jíng</i> 'this year' | <i>jomman</i> 'next year' | <i>mbəhəŋ-kunəŋ</i> 'in 2 years' |

- ja-sós.*
 CLPF.ja.DIM.PLI-chick

| |
|---|
| O |
|---|

'The hen hatched the chicks'.

With ditransitive verbs, the recipient (R) regularly follows the theme (T_H).

- (30) *Mariya a-wódd-ər-i bə-kur-əŋ-ə*
 Mary VSI.3SG-throw-APPL-PFV CLPF.ba-hen-PL-DEF

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| S | V | R |
|---|---|---|

máana.
 rice

| |
|----------------|
| T _H |
|----------------|

'Mary threw rice to the hens' [lit. 'Mary threw the hens rice'.]

13.3.3.2 Topic and focus

13.3.3.2.1 Topic

In JFG, topicalization is mainly expressed by means of left-dislocation. An instance of topic subject is illustrated in (31).

- (31) *gu-kebəlah-ə, mor*
 CLPF.gu-remove.palm. DVN-DEF S3SG

| | |
|-------|---|
| S.TOP | S |
|-------|---|

ə-gui-ni bə-bindəl
 VSI.3SG-COP. DESCR-FOC CLPF.bu-open.DVN

| | |
|-----|------|
| COP | CPLT |
|-----|------|

i-nəəl-ə bə-jaj-ə
 CLPF.i.PL-flower. stalk-DEF CLPF.ba-palm. tree-DEF

'As for removing palms, this operation consists in opening the flower stalks of the palm tree', lit. 'removing palms, it is what is opening of the flower stalks of the palm tree'.

13.3.3.2.2 Focus

Focus constructions are marked by (i) the focus clitic *-ni* (which attaches to the verbal form following the focus) and (ii) for non-subject focus only, a *g-* verbal prefix, which seems compulsory when the verb is inflected for 3rd person.

The focus can be a subject (31, 32), an object (33), an adjunct (25), or an adverb (34).

- (32) *Mɛ gui-ni Pidru.*
 Peter COP.DESCR-FOC Peter

| | | |
|-------|-----|------|
| S.FOC | COP | CPLT |
|-------|-----|------|

'I am Peter', lit. 'I who is Peter'.

- (33) (...) *hatáhal get-ni lɛn-ə.*
 CLPF.ha.PL-basket HAB1-FOC weave-HAB2

| | |
|-------|---|
| O.FOC | V |
|-------|---|

'It is baskets that I weave', lit. 'baskets that (I)¹⁷ use to weave'.

- (34) a. *Dek-et-i gumb.*
 go-CTP-PFV.S1/2SG today

| | |
|-----|-----|
| V+S | ADV |
|-----|-----|

'I arrived today'.

- b. *Gumb ge-dek-et-ni.*
 today FOC1-go-CTP-FOC2.S1/2SG

| | |
|---------|-----|
| ADV.FOC | V+S |
|---------|-----|

'It is today that I arrived'.

13.3.3.3 Complex sentence

13.3.3.3.1 Coordination

The use of coordinating conjunctions is attested (35). However, no case of open additive clause coordination has been recorded.

- (35) *Mɛ kaan-i kánda maŋ-re.*
 S1SG do-PFV but want-NEG.S1SG

'I did it, though unwillingly', lit. 'I did but did not want'.

13.3.3.3.2 Subordination

The three main types of subordinate clauses are represented in JFG: (i) adverbial clauses (36); (ii) complement clauses (37); and (iii) relative clauses (see (6) in Section 13.3.2.1.4), the

¹⁷ The person of the subject is not openly expressed in this excerpt of spoken corpus, but it is retrievable from previous sentences of the same text.

latter being characterized by a relative pronoun and a *-ni* verbal suffix (identical to the focus marker). All three types of subordinates are introduced by clause-initial markers.

(36)

| |
|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Day gi-yika-min festa, get</i> |
| DAY SUB-have-1PL.EXCL party HAB1 |
| ADVERBIAL CLAUSE |

n-deka-min gupiskah.
VSI.1PL.EXCL-go.HAB2?-1PL.EXCL fish(v.).DVN

'When (lit. 'day when') we had a party, we would go fishing' (to sell the fish and get money for the party).

(37)

| |
|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Éfi laam-i mata lekk-i.</i> |
| S2SG forget-PFV COMPL be.tall-PFV |
| COMPLEMENT CLAUSE |

'You forgot that you were (so) tall.' (to a woman that nearly bumped into the door frame when she entered carrying a pot on her head).

13.3.3.4 Interrogative sentence

Yes-no questions are optionally marked by an *-o* suffix (38), which attaches to the verb and may also appear in open-ended questions (40).

(38) a. *Boh-i bu-hon-o?*
still.be.doing-PFV.S1/2SG CLPF.bu-grind.DVN-Q
'Are you still grinding?'

b. *-Oóŋ, boh-i bu-hon.*
yes still.be.doing-PFV.S1/2SG CLPF.bu-grind.DVN
'Yes I am', lit. 'yes still grinding'.

For open-ended questions, there are two types of question words: (i) invariable (pronouns or adverbs), which are generally sentence initial (see exception for predicative use in (27, 39)): *dahade* 'which day', *hánde* 'who(se)' (27, 39), *hóde* 'what', *hóde kaan* 'what for', *kende* 'where' (40), *ningede* 'how'; and (ii) variable, which show class agreement with the questioned noun (see Appendix 13.6.1) which they follow: (a) adjectives: *-béede* 'which' (41), *-luede* 'how many'; and (b) the interrogative locative copula 'be where' (42). All those elements have in common a morphological interrogative marker, *-de/de*.

(39) *Je-fék (ñja) hánde?*
CLPF.ja.DIM.PLI-pig DEM.PROX.CL.JA INTERR
'Whose piglets are these?'

(40) *Kende dek-o?*
INTERR go-Q
'Where are you going?'

(41) *A-hay e-beede gi-liddah-ni?*
CLPF.a-cow CL.A-INTERR FOC1-want-FOC2
'Which cow do you want?', lit. 'cow which is it that you want'.

(42) *Ken-teddah ñkánde?*
CLPF.kan-kitchen COP.INTERR.CL.KAN
'Where is the kitchen?'

13.4 History of the language: its origins and relationships with the other varieties of Nyun and neighbouring languages

13.4.1 The origins of Djifanghor Nyun community

Insofar as I am aware, few elements are available as regards the ancient history of the Djifanghor Nyun community. The elders (i.e. people born in the 1940s or 1950s) say that their forefathers came from Tobor at least two generations before themselves (i.e. at the beginning of the twentieth century): the village is mentioned by Esvan (1993: 34) in 1903. In older times, Djifanghor Nyuns were living on the left side of the road (when coming from Ziguinchor), in a place close to the Casamance river and the rice fields and whose population was nearly exclusively Nyun. Roughly a half-century ago, this older location was abandoned and the entire community moved along the road, in order to have easier access to modern facilities (such as transport and schooling). It was at that time that the five present-day Nyun districts of Djifanghor, situated on both sides of the road N°6, were founded. Note also that Djifanghor Nyuns seem to have settled Djifanghor before the other two main communities represented in the village, i.e. the Joolas and Mankanyas.

13.4.2 Some characteristic features of Djifanghor Nyun with respect to the neighbouring Nyun varieties

13.4.2.1 Djifanghor Nyun vs. other Southwestern Nyun varieties

The available documentation clearly shows that JFG clusters quite closely with the other two Southwestern Nyun varieties of Djibelor (JBL) and Djibonker (JBK). However, in addition to lexical differences (see Table 13.1), some specific features draw a sharp dividing line between JFG and its sister varieties (as well as with other Nyun languages):

Table 13.8 Reflexes of pan-Nyun intervocalic */g/ in different Nyun varieties^a

| Group | Southwestern | | | Northwestern | | Eastern |
|--------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| | JFG | JBL | JBK | NYM | TBR | Agnack |
| 'head' | <i>buhóɔf</i> | <i>bogɔf</i> | <i>bu-gof /bugɔf/</i> | <i>bigɔf</i> | <i>bugɔf(ɔ)</i> ^b | <i>bugɔf</i> |
| 'man' | <i>dihén</i> | <i>udi:gen</i> | <i>u-digeen /udi:ge:n/</i> | <i>udi:ge:n</i> | <i>udige:n(o)</i> | <i>udigeen</i> |

^a For Tables 13.8 to 13.10, the sources are Bühnen (1988) for Djibelor, Tobor (TBR), and North-Eastern (NE) Nyun; Lüpke (2016c, p.c.) for Agnack; Biagui (2012a) and Cobbinah (2013a) for Djibonker (JBK); Bao-Diop (2013, 2015) for Niamone/Guñamolo (NYM).

^b For some Nyun nouns, the available data obviously include a suffixed definite article *-o/ɔ* similar to the one observed in JFG (see Section 13.3.2.1.2). In such cases, I have bracketed the article in order to allow the reader to retrieve more easily the form of the bare noun.

Table 13.9 Presence/absence of a *u-* prefix for nouns with human referents in different Nyun varieties

| Group | Southwestern | | | Northwestern | | Eastern |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| | JFG | JBL | JBK | NYM | TBR | Agnack |
| 'child (descendant)' | <i>bo(r)</i> | <i>ubɔ/ubær</i> | <i>u-bër /ubær/</i> | <i>uber</i> | NA/U ^a | <i>bək</i> |
| 'friend' | <i>(u)din</i> | NA/U | <i>u-diin /udi:n/</i> | <i>udiin</i> | NA/U | <i>udin</i> |
| 'human being' | <i>(u)ráafɔ</i> | <i>ura:fio</i> | <i>u-raaf /ura:f/</i> | <i>ura:gofɔng(o)</i> | <i>raguff(ɔ)</i> | <i>uragɔf</i> |
| 'man' | <i>dihén</i> | <i>udi:gen</i> | <i>u-digeen /udi:ge:n/</i> | <i>udi:ge:n</i> | <i>(u)dige:n(o)</i> | <i>udigeen</i> |
| 'woman' | <i>dikam</i> | <i>ɔdika:m</i> | <i>u-dikaam /ɔdika:m/</i> | <i>ɔdika:m</i> | <i>dika:m(o)</i> | <i>udikaam</i> |

^a Unattested or unrelated form.

- (i) phonology: pan-Nyun internal /g/ vs. JFG /h/. To this respect, JFG's behaviour seems to be unique among the whole Nyun grouping (see Table 13.8).
- (ii) noun-class morphology: in JFG, some frequent nouns with human referents have a zero prefix and control a class *U* agreement, while the cognate nouns do have a *u-* prefix in JBL and JBK (see Table 13.9). However, Tobor Nyun also seems to have some prefixless nouns comparable to the JFG ones. This could be an argument in favour of the connection mentioned by Djifanghor's elders (see Section 13.4.1 above).

varieties have /cV(n)/ or /kV(n)/ corresponding prefixes. However, the item 'ear' illustrates another interesting characteristic of the taxonomic situation of JFG: here, JFG clusters with Eastern Nyun and Tobor against all other Western varieties. This figure-case underlines: (i) the specific proximity between JFG and TBR (see also Sections 13.4.1 and 13.4.2.1 above); and (ii) the fact that JFG is actually the easternmost variety of Western Nyun, which probably explains why it can sometimes cluster with Eastern Nyun.

13.4.3 Borrowings and influences from other languages and their significance

The main identified sources for borrowings in JFG are CC, French, Mandinka, and Wolof:

- (i) The number of CC lexical borrowings is surprisingly limited (less than 2% among 1,500 items) if one takes into account the widespread use of CC by all JFG speakers (see Section 13.5 below). Most of these

13.4.2.2 Djifanghor Nyun vs. Eastern Nyun varieties

The fact that JFG belongs to the Western varieties of Nyun can be illustrated by the reflexes of JFG nouns bearing the nominal class prefixes *si* and *si(n)* (see Appendix 13.6.1) in other Nyun varieties (see Table 13.10). One clearly observes that all western varieties generally have noun class prefixes in /sV(n)/ for the cognates of JFG items whereas Eastern

Table 13.10 Reflexes of JFG nouns bearing the nominal class prefixes *si-* and *si(n)-* in different Nyun varieties

| Group | Southwestern | | | Northwestern | | Eastern | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | JFG | JBL | JBK | NYM | TBR | Agnack | NE |
| 'baobab tree' | <i>sibók</i> | <i>sibək</i> | <i>sióg /sio:g/</i> | <i>sibək</i> | <i>sibək(ə)</i> | <i>cibok /cibək/</i> | <i>[dibək(o)]</i> |
| 'kapok tree/canoe' | <i>sidéen</i> | <i>side:n</i> | <i>sidéen /side:n/</i> | <i>side:n</i> | <i>side:n(o)</i> | <i>cidéen /cide:n/</i> | <i>kide:n(o)</i> |
| 'fan palm tree' | <i>súhon</i> | <i>səhən</i> | <i>[bahon] /bahən/</i> | NA/U ^a | <i>súhon(ə)</i> | <i>cixun /cixən/</i> | NA/U |
| 'rope' | <i>sɨjknd</i> | NA/U | <i>sincind /sɨncɨnd/</i> | <i>sɨjknd</i> | NA/U | <i>cincind /cɨncɨnd/</i> | NA/U |
| 'ear' | <i>súnuf</i> | <i>[b(è)la:(x)]</i> | <i>[bulax] /bulax/</i> | <i>[bula:ŋ]</i> | <i>sinuf(ə)</i> | <i>cinuf /cɨnof/</i> | <i>kinif(ə)</i> |

^a Unattested or unrelated form.

borrowings are linked to objects, entities, or concepts which were probably brought to Lower Casamance by the Portuguese (and locally transmitted to other languages through CC), e.g. *bəpúur* '(steaming) boat' (< CC *bapor*), *cúmbu* 'sinker (for fishing)' (< CC *cumbu* 'lead (metal)'), *gómah* 'iron (v.)' (< CC *ngomá*), *janéla* 'window' (< CC *janela*), *kelereŋ* '(iron) cooking pot' (< CC *kalerəŋ*), *kópu* 'glass' (< CC *kopu*), *wəjéra*¹⁸ 'earring' (< CC *worejera*). However, the borrowings between CC and Nyun are also structural (see Chapter 6, this volume, on CC) and semantic (lexical calques). In a case such as displayed in Table 13.11, in the absence of fine-grained comparative data from other Nyun varieties (or other Casamance languages), it may be hard to decide whether JFG (or Nyun) borrowed the 'touch/move' alternation from CC or the reverse.

Table 13.11 A case of close lexicosemantic correspondence between JFG and CC: 'move' as a reduplicated form of 'touch'

| Meaning | Lexical form | JFG | CC |
|---------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 'touch' | SIMPLE | <i>máppən</i> | <i>bulí</i> |
| 'move' | REDUPLICATED | <i>mappə-mappínah</i> | <i>bul(i)-bulí</i> |

- (ii) French borrowings comprise especially words linked with the administrative or official domains, e.g. *káyet* 'notebook (school item)' (< FR *cahier* /ka'je/).
- (iii) Wolof borrowings are perhaps more diversified, e.g. *ndékki* 'breakfast', *kumansé* 'begin' (this second item

¹⁸ Most probably, Nyuns already wore earrings before the arrival of Portuguese sailors to Lower Casamance, but the Portuguese may well have brought with them new types (metal-made...) of such ornaments, which helped the Portuguese-derived lexical item *wəjéra* to make its way into Nyun lexicon.

being itself borrowed by Wolof from French *commencer*). In practice, many French and Wolof words (be they integrated loanwords or circumstantial borrowings) pepper present-day speech productions in JFG.

- (iv) Mandinka (Mdka) also has left significant traces in JFG, including in the core vocabulary of the language, e.g. *hambáani* 'young man' (< Mdka *kambaane*). A Mandinka-derived word such as JFG *tubi* 'convert to Islam' (< Mdka *tuubi*) illustrates the fact that Mandinka is the main language of Islam east of Ziguinchor, i.e. in the region where Djifanghor Nyuns live. Mandinka also has exerted a structural influence on JFG, e.g. the postposed definite article *-ə* (see Section 13.3.2.1.2) is clearly derived from Mandinka definite marker *-o* (Creissels 2011; Creissels & Sambou 2013: 172–7), as well as is the suppletive plural *ŋjamáŋ* of *wur* 'person' (see Section 13.3.2.1.1.2 above).

Within the scope of this chapter, Joola influence shall not be dealt with, for lack of expertise on the topic. There surely are Joola lexical or structural borrowings in JFG. However, JFG speakers (most of whom can speak fluent Joola) do not seem to be quite aware of the extent of the Joola element present in their own Nyun variety and the study of this Joola element remains to be done.

13.5 Sociolinguistic information

13.5.1 Djifanghor Nyun: the language of a multilingual community

Among Djifanghor Nyuns, hexalinguism is the standard: most members of the community are both fluent in (i) Djifanghor Nyun and (ii) Casamance Creole, these two

languages being favoured for in-group exchanges. They also are able to speak and chat in (iii) Joola and (iv) Mankanya, the other two main local languages of Djifanghor. Except for some elders, nearly all Djifanghor Nyuns are able to express themselves in (v) Wolof, the main Senegalese vehicular and in (vi) French, the official language of Senegal, learnt at school by all Djifanghor Nyun children and similarly used in church services in Djifanghor (virtually all local Nyuns are Roman Catholics). In addition to those six basic languages, some Djifanghor Nyuns have a good command of, or some notions in, other local languages (in particular Mandinka) as well as international languages (such as English or Portuguese, which many Nyun youngsters study because of its proximity with Casamance Creole).

This high level of multilingualism is a matter of pride among community members¹⁹, who often compare such and such peculiarity of the different languages of their repertoire, e.g. the fact that in Nyun and Casamance Creole, bees 'sting' (JFG *lob*, CC *fercá*) and mosquitoes 'bite' (JFG *kaj*, CC *mordé*), while other local languages use one and the same verb for both insects. Once even, I witnessed a Nyun speaker venture to challenge a member of another community (Mankanya) in his own language, trying to correct him.

In spite of the fact that both JFG and Casamance Creole are the strongest languages of many Djifanghor Nyuns, in some special occasions it is possible to ascertain that JFG is the language some community members feel most at ease in: (i) in 2010, while I was making a dialectal survey on Djifanghor Casamance Creole (CC, as spoken by Djifanghor Nyuns), I asked very precise questions of vocabulary to my informants. In order to answer some of these questions, these informants, with whom I had been exchanging exclusively in CC, set up to speak only in Nyun so that they could make more accurate metalinguistic comments about the meaning of the question, thereby revealing that, at least in some semantic domains, Nyun was for them a more powerful means of expression than CC; (ii) in 2011, a young man belonging to the Djifanghor Nyun community had a sudden crisis of epilepsy (?) and got delirious: while being out of mind, he spoke only Nyun, which seems to show that this language was in some way more deeply-rooted than others in his brain.

13.5.2 Internal variations and stratifications

As the JFG speech community is so small and tight-knit, diatopic variation is almost inexistent. Three main parameters

¹⁹ Many contemporary Nyun communities are characterized by similar degrees of multilingualism: see Cobbinah (2010); Lüpke (2010, 2016b, c, 2017).

condition internal variation in JFG: (i) age. The older speakers master some typically Nyun items that the younger ones no longer use. Vowel harmony is also more developed in the speech of the elders (see Table 13.3 above); (ii) languages used at home. While in some homesteads Nyun and CC are the main spoken languages (it is the general case in *Yəf*), in others the use of Wolof and/or Joola is also developed, which gives different profiles of codeswitching and borrowings; and (iii) proficiency in Nyun, as some JFG speakers feel more at ease in another language (especially CC and/or Wolof) than in Djifanghor Nyun. For those speakers, Nyun is not a primary way of expression and they are sometimes mocked by native Nyuns who notice the oddities of their speech productions when they express themselves in JFG.

13.5.3 Present-day vitality and perspectives

Today, JFG is clearly receding. Although its use remains vigorous in *Yəf* (seven houses), where children regularly use it with the adults and between themselves, in other Nyun sections of Djifanghor, some young people under twenty cannot speak JFG fluently and often have CC and Wolof as their first languages. In addition, in contrast with the uncommon virtuosity displayed by many Djifanghor Nyuns in the domain of multilingualism, JFG is seldom learnt by outsiders: in particular most CC-speaking Nyuns (generally coming from Sindone, a community which has strong links with Djifanghor) who settle in Djifanghor as adults do not learn JFG, of which they use to have a passive understanding, and resort only to CC for daily interactions, as all JFG speakers are also fluent in CC (see Section 13.5.1 above). Nevertheless, rare as they may be, there are indeed some non-Nyuns who endeavour to learn and speak JFG: (i) some young Djifanghor Joolas have partially acquired JFG through regular social interactions with their Nyun mates; (ii) in 2014 in *Yəf*, there was at least one Mandinka woman (married with a Nyun) who was able to speak fluent JFG and take part to any daily interactions in that language. It is striking that such non-Nyun JFG learners make a conscious effort to acquire the language (a) in order to be better integrated in the JFG-speaking community, and also (b) because they view JFG as a precious cultural heritage which can only be preserved with the active participation of all people living within or in close contact with the community. In other words, JFG is nowadays cherished and appreciated not only by Djifanghor Nyuns themselves but also by their neighbours: this positive feeling towards the language may help it be passed on to newer generations.

13.6 Appendices

13.6.1 Main patterns of noun class agreement in Djifanghor Nyun

| NOUNS | | CLASSES | | DEPENDENTS OF THE NOUN | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|--------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | | Demonstratives | | | Indefinites | | |
| Example | Prefix | Archetype | Number | proximal | distal | anaphoric | 'other' | 'which' | 'how many' |
| <i>edíg</i> 'ant sp.' | <i>a</i> | A | SG | <i>amma</i> | <i>ámáhan</i> | <i>mam</i> | <i>ədúk</i> | <i>ebéede</i> | |
| <i>kobór</i> 'hare' | <i>ø</i> | | SG/PL | | | | | | |
| <i>begid</i> 'girl' | <i>ba</i> | BA | SG/PL | <i>mba</i> | <i>mbáhan</i> | <i>bam</i> | <i>bədúk</i> | <i>bebeede</i> | |
| <i>bíged</i> 'wasps' | <i>bi</i> | BI | PL | <i>mbr</i> | <i>mbéhen</i> | <i>bim</i> | <i>bidúk</i> | <i>bubeede</i> | <i>bulúede</i> |
| <i>buhóof</i> 'head' | <i>bu</i> | BU | SG | <i>mbu</i> | <i>mbóhən</i> | <i>bum</i> | <i>budúk</i> | <i>bubeede</i> | |
| <i>dakát</i> 'big fish' | <i>da</i> | DA | SG | <i>nda</i> | <i>ndahan</i> | <i>dam</i> | <i>dədúk</i> | <i>debeede</i> | |
| <i>dmínlen</i> 'snot' | <i>di</i> | DI | SG/PL | <i>ndr</i> | <i>ndéhen</i> | <i>dmm</i> | <i>duduk</i> | <i>dibeede</i> | |
| <i>dmkat</i> 'big fish.PL' | <i>din</i> | DIN | PL | <i>ndr</i> | <i>ndéhen</i> | <i>dmm</i> | <i>dundúk</i> | <i>dmbéede</i> | <i>dmluede</i> |
| <i>fuńákət</i> 'water snail' | <i>fu(n)</i> | FUN | SG/PL | <i>nfo</i> | <i>nfóhən</i> | <i>fom</i> | <i>funduk</i> | <i>fumbeede</i> | <i>fulluede</i> |
| <i>gulúf</i> 'leaf' | <i>gu</i> | GU | SG | <i>ɣgu</i> | <i>ɣgóhən</i> | <i>gom</i> | <i>gudúk</i> | <i>gubeede</i> | |
| <i>hajund</i> 'holes' | <i>ha</i> | HA | PL | <i>nha</i> | <i>nháhan</i> | <i>ham</i> | <i>hodúk</i> | <i>hebeede</i> | <i>haluede</i> |
| <i>həńj</i> 'thing' | <i>h</i> _[HPX] | HU | SG/PL | <i>nho</i> | <i>nhóhən</i> | <i>hom</i> | <i>hudúk</i> | <i>hubeede</i> | <i>hulúede</i> |
| <i>idúgund</i> 'he-goats' | <i>i</i> | I | PL | <i>mmu</i> | <i>méhen</i> | <i>mum</i> | <i>fidúk</i> | <i>ibéede</i> | <i>ilúede</i> |
| <i>ndíhen</i> 'men' | <i>n</i> | IN | PL | <i>mmu</i> | <i>méhen</i> | <i>mum</i> | <i>undúk</i> | <i>mbéede</i> | <i>illuede</i> |
| <i>jasal</i> 'lizards' | <i>ja</i> | JA | PL | <i>ńja</i> | <i>ńjáhan</i> | <i>ńjam</i> | <i>jadúk</i> | <i>jebeede</i> | <i>jalúede</i> |
| <i>júmund</i> 'waters' | <i>j</i> _[HPX] | JI | PL? | <i>ńji</i> | <i>ńjehən</i> | <i>ńjim</i> | <i>jidúk</i> | <i>jibéede</i> | |
| <i>kentédah</i> 'kitchen' | <i>kV(n)</i> | KAN | SG/PL | <i>ɣka</i> | <i>ɣkahan</i> | <i>kam</i> | <i>kínduk</i> | <i>kəmbéede</i> | <i>kanluede</i> |
| <i>kəsal</i> 'lizard' | <i>kə</i> | KƏ | SG | <i>ɣkə</i> | <i>ɣkóhən</i> | <i>kəm</i> | <i>kodúk</i> | <i>kobéede</i> | |
| <i>kənnə</i> 'wine' | <i>ku(n)</i> | KUN | SG/PL | <i>ɣko</i> | <i>ɣkóhən</i> | <i>kəm</i> | <i>kínduk</i> | <i>kumbeede</i> | |
| <i>mumbók</i> 'baobabs' | <i>mu(n)</i> | MUN | PL | <i>ommə</i> | <i>móhən</i> | <i>mum</i> | <i>mundúk</i> | <i>mumbéede</i> | <i>munluede</i> |
| <i>ńajknd</i> 'ropes' | <i>ńa(n)</i> | ÑAN | PL | <i>ńńa</i> | <i>ńńáhan</i> | <i>ńnam</i> | <i>ńunduk</i> | <i>ńembéede</i> | <i>ńanluede</i> |
| <i>ńannáaf</i> 'farmers' | <i>ńa(n)</i> | ÑAN-IN | PL | <i>mmu</i> | <i>méhen</i> | <i>mum</i> | <i>(ńa)ndúk</i> | <i>mbéede</i> | <i>illuede</i> |
| <i>ńípáata</i> 'ducklings' | <i>ńi</i> | ÑI | PL | <i>ńńi</i> | <i>ńńéhen</i> | <i>ńńim(oy)</i> | <i>ńnuduk</i> | <i>ńńibéede</i> | <i>ńńiluede</i> |
| <i>pat-pat</i> 'rice bran' | <i>p</i> _[HPX] | PAN | SG | <i>mpa~mpo</i> | <i>mpahan~mpóhən</i> | <i>pan</i> | <i>púnduk</i> | <i>pumbéede</i> | |
| <i>ráɣkond</i> 'scorpion' | <i>ra(n)</i> | RAN | SG | <i>nra</i> | <i>nrahan</i> | <i>ram</i> | <i>rúnduk</i> | <i>[ebéede]</i> | |
| <i>sibók</i> 'baobab' | <i>si</i> | SI | SG | <i>nsr</i> | <i>nséhen</i> | <i>sım</i> | <i>sidúk</i> | <i>sibéede</i> | |
| <i>sıɣknd</i> 'rope' | <i>si(n)</i> | SIN | SG | <i>nsr</i> | ? | ? | <i>sunduk</i> | <i>simbeede</i> | ? |
| <i>tebén</i> 'pagne' | <i>t</i> _[HPX] | TAN | SG | <i>nta</i> | <i>ntahan</i> | <i>tam</i> | <i>tunduk</i> | <i>tembéede</i> | |
| <i>tıɣkáaral</i> 'bee-eater' | <i>tın</i> | TIN | SG/PL | <i>ntı</i> | <i>ntéhen</i> | <i>tım</i> | <i>tunduk</i> | <i>timbéede</i> | <i>tunluede</i> |
| <i>undáf</i> 'farmer' | <i>u</i> | U | SG | <i>ommə</i> | <i>móhən</i> | <i>mum</i> | <i>udúk</i> | <i>ubéede</i> | |
| <i>dihən</i> 'man' | <i>ø</i> | | SG | | | | | | |

Notational conventions: (brackets) = optional sequence; [square brackets] = sequence probably derived from another paradigm; **bold** = for each form, elements justifying the choice of the noun-class prototype; HPX = hapax; NA = non-attested; ? = missing form.

| Adjective | DEPENDENTS OF THE NOUN | | | | PRONOUNS | | PREDICATIVE ELEMENTS | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | Numerals | | | | 3 rd person pronoun | Relative | Affirmative | Interrogative | Presentational |
| | | | | | | | 'be (some-where)' | 'be where' | 'here is/are' |
| <i>sid(d)</i> 'big' | <i>-mondúka</i> 'one' | <i>-nak</i> 'two' | <i>-láal</i> 'three' | <i>rénnek</i> 'four' | | | | | |
| <i>esiddi</i> | <i>əmondika</i> | | | | <i>əmor~əmor</i> | <i>maɣ</i> | <i>ammaɣ</i> | <i>ammande</i> | <i>ammaɣma</i> |
| <i>besiddi</i> | <i>bəmondika</i> | <i>banákoɣ</i> | <i>baláloɣ</i> | <i>berénnekəɣ</i> | <i>bomór</i> | <i>baɣ</i> | <i>mbaɣ</i> | <i>mbande</i> | <i>mbabba</i> |
| <i>bisiddi</i> | | ? | ? | ? | <i>bumór</i> | <i>biɣ</i> | <i>mbeɣ</i> | <i>mbende</i> | <i>mbibbi</i> |
| <i>bisiddi~basiddi</i> | <i>bumunduka</i> | | | | <i>bumór</i> | <i>buɣ</i> | <i>mbəɣ</i> | <i>mbənde</i> | <i>mbobbo</i> |
| <i>desiddi</i> | <i>dəmondika</i> | | | | <i>dəmor</i> | <i>daɣ</i> | <i>ndaɣ</i> | <i>ndande</i> | <i>ndadda</i> |
| <i>disiddi</i> | <i>dɪmondika</i> | NA | NA | NA | <i>dumór</i> | <i>diɣ</i> | <i>ndeɣ</i> | <i>ndende</i> | <i>ndiddi</i> |
| <i>dinsiddi</i> | | <i>dinnák</i> | <i>dilláal</i> | <i>durrénnek</i> | <i>dimmor</i> | <i>diɣ</i> | <i>ndeɣ</i> | <i>ndende</i> | <i>ndiddi</i> |
| <i>funsiddi</i> | <i>fumondika</i> | <i>funnákoɣ</i> | <i>fulláaloɣ</i> | <i>furrénnekəɣ</i> | <i>fummor</i> | <i>fuɣ</i> | <i>nfəɣ</i> | <i>nfənde</i> | <i>nfofo</i> |
| <i>gusiddi</i> | <i>gumondika</i> | | | | <i>gumór</i> | <i>guɣ</i> | <i>ɣgəɣ</i> | <i>ɣgənde</i> | <i>ɣgoggo</i> |
| <i>hesiddi</i> | | <i>hanak</i> | <i>haláal</i> | <i>herénnek</i> | <i>homór</i> | <i>haɣ</i> | <i>nhan</i> | <i>nhande</i> | <i>nhanha</i> |
| <i>husiddi</i> | <i>humondúka</i> | <i>honak</i> | <i>holáal</i> | <i>horénnek</i> | <i>humór</i> | <i>huɣ</i> | <i>nhəɣ</i> | <i>nhənde</i> | <i>(i)nhoho</i> |
| <i>isiddi</i> | | <i>mák</i> | <i>iláal</i> | <i>irénnek</i> | <i>imór</i> | <i>miɣ</i> | <i>imméɣ</i> | <i>immende</i> | <i>immummu</i> |
| <i>nsiddi</i> | | <i>nnák</i> | <i>iláal</i> | <i>irénnek</i> | <i>mereɣ</i> | <i>miɣ</i> | <i>imméɣ</i> | <i>immende</i> | <i>immummu</i> |
| <i>jesiddi</i> | | <i>janák</i> | <i>jaláal</i> | <i>jerénnek</i> | <i>jomór</i> | <i>(ń)jaɣ</i> | <i>ńjaɣ</i> | <i>ńjande</i> | <i>ńjajja</i> |
| <i>jisiddi</i> | | | | | <i>jimór</i> | <i>jiɣ</i> | <i>ńjeɣ</i> | <i>ńjende</i> | <i>ńjijji</i> |
| <i>kensiddi</i> | <i>komondúka</i> | <i>kannákoɣ</i> | <i>kalláloɣ</i> | <i>kerrénnekəɣ</i> | <i>kommór</i> | <i>kaɣ</i> | <i>ɣkaɣ</i> | <i>ɣkánde</i> | <i>ɣkakka</i> |
| <i>kəsid(i)</i> | <i>komondika</i> | | | | <i>kəmor</i> | <i>kəɣ</i> | <i>ɣkəɣ</i> | <i>ɣkənde</i> | <i>ɣkəkəkə</i> |
| <i>kunsiddi</i> | NA | NA ^a | NA | NA | <i>kummór</i> | <i>kuɣ</i> | <i>ɣkəɣ</i> | <i>ɣkənde</i> | <i>ɣkokko</i> |
| <i>mmsiddi~mnsiddi</i> | | <i>munnák</i> | <i>munlál</i> | <i>murrénnek</i> | <i>mummór</i> | <i>muɣ</i> | <i>məɣ</i> | <i>mənde</i> | <i>ommommə</i> |
| <i>[esiddi]</i> | | <i>ńannák</i> | <i>ńalláal</i> | <i>ńerrénnek</i> | <i>ńommór</i> | <i>ńaɣ</i> | <i>ńńaɣ</i> | <i>ńńiande</i> | <i>ńńińńi</i> |
| <i>ńensiddi</i> | | <i>ı(n)nák~ńannák</i> | <i>iláal</i> | <i>irénnek</i> | <i>mereɣ</i> | <i>muɣ</i> | <i>imméɣ</i> | <i>immende</i> | <i>immummu</i> |
| <i>[ensiddi]</i> | | <i>ńenák</i> | <i>ńeláal</i> | <i>ńirénnek</i> | <i>ńimór</i> | <i>ńiɣ</i> | <i>ńńiɣ</i> | <i>ńńiende</i> | <i>ńńińńi</i> |
| <i>pensiddi</i> | NA | NA | NA | NA | <i>pommór</i> | <i>paɣ~puɣ</i> | <i>mpaɣ</i> | <i>mpánde~mpónde</i> | <i>mpappa</i> |
| <i>rensiddi</i> | <i>[əmondika]</i> | | | | <i>rommór</i> | <i>raɣ</i> | <i>nraɣ</i> | <i>nránde</i> | <i>nrarra</i> |
| <i>sisiddi</i> | <i>simondika</i> | | | | <i>sımór~səməór</i> | <i>siɣ</i> | <i>nseɣ</i> | <i>nsende</i> | <i>nsisi</i> |
| <i>suɣfəkki</i> ^b | <i>summunduka</i> | | | | <i>summor</i> | ? | <i>nseɣ</i> | ? | ? |
| <i>tensiddi</i> | <i>tomondika</i> | | | | <i>tommor</i> | <i>taɣ</i> | <i>ntaɣ</i> | <i>ntande</i> | <i>ntatta</i> |
| <i>tensiddi</i> | <i>tumondika</i> | NA | NA | NA | <i>tummór</i> | <i>tiɣ</i> | <i>[ammaɣ]</i> | <i>[ammande]</i> | <i>ntette</i> |
| <i>usiddi</i> | <i>umondika</i> | | | | <i>mór</i> | <i>muɣ</i> | <i>ommóɣ</i> | <i>ommónde</i> | <i>ommommə</i> |
| | <i>mondika</i> | | | | | | | | |

^a A form *konnák* 'two (alcohols)' was noted in 2011 but refused in 2014, as it seems that *kənnə* 'alcohol/wine' is not compatible with any numerals.

^b For the 'rope', the adjectival root *siddi* 'big' was refused and another root, *fəkki(i)* 'thick', was used to test the agreement pattern.

13.6.2 Main prefix pairings and triads in Djifanghor Nyun, alongside with their respective semantic cores

| | Prefixes | Semantic core | Examples |
|----------|--|--|--|
| Pairings | bu (SG)/ i (PL) | ROUND(ED)/DOMED THING; INTERNAL ORGAN | <i>butót</i> (SG)/ <i>itót</i> (PL) 'cooking-pot' <i>bəríp</i> (SG)/ <i>iríp</i> (PL) 'stomach' |
| | da (SG)/ din (PL) | AUGMENTATIVE | <i>dakát</i> (SG)/ <i>dɪnkát</i> (PL) 'big fish' |
| | gu (SG)/ ha (PL) | TRIDIMENSIONAL APPENDAGE OR OUTGROWTH; HOLLOW THING | <i>gufíl</i> (SG)/ <i>hafíl</i> (PL) 'penis' <i>gukít</i> (SG)/ <i>hakít</i> (PL) 'vagina' <i>gújénd</i> (SG)/ <i>hejénd</i> (PL) 'branch (tree)' <i>guhómb</i> (SG)/ <i>hohómb</i> (PL) 'hole (in a tree)' |
| | si (SG)/ ha (PL) | PAIRED ORGAN: EAR, FOOT, HAND | <i>sidih</i> (SG)/ <i>hedih</i> (PL) 'foot' |
| | si (SG)/ mun (PL) | TREE | <i>sibók</i> (SG)/ <i>mumbók</i> (PL) 'baobab' |
| | sin (SG)/ ñan (PL) | LONG+THICK THING | <i>snjknd</i> (SG)/ <i>ñanjand</i> (PL) 'rope' |
| | u (SG)/ ñan (PL) | HUMAN BEING | <i>ujáhar</i> (SG)/ <i>ñañjáhar</i> (PL) 'Eastern Nyun' |
| Triads | a (SG)/ i (PLC)/ bi (PLI) | INSECT; SMALL INVERTEBRATE | <i>emméh</i> (SG)/ <i>imméh</i> (PLC)/ <i>bəmméh</i> (PLI) 'termite' |
| | bu (SG)/ i (PLC)/ ba (PLI) | ROUND(ED) VEGETABLE; EGG | <i>bulúuh</i> (SG)/ <i>ilúuh</i> (PLC)/ <i>bəlúuh</i> (PLI) 'squash' <i>bənín</i> (SG)/ <i>inín</i> (PLC)/ <i>banín</i> (PLI) 'egg' |
| | bu (SG)/ i (PLC)/ di (PLI) | FRUIT | <i>bubók</i> (SG)/ <i>ibók</i> (PLC)/ <i>ɖubók</i> (PLI) 'monkey bread' <i>bulímoŋ</i> (SG)/ <i>ilímoŋ</i> (PLC)/ <i>dílímoŋ</i> (PLI) 'orange' |
| | gu (SG)/ ha (PLC)/ ba (PLI) | GRAIN/SEED-LIKE THING | <i>gusáh</i> (SG)/ <i>hasáh</i> (PLC)/ <i>basáh</i> (PLI) 'bean' |
| | gu (SG)/ ha (PLC)/ ja (PLI) | THIN/FLAT/DRY APPENDAGE OR OUTGROWTH | <i>gugend</i> (SG)/ <i>hegénd</i> (PLC)/ <i>jegend</i> (PLI) 'hair (head)' <i>gulúf</i> (SG)/ <i>halúf</i> (PLC)/ <i>jalúf</i> (PLI) 'leaf (tree)' |
| | kə (SG)/ ñi (PLC)/ ja (PLI) | SMALL ANIMAL/THING; DIMINUTIVE | <i>kəpéet</i> (SG)/ <i>ñepéet</i> (PLC)/ <i>jepéet</i> (PLI) 'piece (bread/meat)' <i>kəjɪhi</i> (SG)/ <i>ñejɪhi</i> (PLC)/ <i>jajɪhi</i> (PLI) 'puppet' |
| | sin (SG)/ ñan (PLC)/ ja (PLI) | LONG+THIN THING | <i>sumót</i> (SG)/ <i>ñamót</i> (PLC)/ <i>jəmót</i> (PLI) '(sewing) thread' |

13.6.3 Subject-verb-object morphology in Djifanghor Nyun: full perfective paradigm of *feg* 'see'

| Subject | | Subject-verb-object complex | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| | | Object: person/type | | | | | | | |
| Person | Preverbal pronoun | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.INCL | 2PL | 3PL | NP |
| 1SG | <i>mɛ</i> | | <i>fegən</i> | <i>fegem</i> | | | <i>fegó-noŋ</i> | <i>fegé-niŋ</i> | <i>fégi</i> |
| 2SG | <i>ɛfi</i> | <i>fegom</i> | | <i>fegem</i> | <i>feg-min</i> | | | <i>fegé-niŋ</i> | <i>fégi</i> |
| 3SG | <i>mor</i> | <i>e-fegom</i> | <i>e-fegən</i> | <i>e-fegem</i> | <i>e-feg-min</i> | <i>e-feg-mínnoŋ</i> | <i>e-fegó-noŋ</i> | <i>e-fegé-niŋ</i> | <i>e-fégi</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>min</i> | | <i>nfegə-min</i> | <i>nfegem-min</i> | | | <i>nfegó-noŋ-(min)</i> | <i>nfegé-niŋ-(min)</i> | <i>nfégi-min</i> |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>mínnoŋ</i> | | | <i>nfegomun</i> | | | | <i>nfegé-niŋ</i> | ? |
| 2PL | <i>niŋkináanoŋ</i> | <i>fegomun</i> | | <i>fegomun</i> | <i>fegé-min</i> | | | <i>fegé-niŋ</i> | <i>fégi</i> |
| 3PL | <i>merɛŋ</i> | <i>eŋ-fegom</i> | <i>eŋ-fegən</i> | <i>eŋ-fegem</i> | <i>eŋ-fegé-min</i> | <i>eŋ-feg-mínnoŋ</i> | <i>eŋ-fegó-noŋ</i> | <i>eŋ-fegé-niŋ</i> | <i>eŋ-fégi</i> |

13.6.4 Subject-verb-object morphology in Djifanghor Nyun: full synthetic imperfective paradigm of *feg* 'see'

| Subject | | Subject-verb-object complex | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Person | Preverbal pronoun | Object: person/type | | | | | | | |
| | | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.INCL | 2PL | 3PL | NP |
| 1SG | <i>mɛ</i> | | <i>fegujkəh</i> | <i>fegijkeem</i> | | | <i>fəgujkə́-noy</i> | <i>fegijkee-nij</i> | <i>fegine</i> |
| 2SG | <i>ɛfi</i> | <i>fegujkum</i> | | <i>fegijkeem</i> | <i>feginée-min</i> | | | <i>fegijkee-nij</i> | <i>fegine</i> |
| 3SG | <i>mor</i> | <i>e-fəgujkum</i> | <i>e-fəgujkəh</i> | <i>e-fegijkeem</i> | <i>e-feginée-min</i> | <i>e-fəgine-minoy</i> | <i>e-fegə́-noy</i> | <i>e-fegijkee-níj</i> | <i>e-fegine</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>min</i> | | <i>nfegujkə-min</i> | <i>nfegijkee-min</i> | | | <i>nfəgujkə́-noy-min</i> | <i>nfegijkee-nij-min</i> | <i>nfeginee-min</i> |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>mínoy</i> | | | <i>nfegujkomu</i> | | | | <i>nfegijkee-níj</i> | <i>nfegujkəj</i> |
| 2PL | <i>nijkináanoy</i> | <i>fəgujkómuy</i> | | <i>fəgujkomúj</i> | <i>fegijkee-min</i> | | | <i>fegijkee-níj</i> | <i>fegijkeej</i> |
| 3PL | <i>merəj</i> | <i>en-fəgujkum</i> | <i>en-fəgujkə</i> | <i>en-fegijkeem</i> | <i>en-feginée-min</i> | <i>en-fəgine-mínoy</i> | <i>en-fegə́-noy~ en-fəgine-náanoy</i> | <i>en-fəgijkee-níj</i> | <i>en-fegine</i> |

13.6.5 Subject-verb-object morphology in Djifanghor Nyun: full negative perfective paradigm of *feg* 'see'

| Subject | | Subject-verb-object complex | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Person | Preverbal pronoun | Object: person/type | | | | | | | |
| | | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.INCL | 2PL | 3PL | NP |
| 1SG | <i>mɛ</i> | | <i>fegiriəh</i> | <i>fegiiɾem</i> | | | <i>fegiriə-nuy</i> | <i>fegiiɾe-nij</i> | <i>fegiri ~ fegironj</i> |
| 2SG | <i>ɛfi</i> | <i>feguruhum</i> | | <i>fegiiɾəm</i> | <i>fegúɾə-min</i> | | | <i>fegiiɾe-nij</i> | <i>fegurəh</i> |
| 3SG | <i>mor</i> | <i>feguruhum</i> | <i>fegiriəh</i> | <i>fegiiɾəm</i> | <i>fegúɾonj-min</i> | <i>fegúɾonj-mínoy</i> | <i>fegiriə-nuy</i> | <i>fegiiɾe-nij</i> | <i>fegúɾonj</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>min</i> | | <i>fegiriəj-min</i> | <i>fegiiɾe-min</i> | | | <i>fegiriə-nuy-(min)</i> | <i>fegiiɾe-nij-(min)</i> | <i>fegiiɾe-min</i> |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>mínoy</i> | | | <i>fegiiɾomuy</i> | | | | <i>fegiiɾe-nij</i> | <i>feguroj</i> |
| 2PL | <i>nijkináanoy</i> | <i>feguruhum-muy</i> | | <i>fegiiɾomuy</i> | <i>fegironj-min</i> | | | <i>fegiiɾe-nij</i> | <i>fegiiɾonj</i> |
| 3PL | <i>merəj</i> | <i>feguruhum</i> | <i>fegiriəh</i> | <i>fegiiɾem</i> | <i>ɛj-feguroj-min</i> | <i>fegironj-mínoy</i> | <i>fegiriə-nuy</i> | <i>fegiiɾe-nij</i> | <i>feguroj</i> |

13.6.6 Subject–verb–object morphology in Djifanghor Nyun: full negative imperfective/progressive paradigm of *feg* ‘see’

| Subject | | Subject–verb–object complex | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| | | Object: person/type | | | | | | | |
| Person | Preverbal pronoun | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.INCL | 2PL | 3PL | NP |
| 1SG | <i>mɛ</i> | | <i>bifegiyəh</i> | <i>bifegiem</i> | | | <i>bifegiyə-noŋ</i> | <i>bifegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>bifegə</i> |
| 2SG | <i>ɛfi</i> | <i>bifeg(u)hum</i> | | <i>bifegiem</i> | <i>bifegə-min</i> | | | <i>bifegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>bifegə</i> |
| 3SG | <i>mor</i> | <i>befeg(u)hum</i> | <i>befegiyəh</i> | <i>befegiem</i> | <i>befegə-min</i> | <i>befeg-(u)ntəŋ</i> | <i>befegiyə-noŋ</i> | <i>befegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>befegə</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>min</i> | | <i>binfegiyə-min</i> | <i>binfegiem</i> | | | <i>binfegiyə-noŋ</i> | <i>binfegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>binfegə</i> |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>mínəŋ</i> | | | <i>bimfegiyoməŋ</i> | | | | <i>bimfegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>binfegiyəŋ</i> |
| 2PL | <i>niŋkináəŋ</i> | <i>bifeg(u)húnuŋ</i> | | <i>bifegiyómúŋ</i> | <i>bifegiyey-mín</i> | | | <i>bifegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>binfegiyəŋ</i> |
| 3PL | <i>merəŋ</i> | <i>benféguhum</i> | <i>benfegiyəh</i> | <i>benfegiem</i> | <i>benfegə-min</i> | <i>benfegə-mínəŋ</i> | <i>benfegiyə-noŋ</i> | <i>benfegiyə-niŋ</i> | <i>benfegə</i> |

Acknowledgement

This chapter is dedicated to the memory of François Coly, my main informant during my first three fieldworks on Djifanghor Nyun, who sadly passed away in 2016. I also would like to thank Friederike Ljupke and Alexander Cobbinah, for their careful reading of, and fruitful suggestions about, a

first version of this chapter. All remaining errors and inconsistencies are my own responsibility.

This work is partially supported by a public grant overseen by the French National Research Agency (ANR) as part of the programme ‘Investissements d’Avenir’ (reference: ANR-10-LABX-0083), Labex EFL (Axe 3, Research Group RT1).

13.6.6 Subject-verb-object morphology in Djifanghor Nyun: full negative imperfective/progressive paradigm of *feg* 'see'

| Subject | | Subject-verb-object complex | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| Person | Preverbal pronoun | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL.EXCL | 1PL.INCL | 2PL | 3PL | NP | | |
| 1SG | <i>mε</i> | | <i>bifegtyəh</i> | <i>bifegtem</i> | | | <i>bifegtyə-noy</i> | <i>bifegtye-nitj</i> | <i>bifego</i> | | |
| 2SG | <i>εfi</i> | <i>bifeg(u)hum</i> | | <i>bifegtem</i> | <i>bifego-min</i> | | | <i>bifegtye-nitj</i> | <i>bifego</i> | | |
| 3SG | <i>mor</i> | <i>befeg(u)hum</i> | <i>befegtyəh</i> | <i>befegtem</i> | <i>befego-min</i> | <i>befeg-(u)ntoy</i> | <i>befegtyə-noy</i> | <i>befegtye-nitj</i> | <i>befego</i> | | |
| 1PL.EXCL | <i>min</i> | | <i>binfegtyə-min</i> | <i>binfegtem</i> | | | <i>binfegtyə-noy</i> | <i>binfegte-nitj</i> | <i>binfego</i> | | |
| 1PL.INCL | <i>minoy</i> | | | <i>binfegtyomuy</i> | | | | <i>binfegte-nitj</i> | <i>binfegoy</i> | | |
| 2PL | <i>nijkináanoy</i> | <i>bifeg(u)hámuy</i> | | <i>bifegtyomúy</i> | <i>bifegtyey-mín</i> | | | <i>bifegtye-nitj</i> | <i>binfegietj</i> | | |
| 3PL | <i>meretj</i> | <i>benfeguhum</i> | <i>benfegtyəh</i> | <i>benfegtem</i> | <i>benfego-min</i> | <i>benfego-mínoy</i> | <i>benfegtyə-noy</i> | <i>benfegtye-nitj</i> | <i>benfego</i> | | |

Acknowledgement

This chapter is dedicated to the memory of François Coly, my main informant during my first three fieldworks on Djifanghor Nyun, who sadly passed away in 2016. I also would like to thank Friederike Lüpke and Alexander Cobbinah, for their careful reading of, and fruitful suggestions about, a

first version of this chapter. All remaining errors and inconsistencies are my own responsibility.

This work is partially supported by a public grant overseen by the French National Research Agency (ANR) as part of the programme 'Investissements d'Avenir' (reference: ANR-10-LABX-0083), Labex EFL (Axe 3, Research Group RT1).

References

- [Anonymous]. 1845. 'Vocabulaires guiolof, manding, foule, sara-côle, séraire, bagnon et floupe, recueillis à la côte d'Afrique pour le service de l'ancienne Compagnie Royale du Sénégal'. In d'Avezac, G., *Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique*, t 2, Paris: Librairie Orientale de Mme Ve Dondey-Dupré, 205–71.
- Abrahams, Roger D. and Barbara A. Babcock. 1977. The literary use of proverbs. *Journal of American Folklore* 90(358): 414–29.
- Abu-Manga, Al-Amin. 1986. *Fulfulde in the Sudan: Process of adaptation to Arabic*. (Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A: Afrika; 44) Berlin: Reimer.
- Académie des Langues, ed. 1973. *Lexique fondamental, l'usage du 1er cycle*. Conakry, Guinea: Académie des Langues.
- Académie des Langues, ed. n.d.-a. *Bundöön, contes kisiens (Kisi stories)*. Conakry, Guinea: Académie des Langues.
- Académie des Langues, ed. n.d.-b. *Principes d'orthographe et de segmentation, langue Kisi*. Conakry, République de Guinée: Académie des Langues.
- Adama, Hamadou. 2014. *De l'Adamawa à l'Adamaoua. Histoire, enjeu et perspectives pour le Nord-Cameroun*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Agha, Asif. 2005. Voice, footing, enregisterment. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1): 38–59.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. 'Unusual Classifiers in Tariana'. In *Systems of nominal classification*, edited by Gunter Senft. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 93–113.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. *Classifiers. A typology of noun categorization devices*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Akinlabi, Alinbiyi. 1996. Featural affixation. *Journal of Linguistics* 32(2): 239–89.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast. 2006. *Social performance: Symbolic action, cultural pragmatics, and ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alie, Joe A. D. 1990. *A new history of Sierra Leone*. London and New York: Macmillan.
- Alkmim, Tânia-Maria. 1983. *Les 'Portugais' de Ziguinchor (Sénégal): Approche sociolinguistique d'une communauté créolophone*. PhD dissertation. Université René Descartes, Paris.
- Allan, Keith. 1977. Classifiers. *Language* 53(2): 284–310.
- Allasoumnière-Tang, Marc, Stéphane Robert, and Sylvie Voisin. 2022. The noncausal/causal alternation and genealogical affiliation: Quantitative testing in three Niger-Congo language families. *Linguistique et Langues Africaines* (Special issue: The noncausal/causal alternation in African languages) 8(2): 1–20.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1971. 'Acculturation and the cultural matrix of creolization'. In *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, edited by Dell Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169–86.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1980. *Comparative Afro-American: An historical-comparative study of English-based Afro-American dialects of the New World*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma Publishers.
- Alsina, Alex. 1992. On the argument structure of causatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23(4): 517–55.
- Ambadiang, Théophile. 2011. Semantic structuring and nominalization processes: The case of agent and instrument nouns in Bantu languages. *STUF—Language Typology and Universals* 64(4): 339–53. <https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2011.0024>.
- Amselle, Jean-Loup. 1990. *Logiques métisses. Anthropologie de l'identité en Afrique et ailleurs*. Paris: Payot.
- Anderson, Benedict Richard O'Gorman. 1983. *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Rev. ed. London, New York: Verso. Available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.01609>.
- Anderson, Stephen. 1976. On the description of consonant gradation in Fula. *Studies in African Linguistics* 7(1): 93–136.
- Anderson, Stephen R. and Arnold M. Zwicky. 2003. 'Clitics'. In *International encyclopedia of linguistics*, edited by W. J. Frawley. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 325–9.
- Anis, Jacques. 2007. 'Neography: Unconventional spelling in French SMS text messages'. In *The multilingual internet. Language, culture and communication online*, edited by Brenda Danet and Susan C. Herring. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 87–115.
- Apel, Viktoria. 2016. A synchronic and diachronic examination of the ex-situ term focus construction in Fulfulde of Futa Jalloo (Guinea). *Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online*. Available online at <https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archive/2014/auto1427256171.14/> (17 May 2018).
- Apel, Viktoria. 2017. *Information structure in Fula-Serer: A detailed study of Pular in comparison with its relatives*. PhD thesis. Seminar für Afrikanistik, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.
- Apel, Viktoria. 2018. 'The (true) complexity of Pular's noun class system'. Paper presented at the 23rd *Afrikanistentag*, University of Hamburg, Germany, 25 May 2018.
- Arnott, David W. 1956. The middle voice in Fula. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18(1): 130–44.
- Arnott, David W. 1970. *The nominal and verbal systems of Fula*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnott, David W. 1974. Some aspects of the study of Fula dialects. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 37(1): 8–18.
- Auer, Peter. 1984. *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Auer, Peter, Martin Hilpert, Anja Stukenbrock, and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi. 2013. 'Integrating the perspectives on language and Space'. In *Space in language and linguistics: Geographical, interactional and cognitive perspectives*, edited by Peter Auer, Martin Hilpert, Anja Stukenbrock, and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1–20.
- Austen, Ralph A. 1996. 'Mythic transformation and historical continuity: The Duala of Cameroon and German colonialism 1884–1914'. In *African crossroads: Intersections between history and anthropology in Cameroon*, edited by Ian Fowler and David Zeitlyn. Oxford and Providence: Berghahn Books, 17–44.
- Austin, Peter K. 1997. 'Causative and applicative constructions in Australian aboriginal languages'. In *The dative and related phenomena*, edited by Kazuto Matsumura and Tōru Hayashi. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo, 165–225.
- Bâ, Amadou Hampâté. 1957. *Vie et enseignement de Thierno Bocar*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- Bâ, Amadou Hampâté. 1972. *Aspects de la civilisation africaine: Personne, culture, religion*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- Ba, Ibrahim. 2013. *The clause structure of Pulaar*. MA thesis. University of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Babou, Cheikh Anta and Michele Lopporcaro. 2016. Noun classes and grammatical gender in Wolof. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 37(1): 1–57.
- Backus, Ad. 2020. 'Code-switching as a reflection of contact-induced change'. In *The Oxford handbook of language contact*, edited by Anthony P. Grant. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 193–214.
- Bagemihl, Bruce. 1989. The crossing constraint and backwards languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 7(4): 481–549.
- Bagemihl, Bruce. 1995. 'Language games and related areas'. In *The handbook of phonological theory*, edited by John Goldsmith. Cambridge MA: Blackwells, 697–712.
- Bah, Oumar. 2009. *Saggitorde Oumar Bah [Dictionnaire pular]*. Once online at <http://www.peeral.com/saggitorde/index-french/main.htm> (broken link, last access 2 May 2014).
- Bal, Willy. 1980. 'Devinettes en créole portugais du Sénégal recueillies par Abel Châtaigner'. In *Études de Philologie Romane et d'Histoire Littéraire offertes à Jules Horrent*. Liège: Université de Liège, 543–50.
- Bal, Willy. 1983. 'À propos du système verbal du Kriôl ou créole à base portugaise du Sénégal'. In *Verbe et phrase dans les langues romanes*, edited by Eugen Roegerist and Liliane Tasmowski. *Romanica Gandensia* XX: 15–27.
- Baldé, Alpha Oumar Kona, Herb Caudill, and Ousmane Besseko Diallo. 2000. *Midô waawi pular*. Conakry: CHP/Peace Corps. Available online at <http://ibamba.net/pular> (25 April 2018).
- Banton, Michael. 1957. *A study of tribal life in Freetown*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bao-Diop, Sokhna. 2011. *Étude comparative entre les deux systèmes d'écriture du Wolof: Deux orthographes pour le Wolof*. Saarbrücken: Éditions Universitaires Européennes.
- Bao Diop, Sokhna. 2013. *Description du baynunk guñaamolo, langue minoritaire du Sénégal. Analyse phonologique, morphologique et syntaxique*. PhD thesis. INALCO, Paris.
- Bao Diop, Sokhna. 2015. 'Les classes nominales en nyun gunyamolo'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 371–405.
- Bao Diop, Sokhna. 2017. *Le baynunk guñaamolo, une langue du sud du Sénégal. Analyse phonologique, morphologique et syntaxique*. Paris: L'Harmattan (Études africaines. Série linguistique).
- Barber, Karin. 2006. *Africa's hidden histories: Everyday literacy and making the self*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Barnard, Alan and Jonathan Spencer, eds. 1996. *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Barner, David and Alan Bale. 2002. No nouns, no verbs. Psycholinguistic arguments in favor of lexical underspecification. *Lingua* 112(10): 771–91.
- Barry, Abdoulaye. 1987. *Joola languages: Subgroupings and reconstruction*, PhD thesis, Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London.
- Barry, Boubacar. 1988 [1998]. *La Sénégambie du XVe au XIXe siècle: Traite négrière, Islam et conquête coloniale*. Paris: L'Harmattan. [Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.]
- Barry, Ibrahim I. 2006. *Hè'lma wallifandé fin èkkitagó'l bèbère Pular: Guide pratique pour apprendre l'alphabet pular*. Conakry. Unpublished manuscript.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1969. 'Introduction'. In *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*, edited by Fredrik Barth. London: Allen & Unwin, 9–38.
- Barth, Fredrik. 2000. 'Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity'. In *The anthropology of ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic groups and boundaries'*, edited by Han Vermeulen and Cora Govers. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 11–32.
- Barton, David and Mary Hamilton. 1998. *Local literacies. Reading and writing in one community*. London: Routledge.
- Basen, Aisenil and Yasin Basen. 2005. *Uhiçal gubanjalay: Perfectionnement Aligena*. Edition d'essai. Dakar: SIL.
- Bassène, Alain Christian. 2006. *Déscription du Jola Banjal (Sénégal)*. PhD thesis. Université Lyon 2.
- Bassène, Alain Christian. 2007. *Morphosyntaxe du jóla banjal, langue atlantique du Sénégal*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Bassène, Alain Christian. 2015a. 'Accords de classe et référence générique dans les parlers joola'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 171–782.
- Bassène, Alain Christian. 2015b. 'Les classes nominales en Bi-afada'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 443–68.
- Bassène, Alain-Christian. 2015c. L'indexation du sujet et de l'objet dans les langues atlantiques nord. *Linguistique & Langues Africaines* 1: 43–57.
- Bassène, Alain-Christian. 2018. L'harmonie vocalique en joola fooñi. *Afrikanistik-Aegyptologie-Online*, Vol. 2018. <https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2018/4652Bassène>
- Bassène, Alain-Christian and Denis Creissels. 2013. Valency patterns for bivalent verbs in two West African languages: Mandinka (Mande) and Jóla Banjal (Atlantic). *Afrikanistik online* 10. <http://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2013/3758> (accessed 6 December 2016).
- Bassene, Mamadou. 2012. *Morphophonology of Joola Eegimaa*. University of Minnesota Doctoral Thesis. <http://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/136031> (2 May 2015).

- Basso Marques, J. 1947. Familiaridade idiomática entre Cobianas e Cassangas. *Buletin Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 2(8): 875–913.
- Baum, Robert M. 1999. *Shrines of the slave trade: Diola religion and society in precolonial Senegambia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bauman, Richard and Charles Briggs. 1990. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59–88.
- Bazin, J. 1985. 'À chacun son bambara'. In *Au cœur de l'ethnie: Ethnies, tribalisme et état en Afrique*, edited by Jean-Loup Amselle and Elikia M'Bokolo. Paris: La Découverte/Poche, 87–125.
- Beah, Ishmael. 2007. *Long way gone: Memoirs of a boy soldier*. New York: Sarah Crichton Books, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Becher, Jutta. 2000. Verbalextensionen in den atlantischen Sprachen. *Hamburger Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere (HAAP)* 1: 1–38.
- Becher, Jutta. 2001. *Untersuchungen zum Sprachwandel im Wolof aus diachroner und synchroner Perspektive*. PhD thesis. Universität Hamburg.
- Belcher, Stephen, ed. 1999. *Epic traditions of Africa*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Belkadi, Aisha. 2015. Associated motion with deictic directionals: A comparative overview. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 17: 49–76.
- Belkadi, Aisha. 2021. 'Deictic directionality as associated motion. Motion, complex events and event integration in African languages'. In *Associated motion*, edited by Antoine Guillaume and Harold Koch. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 163–200.
- Bendor-Samuel, J., Elizabeth Olsen, and Ann R. White. 1989. 'Dogon'. In *The Niger-Congo languages*, edited by John Bendor-Samuel. Lanham: University Press of America and Summer Institute of Linguistics, 169–77.
- Berlin, Brent. 1977. 'Speculations of the growth of ethnobotanical nomenclature'. In *Sociocultural dimensions of language change*, edited by Benjamin Blount and Mary. New York: Academic Press, 63–102.
- Berlin, Brent, Dennis E. Breedlove, and Peter H. Raven. 1973. General principles of classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology. *American Anthropologist* 75(1): 214–42.
- Berry, Jack and Richard Spears. 1961. *West African folk tales*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco and Alessandro Lenci. 2012. 'Habituality, pluractionality, and imperfectivity'. In *The Oxford handbook of tense and aspect*, edited by Robert I. Binnick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 852–80.
- Bertrand-Bocandé, Emmanuel. 1849. 'Note sur la Guinée portugaise ou la Sénégalie méridionale'. *Bulletin de la société de géographie de Paris*, 1st section, N°67–72, 3rd series, vol. XII. Paris: Librairie de la société de géographie chez Arthus-Bertrand, 57–69.
- Bettison, Jim and Karen Bettison. 2014. *Pular-English dictionary: With English-Pular index*. 3rd ed. Conakry: Pioneer Bible translators.
- Biagui, Noël-Bernard. 2012a. Le gúbaher, parler baïnouck de Djibonker (Basse-Casamance, Sénégal). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Biagui, Noël-Bernard. 2012b. *Description générale du créole afro-portugais parlé à Ziguinchor (Casamance)*. PhD dissertation. Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD)/Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (InALCO), Dakar/Paris.
- Biagui, Noël-Bernard. 2018. Description générale du créole afro-portugais parlé à Ziguinchor (Sénégal). Paris: Karthala.
- Biagui, Noël-Bernard and Nicolas Quint. 2013. 'Casamancese Creole'. In *The survey of Pidgin and Creole languages. Atlas of Pidgin and Creole languages structures (APICS)*, Vol. 2, edited by Susanne Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath, and Magnus Huber. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 40–9.
- Biaye, Séckou. 2012. *Le système nominal d'un dialecte balante: Le ganjaa*. PhD thesis. Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar.
- Biaye, Séckou and Denis Creissels. 2015. 'Le système de classes nominales du balant ganja'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 215–68.
- Bidaud, Lucien and André Prost. 1982. *Manuel de langue peule: Dialecte du Liptako, (Dori, Haute-Volta)*. Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France.
- Bisang, Walter. 2016. 'Finiteness, nominalization, and information structure: Convergence and divergence'. In *Finiteness and nominalization*, edited by Claudine Chamoreau and Estrada-Fernández Zarina. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 13–42.
- Blench, Roger M. 1990. *Fulbe, Fulani and Fulfulde in Nigeria: Distribution and identity*. (NLC Working paper series; 23) Abuja: FDL & PCS. Available online at <http://www.rogerblench.info/Development/Nigeria/Pastoralism/FulBe%20identity%201990.pdf> (13 June 2018).
- Blench, R. M. 2007. 'Endangered languages in West Africa'. In *Language diversity endangered*, edited by Matthias Brenzinger. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 140–62.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2008. *Grassroots literacy: Writing, identity and voice in Central Africa*. London: Routledge.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization* (Cambridge approaches to Language Contact). Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bodian, Lamine. 2014. *Morphosyntaxe du guñaamolo, parler de baïnouck de Niamone*. PhD dissertation. Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar.
- Bondarev, Dmitry. 2014. 'Old Kanembu and Kanuri in Arabic script: Phonology through the graphic system'. In *The Arabic script in Africa*, edited by Meikal Mumin and Kees Versteegh. Leiden: Brill, 107–42.
- Bondéelle, Olivier. 2015. *Polysémie et structuration du lexique. Le cas du Wolof*. PhD thesis. University of Leiden.
- Bonfiglio, Thomas Paul. 2010. *Mother tongues and nations. The invention of the native speaker*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Booij Geert, E. 2006. 'Inflection and derivation'. In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, edited by Keith Brown. New York: Elsevier, 654–661.
- Bostoen, Koen and Mundeke Léon. 2011. The causative/applicative syncretism in Mbuun (Bantu B87, DR): Semantic split or phonemic merger? *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 32(2): 179–218.
- Botne, Robert. 2013. On the organizational properties of Bantu T/A systems. Position paper for the Workshop 'The construal of tense and aspect in Bantu', held at Bantu 5, 5th International Conference on Bantu Languages, Paris, June 12–15.

- Botne, Robert and Tiffany L. Kershner. 2008. Tense and cognitive space: On the organization of tense/aspect systems in Bantu and beyond. *Cognitive Linguistics* 19(2): 145–218.
- Bouche, Denise. 1975. *L'enseignement dans les territoires français de l'Afrique occidentale de 1817 à 1920: Mission civilisatrice ou formation d'une élite?* PhD dissertation. Lille: Université de Lille III. (2 volumes).
- Boulègue, Jean. 1968. *La Sénégalie, du milieu du XVIe siècle au début du XVIIIe siècle*. PhD dissertation. Université de Paris.
- Boulègue, Jean. 1972. *Les Luso-Africains de Sénégalie*. Dakar: Université de Dakar (Travaux et documents, Vol. 1).
- Boulègue, Jean. 1989. *Les Luso-Africains de Sénégalie*. Lisbon/Paris: Instituto de Investigação científica tropical/Université de Paris I (Centre de Recherches Africaines — CRA).
- Boulègue, Jean. 2013. *Les royaumes wolof dans l'espace sénégalien*. Paris: Karthala.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdin, Philippe. 2006. 'The marking of directional deixis in Somali: How typologically idiosyncratic is it?'. In *Studies in African linguistic typology*, edited by F.K. Erhard Voeltz. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 13–42.
- Boutrais, Jean. 1987. *Mbozo – Wazan: Peul et montagnards au Nord du Cameroun*. Paris: ORSTOM.
- Boutrais, Jean. 1994. Pour une nouvelle cartographie des Peuls (Remapping the Fulani), *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 34(133/135): 137–46.
- Boutrais, Jean, et al. 1984. *Le nord du Cameroun. Des hommes, une région*. Paris: ORSTOM.
- Breedveld, Johanna O. 1995a. The semantic basis of noun class systems. The case of the ki and nge classes in Fulfulde. *Journal of West African Languages* 25(2): 63–74.
- Breedveld, Johanna O. 1995b. *Form and meaning in Fulfulde. A morphophonological study of Maasinakoore*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.
- Breedveld, Johanna O. 2009. 'Fulfulde'. In *Concise encyclopedia of languages of the world*, edited by Keith Brown and Sarah Ogilvie. Oxford: Elsevier, 430–3.
- Breedveld, Anneke and De Bruijn, Mirjam. 1996. L'image des Fulbe. Analyse critique de la construction du concept de pulaaku. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 36(144): 791–821.
- Brenner, Louis. 2001. *Controlling knowledge: Religion, power, and schooling in a West African Muslim society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Brenner, Louis and Murray Last. 1985. The role of language in West African Islam. *Africa* 55(4): 432–46.
- Brooks, George E. 1993. *Landlords and strangers. Ecology, society, and trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630*. Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford: Westview Press.
- Brooks, George E. 1998. 'Climate and history in West Africa'. In *Transformations in Africa: Essays on Africa's later past*, edited by Graham Connah. London: Leicester University Press, 139–59.
- Brooks, George E. 2003. *Eurafricans in western Africa: Commerce, social status, gender, and religious observance from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Bühnen, Stephan. 1988. *Lexique comparatif des dialectes Baïun et de Kasanga et Cobiana*. Bremen: The author.
- Bühnen, Stephan. 1994. *Geschichte der Bainunk und Kasanga*. PhD thesis. Justus-Liebig Universität Giessen, Giessen. Fachbereich Geowissenschaften und Geographie.
- Buis, Pierre. 1990. *Essai sur la langue manjako de la zone de Bassarel*. Bissau: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (INEP).
- Bunčić, Daniel, Sandra L. Lippert, and Achim Rabus, eds. 2016. *Biscriptality: A sociolinguistic typology*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Burnham, Philip. 1996. *The politics of cultural difference in northern Cameroon*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Busch, Brigitta. 2015. Linguistic repertoire and Spracherleben, the lived experience of language. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies* 148. 1–16.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Byrne, Theresa E. 1993. *A description of Mende ideophones*. BA Ed thesis, Language Education Department, Njala University, Njala, Sierra Leone.
- Cahill, Michael C. 2015. 'Labial-velars—a questionable diagnostic for a linguistic area'. Presentation at *Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting*, January 8–11, 2015 Portland, OR.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean. 1974. *Linguistique et colonialisme: Petit traité de glottologie*. Paris: Payot.
- Calvet Louis-Jean. 1981. *Les langues véhiculaires*. Paris: PUF.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean. 1987. *La guerre des langues et les politiques linguistiques*. Paris: Payot.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean. 1992. 'Des mots sur les murs, une comparaison entre Paris et Dakar'. In *Des langues et des villes (Actes du colloque international à Dakar, du 15 au 17 décembre 1990)*, edited by Robert Chaudenson. Paris: Didier Érudition, 73–83.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean. 1994. *Les voix de la ville: Introduction à la sociolinguistique urbaine*. Paris: Payot.
- Calvet, Louis-Jean and Martine Dreyfus. 1990. La famille dans l'espace urbain: Trois modèles de plurilinguisme. *Plurilinguismes* 3: 29–54.
- Camara, Abdou Sanassi. 1999a. *Adeenten Yuwnaha*. Boké: La Mission Évangélique-NTM.
- Camara, Abdou Sanassi. 1999b. *Roof ti Mmaafah*. Boké: La Mission Évangélique-NTM.
- Campbell, Lyle. 1986. 'Cautions about loan words and sound correspondences'. In *Linguistics across historical and geographical boundaries: In honor of Jacek Fisiak on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday*, Vol. 1: *Linguistic theory and historical linguistics*, edited by Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek. Berlin: Mouton, 221–5.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2013. *Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Canut, Cécile. 2009. 'Discourse, community, identity: Processes of linguistic homogenization in Bamako'. In *The languages of urban Africa*, edited by Fiona Mc Laughlin. London: Continuum, 86–102.
- Canut, Cécile. 2010. De l'Afrique des langues à l'Afrique des discours. Les voix du langagier. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 50((198–200)): 1163–89.

- Canut, Cécile and Gérard Dumestre. 1993. 'Français, bambara et langues nationales au Mali'. In *Le français dans l'espace francophone*, edited by Didier de Robillard et Michel Beniamino, volume 1. Paris: Champion, 219–28.
- Caprile, Jean-Pierre and Jacqueline Thomas. 1976. 'Contacts de Langues'. In *Enquête et description des langues à tradition orale*, vol. III, edited by Luc Bouquiaux and Jacqueline Thomas. Paris: Société des Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France, 931–8.
- Carlton, Elizabeth Masland and Sharon Rand. 1993. *Enquête sociolinguistique sur les langues diolas de Basse Casamance*. Dakar: S.I.L.
- Carlton, Elizabeth M. and Sharon R. Rand. 1994. Compilation de listes de mots Swadesh modifiées recueillies parmi les langues du groupe Diola, sud du Sénégal. *Journal of West African Languages* 24(2): 85–119.
- Carreira, A. 1984 [1982]. *O crioulo de Cabo Verde, surto e expansão*. Lisbon: The author.
- Caudill, Herbert and Ousmane Besseko Diallo. 2000. *Miãd waawi pular, Learner's guide to Pular (Fuuta Jallon)*. Conakry: Peace Corps.
- Chamoreau, Claudine. 2008. Ditransitive constructions in Purepecha: A hybrid type. *Amerindia* 31: 157–80.
- Chamoreau, Claudine. 2015. Hacia una tipología de construcciones antipasivas en lenguas nominativo-acusativas: Evidencia en lenguas mesoamericanas. *Amerindia* 37(2): 229–58.
- Châtaigner, Abel. 1963. 'Le créole portugais du Sénégal: Observations et textes'. *Journal of African Languages* 2(1): 44–71.
- Chaudenson, Robert. 2001. *Creolization of language and culture*. Padstow, Cornwall: Routledge.
- Childs, Tucker. 1983. 'Noun class affix renewal in South West Atlantic'. In *Current approaches to African linguistics II*, edited by Jonathan D. Kaye, Hilda Koopman, Dominique Sportiche, and Andre Dugas. Dordrecht: Mouton de Gruyter; Foris Publications, 17–29.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1986. 'An autosegmental treatment of Kisi noun class morphophonemics'. In *Current approaches to African linguistics 3*, edited by Gerrit J. Dordrecht: Foris, 79–92.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1988. The phonology of Kisi ideophones. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 10: 165–90.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1994. 'Expressiveness in contact situations: The fate of African ideophones'. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 9(2): 257–82. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.9.2.03chi>
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1995a. *A grammar of Kisi: A Southern Atlantic language*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1995b. 'Tone and accent in the Atlantic languages: An evolutionary perspective'. In *The complete linguist. Papers in memory of Patrick J. Dickens*, edited by Anthony Traill, Rainer Vossen and Megan Bieseke. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 195–215.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 1997. 'Predicate clefting in Kisi'. In *Proceedings of the twenty-third annual meeting of the Berkeley linguistics society (February 14-17, 1997), special session on syntax and semantics in Africa*, edited by Ashlee C. Bailey, Kevin E. Moore, and Jeri L. Moxley. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 47–58.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2000. *A dictionary of the Kisi Language*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2001. 'What's so Atlantic about Atlantic?' Presentation at the 31st Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Leiden.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2002. Borrowings into Kisi as evidence of Mande expansionism and influence. *Journal of West African Languages* 29(2): 81–120.
- Childs, George Tucker. 2003a. *An Introduction to African languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Childs, George Tucker. 2003b. The Atlantic and Mande groups of Niger-Congo: A study in contrasts, a study in interaction. *Journal of West African Languages* 30(2): 29–40.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2003c. 'A splitter's holiday: More on the alleged unity of the Atlantic Group'. Presentation at the 33rd Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Leiden.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2003d. 'Genetic or areal? The S-Aux-O-V syntagm in the Atlantic languages'. Presentation at the World Conference on African Linguistics 4/Annual Conference on African Linguistics 34, June 17th - 22nd 2003. Rutgers University, East Brunswick, NJ.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2005. The S-AUX-O-V syntagm in the Atlantic languages. *Studies in African Linguistics* 33(2): 1–41.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2006. Book notice: Doneux, Jean-Léonce (Texte présenté par Véronique Rey). Histoire de la linguistique africaine des précurseurs aux années 70. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de la Université de Provence. 2003. *Language* 82(3): 678–9.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2007a. 'Genetic unity, typology, and proximity: Tone, accent and other prosodic phenomena in the Atlantic group'. Presentation at the workshop *The Atlantic Languages: Genetic or Typological Unit?* University of Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2007b. 'Trade, Islam, and militarism: Contact phenomena and language death in the Atlantic group'. Presentation at the workshop *The Atlantic Languages: Typological or Genetic Unit?* University of Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2007c. *Hin som sekl oma si fə mfə mmanil (A Mani primer)*. Portland, OR: Real Estate Publishers, Inc.
- Childs, G. Tucker, ed. 2009a. *A Bom primer compiled and illustrated by Hannah Sarvasy*. Portland, OR: JJJ Publications, Inc.
- Childs, G. Tucker, ed. 2009b. *A Kim primer compiled and illustrated by Hannah Sarvasy*. Portland, OR: JJJ Publications, Inc.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2009c. *Pretending to speak a dying language when you don't really know how to speak it: methodological worries in documenting dying languages*. Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2009d. What happens to class when a language dies? Language change vs. language death. *Studies in African Linguistics* 38(2): 113–30.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2011a. *A grammar of Mani*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2011b. *Bom and Kim Documentation Archives*. Endangered Languages Archive: Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, SOAS, University of London.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2012a. 'How to pretend you speak a dying language when you don't really know how to speak it: Methodological worries in documenting dying languages'. In *Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL 6), Cologne, 17-21 August 2009*, edited by Matthias Brenzinger and Anne-Maria Fehn: 75–90. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2012b. 'South Atlantic and greater Niger-Congo: A common verbal template'. In *Towards Proto-Niger-Congo: Comparison and reconstruction international congress*. Paris: Center for African Linguistics, Languages and Cultures (LLACAN), CNRS.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2014. 'Salvage linguistics in West Africa, what can be done after extended, asymmetrical contact?' In *In and out of Africa. Languages in question. In honour of Robert Nicolai*, vol. 2: Contact and language change in Africa (Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain (BCILL), 130), edited by Carole de Féral, Maarten G. Kossmann, and Mauro Tosco. Louvain: Peeters, 73–94.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2015a. The endangered languages and the language ecology of Sierra Leone. *The Journal of Sierra Leone Studies* 4(4): 2–10.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2015b. 'What's really areal? Questioning the claim for Macro-Sudan'. Presentation at the Eighth World Conference on African Linguistics (WOCAL 8). Kyoto, Japan.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2015c. Coming to terms with Atlantic. In *46th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Eugene, OR.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2016. 'Reconstruction of the definite article in Mel'. In *Towards Proto-Niger-Congo: Comparison and reconstruction, 2nd International Congress*. Paris.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2017. What's really areal? In: *Proceedings of WOCAL 8 (World Conference on African Linguistics)*, edited by Shikegi Kaji: 289–312. Fuchu, Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2020. 'Bom-Kim'. In *The Oxford handbook of African languages*, edited by Gerrit J. Dimmendaal and Rainer Vossen. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 439–50.
- Childs, G. Tucker. 2016. 'One language or two? Bom and Kim, two highly endangered South Atlantic languages'. In *Proceedings of the 7th World Congress of African Linguistics, Buea, 17-21 August 2012: Volume One*, edited by Fogwe Chibaka and Gratien Atindogbe. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG. 299–328. [Project MUSE muse.jhu.edu/book/49682](http://projectmuse.jhu.edu/book/49682).
- Childs, G. Tucker. Forthcoming. *A grammar of Sherbro*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Childs, G. Tucker, Good, Jeff, and Mitchell, Alice. 2014. Beyond the ancestral code: Towards a model for sociolinguistic language documentation. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 8: 168–91.
- Church, Eric. 1981. *Le système verbal du wolof*. Dakar: Université de Dakar [Documents linguistiques 27].
- Cissé, Ibrahima Abdoul Hayou. 2014. *Développement phonético-phonologique en fulfulde et bambara d'enfants monolingues et bilingues: étude du babillage et des premiers mots*. Leiden: LOT.
- Cissé, Ibrahima Abdoul Hayou and Nathalie Vallée. 2012. 'Fulfulde and Bambara syllables in typological and universal perspectives: Interactions between tautosyllabic segments and the effects of consonants'. In *Proceedings of the 6th world congress of African linguistics*, edited by Matthias Brenzinger and Anne-Maria Fehn. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 141–52.
- Cissé, Mamadou. 2005. Langues, état et société au Sénégal. *Sudlangues* 5: 99–133.
- Cissé, Mamadou. 2006. Écrits et écriture en Afrique de l'Ouest. *Sudlangues* 6: 63–88.
- Cissé, Mame Thierno. 2006. Problèmes de phonétique et de phonologie en wolof. *Sudlangues* 6: 23–62.
- Cissé Kane, Fatou. 2020. *Description générale de l'oniyan*. PhD dissertation. Universität zu Köln.
- Cissoko, Sékéné-Mody. 1969. La royauté (mansaya) chez les Mandingues occidentaux, d'après leurs traditions orales. *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, série B*, 31(2): 325–38.
- Clarke, Mary Lane. 1922. *A Limba-English dictionary, or: Tampen ta ka talun ta ka hulimba in huinkilisi ha*. New York: Houghton. Republished in 1971 by Gregg International Publishers Limited, Westmead, Franborough, Hants. England.
- Claussen, Torsten. 2008. *International travel map of Sierra Leone 3rd ed. (Updated 2007 by Laura Miles)*. Vancouver, British Columbia: ITMB Publishing Ltd.
- Clements, George N. and Annie Rialland. 2008. 'Africa as a phonological area'. In *A linguistic geography of Africa*, edited by Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 36–85.
- Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press.
- Cobbinah, Alexander. 2010. Casamance as an area of intense Language Contact. *Journal of Language Contact (THEMA 3)*: 175–201.
- Cobbinah, Alexander Yao. 2013a. *Nominal classification and verbal nouns in Bainounk Gubëeher*. PhD thesis. SOAS, London.
- Cobbinah, A. 2013b. Lexique gubaher, last accessed 2017/09/07 from <http://reflex.cnrs.fr/database/index.php?module=data>
- Cobbinah, Alexander Yao. 2017. Suffixed plurals in Bainounk languages: Agreement patterns and diachronic development. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 38(2): 145–85.
- Cobbinah, Alexander Yao. 2020. 'An ecological approach to identity and language use in a multilingual area (Lower Casamance/Senegal)'. In *African multilingualisms: Rural linguistic and cultural diversity*, edited by Pierpaolo Di Carlo and Jeff Good. Lanham; Boulder; New York; London: Lexington Books, 71–105.
- Cobbinah, Alexander. 2024. 'Tail-head linkage in Upper Guinea Coast languages'. In *Anthropological linguistics: perspectives from Africa*, edited by Andrea Hollington, Alice Mitchell, and Nico Nassenstein. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company (Culture and Language Use, 23), 394–424.
- Cobbinah, Alexander, Abbie Hantgan, Friederike Lüpke, and Rachel Watson. 2017. 'Carrefour des langues, carrefour des paradigmes'. In *Espaces, mobilités et éducation plurilingues: Éclairages d'Afrique ou d'ailleurs*, edited by Michelle Auzanneau,

- Margaret Bento, and Malory Leclère. Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 79–97.
- Cobbinah, Alexander Yao and Friederike Lüpke. 2014. 'When number meets classification: The linguistic expression of number in Baniounk languages'. In *Number—constructions and semantics: Case studies from Africa, Amazonia, India and Oceania*, edited by Anne Storch and Gerrit J. Dimmendaal. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 199–220.
- Cohen, Abner. 1971. 'Cultural strategies in the organization of trading diasporas'. In *The development of indigenous trade and markets in West Africa*, edited by Claude Meillassoux. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 266–81.
- Cohen, Abner. 1981. *The politics of elite culture. Explorations in the dramaturgy of power in a modern African society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cole, Gibril R. 2013. *The Krio of West Africa. Islam, culture, creolization and colonialism in the nineteenth century*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Coly, Jules Jacques. 2010. *Morphosyntaxe du kuwaatay (Sénégal)*. PhD thesis. University of Cologne.
- Coly, Jules Jacques Georges. 2012. *Morphosyntaxe du kuwaataay*. Munich: LINCOM.
- Coly, Jules Jacques. 2017. 'Emotion, gazes and gesture in Wolof'. In *Consensus and dissent: Negotiating emotion in the public space*, edited by Anne Storch. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 105–22.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1997. 'Some problems in the theory and typology of numeral systems'. In *Proceedings of LP'96*, edited by B. Palek. Prague: Charles University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard and Sandra A. Thompson. 2007. 'Lexical Nominalization'. In *Language typology and syntactic description*, edited by Timothy Shopen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 334–381.
- Connell, Bruce. 2015. 'The role of colonial languages in language endangerment in Africa'. In *Language documentation and endangerment in Africa*, edited by James Essegbey and Brent Henderson. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 107–30.
- Contini-Morava, Ellen. 1994. *Noun classification in Swahili*. PhD thesis. University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Contini-Morava, Ellen. 1996. 'Things in a noun-class language. Semantic functions of agreement in Swahili'. In *Toward a calculus of meaning. Studies in markedness, distinctive features and deixis*, edited by Edna Andrews and Yishai Tobin. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 251–90.
- Contini-Morava, Ellen. 1997. 'Noun classification in Swahili. A cognitive-semantic analysis using a computer database'. In *African linguistics at the crossroads. Papers from Kwaluseni*, edited by Robert K. Herbert. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 599–628.
- Contini-Morava, Ellen. 2000. 'Noun class as number in Swahili'. In *Between grammar and lexicon*, edited by Ellen Contini-Morava, Yishai Tobin. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 3–30.
- Contini-Morava, Ellen and Marcin Kilarski. 2013. Functions of nominal classification. *Language Sciences* 40: 263–99.
- Cooper, Frederick. 1994. Conflict and connection: Rethinking colonial African history. *American Historical Review* 19(5): 1516–45.
- Cooper, Frederick. 2005. *Colonialism in question: Theory, knowledge, history*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cooreman, Ann. 1994. 'A functional typology of antipassives'. In *Typological studies in language*, edited by Barbara A. Fox and Paul J. Hopper. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 27–49.
- Corbett, Greville. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corcoran, Chris. 2016. *Lexico-grammatical categoriality and Sherbro (Sierra Leone) noun classes*. PhD thesis, Linguistics, University of Chicago.
- Cougnon, Louise-Amélie and Gudrun Ledegen. 2010. 'C'est écrire comme je parle. Une étude comparatiste de variétés de français dans l'écrit sms'. In *Les voix des Français*, vol. 2, edited by Michaël Abecassis and Gudrun Ledegen. Bern: Peter Lang, 39–57.
- Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style: Language variation and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cover, Rebecca T. 2010. *Aspect, modality, and tense in Badiaranke*. PhD dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.
- Cowan, Nelson and L. A. Leavitt. 1992. 'Speakers' access to the phonological structure of the syllable in word games'. In *Papers from the 26th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, edited by Michael Ziolkowski, Manuela Noske, and Karen Deaton. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 45–59.
- Craig, Colette, ed. 1986. *Noun classes and categorization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Crane, Thera and Bastian Persohn. 2019. What's in a Bantu verb? Actionality in Bantu languages. *Linguistic Typology* 23(2): 303–45.
- Creider, Chet A. 1975. The semantic system of noun classes in Proto-Bantu. *Anthropological Linguistics* 17(3): 127–38.
- Creissels, Denis. 2000. 'Typology'. In *African languages*, edited by Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 231–58.
- Creissels, Denis. 2001. Le système des classes nominales des langues niger-congo: Prototypé et variations. *LINX* 45: 157–66.
- Creissels, Denis. 2005. 'A typology of subject marker and object markers systems in African languages'. In *Studies in African linguistic typology*, edited by Erhard F. K. Voeltz. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 43–70.
- Creissels, Denis. 2006. *Syntaxe générale: Une introduction typologique*. Paris: Hermès Science Lavoisier.
- Creissels, Denis. 2010. Fluid intransitivity in Romance languages. A typological approach. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 2: 117–51.
- Creissels, Denis. 2011. *Lexique mandinka-français* [unpublished].
- Creissels, Denis. 2014a. 'Le développement d'un marqueur de déplacement centripète en mandinka'. In *In and Out of Africa, languages in question, In Honor of Robert Nicolai*, Vol. 2 *Language contact and language change in Africa*, edited by Carole de Féral, Maarten Kossman, and Mauro Tosco. Louvain-la-Neuve/Walpole MA: Peeters, 95–102.
- Creissels, Denis. 2014b. 'Atlantic noun class systems: A typological approach'. In *Proceedings of the conference on language documentation and linguistic theory 4*, edited by Aicha Belkadi, Kaki Chatziou, and Kirsty Rowan. London: SOAS. www.hrelp.org/eprints/ldlt4_05.pdf
- Creissels, Denis. 2015a. 'Typologie des systèmes des classes atlantiques'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 6–57.
- Creissels, Denis. 2015b. 'Valency properties of Mandinka verbs'. In *Valency classes in the world's languages, volume 1*, edited by Andrej Malchukov and Bernard Comrie. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 221–60.
- Creissels, Denis. 2016. 'Problematic aspects of coordination and subordination in Mandinka'. In *Coordination and subordination: Form and meaning—Selected papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, edited by Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira, and Clara Pinto. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 119–33.
- Creissels, Denis. 2017. 'The flexibility of the noun vs. verb distinction in the lexicon of Mandinka'. In *Lexical polycategoriality: Cross-linguistic, cross-theoretical and language acquisition approaches*, edited by Valentina Vapnarsky and Edy Veneziano. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 35–57.
- Creissels, Denis. 2019a. 'Grammatical relations in Mandinka'. In *Argument selectors. A new perspective on grammatical relations*, edited by Alena Witzlack-Makarevich and Balthasar Bickel. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 301–48.
- Creissels, Denis. 2019b. Tonologie du mandinka du Pakaawu. *Mandenkan* 61: 3–46.
- Creissels, Denis. 2020. 'Relativization and the grammaticalization of the stage-level vs. individual-level distinction in the languages of Senegal'. In *Constraint-based syntax and semantics. Papers in honor of Danièle Godard*, edited by Anne Abeillé and Olivier Bonami. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 37–51.
- Creissels, Denis. 2021. 'Antipassive derivation in Soninke (West Mande)'. In *Antipassive. Typology, diachrony, and related constructions*, edited by Katarzyna Janic and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company (Typological studies in language (TSL), volume 130), 293–314.
- Creissels, Denis, Sokhna Bao-Diop, Alain-Christian Bassène, Mame-Thierno Cissé, Alexander Cobbinah, El-Hadji Dieye, Dame Ndao, Sylvie Nougouier-Voisin, Nicolas Quint, Marie Renaudier, Adjaratou Sall, and Guillaume Segerer. 2015. L'impersonnalité dans les langues de la région sénégalienne. *Africana Linguistica* 21: 29–86.
- Creissels, Denis and Alain-Christian Bassène. 2021. 'Ventive, associated motion and aspect in Joola Fóoñi (Atlantic)'. In *Associated motion*, edited by Antoine Guillaume and Harold Koch. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 665–93.
- Creissels, Denis, Alain-Christian Bassène, and Boubacar Sambou. 2021. Orphan classes, chameleon stems, ghost controllers, adverbial classes, and versatile relativizers in Joola Fóoñi (Atlantic). *Faits de Langues* 52(2): 157–176. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19589514-05202002>.
- Creissels, Denis and Séckou Biaye. 2016. *Le balant ganja: Phonologie, morphosyntaxe, liste lexicale, textes*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Creissels, Denis and Konstantin Pozdniakov, eds. 2015. *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Creissels, Denis and Pierre Sambou. 2013. *Le mandinka: Phonologie, grammaire, textes*. Paris: Karthala.
- Creissels, Denis and Sylvie Nougouier-Voisin. 2008. 'Valency-changing operations in Wolof and the notion of "co-participation"'. In *Reciprocals and reflexives: Cross-linguistic and theoretical explorations*, edited by Ekkehard König and Volker Gast. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 289–306.
- Crétois, Léonce. 1972–1977. *Dictionnaire sereer-français (différents dialectes)*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.
- Crisma, Paola, Lutz Marten, and Rint Sybesma. 2011. The point of Bantu, Chinese and Romance nominal classification. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 23(2): 251–99.
- Cristofaro, Sonia. 2007. 'Deconstructing categories: Finiteness in a functional-typological perspective'. In *Finiteness: theoretical and empirical foundations*, edited by Irina Nikolaeva. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 91–114.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical construction grammar. Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, William, Jóhanna Barðdal, Willem B. Hollman, Violeta Sotirova, and Chiaki Taoka. 2010. 'Revisiting Talmy's typological classification of complex events'. In *Contrastive construction grammar*, edited by Hans C. Boas. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 201–35.
- Cronin, Michael. 2000. *Across the lines: Travel, language, translation*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Crowley, Eve Lakshmi. 1990. *Contracts with the spirits—religion, asylum, and ethnic identity in the Cacheu region of Guinea-Bissau*. PhD thesis. Yale University, New Haven.
- Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. 1971. *The Mourides of Senegal: The political and economic organization of an Islamic brotherhood*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cummins, Jim. 2008. 'Teaching for transfer. Challenging the two solitudes assumption in bilingual education'. In *Encyclopedia of language and education*, edited by Nancy C. Hornberger. Boston, MA: Springer US, 1528–38.
- Curtin, Philip. 1975. *Economic change in precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the era of slave trade*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Curtis, Marie Yvonne. 1996. *Art nalou, art бага de Guinée: Approches comparatives*. PhD dissertation. Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Cusic, Davis D. 1981. *Verbal plurality and aspect*. PhD dissertation. Stanford University.
- Cysouw, Michael and Jeff Good. 2013. Languoid, doculect and glossonym: Formalizing the notion 'language'. *Language Documentation and Conservation* 7, 331–59.
- Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Dalby, David. 1965. The Mel languages: A reclassification of southern West Atlantic. *African Language Studies* 6: 1–17.
- Dalby, David. 1966. Further indigenous scripts of West Africa: Manding, Wolof, and Fula alphabets and Yoruba 'holy' writing. *African Language Studies* 10: 161–81.

- Dalby, David. 1970. Reflections on the classification of African languages. With special reference to the work of Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle and Malcolm Guthrie. *African Language Studies* 11: 147–71.
- Dalby, David. 1977. *Language map of Africa (provisional edition)*. London: International African Institute.
- Dalby, David. 1986. *L'Afrique et la lettre/Africa and the written word*. Paris: Karthala.
- Dalphinis, Morgan. 1981. African language influences in creoles lexically based on Portuguese, English and French, with special reference to Casamance kriol, Gambian krio and St. Lucian patwa. PhD dissertation. SOAS, University of London.
- d'Alton, Paula. 1987. *Le palor: Esquisse phonologique et grammaticale d'une langue cangin du Sénégal. Suivi d'un lexique et de textes transcrits et traduits*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS.
- D'Azevedo, Warren L. 1962. Some historical problems in the delineation of a Central West Atlantic region. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 96(2): 512–38.
- D'Azevedo, Warren L. 1971a. Tribe and chiefdom on the Windward Coast. *Rural Africana* 15: 10–29.
- D'Azevedo, Warren L. 1971b. A tribal reaction to nationalism (Part 4). *Liberian Studies Journal* 3(1): 1–20.
- De Jong, Ferdinand. 1999. Trajectories of a mask performance: The case of the Senegalese Kumpo. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 39(153): 49–71. Available online at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4392913>.
- De Jong, Ferdinand. 2005. A joking nation: Conflict resolution in Senegal. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines* 39(2): 391–415.
- De la Cadeña, Marisol and Orin Starn. 2007. *Indigenous experience today*. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Delafosse, Maurice. 1912. *Haut-Sénégal-Niger: Le pays, les peuples, les langues, l'histoire, les civilisations*. Vol. 2: L'histoire. Paris: Émile Larose.
- De Lavergne de Tressan, Michel, 1979. Description succincte du diola du Fogy (Sénégal), *Bulletin de l'IFAN série B* 41: 568–652.
- de Lavergne de Tressan, Michel 1953. Inventaire linguistique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française et du Togo. *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* 30.
- de Lespinay, Charles. 2000. 'Un lexique banyon-floupe de la fin du XIIème: Apport à l'histoire du peuplement de la Casamance'. In *Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des Côtes guinéennes*. (Cahiers Lillois d'économie et de Sociologie), 193–213.
- Delgado, L. Elena and Rolando J. Romero 2000. Local histories and global designs: An interview with Walter Mignolo. *Discourse* 22(3): 7–33.
- Delplanque, Alain. 1995. Que signifient les classes nominales? L'exemple du moore, langue gur. *Linguistique Africaine* 15: 5–54.
- Demuth, Katherine. 1987. 'Prompting routines in the language socialization of Basotho children', in *Language socialization across cultures, social and cultural foundations of language series*, edited by Bambi Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs. New York: Cambridge University Press, 80–96.
- Demuth, Katherine. 2000. 'Bantu noun class systems. Loanwords and acquisition evidence of semantic productivity'. In *Systems of nominal classification*, edited by Gunter Senft. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 270–92.
- Demuth, Katherine, Nicolas Faraclas, and Lynell Marchese. 1985. Niger-Congo noun class and agreement systems in historical and acquisition perspective. *Studies in African Linguistics* (Supplement 9): 78–82.
- Demuth, Katherine, Nicolas Faraclas, and Lynell Marchese. 1986. 'Niger-Congo noun class and agreement systems in language acquisition and historical change'. In *Noun classes and categorization*, edited by Colette Craig. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 453–72.
- Denny, Peter J. and Chet A. Creider. 1986. 'The semantics of noun classes in Proto Bantu'. In *Noun classes and categorization*, edited by Colette Craig. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 217–40.
- Deumert, Ana. 2014. *Sociolinguistics and mobile communication*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Deumert, Ana and Kristin V. Alexander. 2013. Texting Africa: Writing as performance. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17(4): 522–46.
- De Wolf, Paul P. 1971. *The noun class system of Proto-Benue-Congo*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton.
- De Wolf, Paul P. 1985. Some notes on five almost homonymous extensions in Nojaare Fulani (Western Niger). *Afrika und Übersee* 68: 207–32.
- De Wolf, Paul P. 1986. Verbal extensions in Nojaare Fulani: Causative, dative, celerative, distance and simulative. *Afrika und Übersee* 69: 45–60.
- De Wolf, Paul P. 1987. Further verbal extensions in Nojaare Fulani: Reciprocal, iterative, iterative-reciprocal and verbalizing extensions. *Afrika und Übersee* 70: 61–72.
- De Wolf, Paul P. 1991. On four more verbal extensions in Nojaare Fulani: Associative, comprehensive, modal and locative. *Afrika und Übersee* 74: 49–66.
- De Wolf, Paul P. 1995. *English-Fula dictionary (Fulfulde, Pulaar, Fulari): A multidialectal approach*. 3 vols. Berlin: Reimer.
- Diagne, Anna Marie. 2015. 'Le palor et le ndut: Deux langues atlantiques sans classes nominales'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 261–90.
- Diagne, Mbacké. 2009. *Le bayot*. PhD thesis. Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris.
- Diagne, Pathé. 1971. *Grammaire de wolof moderne*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- Dialo, Amadou. 1981. *Une phonologie du wolof*. [Les langues nationales au Sénégal 78]. Dakar: CLAD.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2000. *Grammaire descriptive du pular du Fuuta Jaloo (Guinée)*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2010. Morphological consequences of Mande borrowings in Fula: The case of Pular, Fuuta-Jaloo. *Journal of Language Contact* (THEMA 3): 71–85.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2014a. *Language contact in Guinea. The case of Pular and Mande varieties*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2014b. 'Constructions copulatives en peul'. In *La transmission culturelle: L'exemple du peul*, edited by Ursula Baumgardt and Abdourahmane Diallo. Paris: Karthala, 25–42.
- Diallo, Abdourahmane. 2016 (2011). 'Focus in Fula: A dialectal approach'. In *Interrogative and syntactic inquiries: Case studies from Africa*, edited by Bernhard Köhler. (Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter; 23) Köln: Köppe, 73–96.
- Diallo, Ibrahima. 2012. Qur'anic and ajami literacies in precolonial West Africa. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 13: 91–104.
- Diandy Valère. 2005. *Phonologie de kujireray*. Masters dissertation. UCAD, Dakar.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo. 2018. Towards an understanding of African endogenous multilingualism. Ethnography, language ideologies, and the supernatural. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 254: 139–63. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2018-0037>.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo and Jeff Good. 2014. 'What are we trying to preserve? Diversity, change and ideology at the edge of the Cameroonian Grassfields'. In *Endangered languages. Beliefs and ideologies in language documentation and revitalization*, edited by Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank. Oxford: Oxford University Press and The British Academy, 231–62.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo, Jeff Good and Rachel Ojong. 2019. 'Multilingualism in rural Africa'. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedias*, edited by Mark Aronoff. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.227>.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo, Rachel A. Ojong Diba, and Jeff Good. 2021. Towards a coherent methodology for the documentation of small-scale multilingualism: Dealing with speech data. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 25(4): 860–77. <https://doi.org/10.1558/sols.38799>.
- Di Carlo, Pierpaolo, Angiachi D. Esene Agwara, and Rachel A. Ojong 2020. Multilingualism and the heteroglossia of ideologies in Lower Fungom (Cameroon). *Sociolinguistic Studies* 14(3): 321–345. <https://doi.org/10.1558/sols.38799>.
- Dieng, Sady. 1985. *Étude contrastive des lexies du créole endogène 'portugais' et du wolof*. PhD dissertation. Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Dieye, El Hadji. 2010. *Description d'une langue cangin du Sénégal: Le laalaa (léhar)*. PhD dissertation. Université Cheikh Anta Diop and INALCO, Dakar and Paris.
- Dieye, El Hadji. 2015. 'Les classes nominales en laalaa (léhar)'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 291–316.
- Dik, Simon. 1989. *The theory of functional grammar*. Vol. 1: *The structure of the clause*. (Functional grammar series; 9). Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Dilley, Roy M. 2004. *Islamic and caste knowledge practices among Haalpulaar'en in Senegal: Between mosque and termite mound*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press (International African Library).
- Dimitriadis, Alexis. 1997. 'Alliterative concord in phonology-free syntax'. Paper presented at the *GLOW Workshop on the Morpho-Syntax and Phonology of African and Afro-Asiatic Languages*, Rabat, Morocco.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 2001. 'Areal diffusion vs. genetic inheritance: An African perspective'. In *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: Problems in comparative linguistics*, edited by Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. and Robert M. W. Dixon: Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 358–92.
- Dimmendaal, G. J. 2008. Language ecology and linguistic diversity on the African continent. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2(5): 840–58.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 2011. *Historical linguistics and the comparative study of African languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. and F. K. Erhard Voeltz. 2007. 'Endangered languages of Africa'. In *Encyclopaedia of the world's endangered languages*, edited by Christopher Moseley. London: Routledge, 579–634.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 2014. 'Pluractionality and the distribution of number marking across categories'. In *Number: Constructions and semantics*, edited by Anne Storch and Gerrit J. Dimmendaal. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 57–76.
- Dingemane, Mark. 2006. The semantics of Bantu noun classification. A review and comparison of three approaches. MA essay. Leiden University.
- Dingemane, Mark. 2012. Advances in the cross-linguistic study of ideophones. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6(10): 654–72. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/lnc3.361/epdf>.
- Dione, Amadou. 2011. *Analyse de pratiques scripturales plurilingues sur le forum Seneweb.com*. Masters thesis, Université de Grenoble. <http://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-00631479/document>
- Diop, Cheikh Anta. 1954. *Nations nègres et cultures*. Paris: Présence Africaine.
- Diouf, Jean-Léopold. 2003. *Dictionnaire wolof-français et français-wolof*. Paris: Karthala.
- Diouf, Jean-Léopold. 2009. *Grammaire du wolof contemporain: Édition revue et complétée*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 1997. *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 2000. 'A typology of causative: Form, meaning and function'. In *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity*, edited by Robert M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 30–83.
- Dixon-Fyle, Mac and Gibril R. Cole, eds. 2006. *New perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Dobrin, Lise M. 1995. 'Theoretical consequences of literal alliterative concord'. In *Papers from the 31st regional meeting of the Chicago linguistic society*, edited by Audra Dainora, Rachel Hemphill, Barbara Luka, Barbara Need, and Sheri Pargman. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 127–42.
- Dobrin, Lise. 2012. *Concreteness in grammar. The noun class systems of the Arapesh languages*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Donaldson, Coleman. 2013. Jula Ajami in Burkina Faso: A grass-roots literacy in the former Kong Empire. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 28(2): 19–36. [https://www.gse.upenn.edu/wpel/sites/gse.upenn.edu/wpel/files/WPEL%2028\(2\)%20Donaldson.pdf](https://www.gse.upenn.edu/wpel/sites/gse.upenn.edu/wpel/files/WPEL%2028(2)%20Donaldson.pdf)
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. sd. *Lexique ndut*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1969. *Les systèmes phonologiques des langues de Casamance*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD 28).
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1970. 'Le manjaku, classes nominales et questions sur l'alternance consonantique'. In *La classification nominale dans les langues négro-africaines*, edited by Gabriel Manessy. Paris: CNRS, 261–76.

- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1975a. Hypothèse pour la comparative des langues atlantiques. *Africana Linguistica* 6: 41–130.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1975b. *Lexique manjaku*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD).
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1978. Les liens historiques entre les langues du Sénégal. Réalités africaines et langue française. *Bulletin du Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar* 7: 6–55.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1979a. 'Approche morphophonologique de deux points limités dans les langues africaines du groupe atlantique (buy, ful)'. In *Les langues sans tradition écrite*, edited by Gabriel Manessy et Jacqueline Thomas. Paris: Peeters.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1979b. *Systèmes phonologiques des langues de Casamance et français parlé par les élèves casamançais du CM1 (cours moyen première année)*. Dakar: Centre de linguistique appliquée de Dakar (CLAD).
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1984a. *Éléments de grammaire balante*. Ms.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1984b. *Lexique balante-français*. Bissau: Département d'alphabétisation des adultes.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1991. *La place de la langue buy dans le groupe atlantique de la famille kongo-kordofan*. PhD thesis. Université Libre de Bruxelles.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 1993. *Syllabus du cours de description du manjaku*. Ms.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce. 2003. *Histoire de la linguistique africaine*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de L'Université de Provence.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce, Albano Mendes, and Armando Tchoba dos Santos Pereira. 1984. *Lexique balante-français*.
- Doneux, Jean Léonce and Jean-Louis Rougé. 1988. *En apprenant le créole à Bissau ou Ziguinchor*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Dorjahn, Vernon R. and Christopher Fyfe. 1962. Landlord and stranger: Change in tenancy relations in Sierra Leone. *Journal of African History* 3(3): 391–7.
- Doumbia, Taba. 2014. Les fonctions d'animation et d'éducation des relations à plaisanterie au sein des classes d'âges en milieu malinké de la sous-préfecture de Kourouba, cercle de Kati, Mali. *Recherches Africaines* 13: 191–9.
- Dowty, David. 1979. *Word meaning and Montague grammar*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Dowty, David. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67(3): 547–619.
- Dreyfus, Martine and Caroline Juillard. 2004. *Le plurilinguisme au Sénégal: Langues et identités en devenir*. Paris: Éditions Karthala.
- Droic, Ursula. 2003. 'On the emergence of bidirectional vowel harmony in Ndut'. Presentation at the 4th World Congress of African Linguistics, Trenton, NJ: Rutgers University (WOCAL 4).
- Droic, Ursula. 2006. L'évolution du système consonantique des langues cangin. *Afrikanistik Aegyptologie Online* <https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2006/593>.
- Droic, Ursula. 2011. 'Le langage expressif en wolof: Les coverbes idéophoniques'. In *Communication wolof et société sénégalaise. Héritage et création*, edited by Sascha Kessler, Anna M. Diagne, and Christian Meyer. Paris: L'Harmattan, 207–38.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2021. 'Associated motion and directionals: Where they overlap'. In *Associated motion*, edited by Antoine Guillaume and Harold Koch. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 129–62.
- Ducos, Gisèle. 1971. *Structure du badiaranké de Guinée et du Sénégal: Phonologie et syntaxe*. Paris: SELAF.
- Ducos, Gisèle. 1979. Communautés de langue baynuq et enquêtes phonologiques. *Phonologie et Société* 13: 3–8.
- Ducos, Gisèle. 1980. 'Comment définir une communauté sociolinguistique (travaux d'enquête au Sénégal: Minorités plurilingues de Casamance)'. In *Sociolinguistique. Approches, théories, pratiques*, edited by Bernard Gardin and Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 211–12.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 1994. 'Le trinôme langues régionales – bambara – français'. In *Stratégies communicatives au Mali: Langues régionales, bambara, français*, edited by Gérard Dumestres. Paris, Didier Érudition, 3–11.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 1997. De l'école au Mali. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 6(2): 31–52.
- Dumestre, Gérard. 1998. Le bambara véhiculaire du Mali. *Faits de Langues* 11–12: 121–7.
- Dunning, Thad and Laure Harrison. 2010. Cross-cutting cleavages and ethnic voting: An experimental study of cousinage in Mali. *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 21–39.
- Dupire, Marguerite. 1970. *Organisation sociale des Peuls*. Paris: Plon 1981.
- Dupire, Marguerite. 1994. Identité ethnique et processus d'incorporation tribale et étatique. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 34(133-135), 265–80.
- Dwyer, David J. 1989. 'Mande'. In *The Niger-Congo languages*, edited by John Bendor-Samuel: Lanham, MD and London: University Press of America, Inc, 47–66.
- D'Yvoire, Emmanuel Bouvier. 1995. Le kuwatay, parler de Diembéring, (Basse Casamance, Sénégal): Phonologie, grammaire, lexique, textes, Thèse de Doctorat de 3^{ème} cycle, Université René Descartes Paris.
- Earthy, E. Dora. 1934. Short note on a Kisi smith. *Man* 24(180): 159–61.
- Earthy, E. Dora. nd. *Field notes. Collected during a brief stay among the Kisi, 1933–34*. Madison, WI: Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Wisconsin MS.
- Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, eds. 2021. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Twenty-fourth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Echu, George. 2004. The language question in Cameroon. *Linguistik Online* 18, 1/04. http://www.linguistik-online.de/18_04/echu.html (November 2014).
- Eckert, Penelope. 2008. Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4): 453–76.
- Efing, Christian and Bruno Arich-Gerz. 2017. *Geheimsprachen. Geschichte und Gegenwart verschlüsselter Kommunikation*. Wiesbaden: marixverlag.
- Eguchi, Paul Kazuhisa. 1974. *Miscellany of Maroua Fulfulde (Northern Cameroun)*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Ellis, Stephen. 2010. 'The mutual assimilation of elites: The development of secret societies in twentieth century Liberian politics'. In *The powerful presence of the past. Integration and conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 185–204.

- Engelbrecht, Rolf. 2004. *Tawureta ka Musaa. Suraa 1–25*. Boké: La Mission Evangélique-NTM.
- Engelbrecht, Rolf. No date a. *Dictionary*. SIL Toolbox file.
- Engelbrecht, Rolf. No date b. *Nalu grammar notes*. Manuscript.
- Engelbrecht, Rolf and Abdou Sanassi Camara. 1999. *Ataali ka Baabelke – Nalue xa Taalie*. Boké: La Mission Evangélique-NTM.
- Engelbrecht, Rolf and La Mission Evangélique-NTM. 2004. *Alfabee ka mci belek/ Nalu xui xa alfabe/L'alphabet Nalou/The Nalou Alphabet*. Boké: La Mission Evangélique-NTM.
- Engeström, Tor. 1954. Apport à la théorie des origines du peuple et de la langue peuhle. Statens Etnografiska Museum: *Smärre Meddelanden* 24.
- Epelboin, Alain, Constant Hamès, and Anne Raggi. 2007. 'Cinq tuniques talismaniques récentes en provenance de Dakar (Sénégal)'. In *Coran et talismans: Textes et pratiques magiques en milieu musulman*, edited by Constant Hamès. Paris: Karthala, 147–74.
- Eriksen, Thomas H. 1999. *Tu dimunn pu vini kreol: The Mauritian creole and the concept of creolization*. Transnational Communities Programme, Working Paper No. 99/13. Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo.
- Eriksen, Thomas H. 2002 [1993]. *Ethnicity and nationalism. Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Eriksen, Thomas H. 2007. 'Creolization in anthropological theory and in Mauritius'. In *Creolization: History, ethnography, theory*, edited by Charles Stewart. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 153–77.
- Esvan, Jean-Marie. 1922. *Katésismu di doctrina kristõ (Ziguinchor) (Casamance) (Mission Catholique)*. Braga: Typographia Souza Cruz.
- Esvan, Jean-Marie. 1951. *Katéchisme di doktrina kriston (Mission Catholique) Ziguinchor (Sénégal)*. Paris: Les presses missionnaires.
- Esvan, P. 1993. *Père Jean-Marie Esvan 1872–1944, un homme dans l'essor de la Casamance*. Dakar: Imprimerie Saint-Paul.
- Evans, Martin. 2013. 'Historiographies, nationalisms and conflict in Casamance, Senegal'. In *Contesting historical divides in francophone Africa*, edited by Claire Griffiths. Chester, England: University of Chester Press, 93–119.
- Evans, Vyvyan and Melanie Green. 2006. *Cognitive linguistics: An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Everson, Michael. 2014. Revised proposal for encoding the Adlam script in the SMP of the UCS. UC Berkeley Script Encoding Initiative (Universal Scripts Project). Available online at <https://www.unicode.org/L2/L2014/14219r-n4628-adlam.pdf> (12 June 2018).
- Everson, Michael. 2016. Proposal for encoding the Garay script in the SMP of the UCS. <http://www.unicode.org/~dwarders/n4709-garay-revision.pdf>.
- Fabian, Johannes. 1990. *History from below: The Vocabulary of Elisabethville by André Yav*. [Texts, translation, and interpretive essay edited, translated, and commented by Johannes Fabian with assistance from Kalundi Mango; with linguistic notes by W. Schicho.] Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fachner, Regine Koroma. 1988. *Das Nominalsyntaxma im Gola*. MA Thesis. Institut für Sprachwissenschaften. Universität zu Köln.
- Fachner, Regine Koroma. 1990. The noun phrase in Gola. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere (AAP)* 23: 5–52.
- Fagard, Benjamin, Jordan Zlatev, Anetta Kopecka, Massimo Ceruti, and Johan Blomberg. 2013. The expression of motion events: A quantitative study of six typologically varied languages. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 39: 364–79.
- Fage, John D. 1992. *A history of West Africa*. Aldershot: Gregg Revivals.
- Fagerberg, Sonja. 1982. *Syntactic expansions in text: Beyond SVO in Pulaar oral narrative performance*. PhD thesis. University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Fairhead, James and Melissa Leach. 1996. *Misreading the African landscape: Society and ecology in a forest-savanna mosaic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fal, Arame. 1980. *Les nominaux en sereer-siin: Parler de Jaxaw*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines.
- Fal, Arame. 1999. *Précis de grammaire fonctionnelle de la langue wolof*. Dakar: Arame Fal.
- Fal, Arame. 2011. 'La phrase nominale en wolof'. In *Communication wolof et société sénégalaise*, edited by Sascha Kessler, Anna M. Diagne, and Christian Meyer. Paris: L'Harmattan, 201–6.
- Fal, Arame, Rosine Santos, and Jean-Léonce Doneux. 1990. *Dictionnaire wolof-français suivi d'un index français-wolof*. Paris: Karthala.
- Faller, Martina. 2012. 'Pluractionality and accompaniment in Cuzco Quechua'. In *Verbal plurality and distributivity*, edited by Patricia Cabredo Hofherr and Brenda Laca. Berlin: de Gruyter, 55–86.
- Fantini, A. 1985. *Language acquisition of a bilingual child: A sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fardon, Richard. 1987. 'African ethnogenesis: limits to comparability of ethnic phenomena'. In *Comparative anthropology*, edited by Ladislav Holy. New York: Basil Blackwell, 168–88.
- Fardon, Richard. 1996. 'Crossed destinies: the entangled histories of West African ethnic and national identities'. In *Ethnicity in Africa: roots, meanings and implications*, edited by Kenneth King, Louise de la Gorgendière, and Sarah Vaughan. Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, 117–46.
- Fardon, Richard. 2000. Metissage or curate's egg? *Africa* 70(1): 144–51.
- Farrell, Patrick. 2001. Functional shift as category underspecification. *English Language and Linguistics* 5(1): 109–30.
- Faye, Souleymane. 1982. 'Morphologie du verbe sérére'. Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.
- Faye, Souleymane and Hillebrand Dijkstra. 1997. *Etude comparative de la sonorité des glottalisés en seereer-siin, saafi-saafi, et noon du Sénégal*. Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.
- Faye, Waly Coly. 1979. *Etude morphosyntaxique du sereer singandum (région de Jaxaaw-Naaxar)*. PhD thesis. Université Stendhal, Grenoble.
- Fellous, Michèle. 1981. Socialisation de l'enfant Bambara. *Journal des Africanistes* 51(1-2): 201–15.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. n.d. *Lexique бага-мботени*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1968a. Deux langues tenda du Sénégal oriental, bassari et bedik. *Bulletin de la SELAF* 7: 1–62.

- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1968b. Les alternances consonantiques en bedik. *Journal of West African Languages* 5: 91–6.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1972. Qui sont les Bapen? *Objets et Mondes (La Revue du Musée de l'Homme)* 12(4): 353–4.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1981. Les ganles tecesses des Ndéta (les langues secrètes des Tenda). *Objets et Mondes* 21: 173–6.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1991. *Thesaurus tenda: dictionnaire ethnolinguistique de langues sénégal-guinéennes*. 3 vols. Paris: Peeters.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 1997. 'Le passé des langues: Tyapi autrefois, Kogoli aujourd'hui'. In *Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des Côtes guinéennes (Cahiers Lillois d'Économie et de Sociologie)*: Lille: Université de Lille 1, 343–52.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule. 2006. *Documents Bapen*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Ferry, Marie-Paule and Jacques Gomila. 1966. Notes pour une ethnographie des Bedik. *Journal des Africanistes* 36(2): 209–50.
- Ferry, Marie-Paule and Konstantin Pozdniakov. 2001. 'Dialectique du régulier et de l'irrégulier: Le système des classes nominales dans le groupe tenda des langues atlantiques'. In *Leçons d'Afrique: Filiations, ruptures et reconstitution de langues*, edited by Robert Nicolai. Louvain/Paris: Peeters, 153–67.
- Fields, Edda L. 2004. Before Baga: Settlement chronologies of the coastal Rio Nunez region, earliest times to c. 1000 CE. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 37(2): 236–43.
- Finnegan, Ruth H. 2012. *Oral literature in Africa (revised)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher, Alison. 2015. 'Lenition and gemination in Northern Atlantic roots'. In *Selected Proceedings of the 44th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, edited by Ruth Kramer et al. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 84–97.
- Fortes, Meyer. 1940 [1970]. 'The political system of the Tallensi of the northern territories of the Gold Coast'. In *African political systems*, edited by Meyer Fortes and Edward E. Evans-Pritchard. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 239–73.
- Fortes, Meyer and Edward E. Evans-Pritchard. 1940 [1970]. 'Introduction'. In *African political systems*, edited by Meyer Fortes and Edward E. Evans-Pritchard. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–24.
- Fortis, Jean-Michel and Alice Vittrant. 2011. L'organisation syntaxique de l'expression de la trajectoire: Vers une typologie des constructions. *Faits de Langues, Les Cahiers* 3: 71–98.
- Foucher, Vincent. 2005a. La guerre des dieux? Religions et séparatisme en Basse Casamance. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 39(2): 361–88. Available online at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/25067488>.
- Foucher, Vincent. 2005b. Les relations hommes-femmes et la formation de l'identité casamançaise. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 2(178): 431–55.
- François, Alexandre. 2014. 'Trees, waves and linkages: Models of language diversification'. In *The Routledge handbook of historical linguistics*, edited by Claire Bower and Bethwyn Evans. London: Routledge, 161–89.
- Friedländer, Marianne. 1974. *Lehrbuch des Susu*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie.
- Fudeman, Kirsten A. 1999. *Topics in the morphology and syntax of Balanta, an Atlantic language of Senegal*. PhD thesis. Cornell University.
- Fyfe, Christopher. 1962. *A history of Sierra Leone*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fyle, C. Magbaily. 2004. 'The Yoruba diaspora in Sierra Leone's Krio society'. In *The Yoruba diaspora in the Atlantic world*, edited by Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 366–82.
- Fyle, C. Magbaily. 2006. 'Foreword'. In *New perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio*, edited by Mac Dixon-Fyle and Gibril R. Cole. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, xiii–xxii.
- Gaden, Henri. 1913. *Le poular: Dialecte peul du Fouta sénégalais*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Gaines, Richard. 2014. 'On the typology of directional verbs in Bantu'. *IULC Working Papers* 1(01A): 1–12.
- Gajdos, Martina. 2004. *Fulfulde: Lehrbuch einer westafrikanischen Sprache*. (Edition Praesens Studienbücher; 11) Wien: Edition Praesens.
- Gal, Susan and Judith T. Irvine. 2019. *Signs of difference. Language and ideology in social life*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ganong, Tina Weller. 1998. *Features of Baga morphology, syntax, and narrative discourse*, MA thesis. Linguistics, University of Texas, Arlington, TX.
- García, Ofelia and Li Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging. Language, bilingualism and education*. Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gaved, T. 2007. Un article sur la grammaire du mancagne. *Archives Langues et Cultures*. (SIL International). <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/42699>.
- Gaved, Timothy. 2020. *A grammar of Mankanya*. PhD thesis. University of Leiden.
- Gaved, Tim and Jon Stammers. 2004. *Petit lexique mancagne-français, suivi d'un index français-mancagne*. Dakar: SIL Sénégal.
- Gblem, Honorine. 1995. *Description systématique de l'igo, langue du sud-ouest du Togo*. PhD thesis. University of Grenoble.
- Gensler, Orin D. 1994. 'On reconstructing the syntagm "S Aux O V" to Proto-Niger-Congo'. In *Proceedings of the 20th annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (Special Session on African Historical Linguistics)*: 1–20. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Gensler, Orin D. 1997. Grammaticalization, typology, and Niger-Congo word order: Progress on a still unresolved problem (Review article: Ulrike Claudi: Die Stellung von Verb und Objekt in Niger-Kongo-Sprachen: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion historischer Syntax, 1993). *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 18: 57–91.
- Gensler, Orin D. and Tom Güldemann. 2003. 'S-Aux-O-V-Other in Africa: Typological and areal perspective'. Paper presented at the 4th World Congress of African Linguistics, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University.
- Genušiene, Emma. 1987. *The typology of reflexives*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig. 1984. More on the verbal system of Zarek (Northern Nigeria). *Afrika und Übersee* 67: 11–30.

- Gilman, Charles. 1979. 'Cameroonian Pidgin English, a neo-African language'. In *Readings in creole studies*, edited by Ian F. Hancock. Gent: E. Story-Scientia, 269–80.
- Givón, Talmy. 1983. 'Topic continuity in discourse. An introduction'. In *Topic continuity in discourse. A quantitative cross-language study* [Typological Studies in Language, 3], edited by Talmy Givón. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–41.
- Gnabibouly, Boureima. 1990. 'Adressatif et causatif en fulfulde'. In *Current Approaches to African Linguistics*, edited by John P. Hutchison and Victor Manfredi. Vol. 7. (Publications in African Languages and Linguistics; 11) Dordrecht: Foris, 67–72.
- Goerg, Odile. 1995. Sierra Leonais, Créoles, Krio. La dialectique de l'identité. *Africa* 65(1): 114–32.
- Goffman, Erving. 1969. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. London: Penguin.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions. A construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Golovko, Katia. 2015. *Lexique baga fore*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr)
- Gomila, Jacques. 1971. *Les Bedik (Sénégal oriental). Barrières culturelles et hétérogénéité biologique*. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- Good, Jeff. 2011. 'A twice-mixed creole? Tracing the history of a prosodic split in the Saramaccan lexicon'. In *Language change in contact languages: Grammatical and prosodic considerations*, edited by J. Clancy Clements and Shelome Gooden. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 199–238.
- Goodchild, Samantha. 2016. 'Which language(s) are you for?' 'I am for all the languages'. Reflections on breaking through the ancestral code: Trials of sociolinguistic documentation. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 75–91.
- Goodchild, Samantha. 2018. *Sociolinguistic spaces and multilingualism: Practices and perceptions in Essyl, Senegal*. PhD thesis. SOAS, University of London.
- Goodchild, Samantha. Forthcoming. Linguistic biographical approaches to researching the practices and perceptions of multilingualism through chronotopes in Essil, Senegal. *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter/Frankfurt African Studies Bulletin (FAB)* (Special Issue: Language Biographies).
- Goodchild, Samantha and Miriam Weidl. 2019. 'Translanguaging practices in the Casamance, Senegal: Similar but different: Two case studies'. In *Making signs, translanguaging ethnographies: Exploring urban, rural and educational spaces*, edited by Ari Sherris and Elisabetta Adami. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 133–51.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 1992a. *Verbale Valenz und Kasus im Ful*. (Dissertationen der Universität Wien; 232) Wien: VWGÖ.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 1992b. Durative Prädikate und Verbsemantik im Ful. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarovsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer and Karl É. Thomanek. (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik; 44) Wien: Afro-Pub, 151–69.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 1995a. Sprachwandel und Dialektologie des Anlautwechsels. In *Afrika und Übersee* 78: 1–38.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 1995b. 'Determination und Referenz in der Entwicklung der Nominalklassensysteme des Ful und anderer atlantischer Sprachen'. In *Sprachkulturelle und Historische Forschungen in Afrika: Beiträge zum 11. Afrikanistentag, Köln, 19–21 September 1994*, edited by Axel Fleisch and Dirk Otten. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe 157–175.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 1998. 'Nominale Formen in Adamawa-Ful'. In *Afrikanische Sprachen im Brennpunkt der Forschung*, edited by Ines Fiedler, Catherine Griefenow-Mewis, and Brigitte Reineke. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 109–33.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 2000. 'La morphologie nominale peule dans le cadre dialectal nord-(ouest)-atlantique'. In *Areal and genetic factors in language classification and description: Africa south of the Sahara* edited by Petr Zima. Studies in African linguistics, v. 47. München: Lincom Europa, 61–89.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 2006. 'Elaboration and simplification in Fula verbal morphology'. In *Sprachbund in the West African Sahel*, edited by Bernard Caron and Petr Zima. Louvain: Peeters, 145–65.
- Gottschlig, Peter. 2007. 'The Fula archipelago between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans: Comparing the effects of sporadic and systematic dialectal variation due to language contact or: (In)stability in typology'. Presentation at the workshop *The Atlantic Languages: Genetic or Typological Unit?* Hamburg: Asien-Afrika-Institut, University of Hamburg.
- Goudiaby, Arame. 2017. *Éléments de grammaire du gújjáhár, parler bainouck de Niaguis*. PhD thesis. Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD), Dakar.
- Gouvernement du Sénégal. 2005. *Décret no 2005-981 du 21 octobre 2005 relatif à l'orthographe and à la séparation des mots en joola*.
- Graham, Todd and Scott Wright. 2014. Discursive talk and everyday talk online: The impact of 'superparticipants'. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 19(3): 625–42.
- Green, Antony D. 2006. The independence of phonology and morphology: The Celtic mutations. *Lingua* 116: 1946–85.
- Green, David W. and Juba Abutalebi. 2013. Language control in bilinguals: The adaptive control hypothesis. *Journal of Cognitive Psychology* 25(5): 515–30.
- Green, Toby. 2012. *The rise of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, Toby. 2019. *A fistful of shells. West Africa from the rise of the slave trade to the age of revolution*. London: Allen Lane.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1957. Nilotic, 'Nilo-Hamitic', and Hamito-Semitic: A reply. *Africa* 27: 4:364–378.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1963. *The languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1977. Niger-Congo noun class markers: Prefixes, suffixes, both or neither. *Studies in African Linguistics Supplement* 7: 97–104.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1978. 'How does a language acquire gender markers?' In *Universals of human language* 3, edited by Joseph H. Greenberg. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 47–82.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1983. 'Some areal characteristics of African languages'. In *Current Approaches to African Linguistics*, edited by Ivan Dihoff. Dordrecht, Holland and Cinaminson, NJ: Foris, 3–21.

- Greffier, P. S. Sp. 1960. *Dictionnaire sérère-français, d'après le manuscrit du Père Ezzano S. Sp.; Précédé d'un abrégé de grammaire Sérère par le P. Greffier S. Sp.* Joal (Sénégal): Mission de Joal.
- Grehan, James. 2004. The mysterious power of words: Language, law, and culture in Ottoman Damascus. *Journal of Social History* 37: 991–1015.
- Grivelet, Stéphane. 2001. Introduction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 150: 1–10.
- Grimes, Barbara F. 1996. *Ethnologue (13th ed.)*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Grinevald, Colette. 2000. 'A morphosyntactic typology of classifiers'. In *Systems of nominal classification*, edited by Gunter Senft, 50–92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grinevald, Colette and Frank Seifart. 2004. Noun classes in African and Amazonian languages. Towards a comparison. *Linguistic Typology* 8(2): 243–85.
- Guérois, Rozenn, Hannah Gibson, and Bastian Persohn. 2021. 'Associated motion in Bantu languages'. In *Associated motion*, edited by Antoine Guillaume and Harold Koch. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 569–610.
- Guèye, Cheikh. 2002. *Touba, la capitale des mourides*. Paris: Karthala.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2012. Les suffixes verbaux de "mouvement associé" en cavineña. *Faits de Langues - Les Cahiers* 1: 181–204.
- Guillaume, Antoine. 2016. Associated motion in South America: typological and areal perspectives. *Linguistic Typology* 20(1): 81–177.
- Guillaume, Antoine and Harold Koch, eds. 2021. *Associated motion*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2008. 'The Macro-Sudan belt: Towards identifying a linguistic area in northern sub-Saharan Africa'. In *A linguistic geography of Africa*, edited by Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 151–85.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2011. 'Proto-Bantu and Proto-Niger-Congo: Macro-areal typology and linguistic reconstruction'. In *Geographical typology and linguistic areas. With special reference to Africa*, edited by Osamu Hieda, Christa König, and Hiroshi Nakagawa. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 109–41.
- Güldemann, Tom and Ines Fiedler. 2017. 'Niger-Congo "noun classes" conflate gender with declension'. In *Grammatical gender and linguistic complexity*, edited by Francesca Di Garbo and Bernhard Wälchli. Berlin: Language Science Press, 85–135.
- Güldemann, Tom and Fiedler, Ines. 2021. More diversity enGENDERed by African languages: an introduction. *Language Typology and Universals* 74(2): 221–40. <https://doi.org/10.1515/stuf-2021-1030>.
- Gumperz, John J. 1968. 'The speech community'. In *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*. New York: Macmillan, 381–6.
- Hair, Paul E. H. 1967. Ethnolinguistic continuity on the Guinea Coast. *Journal of African History* 8(2): 247–68.
- Hair, Paul E. H. 1990. Columbus from Guinea to America. *History in Africa* 17: 113–29. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3171809>.
- Haller, Dieter. 2002. 'Das Lob der Mischung: Nationalismus und Ethnizität in Gibraltar'. In *Patchwork. Dimensionen multikultureller Gesellschaften: Geschichte, Problematik und Chancen*, edited
- by Andreas Ackermann and Klaus E. Müller. Bielefeld: Transcript, 211–56.
- Hamer, Alice Joyce. 1983. *Tradition and change: A social history of Diola women (Southwest Senegal) in the twentieth century*. PhD thesis. The University of Michigan.
- Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel, Martin Haspelmath, and Sebastian Bank. 2016. *Glottolog 2.7*. Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History.
- Hammarström, Harald, Sebastian Bank, Robert Forkel, and Martin Haspelmath. 2018. *Glottolog 3.2*. Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History. Available online at <http://glottolog.org>, Accessed (13 June 2018).
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1987. The world in creolization. *Africa* 57: 546–59.
- Hantgan, Abbie. 2017. Choices in language accommodation at the Crossroads: Convergence, divergence and mixing. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford. New Series, Volume IX*, 1: 102–18.
- Hargreaves, John D. 1982. 'The creoles and the expansion of Sierra Leone: A sub-imperialism manque'. In *Hommage à Henri Brunschwig - Études africaines offertes à Henri Brunschwig*, edited by Jan Vansina, C. H. Perrot, R. Austen, Y. Person et al. Paris: Editions de l'École des Hautes études en Sciences Sociales, 225–33.
- Harrel-Bond, Barbara E., Allen M. Howard, and David E. Skinner. 1978. *Community leadership and the transformation of Freetown, 1801–1976*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Harries, Patrick. 1988. The roots of ethnicity: Discourse and the politics of language construction in Southeast Africa. *African Affairs* 87(346): 25–52.
- Harrison, Annette. 2003. Fulfulde language family report, SIL Electronic Survey Reports 2003-009. Available online at <http://www-01.sil.org/silesr/2003/silesr2003-009.html> (07 June 2018).
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. The grammaticization of passive morphology. *Studies in Language* 14(1): 25–72.
- Hawthorne, Walter. 2003. *Planting rice and harvesting slaves: Transformations along the Guinea Bissau coast, 1400–1900*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Headland, Thomas N., Kenneth L. Pike, and Marvin Harris. 1990. *Emics and etics: The insider/outsider debate*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Heider, Eleanor R. 1972. Universals in color naming and memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 93: 10–20.
- Heine, Bernd. 1982. 'African noun class systems'. In *Apprehension. Das sprachliche Erfassen von Gegenständen. Part I: Bereich und Ordnung der Phänomene*, edited by Hansjakob Seiler and Christian Lehmann. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 189–216.
- Heine, Bernd. 1993. *Auxiliaries: Cognitive sources and grammaticalization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, Bernd and Miyashita Hiroyuki. 2008. 'The intersection between reflexives and reciprocals: A grammaticalization perspective'. In *Reciprocals and Reflexives: Cross-linguistic and theoretical explorations*, edited by Ekkehard König and Volker Gast. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 169–223.

- Hendrikse, A. P. 1997. 'Systemic polysemy in the southern Bantu noun class system'. In *Polysemy in cognitive linguistics. Selected papers from the International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam*, edited by Hubert Cuyckens and Britta E. Zawada. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 185–212.
- Henry, Jacques M. and Carl L. Bankston. 1998. Propositions for a structuralist analysis of creolism. *Current Anthropology* 39(4): 558–66.
- Herbert, Robert K. 1986. *Language universals, markedness theory, and natural phonetic processes*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hill, Polly. 1966. Landlords and brokers: A West African trading system. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 6(3): 349–66.
- Hill, Polly. 1971. 'Two types of West African house trade'. In *The development of indigenous trade and markets in West Africa*, edited by Claude Meillassoux. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 308–18.
- Hillewaert, Sarah. 2015. Writing with an accent: Orthographic practice, emblems, and traces on Facebook. *Linguistic Anthropology* 25(2): 195–214.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus P. 1996. 'Demonstratives in narrative discourse. A taxonomy of universal uses'. In *Studies in Anaphora*, edited by Barbara Fox. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 205–54.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. and Terence O. Ranger, Eds. 1983. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hockett, Charles F. 1954. Two models of grammatical description. *Word* 10: 210–34.
- Holten, L. 2009. *Mothers, medicine and morality in rural Mali: An ethnographic study of therapy management of pregnancy and children's illness episodes*. LIT Verlag Münster.
- Hombert, Jean-Marie. 1986. 'Word games: Some implications for analysis of tone and other phonological constructs'. In *Experimental phonology*, edited by John J. Ohala and Jeri J. Jaeger. Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 175–86.
- Hopkins, Bradley L. 1995. *Contribution à une étude de la syntaxe du diola-fogny*. PhD thesis. UCAD, Dakar.
- Horton, Robin. 1985. 'Stateless societies in the history of West Africa'. In *History of West Africa Vol. 1*, edited by Jacob Festus, Ade Ajayi, and Michael Crowder. London: Longman, 87–128.
- Houis, Maurice. 1950. Les minorités ethniques de la Guinée côtière. Situation linguistique. *Études Guinéennes* 4: 25–48.
- Houis, Maurice. 1953. Le système pronominal et les classes dans les dialectes baga. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* 15(1): 381–404.
- Humery-Dieng, Marie-Ève. 2001. Le mariage, le paradis et la terre: Les langues de l'écrit en milieu fuutaanke (arabe, français et pulaar). *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 41(163/164): 565–94.
- Humery, Marie-Ève. 2014. 'Fula and the ajami writing system in the Haalpulaar society of Fuuta Tooro (Senegal and Mauritania): A specific "restricted literacy"'. In *The Arabic script in Africa*, edited by Meikal Mumin and Kees Versteegh. Leiden: Brill, 173–98.
- Hunter, Linda and Chaibou E. Oumarou. 1998. Towards a Hausa verbal aesthetic: Aspects of language about using language. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11(2): 157–70.
- Hunwick, John O. and Alida Jay Boye. 2008. *The hidden treasures of Timbuktu: Rediscovering Africa's literary culture*. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Hunwick, John O. and R.S. O'Fahey. 2003. *Arabic literature of Africa, vol. 4. Writings of Western Sudanic Africa*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2007. 'Niger-Congo verb extensions: Overview and discussion'. In *Selected proceedings of the 37th annual conference on African linguistics*, edited by Doris Payne and Jaime Peña. Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 149–63.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2011. The Macro-Sudan belt and Niger-Congo reconstruction. *Language Dynamics and Change* 1: 3–49.
- Idiata, Daniel Franck. 2005. *What Bantu child speech data tells us about the controversial semantics of Bantu noun class systems*. München: Lincom.
- Internet World Stats. 2021. Usage and population statistics. <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats1.htm>
- Irvine, Judith T. 1974. 'Strategies of status manipulation in the Wolof greeting'. In *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*, edited by Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 167–91.
- Irvine, Judith T. 2008. Subjected words: African linguistics and the colonial encounter. *Language & Communication* 28(4): 323–43.
- Irvine, Judith T. and Susan Gal. 2000. 'Language ideology and linguistic differentiation'. In *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*, edited by Paul Kroskrity. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 35–83.
- Iverson, Janelle and Barbara Cameron. 1986. *A sociolinguistic survey of the Bullom languages of Sierra Leone*. Freetown, Sierra Leone: Institute for Sierra Leonean Languages.
- Jacobs, Bart. 2009. The Upper Guinea origins of Papiamentu: Linguistic and historical evidence. *Diachronica* 26(3): 319–79.
- Jacobs, Bart. 2010. Upper Guinea Creole: Evidence in favor of a Santiago birth. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages (JPCl)* 25(2): 289–343.
- Jacobs, Bart. 2012. *Origins of a Creole: The history of Papiamentu and its African ties*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Janic, Katarzyna. 2013. *L'antipassif dans les langues accusatives*. PhD dissertation. Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Jenkins, Richard. 1997. *Rethinking ethnicity: Arguments and explorations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Jeppie, Shamil. 2016. Calligraphic Africa: Notes toward the location of philology in Africa. *Philological Encounters* 1: 199–224.
- Jeppie, Shamil and Souleymane Bachir Diagne, eds. 2008. *The meanings of Timbuktu*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Johanson, Lars. 2002. 'Contact-induced change in a code-copying framework'. In *Language change: The interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors*, edited by Mari C. Jones and Edith Esch. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 285–313.
- Johnston, Harry Hamilton. 1919–1922. *A comparative study of the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jones, Adam. 1981. Who were the Vai? *Journal of African History* 22(2): 159–78.
- Juffermans, Kasper. 2015. *Local languaging, literacy and multilingualism in a West African society*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Juillard, Caroline. 1995. *Sociolinguistique urbaine: La vie des langues à Ziguinchor (Sénégal)*. Paris: CNRS.

- Juillard, Caroline. 2001. Une ou deux langues ? Des positions et des faits. *La Linguistique* 37(2): 3–31.
- Juillard, Caroline. 2010. Analyse sociolinguistique du contact entre langues et groupes joola et mandinka, à Ziguinchor. *Journal of Language Contact* (THEMA 3): 47–68.
- Juillard, Caroline. 2016. L'espace sociolinguistique et les actes de langage. *La Linguistique* 52(1): 91–124.
- Jungraithmayr, Hermann and Al-Amin Abu-Manga. 1989. *Einführung in die Ful-Sprache*. (Sprache und Oralität in Afrika; 1) Berlin: Reimer.
- Ka, Omar. 1981. *La dérivation et la composition en wolof*. Les Langues Nationales 77. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar.
- Ka, Omar. 1988. 'Wolof syllable structure: Evidence from a secret code'. In *Proceedings of the fifth Eastern States conference on linguistics*, edited by Joyce Powers and Kenneth de Jong. Columbus: Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University, 264–74.
- Ka, Omar. 1994. *Wolof phonology and morphology*. Without place: University Press of America.
- Kabakole, Fayiah A. 2013. *My spiritual journey in war-torn Liberia*. Without place: Wasteland Press.
- Kamarah, Sheikh Umar. 2007. *A descriptive grammar of KaThemne (Temne)*. München: Lincom.
- Kane, Cheikh Hamidou. 1961. *L'aventure ambiguë*. Paris: Juliard.
- Kane, Ousmane. 2003. *Intellectuels non-europhones*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Karlik, Jan. 1972. *A Manjako grammar with special reference to the nominal group*. PhD thesis. SOAS, University of London.
- Kassé, Tapha. 2009. Silence assourdissant de Tapha Guèye: Le Tigre prepare-t-il une surprise? *Lamb: Le Quotidien des Arènes Sénégalaises*, 27(March): 6.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 1988. 'On the position of the Koranko language'. In *Progressive traditions in African and oriental studies (Asia, Africa, Latin America, special issue 21)*, edited by Siegmund Brauner and H. Ekkehard Wolff. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 86–95.
- Kastenholz, Raimund. 1996. *Sprachgeschichte im West-Mande*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.
- Katamba, Francis. 2003. 'Bantu nominal morphology'. In *The Bantu languages*, edited by Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson. London: Routledge, 103–20.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. 2001a. 'The passive voice'. In *Language typology and language universals*, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher, and Wolfgang Raible. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 899–915.
- Kébé, Abou B. 2006. Quelques marqueurs de la wolofisation de la presse écrite au Sénégal. Paper presented at *Configurations discursives et identités africaines dans la période post-coloniale*, Besançon, March 2006.
- Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kesteloot, Lilyan and Dieng Bassirou. 1989. *Du tieddo au Talibé*. Condé-sur-Noireau: Présence africaine, IFAN.
- Khachatryan, Maria. 2012. *Lexique mano*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr)
- Kihm, Alain. 1991. Les constructions causatives en kriyol. *LINX* 25(2): 45–62.
- Kihm, Alain. 2000. *Noun class, gender, and the lexicon-syntax-morphology interfaces. A comparative study of Niger-Congo and Romance languages* (ms.).
- Kihm, Alain. 2008. 'Noun class, gender, and the lexicon-syntax-morphology interfaces: A comparative study of Niger-Congo and Romance languages'. In *The Oxford handbook of comparative syntax*, edited by Guglielmo Cinque and Richard S. Kayne. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 459–512.
- Kihm, Alain and Jean-Louis Rougé. 2011. 'O verbo nu em Kriyol (Guiné-Bissau/Casamansa)'. Paper presented at the 11th ACBLPE Conference, Porto, 7–8 July 2011.
- Kihm, Alain and Jean-Louis Rougé. 2013. Língua de preto, the basic variety at the root of West African Portuguese Creoles: A contribution to the theory of pidgin/creole formation as second-language acquisition. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages (JPCL)* 28(2): 203–98.
- Ki-Zerbo, Joseph and Djibril Tamsir Niane, eds. 1997. *Africa from the twelfth to the sixteenth century*. Vol. IV of UNESCO general history of Africa. New York and Berkeley, CA: James Currey and UC Press.
- Klaiman, Miriam H. 1991. *Grammatical voice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klaiman, Miriam H. 1992. Middle verbs, reflexive middle constructions and middle voice. In *Studies in Language* 16(1): 35–61.
- Klingenheben, August. 1924. Die Präfixklassen des Ful, *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 14(2,3): 190–315.
- Klingenheben, August. 1927. *Die Laute des Ful*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Klingenheben, August. 1941. *Die Suffixklassen des Ful*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Klingenheben, August. 1963. *Die Sprache der Ful*. Hamburg: J. J. Augustus Verlag.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 1994. 'Creolization and pidginization as categories of cultural differentiation: Varieties of cultural identity and inter-ethnic relations in Freetown'. In *Échange franco-allemands sur l'Afrique*, Vol. 3, edited by János Riesz and H. d'Almeida-Topor. Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies, 115–31.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 1995. *Kreolisierung versus Pidginisierung als Kategorien kultureller Differenzierung. Varianten neofrikanischer Identität und Interethnik in Freetown, Sierra Leone*. Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung, Vol. 10. Münster and Hamburg: LIT-Verlag.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 2007. *Kreolität und postkoloniale Gesellschaft. Integration und Differenzierung in Jakarta*. Frankfurt/M. and New York: Campus Verlag.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 2009. Postkoloniale Kreolität versus koloniale Kreolisierung. *Paideuma* 55: 93–115.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 2010a. Contemporary creoleness, or: The world in pidginization? *Current Anthropology* 51(6): 731–59.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 2010b. 'Out of hiding. Strategies of empowering the past in the reconstruction of Krio identity'. In *The powerful presence of the past. Integration and conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 205–28.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 2014. *Creole identity in postcolonial Indonesia*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books.
- Knörr, Jacqueline. 2018. 'Creolization and pidginization as concepts of Language, culture and identity'. In *Creolization and pidginization in contexts of postcolonial diversity: Language, culture, identity*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Leiden: Brill 15–35.
- Knörr, Jacqueline and Wilson Trajano Filho. 2010. 'Introduction'. In *The powerful presence of the past. Integration and conflict along the upper Guinea Coast*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 1–23.
- Knörr, Jacqueline and Wilson Trajano Filho. 2018. 'Creolization and pidginization in contexts of postcolonial diversity: Context, content, structure'. In *Creolization and pidginization in contexts of postcolonial diversity: language, culture, identity*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Leiden: Brill, 1–14.
- Kobès, Aloyse. 1869. *Grammaire de la langue wolofe*. Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil: Imprimerie de la Mission.
- Koch, Harold. 1984. The category of 'associated motion' in Kaytej. *Language in Central Australia* 1: 23–34.
- Koelle, Sigismund Wilhelm. 1854. *Polyglotta Africana: Comparative vocabulary of nearly three hundred words and phrases in more than 100 distinct African languages*. London: Church Missionary House.
- Kohl, Christoph. 2011. National integration in Guinea-Bissau since independence. *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 20: 85–109.
- Kohl, Christoph. 2012a. Diverse unity: Creole contributions to interethnic integration in Guinea-Bissau. *Nations and Nationalism* 18: 643–62.
- Kohl, Christoph. 2012b. Nationale Integration in Guinea-Bissau: Das Beispiel der Manjuandadis. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 137: 71–96.
- Kohl, Christoph. 2018. *A Creole nation: National integration in Guinea-Bissau*. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books.
- Köhler, Oswin. 1975. 'Geschichte und Probleme der Gliederung der Sprachen Afrikas. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart'. In *Die Völker Afrikas und ihre traditionellen Kulturen, Band 1: Allgemeiner Teil und südliches Afrika*, edited by H. Baumann. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 135–373.
- König, Ekkehard and Volker Gast. 2008. 'Reciprocity and reflexivity: Description, typology and theory'. In *Reciprocals and reflexives: Theoretical and typological explorations*, edited by Ekkehard König and Volker Gast. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 1–31.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 1993. *Nominalizations*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2003. 'Action nominal constructions in the languages of Europe'. In *Noun phrase structure in the languages of Europe*, edited by Frans Plank. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 723–759.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2006. 'Nominalization'. In *Encyclopaedia of languages and linguistics*, edited by Keith Brown, vol. 8. 2nd: Elsevier, 652–59.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria. 2015. 'Action nouns'. In *Word formation: An international handbook of the languages of Europe*, edited
- by Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen, and Franz Rainer. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 1195–209.
- Kopytoff, Igor. 1987a. 'The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture'. In *The African frontier: The reproduction of African societies*, edited by Igor Kopytoff. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 3–86.
- Kopytoff, Igor, ed. 1987b. *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Koroma, Regine. 1994. *Die Morphosyntax des Gola* (Afrikanistische Monographien Band 4). Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik.
- Kra, Kouakou Appoh Enoc. 2016. *Le koulango, langue gur de la Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Kramsch, Claire and Anne Whiteside. 2008. Language ecology in multilingual settings: Towards a theory of symbolic competence. *Applied Linguistics* 29(4): 645–71.
- Kulikov, Leonid. 2001. 'Causative' in *Language typology and language universals*, Vol. 2, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher, and Wolfgang Raible. Berlin, New York: Walter De Gruyter, 886–98.
- Labatut, Roger. 1973. *Le parler d'un groupe de peuls nomades: Les Wodaabe Hoorewaalde Dageeja bibe bii Siroma*. (Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale; 6). Paris: SELAF.
- Labatut, Roger. 1982. *La phrase peule et ses transformations*. PhD thesis. Université de Lille III.
- Labouret, Henry. 1952. *La langue des Peuls ou Foulbé*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Laca, Brenda and Patricia Cabredo Hofher, Eds. *Verbal plurality and distributivity*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter (Linguistische Arbeiten, 546).
- Lacroix, Pierre-Francis. 1959. Observations sur la « koiné » peule de Ngaoundéré. *Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique* 4: 57–71.
- Lacroix, Pierre-Francis. 1962. Distribution géographique et sociale des parlers peul du Nord-Cameroun. *L'Homme, Persée* (3): 75–101.
- Lacroix, Pierre-Francis. 1967. 'Quelques aspects de la désintégration d'un système classificatoire (peul du sud de l'Adamawa)'. In *La classification nominale dans les langues négro-africaines*, edited by Gabriel Manessy. Paris: CNRS, 291–312.
- Lacroix, Pierre-Francis. 1981. 'Les langues ouest-atlantiques'. In *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*, edited by Gabriel Manessy and Jean Perrot. Vol. 1: Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 19–31.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things. What categories reveal about the human mind*. Chicago/London: Chicago University Press.
- Lambert, Michael C. 2002. 'La marginalisation économique des communautés Joola à la fin du XXe siècle'. In *Le Sénégal contemporain*, edited by Momar-Coumba Diop. Paris: Karthala, 355–73.
- Lambrech, Knud. 1986. *Topic, focus, and the grammar of spoken French*. PhD dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.
- Lambrech, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form. Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- La Mission Évangélique-NTM. 2002. *Tawureta ka Musaa. Suraa 1-9*. Boké: La Mission Évangélique-NTM.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987a. *Foundations of cognitive grammar*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1987b. Nouns and verbs. *Language* 63(1): 53-94.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1991. *Concept, image, and symbol. The cognitive basis of grammar*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langlois, Annie. 2006. Wordplay in teenage Pitjantjatjara. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 26(2): 181-92.
- Lanza, Elizabeth. 1992. Can bilingual two-year-olds code-switch? *Journal of Child Language* 19(3): 633-58.
- Laycock, Don. 1972. Towards a typology of ludlings, or play languages. *Linguistic Communications* 6: 61-113.
- Leclerc, Jacques. 2015. 'Gambie', available at: <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/gambie.htm>; 'Mauritanie', available at: <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mauritanie.htm>; Sénégal, available at: <https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/senegal.htm> (accessed 12 September 2017).
- Ledegen, Gudrun and Isabelle Léglise. 2013. 'Variations et changements linguistiques'. In *Sociolinguistique des langues en contact*, edited by Sylvie Wharton and Jacky Simonin. Paris: ENS Editions, 315-29.
- Léglise, Isabelle and Claudine Chamoreau. 2013. 'Variation and change in contact settings'. In *The interplay of variation and change in contact settings*, edited by Isabelle Léglise and Claudine Chamoreau. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-20.
- Lentz, Carola 1995. 'Tribalism' and ethnicity in Africa. *Cahiers des Sciences Humaines* 31(2): 303-28.
- Lentz, Carola. 2013. *Land, mobility, and belonging in West Africa*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Le Page, Robert B. and Tabouret-Keller, Andrée. 1985. *Acts of identity. Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lerch, Hans-Günter. 2013. *Tschü Lowi. Das Manische in Gießen*. Gießen: VVB Laufersweiler.
- Lespina, Charles de. 1987a. La disparition de la langue baynunk. Fin d'un peuple ou processus réversible? *Cahiers du C.R.A.* 5: 23-9.
- Lespina, Charles de. 1987b. *Lexique Bagnoune*, [no place mentioned]: Bureau d'Organisation de Recherche et d'Études du Patrimoine Bagnoune (B.O.R.E.P.A.B.).
- Lespina, Charles de. 1992. *Dictionnaire Baynunk (guñun-gujaxer-guhaca-gubdy)*. Ms.
- Lespina, Charles de. 2000. 'Un lexique bagon-floupe de la fin du XVII^e siècle: Apport à l'histoire du peuplement de la Casamance'. In *Migrations anciennes et peuplement actuel des côtes guinéennes - Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Lille I, les 1-3 décembre 1997*, edited by Gérard Gaillard. Paris: L'Harmattan, 193-213.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, eds. 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world (18th ed)*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Lexander, Kristin V. 2009. 'La communication médiatisée par les technologies de l'information et de la communication: La porte d'accès au domaine de l'écrit pour les langues africaines?' In *Languages and education in Africa. A comparative and transdisciplinary analysis*, edited by Birgit Brock-Utne and Ingse Skattum. Oxford: Symposium Books, 289-99.
- Lexander, Kristin V. 2010. Voeux plurilingues électroniques—nouvelles pratiques, nouvelles fonctions pour les langues africaines? *Journal of Language Contact*, THEMA 3: 228-46.
- Lexander, Kristin V. 2011a. Texting and African language literacy. *New Media and Society* 13(3): 427-43.
- Lexander, Kristin V. 2011b. *Pratiques plurilingues de l'écrit électronique: Alternances codiques et choix de langue dans les SMS, les courriels et les conversations de la messagerie instantanée des étudiants de Dakar, Sénégal*. PhD dissertation. University of Oslo.
- Lexander, Kristin Vold. 2012. 'Analyzing multilingual texting in Senegal: An approach for the study of mixed-language SMS'. In *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: Approaches to mixed-language written discourse*, edited by Mark Sebba, Sharzad Mahootian, and Carla Jonsson. New York: Routledge, 146-69.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 1985. Multiple uses of reciprocal constructions. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 5(1): 19-41.
- Lieber, Rochelle. 1984. 'Consonant gradation in Fula: An autosegmental approach'. In *Language sound structure*, edited by Mark Aronoff and Richard T. Oehrle. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 329-45.
- Lieber, Rochelle. 1987. *An integrated theory of autosegmental processes*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Linars de Sapir, Olga. 1971. Shell middens of the Lower Casamance and problems of Diola protohistory. *West African Journal of Archaeology* 1: 23-54.
- Lindstedt, Jouko. 2001. 'Tense and aspect'. In *Language typology and language universals. An international handbook*, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher, and Wolfgang Raible. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 768-83.
- Lo, Adrienne. 1999. Codeswitching, speech community membership, and the construction of ethnic identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (3/4): 461-79.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1990. *Storyline concerns and word order typology in East and West Africa* [Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 10]. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Luffin, Xavier. 2002. Language taboos in Kinubi: A comparison with Sudanese and Swahili cultures. *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 57(3): 356-67.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2004. Language planning in West Africa—who writes the script? *Language Documentation and Description* 2: 90-107.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2005. *A grammar of Jalonke argument structure*. PhD thesis. Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2010a. Language and identity In flux: In search of Baïnouk. *Multilingualism and language contact in West Africa: Towards a holistic perspective: Journal of Language Contact* THEMA 3: 155-74.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2010b. Multilingualism and language contact in West Africa: Towards a holistic perspective. *Multilingualism*

- and language contact in West Africa: Towards a holistic perspective: *Journal of Language Contact* THEMA 3: 1-12.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2012. *Bainouk Languages: DOBES*.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2013a. 'Multilingualism on the ground'. In Lüpke, Friederike and Anne Storch. *Repertoires and choices in African languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 13-76.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2013b. 'Societal multilingualism in Senegal'. In Lüpke, Friederike and Anne Storch. *Repertoires and choices in African Languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 14-21.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2016a. Pure fiction—the interplay of indexical and essentialist language ideologies and heterogeneous practices. A view from Agnack. *Language Documentation and Conservation Special Publication* (10): 8-39.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2016b. Uncovering small-scale multilingualism. *Critical Multilingualism Studies* 4(2): 35-74.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2016c. A preliminary grammatical sketch of Baïnouk Gujaher [unpublished].
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2018a. 'Multiple choice: Language use and cultural practice in rural Casamance between convergence and divergence'. In *Creolization and pidginization in contexts of post-colonial diversity: Language, culture, identity*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 181-208.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2018b. 'Escaping the tyranny of writing: West African regimes of writing as a model for multilingual literacy'. In *The tyranny of writing revisited*, edited by Kasper Juffermans and Constanze Weth. London: Bloomsbury, 129-48.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2020. 'Atlantic'. In *The Oxford handbook of African languages*, edited by Rainer Vossen: Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 161-73.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2021a. Patterns and perspectives shape perceptions: Epistemological and methodological reflections on the study of small-scale multilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 25(4): 878-900.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2021b. 'Standardization in highly multilingual contexts: The shifting interpretations, limited reach, and great symbolic power of ethnonationalist visions'. In *The Cambridge handbook of standard languages*, edited by Wendy Ayres-Bennett and John Bellamy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 139-69.
- Lüpke, Friederike and Sokhna Bao-Diop. 2014. 'Beneath the surface? Contemporary ajami writing in West Africa exemplified through Wolofal'. In *African literacies: Ideologies, scripts, education*, edited by Kasper Juffermans, Yonas Mesfun Asfaha, and Ashraf Abdelhay. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 88-117.
- Lüpke, Friederike and Mary Chambers, eds. 2010. *Multilingualism and language contact in West Africa: Towards a holistic perspective*. THEMA 3 issue of the *Journal of Language Contact*.
- Lüpke, Friederike and Anne Storch. 2013a. 'Introduction to repertoires and choices in African languages'. In *Repertoires and choices in African languages*, Lüpke, Friederike and Anne Storch: Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1-11.
- Lüpke, Friederike and Anne Storch. 2013b. *Repertoires and choices in African languages*. Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Lüpke, Friederike and Rachel Watson. 2020. 'Language contact in West Africa'. In *The Routledge handbook of language contact*, edited by Evangelia Adamou and Yaron Matras. Routledge, 528-49.
- Lüpke, Friederike, Kristine Stenzel, Flora Dias Cabalzar, Thiago Chacon, Aline da Cruz, Bruna Franchetto, Antonio Guerreiro, Sérgio Meira, Glauber Romling da Silva, Wilson Silva, Luciana Storto, Leonor Valentino, Hein van der Voort, and Rachel Watson. 2020. Comparing rural multilingualism in Lowland South America and Western Africa. *Anthropological Linguistics* 62(1): 3-57. <https://doi.org/10.1353/anl.2020.0002>.
- Luschan, Felix von. 1912. 'Hamitische Typen'. In *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, edited by Carl Meinhof. (Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts; 9). Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen & Co, 241-56.
- Luschützky, Hans Christian and Franz Cristo. 2011. Agent noun polysemy in a cross-linguistic perspective. *STUF—Language Typology and Universals/Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 64(4): 287-338.
- Maasilta, Mari. 2007. *African Carmen. Transnational cinema as an arena for cultural contradictions*. Doctoral dissertation. Tampere: Tampere University Press. <http://urn.fi/urn:isbn:978-951-44-6972-5>
- Maddieson, Ian. 1984. *Patterns of sounds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mafundikwa, Saki. 2004. *Afrikan alphabets: The story of writing in Afrika*. West New York, NJ: Mark Batty.
- Maho, Jouni Filip. 1999. *A comparative study of Bantu noun classes*. PhD thesis. University of Göteborg.
- Makalela, Leketi. 2013. Translanguaging in kasi-taal: Rethinking old language boundaries for new language planning. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 42(1): 111-25.
- Makalela, Leketi. 2015. Moving out of linguistic boxes. The effects of translanguaging strategies for multilingual classrooms. *Language and Education* 29(3): 200-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.994524>.
- Makoni, Sifree B. 2013. An integrationist perspective on colonial linguistics. *Language Sciences* 35: 87-96. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2012.06.001>.
- Malchukov, Andrej. 2004. *Nominalization/verbalization: Constraining a typology of transcategorial operations*. München: LINGCOM EUROPA.
- Maneva, Blagovesta and Fred Genesee. 2002. 'Bilingual babbling: Evidence for language differentiation in dual language acquisition'. In *BUCLD 26: Proceedings of the 26th annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*, edited by Barbora Skarabela, Sarah Fish, and Anna H.-J. Do. Cascadilla Press, 383-92.
- Manfredi, Stefano. 2013. 'Native and non-native varieties of Arabic in an emerging urban centre of western Sudan. Evidence from Kadugli'. In *African Arabic: Approaches to dialectology*, edited by Mena Lafkioui. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 13-50.
- Manga, Tricia. 2015. *Étude des pratiques langagières et du code switching jóola banjal-français-wolof dans les conversations: cas de la population migrante du Mof Avvi*. Memoire de master 2. Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar.

- Mansaly, Jules. 2017. *Étude linguistique des proverbes balant*. München: LINCOM.
- Marantz, Alec. 1985. *Fula class suffixes and autosegmental theory*. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Unpublished manuscript.
- Marantz, Alec. 1997. 'No escape from syntax. Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon'. In *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium*, edited by Alexis Dimitriadis and Laura Siegel, 201–25.
- Marchese, Lynell. 1983. On assertive focus and the inherent focus nature of negatives and imperatives. Evidence from Kru. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 5(2): 115–30.
- Mark, Peter Allen. 1976. *Economic and religious change among the Diola Boulouf (Casamance), 1890–1940; trade, cash cropping and Islam in Southwestern Senegal*. PhD thesis. Yale University.
- Mark, Peter. 1985. *A Cultural, economic, and religious history of the Basse Casamance since 1500*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Mark, Peter. 1999. Religion, identity, and slavery in the Casamance. Review of: Baum, Robert. 1999. *Shrines of the slave trade: Diola religion and society in precolonial Senegambia*. New York: Oxford University Press. *African Studies Review* 42(3): 75–80. <https://doi.org/10.2307/525209>.
- Mark, Peter. 2002. 'Portuguese' style and Luso-African identity. *Precolonial Senegambia, sixteenth–nineteenth centuries*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Marten, Lutz and Nancy Kula. 2014. Benefactive and substitutive applicatives in Bemba. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 35(1): 1–44.
- Maslov, Jurij. 1988. 'Resultative, perfect, and aspect'. In *Typology of resultative constructions*, edited by Vladimir P. Nedjalkov. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 63–85.
- Maslova, Elena. 2008. 'Reflexive encoding of reciprocity: Cross-linguistic and language-internal variation'. In *Reciprocals and reflexives: cross-linguistic and theoretical explorations*, Ekkehard König and Volker Gast. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 225–57.
- Massing, Andreas W. 1985. The Mane, the decline of Mali, and Mandinka expansion towards the South Windward Coast. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 25(97): 21–55.
- Maturana, Humberto R. and Francisco G. Varela. 1984. *El árbol del conocimiento*. Santiago: Editorial Universitari.
- Mbaya, Mawéja. 2005. *Pratiques et attitudes linguistiques dans l'Afrique d'aujourd'hui: Le cas du Sénégal* (LINCOM Studies in Sociolinguistics 04). München: Lincom Europa.
- M'Bodj, Chérif. 1983. *Recherches sur la phonologie et la morphologie de la langue saafi (le parler de Boukhou)*. PhD thesis. Université de Nice - Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.
- McCarthy, John J. 1982. 'Prosodic templates, morphemic templates, and morphemic tiers'. In *The structure of phonological representations*, edited by Harry van der Hulst and Norval Smith. Dordrecht, Holland and Cinnaminson, NJ: Foris Publications, 191–223.
- McGregor, William. 2002. *Verb classification in Australian languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- McIlwain, Gloria. 1994. *TUT language*. San Francisco: TLC.
- McIntosh, Mary. 1984. *Fulfulde syntax and verbal morphology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 1992. *Noun classification in Seereer-Siin*. PhD dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 1994. Consonant mutation in Seereer-Siin. *Studies in African Linguistics* 23: 279–313.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 1995. Haalpulaar identity as a response to Wolofization. *African Languages and Cultures* 8(2): 153–68.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 1997. Noun classification in Wolof. When affixes are not renewed. *Studies in African Linguistics* 26(1): 1–28.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2000. Consonant mutation and reduplication in Seereer-Siin. *Phonology* 17(3): 333–63.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2001. Dakar Wolof and the configuration of an urban identity. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 14(2): 153–68.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2004. 'Is there an adjective class in Wolof?' In *Adjective classes: A cross-linguistic typology*, edited by Robert M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 242–62.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2005. Voiceless implosives in Seereer-Siin. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 35: 201–14.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2006. 'On the theoretical status of base and reduplicant in Northern Atlantic'. In *Selected proceedings of the 35th annual conference on African linguistics*, edited by John M. Mugane, John P. Hutchison, and Dee A. Worman. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 169–80.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2008a. 'Senegal: The emergence of a national lingua franca'. In *Language and national identity in Africa*, edited by Andrew Simpson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79–97.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2008b. On the origins of urban Wolof: Evidence from Louis Decemet's 1864 phrase book. *Language in Society* 37(5): 713–35.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2008c. 'Arabic in Senegal'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*, Vol. 4, edited by Kees Versteegh. Leiden: Brill, 179–85.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2008d. 'The ascent of Wolof as an urban vernacular and national lingua franca in Senegal'. In *Globalization and language vitality: Perspectives from Africa*, edited by Cécile B. Vigouroux and Salikoko S. Mufwene. London; New York: Continuum, 142–70.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona., ed. 2009. *The languages of urban Africa*. London: Continuum.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2014. Senegalese digital repertoires in superdiversity: A case study from Seneweb. *Discourse, Context and Media* 4–5: 29–37.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2015a. 'Inflection in Pulaar'. In *The Oxford handbook of inflection*, edited by Matthew Baerman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 419–45.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2015b. Linguistic warscapes of northern Mali. *Linguistic Landscape* 1(3): 213–42.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2015c. 'Can a language endanger itself? Reshaping urban repertoires in urban Senegal'. In *Language documentation and endangerment in Africa* (Culture and Language Use volume 17), edited by James Essegbey, Brent Henderson, and Fiona Mc Laughlin. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 131–52.
- Mc Laughlin, Fiona. 2018. 'How a lingua franca spreads'. In *Tracking language movement in Africa*, edited by Ericka A. Albaugh and Kathryn M. de Luna. Oxford University Press, 213–33.

- Meeuwis, Michael. 2010. *A grammatical overview of Lingala*. München: LINCOM.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1912. *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*. Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen & Co.
- Méla, Vivienne. 1991. Le verlan ou le langage du miroir. *Langages* 25(101): 73–94.
- Melloni, Chiara. 2015. 'Result nouns'. In *Word formation: An international handbook of the languages of Europe*, edited by Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen, and Franz Rainer. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 1253–68.
- Ménard, Anaïs. 2015. *Beyond autochthony discourses: Sherbro identity and the (re-)construction of social and national cohesion in Sierra Leone*. PhD dissertation. Martin Luther University, Halle Wittenberg.
- Merlan, Francesca. 2009. Indigeneity. Global and local. *Current Anthropology* 50(3): 303–33.
- Merrill, John. 2013. A historical account of the Fula and Seereer consonant mutation and noun class systems. University of California, Berkeley. Available online at http://www.linguistics.berkeley.edu/seereer/guestwiki/uploads/Merrill_Sereer_Fula_mutation_NC.pdf (4 June 2018).
- Merrill, John. 2018. *The historical origin of consonant mutation in the Atlantic languages*. PhD thesis. University of California, Berkeley.
- Mervis, Carolyn B. and Eleanor H. Rosch. 1981. Categorization of natural objects. *Annual Review of Psychology* 32: 89–115.
- Messina, Jean Paul and Jaap Slageren. 2005. *Histoire du christianisme au Cameroun: Approche œcuménique*. Paris: Karthala.
- Mesthrie, Rajend, ed. 2002. *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Métangmo-Tatou, Léonie. 1988. *Normes et tendances au sein du système classificatoire du fulfulde au Nord-Cameroun*. Thèse de 3e cycle. Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris.
- Meyer, Gérard. 2001a. *Éléments de grammaire du badiaranké*. Dakar (no indication of publisher).
- Meyer, Gérard. 2001b. *Lexique badiaranké-français: Parler de la région de Koundara, Guinée*. Conakry (no indication of publisher).
- Meyers, Allan Richard. 1971. 'Slavery in the Hausa Fulani emirates'. In *Aspects of West African Islam*, edited by Daniel F. McCall and Normann R. Bennett. Boston: African Studies Center, Boston University.
- Mieder, Wolfgang and Alan Dundes, eds. 1981. *The wisdom of many. Essays on the proverb*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Mignolo, Walter D. 1996. Linguistic maps, literary geographies, and cultural landscapes: Languages, languaging, and (trans)nationalism. *Modern Language Quarterly* 57(2): 181–96. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00267929-57-2-181>.
- Miller, Catherine. 2002. 'The relevance of Arabic-based pidgins-creoles for Arabic linguistics'. In *Al-lughā*, edited by Gerda Mansur and Madiha Doss. Cairo: Arab Development Center, 7–46.
- Minkailou, Mohamed. 2016. Exploring euphemism in standard Songhay. *Recherches Africaines. Annales de l'Université des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Bamako* 16: 31–9.
- Miyamoto, Ritsuko. 1993. A study of Fula dialects: Examining the continuous/stative constructions, *Senri Ethnological Studies* 35: 215–30.
- Mohamadou, Aliou. 1985. *La morphologie du constituant nominal en fulfulde: Parlers de l'Aadamaawa*. PhD thesis. Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, INALCO, Paris.
- Mohamadou, Aliou. 1989. La marque négative -aa en peul: Une réévaluation, *Afrika und Übersee* 72: 69–89.
- Mohamadou, Aliou. 1994. *Classificateurs et représentation des propriétés lexicales en peul. Parlers de l'Aadamaawa*. Paris: Association Linguistique Africaine.
- Mohamadou, Aliou. 2012. *Le verbe en peul: Formes et valeurs en pulaar du Futa-Tooro*. Paris: Karthala.
- Mohammadou, Eldridge. 1976. *L'histoire des peuls Férôbé du Diamaré: Maroua et Pétté*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA).
- Mohammadou, Eldridge. 1978. *Fulbe Hooseere: Les royaumes Foulbe du plateau de l'Adamaoua: Maroua et Pétté*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA).
- Mohammadou, Eldridge. 1982. *Le royaume du Wandala ou Mandara au XIXe Siècle: Maroua et Pétté*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA).
- Mohammadou, Eldridge. 1983. *Peuples et royaumes du Foubina: Maroua et Pétté*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA).
- Moore, Leslie C. 2006a. Learning by heart in Qur'anic and public schools in northern Cameroon. *Social Analysis* 50(3): 109–26.
- Moore, Leslie C. 2006b. Changes in folktale socialization in a Fulbe community. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Supplement 11: 176–87.
- Moreau, Marie-Louise. 1994a. Destino de uma sociedade, destino de uma língua. Balizas para a história do crioulo português de Ziguinchor. *PAPIA, Revista de Crioulos de Base Ibérica* 1(3): 31–41.
- Moreau, Marie-Louise. 1994b. 'Ziguinchor, ville créole? Jalons pour l'histoire du créole portugais'. In *Comprendre la Casamance*, edited by François-George Barbier-Wiesser. Paris: Karthala, 179–89.
- Morey, Stephen, Mark W. Post, and Victor A. Friedman. 2013. 'The language codes of ISO 639: A premature, ultimately unobtainable, and possibly damaging standardization'. Presentation at PARADISEC conference *Research, records and responsibility: Ten years of the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures*.
- Morgan, Daniel Ray. 1996. *Overview of grammatical structures of Ndut: A Cangin language of Senegal*, MA thesis. Linguistics, University of Texas, Austin, TX.
- Moseley, Christopher, ed. 2010. *Atlas of the world's languages in danger*, 3rd edn. Paris: UNESCO Publishing. Online version: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/>.
- Mous, Maarten. 2003. 'Loss of linguistic diversity in Africa'. In *Language death and language maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches*, edited by Mark Janse and Sijmen Tol. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 157–70.
- Mouser, Bruce L. 1980. 'Accommodation and assimilation in the landlord-stranger relationship'. In *West African culture*

- dynamics, edited by B. K. Swartz, Jr. and Raymond Dumett. The Hague: Mouton, 495–514.
- Mouser, Bruce L. 2010. 'Insurrection as socioeconomic change: Three rebellions in Guinea/Sierra Leone in the eighteenth century'. In *The powerful presence of the past. Integration and conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 55–73.
- Moxley, Jeri. 1998. 'Semantic structure of Swahili noun classes'. In *Language, history and linguistic description in Africa*, edited by Ian Maddieson and Thomas J. Hinnebusch. Trenton (NJ)/Asmara: Africa World Press, 229–38.
- Moysse-Faurie, Claire. 2008. 'Middle, reflexive and reciprocal constructions in Oceanic'. In *Reciprocals and reflexives: Cross-linguistic and theoretical explorations*, Ekkehard König and Volker Gast. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 105–68.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1980. 'Bantu noun class prefixes: Inflectional or derivational?' In *Papers from the sixteenth regional meeting of the Chicago linguistic society*, edited by Jody Kreiman and Almerindo E. Ojeda. Chicago: Linguistic Society. Chicago: University of Chicago, 246–57.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2001a. 'Creolization is a social, not a structural, process'. In *Degrees of restructuring in Creole languages*, edited by Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh and Edgar W. Schneider. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 65–84.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2001b. *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2002. Competition and selection in language evolution. *Selection* 3(1): 45–56.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G., 1957. Das „Sonnenrind“ der Ful'be: Linguistische Hinweise zur vorislamischen Geisteswelt der fulsprechenden Völkernschaften im westlichen Sudan. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 54: 130–40.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1958. Kisi und Bantu. *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 13: 132–73.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1961. Temne and Proto-Bantu. *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 16: 55–93.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1962. Anlautwechsel, nominale und verbale Formen im Ful. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 58: 1–23.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1963. *Die Grundlagen des Ful und das Mauretansische*. (Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe des Afro-Asiatischen Institutes in Wien; 1) Wien: Herder.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1976–1977. *A Study of Western Nigritic* (2 vols.). Vienna: Afro-Pub and Institut für Ägyptologie und Afrikanistik der Universität Wien.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1983. Die Nominalklassen im Serer und im Ful. *Afrika und Übersee* 66: 175–90.
- Mukoshy, Ibrahim A. 1991. 'A review of the Fulfulde classes'. In *Studies in Fulfulde language, literature and culture: Proceedings of the 1st–4th international conferences on Fulfulde language, literature and culture*, edited by Isa A. Abba, Ibrahim A. Mukoshy, and Gidado Tahir. Kano: Centre for Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, 12–20.
- Mukoshy, Ibrahim A. 2014. *A Fulfulde-English dictionary*. Ibadan: HEBN Publishers.
- Müller, Friedrich. 1876. *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*. Vol. 1: Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft. Wien: Alfred Hölder.
- Mumin, Meikal. 2014. 'The Arabic script in Africa: Understudied literacy'. In *The Arabic script in Africa*, edited by Meikal Mumin and Kees Versteegh. Leiden: Brill, 41–76.
- Mumin, Meikal and Kees Versteegh, eds. 2014. *The Arabic script in Africa*. Leiden: Brill.
- Murphy, William P. 2010. 'Patrimonial logic of centrifugal forces in the political history of the Upper Guinea Coast'. In *The powerful presence of the past. Integration and conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 27–53.
- Naro, Anthony J. 1978. A study on the origins of pidginization. *Language* 54(2): 314–47.
- Nassenstein, Nico. 2014. *A grammatical study of the youth language Yanké*. Munich: Lincom.
- Nassenstein, Nico and Andrea Hollington, eds. 2015. *Youth language practices in Africa and beyond*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Ndao, Dame. 2011. *Phonologie, morphologie et structures syntaxiques du Peul*. PhD thesis. INALCO, UCAD, Paris and Dakar.
- N'Diaye-Corréard, Geneviève. 1970. *Etudes fca ou balante (dialecte ganja): Système des classes nominales, lexique fca-français, et textes*. Paris: Société des Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France (SELAF).
- N'Diaye-Corréard, Geneviève. 1973. Notes sur le verbe fca. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar* 3: 177–92.
- Ndione, Augustin. 2013. *Contribution à une étude de la différence entre la reduplication et la répétition en français et en wolof*. PhD dissertation. Université François Rabelais, Tours.
- Neba, Aaron S. 1987. *Modern geography of the Republic of Cameroon*. Camden, NJ: Neba Publishers.
- Newman, Paul. 1990. *Nominal and verbal plurality in Chadic*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Newman, Paul. 1995. *On being right: Greenberg's African linguistic classification and the methodological principles which underlie it*. Bloomington: Institute for the Study of Nigerian Languages and Cultures, African Studies Program, Indiana University.
- Newman, Paul. 2007. *A Hausa-English dictionary*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Newman, Paul. 2012. 'Pluractional verbs: An overview'. In *Verbal plurality and distributivity*, edited by Brenda Laca and Patricia Cabredo Hofherr. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter (Linguistische Arbeiten, 546), 185–210.
- New Tribes Mission. 1996. *Lexique bainouke/français*. Dakar: Mission évangélique. p. 57.
- Ngom, Fallou. 2003. *Wolof*. München: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Ngom, Fallou. 2009. Ahmadu Bamba's pedagogy and the development of Ajami literature. *African Studies Review* 52(1): 99–123.
- Ngom, Fallou. 2010. Ajami scripts in the Senegalese speech community. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 10: 1–23.
- Ngom, Fallou. 2016. *Muslims beyond the Arab world: The odyssey of ajami and the Muridiyya*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ngom, Fallou and Alex Zito. 2010. *Sóóbu ci gééjug wolofal: Njàng mu njèkk ci wolofal. Diving into the ocean of wolofal: First workbook in wolofal/Wolofajami*. Boston: African Language Program, African Studies Center, Boston University.
- Niane, Djibril Tamsir. 1960. *Soundiata ou l'épopée mandingue*. Paris: Présence africaine.
- Niane, Djibril T. 1989. *Histoire des Mandingues de l'ouest*. Paris: Karthala-Arsan.
- Nikolaeva, Irina. 2007. 'Introduction'. In *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, edited by Irina Nikolaeva. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–22.
- Nordlinger, Rachel and Louisa Sadler. 2000. 'Tense as a nominal category'. In *Proceedings of the LFG00 Conference*, edited by Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King. Berkeley: CSLI Publications, 1–17.
- Noss, Philip A. 1979. 'Fula, a language of change'. In *Readings in Creole studies*, edited by Ian F. Hancock. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 175–90.
- Nouguier Voisin, Sylvie. 2002. *Relations entre fonctions syntaxiques et fonctions sémantiques en wolof*. PhD dissertation. Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Noye, Dominique. 1971. *Un cas d'apprentissage linguistique: Acquisition de la langue par les jeunes Peuls du Diamaré (Nord Cameroun)*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Noye, Dominique. 1974. *Cours de foulfouldé: Dialecte peul du Diamaré, Nord-Cameroun*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Noye, Dominique. 1975. Langages secrets chez les Peul. *African Languages* 1: 81–95.
- Noye, Dominique. 1989. *Dictionnaire foulfouldé-français: Dialecte peul du Diamaré Nord-Cameroun*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Ntarangwi, Mwenda. 2013. Introduction: parents' involvement in children's lives in Africa. *Africa Development* 37(3): 1–18.
- Nugent, Paul. 2010. 'The historicity of ethnicity: Mandinka/Jola and Ewe/Agotime identities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'. In *Ethnicity and the long-term perspective: the African experience*, edited by Alexander Keese. Boston and Bern: Peter Lang, 127–53.
- Nunez, Joseph Jean François. 2015. *L'alternance entre créole afro-portugais de Casamance, français et wolof au Sénégal. Une contribution trilingue à l'étude du contact de langues*. PhD dissertation. Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD)/Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Dakar/Paris.
- Nunez, Joseph Jean François. 2020. 'L'expression de la comparaison de supériorité en créole de Casamance'. In *Études des constructions comparatives*, edited by Béatrice Jeannot-Fourcaud and Paula Prescod. *Études Créoles*, XXXVII(1 & 2): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.4000/etudescreoles.708>.
- Nunez, Joseph Jean François and Isabelle Léglise. 2017. 'Ce que les pratiques langagières plurilingues au Sénégal disent à la linguistique de contact'. In *Espaces mobilités et éducation plurilingues: Éclairages d'Afrique et d'ailleurs*, edited by Michelle Auzanneau, Margaret Bento, and Malory Leclère. Paris: Editions des archives contemporaines, 99–119.
- Nwosu, Nnenna, Dele Orimoogunjee, and Scholastica Cooney. 2014. 'Proverbs and idiomatic expressions: Multilingual approach in language documentation and teaching'. Presentation at ACAL 45, April 17–19 2014, Lawrence, KS.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis B. 2017. Incompleteness: Frontier Africa and the currency of conviviality. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 52(3): 253–70. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909615580867>.
- Ochieng Orwenjo, Daniel. 2009. Political grandstanding and the use of proverbs in African political discourse. *Discourse and Society* 20(1): 123–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508097097>.
- Ochs, Elinor. 1988. *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and language socialization in a Samoan village*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, Elinor and Bambi Schieffelin. 1984. 'Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories'. In *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion*. Edited by Richard A. Shweder and Robert A. LeVine. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 276–320.
- Olson, James S. 1983. *Slave life in America. A historiography and selected bibliography*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Olson, Kenneth S., D. William Reiman Fernando Sabio, and Filipe Alberto da Silva. 2013. The voiced linguolabial plosive in Kajoko. *Journal of West African Languages* 40(2): 61–71.
- Oppong, Yaa P.A. 2002. *Moving through and passing on: Fulani mobility, survival, and identity in Ghana*. New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers.
- Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF). 2019. *La langue française dans le monde*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Oshima, David Y. 2006. Adversity and Korean/Japanese Passives: Constructional Analogy. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 15: 137–66.
- Otsuji, Emi and Alastair Pennycook. 2010. Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *Journal of Multilingualism* 7(3): 240–54.
- Palmer, Frank R. 2001. *Mood and modality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, Gary B. and Claudia Woodman. 2000. 'Ontological classifiers as polycentric categories as seen in Shona class 3 nouns'. In *Explorations in linguistic relativity*, edited by Martin Pütz and Marjolijn H. Verspoor. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 225–49.
- Palmié, Stephan. 2006. Creolization and its discontents. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35: 433–56.
- Palmié, Stephan. 2007a. 'On the C-word, again'. In *Creolization: History, ethnography, theory*, edited by Charles Stewart. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 66–83.
- Palmié, Stephan. 2007b. 'Is there a model in the muddle? "Creolization" in African Americanist history and anthropology'. In *Creolization: History, ethnography, theory*, edited by Charles Stewart. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 178–200.
- Paradis, Carole. 1992. *Lexical phonology and morphology. The nominal classes in Fula*. New York/London: Garland Publishing.
- Paradis, Carole and Darlene LaCharité. 1997. Preservation and minimality in loanword adaptation. *Journal of Linguistics* 33(2): 379–430.
- Park, Mi Sun. 2013. Code-switching and translanguaging: Potential functions in multilingual classrooms. *Teachers College, Columbia University Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics* 13(2): 50–2.

- Pasch, Helma. 2008. Competing scripts: The introduction of the Roman alphabet in Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 191: 65–109.
- Pasch, Helma. 2016. 'Bigraphism in Africa: Ajami and Latin'. In *Biscriptality: A sociolinguistic typology*, edited by Daniel Bunčić, Sandra L. Lippert, and Achim Rabus. Heidelberg: Winter, 250–3.
- Paster, Mary. 2005. 'Pulaar verbal extensions and phonologically driven affix order'. In *Yearbook of Morphology*, edited by Geert Booij and Jaap van Marle. Heidelberg [et al.]: Springer, 155–99.
- Patterson, Charlotte J. and Hastings, Paul D. 2007. Socialization in the context of family diversity. In *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research*, edited by Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings: Guilford Press, 328–51.
- Patterson, Orlando. 1975. 'Context and choice in ethnic allegiance: A theoretical framework and Caribbean case study'. In *Ethnicity: Theory and experience*, edited by Nathan Glazer and D. P. Moynihan. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 305–49.
- Patterson, Orlando. 1982. *Slavery and social death: A comparative study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Paugh, Amy L. 2012. *Playing with languages: Children and change in a Caribbean village*. Berghahn Books.
- Paulme, Denise. 1954. *Les gens du riz: Kissi de Haute-Guinée Française*. Paris: Librairie Plon.
- Payne, Stephen. 1992. *Une grammaire pratique avec phonologie et dictionnaire de kwatay (parler du village de Diémbéring, Basse Casamance, Sénégal)*. Dakar: Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL).
- Peace Corps. 1993. *Manuel de Fulfulde (Fulfulde manual)*. Niamey: Peace Corps, Niamey (Niger). Available online at https://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED401765 (13 June 2018).
- Pelckmans, Lotte. 2013. Moving memories of slavery among Western African migrants in urban contexts. (Bamako, Paris). *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 29(1): 45–67.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2010. *Language as local practice*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, Alastair and Emi Otsuji. 2015. *Metrolingualism: Language in the city*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Pérez-Crosas, Armonia. 2009. Des lançados aux expatriés: « l'ethnie Blanche » entre les fleuves Sénégal et Casamance. *Afrique et Développement* 34(2): 129–58.
- Perrin, Loïc-Michel. 2005. *Des représentations du temps en wolof*. Thèse de doctorat. Université Paris 7.
- Perrin, Loïc-Michel. 2012. *L'expression du temps en wolof*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Perrin, Loïc-Michel. 2015. 'Les classes nominales en basari'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 501–44.
- Person, Yves. 1961. Les kissi et leurs statues de pierre dans le cadre de l'histoire ouest-africaine. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* 23, (Series B, 1.2): 1–59.
- Person, Yves. 1971. Ethnic movements and acculturation in Upper Guinea since the fifteenth century. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* IV (3): 669–89.
- Peters, Melissa Minor. 2014. *Community perceptions of Ebola response efforts in Liberia: Montserrado and Nimba Counties*. London: Oxfam GB.
- Peters, Melissa Minor. 2015. Ebola and accusation: Stigma and blame drive Sierra Leone's Ebola epidemic. *WARA Newsletter* Spring 2015: 12–13.
- Peterson, David A. 2007. *Applicative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pichl, Walter J. 1964. Comparative notes on Sherbro and Krim. *Sierra Leone Language Review* 3: 42–6.
- Pichl, Walter J. 1966. *The Cangin group—A language group in northern Senegal*. Pittsburgh, PA: Institute of African Affairs, Duquesne University.
- Pichl, Walter J. 1972. *The Krim language in Sierra Leone*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.
- Pichl, Walter J. 1980. 'Serer, Wolof, Lehar, Nduf-Falor, Non, Safen'. In *West African language data sheets*, edited by M. E. Kropp Dakubu. Vol. 2. Leiden: West African Linguistic Society: African Studies Centre.
- Pichl, Walter J. 1981. *Vocabulaire laala*. Ms. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Polinsky, Maria. 2005. 'Antipassive Constructions'. In *The world atlas of language structures*, edited by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, and David Gill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 438–9.
- Porter, Arthur T. 1963. *Creolehood: A study of the development of Freetown society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pouye, Abdoulaye. 2015. *Pour une sauvegarde des langues en danger au Sénégal: Description synchronique du saafi-saafi*. Saint-Denis: Edilivre.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin. 1987. 'Development of the consonant alternation systems in the Mande and West Atlantic languages (in Russian)'. In *African historical linguistics*, edited by V. J. Porkhomovsky. Moscow: Nauka, 357–457.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin. 1988. 'Proto-Fula-Serer noun class system'. In *Progressive traditions in African and Oriental studies*, edited by Siegmund Brauner and Ekkehard Wolff. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 121–30.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin I. 1991. Perspectives of comparative studies on the Mande and West Atlantic: An approach to the quantitative comparative linguistics. *Mandekan* 22: 39–69.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin Igorevich. 1993. *Sravnitel'naja grammatika atlanticeskix jazykov: Imennye klassy i fonno-morfologija* [A comparative grammar of the Atlantic languages: noun classes and morphophonology]. Moskva: Nauka.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin I. 1997. *Proto-Mande et Proto-Atlantique: Problème des approches statistiques aux études comparatistes // Reconstruction linguistique*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin I. 2007. *Etudes atlantiques comparatives: Questions de méthodologie*. Paris: Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin Igorevich. 2009. 'La classification nominale: À la croisée des paradigmes'. In *Essais de typologie et de linguistique générale. Mélanges offerts à Denis Creissels* edited by Franck Floricic. Paris: ENS Editions, 87–105.

- Pozdniakov, Konstantin I. 2011. 'Les langues atlantiques'. In *Dictionary des langues*, edited by Emilio Bovini, Joëlle Busuttil, and Alain Peyraube: Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 20–3.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin I. 2012. 'On the position of South Atlantic languages'. Presentation at the *Niger-Congo International Congress*. LLACAN, Paris.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin. 2013. Protolanguage and prototype: A 'proto-letter' and a 'proto-spirit' in noun classes of Niger-Congo. *Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 35(1): 65–82.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin. 2015. 'Diachronie des classes nominales atlantiques: morphophonologie, morphologie, sémantique'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 57–102.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin. 2022. *Proto-Fula-Sereer: Lexicon, morphophonology, and noun classes*. Niger-Congo comparative Studies 2. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin and Stéphane Robert. 2015. 'Les classes nominales en wolof'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 545–628.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin and Guillaume Segerer. 2004a. 'Reconstruction des pronoms atlantiques et typologie des systèmes pronominaux'. In *Systèmes de marques personnelles en Afrique*, edited by Dymitr Ibrizimow and Guillaume Segerer. Louvain, Paris: Peeters (Afrique et Langage 8), 151–62.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin and Guillaume Segerer. 2004b. 'Reconstruction des pronoms personnels du proto-Cangin'. In *Systèmes de marques personnelles en Afrique*, edited by Dymitr Ibrizimow and Guillaume Segerer. Louvain, Paris: Peeters (Afrique et Langage 8), 163–83.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin and Guillaume Segerer. 2006. Les alternances consonantiques du Sereer: Entre classification nominale et dérivation. *Linguistica Africana* 12(1): 137–62.
- Pozdniakov, Konstantin, Guillaume Segerer, and Valentin Vydrin. 2019. 'Mande-Atlantic contacts'. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of linguistics*, edited by Mark Aronoff. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.393>
- Prinz, Manfred. 1996. *L'alphabétisation au Sénégal*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Puchner, Martin. 2020. *The language of thieves*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Quinn, Charlotte A. 1968. Niumi: A nineteenth-century Mandingo kingdom. *Africa* 38(4): 443–55.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2000. *Le cap-verdien: Origines et devenir d'une langue métisse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2001. Langues créoles, diachronie et procédés de reconstruction. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 16(1): 265–84.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2005. 'Les créoles portugais ou l'autre frontière de la lusophonie: Un aperçu de la dimension créole de l'œuvre de Paul Teyssier'. In *Lisbonne, atelier du lusitanisme français*, edited by Jacqueline Penjon and Pierre Rivas. Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 123–32.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2006. 'Un bref aperçu des racines africaines de la langue capverdienne'. In *Cabo Verde: Origens da sua sociedade e do seu crioulo*, edited by Jürgen Lang, John Holm, Jean-Louis Rougé, and Maria João Soares. Tübingen: Günter Narr, 75–90.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2007. 'Le capverdien, la langue du Cap-Vert'. In: *Les îles du Cap-Vert: Langues, mémoires, histoire*, edited by Idelette Muzart-Fonseca Dos Santos, José Manuel Da Costa Esteves, and Denis Rolland. Paris: L'Harmattan, 23–38.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2008. *L'élément africain dans la langue capverdienne/Africanismos na língua caboverdiana*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2012. 'African words and calques in Capeverdean Creole (Santiago variety)'. In *Black through White. African words and calques which survived slavery in Creoles and transplanted European languages*, edited by Angela Bartens and Philip Baker. London/Colombo (Sri Lanka): Battlebridge Publications, 3–29.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2015. 'Les classes nominales en nyun de Djifanghor'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 407–43.
- Quint, Nicolas. 2022. Classes nominales dans deux langues Niger-Congo: Le bainouck djifanghorais (atlantique) et Le koalib (kordofanien), *Faits de Langues* 52(2): 177–202. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19589514-05202010>
- Quint, Nicolas. 2024. 'Guinea-Bissau'. In *Manual of Romance languages in Africa*, edited by Ursula Reutner. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 447–66. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110628869-019>
- Quint, Nicolas and Karina Moreira Tavares. 2019. The common African lexical core of Upper Guinea Creoles and its historical significance. *Journal of Ibero-Romance Creoles* 9: 115–61.
- Rabain-Jamin, Jacqueline, Ashley E. Maynard, and Patricia Greenfield. 2003. Implications of sibling caregiving for sibling relations and teaching interactions in two cultures. *Ethos* 31(2): 204–31.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Archibald R. 1940. On joking relationships. *Africa* 13(3): 195–210.
- Renaudier, Marie. 2012. *Dérivation et valence en sereer, variété de Mar Ladj (Atlantic, Sénégal)*. PhD dissertation. Université Lumière Lyon 2.
- Renaudier, Marie. 2015. 'Les classes nominales en Sereer'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 469–500.
- Reno, William. 2003. 'Sierra Leone: Warfare in a post-state society'. In *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, René Lemarchand, and William Reno. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 71–100.
- Rialland, Annie and Stéphane Robert. 2001. The intonational system of Wolof. *Linguistics* 39–5, 893–939.
- Richards, Paul. 1996. *Fighting for the rain forest: War, youth & resources in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: International African Institute.
- Richards, Paul. 2005. *No peace, no war: An anthropology of contemporary armed conflicts; in memoriam Bernhard Helander*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

- Richardson, Irvine. 1967. 'Linguistic evolution and Bantu noun class systems'. In *La classification nominale dans les langues négro-africaines*, edited by Gabriel Manessy and André Martinet, 373–90. Aix-en-Provence: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Riesman, Paul. 1998. *Freedom in Fulani social life: An introspective ethnography*. University of Chicago Press.
- Rijkhoff, Jan. 2002. *The noun phrase*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ringen, Catherine O. 1979. Vowel harmony in Igbo and Diola Fogny. *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(3): 247–59.
- Robert, Stéphane. 1990. Aperçu et réflexions sur la négation en wolof. *Linguistique Africaine* 4: 167–80.
- Robert, Stéphane. 1991. *Une approche énonciative du système verbal: Le cas du wolof*, Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Robert, Stéphane. 1995. 'Aoristique et mode subordonnatif: Liens entre aspect et prédication'. In *Langues et langage. Problèmes et raisonnement en linguistique*, edited by Janine Bouscaren, Jean-Jacques Franckel, and Stéphane Robert. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 373–89.
- Robert, Stéphane. 1996. 'Aspect zéro et dépendance situationnelle: L'exemple du wolof'. In *Dépendance et intégration syntaxique; subordination, coordination, connexion*. Actes du colloque « Dépendance et intégration syntaxique ». Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux, 5–8 October 1994, edited by Claude Muller. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 153–62.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2006. 'Deictic space in Wolof: Discourse, syntax and the importance of absence'. In *Space in languages: Linguistic systems and cognitive categories* [TSL 66], edited by Maya Hickmann and Stéphane Robert. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 155–74.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2010a. 'Clause chaining and conjugations in Wolof: A typology of parataxis and its semantics'. In *Clause hierarchy and clause linking: syntax and pragmatics* [SLC 121], edited by Isabelle Bril. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 469–98.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2010b. 'Focus in Atlantic languages'. In *The expression of information structure. A documentation of its diversity across Africa*, edited by Ines Fiedler and Anne Schwarz. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 233–60.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2016a. 'Tense and aspect in the verbal system of Wolof'. In *Aspectuality and temporality: Theoretical and empirical issues*, edited by Zlatka Guentchéva. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 171–230.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2016b. 'Content question words and noun class markers in Wolof: Reconstructing a puzzle'. In *Interrogative and syntactic inquiries. Case studies from Africa*, edited by Bernhard Köhler. Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter (Frankfurt African Studies Bulletin) 23–2011. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 123–46.
- Robert, Stéphane. 2020. 'On the grammatical uses of the HEAD in Wolof: From reflexivity to intensifying uses'. In *Body part terms in conceptualization and language usage*, edited by Iwona Kraska-Szlenk. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 133–67.
- Robert, Stéphane and Sylvie Voisin. 2022. Why eight causative suffixes in Wolof? *Language in Africa* 3 (2): 59–101. <https://doi.org/10.37892/2686-8946-2022-3-2-59-101>.
- Roberts, Allen and Mary Nooter Roberts. 2003. *A saint in the city: Sufi arts of urban Senegal*. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Robinson, David. 1985. *The holy war of Umar Tal: The Western Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Robinson, David. 2000. *Paths of accommodation: Muslim societies and French colonial authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Robinson, David. 2004. *Muslim societies in African history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roche, Christian. 2000. *Histoire de la Casamance. Conquête et résistance 1850–1920*. Paris: Karthala.
- Rodney, Walter. 1967. A reconsideration of the Mane invasions of Sierra Leone. *Journal of African History* 8: 219–46.
- Rodney, Walter. 1970. *A history of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545–1800*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Rosch, Eleanor H. 1973. Natural categories. *Cognitive Psychology* 4(3): 328–50.
- Rosch, Eleanor H. 1978. 'Principles of categorization'. In *Cognition and categorization*, edited by Barbara B. Lloyd and Eleanor H. Rosch. Hillsdale (NJ): Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 27–48.
- Rosch, Eleanor H. and Carolyn B. Mervis. 1975. Family resemblances. Studies in the internal structure of categories. *Cognitive Psychology* 7(4): 573–605.
- Rosch, Eleanor H., Carolyn B. Mervis, Wayne D. Gray, David M. Johnson, and Penny Boyes-Braem. 1976. Basic objects in natural categories. *Cognitive Psychology* 8(3): 382–439.
- Ross, Daniel. 2021. 'A cross-linguistic survey of associated motion and directionals'. In *Associated motion*, edited by Antoine Guillaume and Harold Koch. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 31–86.
- Rougé, Jean-Louis. 1985. Formation et évolution du lexique du créole portugais de Guinée-Bissau et de Casamance. PhD dissertation. Université Lumière-Lyon 2.
- Rougé, Jean-Louis. 1986. 'Uma hipótese sobre a formação do crioulo da Guiné-Bissau e da Casamansa'. *Soronda* 2: 28–49.
- Rougé, Jean-Louis. 1988. *Petit dictionnaire étymologique du kriol de Guinée Bissau et de Casamance*. Bissau: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa (INEP).
- Rougé, Jean-Louis. 1999. 'D'où viennent les verbes des créoles?' In *Crioulos de base portuguesa*, edited by Ernesto d'Andrade, Dulce Pereira, and Maria Antónia Mota. Braga: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, 171–7.
- Sagna, Serge. 2008. *Formal and semantic properties of the Gújjolaay Eegimaa (a.k.a Banjal) nominal classification system*. PhD thesis. SOAS, London.
- Sagna, Serge. 2010. Issues in noun classification and noun class assignment in Gújjolaay Eegimaa (Banjal) and other Jóola languages. *Studies in African Linguistics* 39(1): 1–33.
- Sagna, Serge. 2016. 'Research impact' and how it can help endangered languages. *OGMIOS Newsletter* 59 (30 April 2016).
- Sagna, Serge. 2017. Morphological alternation and event delimitation in Eegimaa. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 53–74.

- Sagna, Serge. 2019. A typological overview of Gújjolaay Eegimaa (Banjal). *Studies in African Linguistics* 48(1): 25–53.
- Sagna, Serge and Emmanuel Bassène. 2016. Why are they named after death? Name giving, name changing and death prevention names in Gújjolaay Eegimaa (Banjal). *Language Documentation and Conservation Special publication* 10: 40–70.
- Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de. 2015. *Rey Siñu*, translated by Noël-Bernard Biagui, Joseph Jean François Nunez, and Nicolas Quint. Neckarsteinach (Germany): Tintenfass.
- Sall, Adjaratou Oumar. 2005. *La subordination en wolof: Description syntaxique*. Thèse de doctorat: Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar.
- Samb, Amar. 1971. *Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal à la littérature d'expression arabe*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Samb, Amar. 1983. *Initiation à la grammaire wolof*. Initiations et Etudes Africaines XXXIII. Université de Dakar.
- Sambou, Pierre-Marie. 1979. *Diola kaasa esuulaalur. Phonologie, morphophonologie et morphologie*. PhD thesis. UCAD, Dakar.
- Sambou, Pierre-Marie. 1982. La description du système verbal du joola. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Dakar*. Vol. 12.
- Sambou, Pierre. 2007. *Morphosyntaxe du jóola karon*. PhD dissertation. Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar.
- Sambou, Pierre. 2014. *Relations entre les rôles syntaxiques et les rôles sémantiques dans les langues jóola*. PhD dissertation. Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar.
- Sambou, Pierre-Marie and Jeanne Lopis. 1981. Trait ATR et ses manifestations en joola et en noon. *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire* 43(1–2): 203–14.
- Sanders, Edith R. 1969. The Hamitic Hypothesis; its origin and functions in time perspective. *Journal of African History* 10(4): 521–32.
- Santos, Rosine. 1977. *Phonologie et morphotonologie de la langue wèy (koñagi)*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD).
- Santos, Rosine. 1986. La situation des Boïn dans les langues tenda. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Dakar* 16: 115–33.
- Santos, Rosine. 1996. *Le mey. Langue ouest-atlantique de Guinée*. PhD thesis. Université Paris III.
- Santos Rosine and Marie-Paule Ferry. 1975. *Deux lexiques tenda: Lexique wèy (koñagi) suivi d'un lexique pè*. Dakar: Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD), (Les langues africaines au Sénégal, 61).
- Sapir, J. David. n.d. *Greenberg's list for Gusilay spoken at Tiouk Essil*. Ms. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Sapir, J. David. 1965. *A Grammar of Diola-Fogny: A language spoken in the Basse-Casamance region of Senegal*. (1969 [reprint]) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sapir, J. David. 1971. 'West Atlantic: An inventory of the languages, their noun class systems and consonant alternation'. In Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Current trends in linguistics 7: Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton. 45–112.
- Sapir, J. David. 1993 [1970]. Dictionnaire Joola Kujamutay. Kujamutay = Fogny. Online at <http://etext.virginia.edu/african/Kujamaat/DIC/Joola-Dic.html>.
- Sarró, Ramon. 2009. *The Politics of religious change on the Upper Guinea Coast. Iconoclasm done and undone*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1987. The thematic/categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25(3): 511–80.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1991. 'Aspekttheorie'. In *Aspektsysteme*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Sasse. Cologne: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Arbeitspapier N.F 14: 1–35.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1992. 'Language decay and contact-induced change: Similarities and differences'. In *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*, edited by Brenzinger, Matthias: 59–80. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 2002. Recent activity in the theory of aspect: Accomplishments, achievements, or just non-progressive state? *Linguistic Typology* 6(2): 199–271.
- Sauvageot Serge. 1965. *Description synchronique d'un dialecte wolof, le parler du Dyolof*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Sauvageot, Serge. 1967a. 'Note sur la classification nominale en baïnouk' [typed or mimeographed version probably predating 1967b].
- Sauvageot, Serge. 1967b. 'Sur la classification nominale en Baïnouk'. In *La classification nominale dans les langues négro-africaines*, edited by Gabriel Manessy. Paris: CNRS, 225–35.
- Sauvageot, Serge. 1987. 'La linguistique en tant que témoignage historique. Le cas du baynunk'. In *Contributions à l'histoire du Sénégal*, edited by Jean Boulègue. Cahiers du C.R.A., 17–22.
- Schadeberg, Thilo C. 2001. Number in Swahili grammar. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 68: 7–16.
- Schaefer, Ronald P. 1985. Motion in Tswana and its characteristic lexicalization. *Studies in African Linguistics* 16(1): 57–87.
- Schaefer, Ronald P. and Richard Gaines. 1997. Toward a typology of directional motion for African languages. *Studies in African Linguistics* 26(2): 193–220.
- Schaeffner, André. 1951. *Les Kissi: Une société noire et ses instruments de musique*. Paris: Hermann et Cie.
- Schaeffner, André. 1953. Les rites de la circoncision en pays Kissi. *Études Guinéennes* 12: 3–56.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, eds. 1998. *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schildkrout, Enid. 1975. Ethnicity, kinship, and joking among urban immigrants in Ghana. *Migration and urbanization: Models and adaptive strategies*, edited by Brian M. Du Toit and Helen I. Safa. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 245–64.
- Schlee, Günther. 2001. 'Language and ethnicity'. In *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, Vol. 12, edited by Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Ltd, 8285–8.
- Schneider, Britta. 2019. Methodological nationalism in linguistics. *Language Sciences* (76): 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2018.05.006>.

- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1888. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 12(1-4): 301-22.
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2000. *Simple and complex verbs in Jaminjung: A study of event categorization in an Australian language*. PhD thesis. Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen and Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik.
- Sebba, Mark. 2007. *Spelling and society. The culture and politics of orthography around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Seck, Aliou Ngoné. 1999. Les connecteurs argumentatifs du wolof. *Sciences et Techniques du Langage* 3/4: 7-36.
- Seck, Cornelia. 2002. Some notes the noun classification in Diola-Fogny (Jóola Fofii). *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 69: 189-203.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 1998a. *Lexique sua*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Segerer, Guillaume. 1998b. *Lexique bijogo de Caravela*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2000. *Description de la langue bijogo (Guinée-Bissau)*, Thèse de Doctorat. Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2001. 'Où classer le bijogo?' Presentation at the 32nd Conference on African Linguistics, University of California at Berkeley.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2002. *La langue bijogo de Bubaque (Guinée-Bissau)*. Louvain/Paris: Peeters.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2007. *Comparaison des langues atlantiques génétique - typologie - universaux*. Ms.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2010a. 'Isolates' in 'Atlantic'. Ms.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2010b. 'Some hypotheses about possible isolates within the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo phylum'. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 36 (1): 368-381.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2012. 'From proto-Joola to proto-Bak: Steps towards proto-(Northern-)Atlantic'. Presentation at the Niger-Congo International Congress, LLACAN, Paris 18-21 September 2012.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2015a. 'Les classes nominales en keerak (joola de Kabrousse)'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. 103-46.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2015b. 'Manjaku'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues Atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 189-214.
- Segerer, Guillaume. 2016. Some hypotheses about possible Isolates within the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo phylum. *Proceedings of the 36th annual Meeting of the Berkeley linguistics society*, 36, 368-81. UC Berkeley: Department of Linguistics Permalink: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4qj2n05h>.
- Segerer Guillaume and Sébastien Flavier. 2011-2023. *RefLex: Reference Lexicon of Africa, Version 2.2*. Paris, Lyon. <http://www.reflex.cnrs.fr/>.
- Segerer, Guillaume and Konstantin Pozdniakov. 2016. 'A new innovation-based classification of Atlantic languages'. Paper presented at the 47th Annual Conference on African Linguistics (ACAL), University of California, Berkeley, 25 March 2016. Available online at www.guil-laumeseegerer.fr/Ling/Documents/Pub/Segerer-ACAL47-final.ppsx (12 June 2018).
- Seidel, Frank. 2013-15. *Dictionary of Baga Mandori (NEH grant)*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida.
- Seidel, Frank. 2013-present. *Nalu language archive*. Deposited in the Endangered Language Archives of the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London. [available at elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0249].
- Seidel, Frank. 2014a. *Nalu-French-English Dictionary*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Seidel, Frank. 2014b. *Nalou, ses locuteurs, et la situation sociale, culturelle et historique*. Gainesville, FL: African Studies, University of Florida.
- Seidel, Frank. 2015. 'Rethinking narrative tenses based on data from Nalu (Atlantic) and Yeyi (Bantu)'. In *Beyond aspect: The expression of discourse functions in African languages* (Typological Studies in Language 109), edited by Doris L. Payne and Shahar Shirtz. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 177-218.
- Seidel, Frank. 2016. *Nalou, ses locuteurs, et la situation sociale, culturelle, et historique*. *Horizons* 13 (Revue de la Faculté de Lettres et Sciences du Langage, Université Général Lansana Conté, Sonfonia, Guinée): 4-34.
- Seignobos, Christian and Henry Tourneux. 2002. *Le Nord-Cameroun à travers ses mots. Dictionnaire de termes anciens et modernes*. Paris: Karthala.
- Selvik, Kari-Anne. 2001. 'When a dance resembles a tree. A polysemy analysis of three Setswana noun classes'. In *Polysemy in cognitive linguistics*, edited by Hubert Cuyckens and Britta Zawada. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 161-84.
- Senft, Gunter, ed. 2000. *Systems of nominal classification*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Senft, Gunter and Ellen Basso, eds. 2009. *Ritual communication*. Oxford/New York: Berg.
- Senghor, Léopold S. 1964. *Liberté 1: Négritude et humanisme*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Sengova, Joko. 2006. 'Aborigines and returnees: In search of linguistic and historical meaning in delineations of Sierra Leone's ethnicity and heritage'. In *New perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio*, edited by Mac Dixon-Fyle and Gibril R. Cole. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 167-99.
- Seydou, Christiane. 2014. *Lexique peul du Massina*. RefLex (www.reflex.cnrs.fr).
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions: A prototype analysis. *Language* 61(4): 821-48.
- Shibatani Masayoshi and Prashant Pardeshi. 2002. 'The causative Continuum'. In *The grammar of causation and interpersonal manipulation*, edited by Masayoshi Shibatani. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Siewierska, Anna. 1984. *The passive: A comparative linguistic analysis*. London: Croom Helm.
- Siewierska, Anna and Dik Bakker. 2012. 'Passive agents: Prototypical vs. canonical passives'. In *Canonical morphology and syntax*, edited by Dunstan Brown, Marina Chumakina, and Greville G. Corbett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 151-89.
- Silva Andrade, Elisa. 1996. *Les Îles du Cap-Vert, de la «découverte» à l'indépendance nationale (1460-1975)*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Silverstein, Michael. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication* 23(3-4): 193-229.

- Silverstein, Michael. 2015. How language communities intersect. Is 'superdiversity' an incremental or transformative condition? *Language & Communication* 44: 7-18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2014.10.015>.
- Simons, Gary F. and Charles D. Fennig, eds. 2017. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world, twentieth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Simons, Gary F. and Charles D. Fennig, eds. 2018. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world. 21st ed.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Available online at <http://www.ethnologue.com> (13 June 2018).
- Sindlinger, Daniel and Sano Seyi. 1973. *A survey of the Gola language*. Monrovia: Institute for Liberian Languages.
- Sisóké, Jeli Fa-Digi. 2004. *Son-Jara: The Mandé epic (two CDs)*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Skattum, Ingse. 2008. 'Mali: In defence of cultural and linguistic pluralism'. *Language and national identity in Africa*, edited by Andrew Simpson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 98-121.
- Skousen, Royal. 1972. Consonant alternation in Fula. *Studies in African Linguistics* 3(1): 77-96.
- Slobin, Dan I. 2004. 'The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events'. In *Relating events in narratives, Vol.2: Typological and contextual perspectives*, edited by Sven Strömquist and Ludo Verhoeven. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 219-57.
- Soares, Benjamin. 2014. The historiography of Islam in West Africa: An anthropologist's view. *Journal of African History* 55(1): 27-36.
- SODÉCOTON/DPGT. 1996. *Ngewta Direkter Jeneral Sodecoton, kuugal darnaaabe remooobe, ngilla remooobe sanngere, ekkitinki mawbe janngugo e winndugo*. Garoua: SODÉCOTON.
- SODÉCOTON/DPGT. 2001. *Deftere lisaafi*. Garoua: SODÉCOTON.
- SODÉCOTON/DPGT. 2008. *Remooobe Hottollo ndeman kuuje feere boo*. Garoua: SODÉCOTON. Garoua: SODÉCOTON.
- Souag, Lameen. 2010. Ajami in West Africa. *Afrikanistik Aegyptologie Online*. <http://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2010/2957>
- Soukka, Maria. 2000. *A descriptive grammar of Noon*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Sousa Bella, L. de. 1946. Apontamentos sobre a língua dos Balantas de Jabadá. *Boletim Cultural de Guiné Portuguesa* 1: 729-65.
- Sow, Alfâ Ibrâhîm. 1966. Remarques sur les infixes de dérivation dans le fulfulde du Fouta-Djallon (Guinée). *Journal of West African Languages* III(1): 13-21.
- Sow, Salamatu Alhassoumi. 2003. *Le gaawoore: Parler des peuls gaawoobe (Niger occidentale)*. (Langues et Cultures Africaines; 32) Louvain [et al.]: Peeters.
- Spencer-Walters, Tom. 2006. 'Creolization and Kriodom: (Re)visioning the "Sierra Leone experiment"'. In *New perspectives on the Sierra Leone Krio*, edited by Mac Dixon-Fyle and Gibril R. Cole. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 223-55.
- Spitulnik, Debra. 1988. 'Levels of semantic structuring in Bantu noun classification'. In *Current approaches to African linguistics, Volume 5*, edited by Paul Newman and Robert D. Botne. Dordrecht: Foris, 207-20.
- Spitzer, Leo. 1974. *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to colonialism, 1870-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stanton, Juliet. 2011. *A grammatical sketch of Saafi*. Indiana University.
- Steady, Filomina C. 2001. *Women and the Amistad connection: Sierra Leone Krio society*. Rochester/Vermont: Schenkman Books.
- Steele, Susan. 1978. 'Word order variation: A typological study'. In *Universals of Human Language, vol. 4: Syntax*, edited by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles A. Ferguson, and Edith A. Moravcsik. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 585-623.
- Stein, Peter. 1982. Quelques dates nouvelles de l'histoire du mot 'créole'. *Études Créoles* 5(1-2): 162.
- Stennes, Leslie H. 1967. *A reference grammar of Adamawa Fulani*. [East Lansing:] African Studies Center, Michigan State University.
- Stenzel, Kristine and Velda Khoo. 2016. Linguistic hybridity: A case study in the Kotiria community. *Critical Multilingualism Studies* 4(2): 75-110.
- Stewart, Charles. 2006. 'How different? Re-examining the process of creolisation'. In *The making and unmaking of differences*, edited by Richard Rottenburg, Burkhard Schnepel, and Shingo Shimada. Bielefeld: Transcript, 107-22.
- Stewart, Charles. 2007. 'Introduction'. In *Creolization: History, ethnography, theory*, edited by Charles Stewart. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 1-25.
- Stoler, Ann L. and Frederick Cooper. 1997. 'Between metropole and colony: Rethinking a research agenda'. In *Tensions of empire: Colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler. Berkeley: University of California Press, 263-83.
- Storch, Anne. 1995. Die Anlautpermutation in den westatlantischen Sprachen. *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter*, Special Issue 2.
- Storch, Anne. 1996. Die Anlautpermutation im Westatlantischen und das Problem der Implosiva. *Afrika und Übersee* 79: 111-28.
- Storch, Anne. 2011. *Secret manipulations. Language and context in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Storch, Anne. 2013. 'Language and ideology'. In *Repertoires and choices in African languages*, Friederike Lüpke and Anne Storch. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 123-80.
- Storch, Anne. 2015. 'Metababble'. In *Voices from around the world*, edited by Andrea Hollington, Tijo Salverda, Tobias Schwarz, and Oliver Tappe. Cologne: GSSC. <http://gssc.uni-koeln.de/node/956>.
- Swigart, Leigh. 1992a. Two codes or one? The insiders' view and the description of codeswitching in Dakar. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13: 83-102.
- Swigart, Leigh. 1992b. *Practice and perception: Language use and attitudes in Dakar*. UMI Dissertation Services, University of Washington.
- Sylla, Yèro. 1979. *Grammatical relations and Fula syntax*. PhD thesis. University of California at Los Angeles.
- Sylla, Yèro. 1982. *Grammaire moderne du pulaar*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines.
- Sylla, Yèro. 1993. *Syntaxe peule*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines du Sénégal.

- Szawerna, Michal. 2007. *A corpus-based study of nominalizations predicated by English deverbal nouns in "-tion"*. Berlin, Germany: Peter Lang.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1985. 'Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms and lexicalization patterns: Typologies and universals'. In *Language typology and syntactic description*, Vol. III, edited by Timothy Shopen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57–149.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Towards a cognitive semantics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Tamari, Tal. 1996. L'exégèse coranique (tafsir) en milieu mandingue: Rapport préliminaire sur une recherche en cours. *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara* 10: 43–79.
- Tamari, Tal and Dmitry Bondarev. 2013. Introduction and annotated bibliography. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 15(3): 1–55.
- Tamba, Khady. 2014. Clausal nominalization in Wolof. PhD dissertation. The University of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Taussig, Michael. 1999. *Defacement*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Tauxier, Louis. 1937. *Mœurs et histoire des Peuls*. Vol. 1: Origines. Paris: Payot.
- Taylor, Frank W. 1953. *A grammar of the Adamawa dialect of the Fulani language (Fulfulde)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Taylor, John R. 1995. *Linguistic categorization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tendeng, Odile. 2007. *Le gusiilay: Un essai de systématisation. Une contribution à l'étude du jóola*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Teyssier, Paul. 1959. *La langue de Gil Vicente*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Teyssier, Paul. 1980. *Histoire de la langue portugaise*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Teyssier, Paul. 1988. 'Le système des personnes dans les créoles portugais d'Afrique: Étude génétique'. In *La Linguistique génétique, histoire et théorie*, edited by André Joly. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 461–82.
- Teyssier, Paul. 1990. 'La négation dans les créoles portugais'. In *Études de Littérature et de Linguistique*, edited by Maria de Lurdes Belchior. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian – Centro Cultural Português, 243–54.
- Theil, Rolf. 2008. *Fulfulde: Grammatik over dialekten i 'Aadamaawa*. 7th ed. Oslo: Unipub AS.
- Thiam, Alioune Badara. 2016. *Los préstamos léxicos en la lengua wolof: Estudio tipológico (Les emprunts lexicaux dans la langue wolof: Étude typologique)*. PhD thesis. Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife.
- Thomas, Enlli Môn and Virginia C. Mueller Gathercole. 2005. Minority language survival. Obsolence or survival for Welsh in the face of English dominance? In *Proceedings of the 4th international symposium on bilingualism*, edited by James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan, 2233–57. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Thomas, Erik R. and Tyler Kendall. 2007. NORM: The vowel normalization and plotting suite. [Online Resource: <http://ncslaap.lib.ncsu.edu/tools/norm/>].
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2001. *Language Contact: An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thurlow, Crispin. 2005. 'Deconstructing adolescent communication'. In *Talking adolescence: Perspectives on communication in the teenage years*, edited by Angie Williams and Crispin Thurlow. New York: Peter Lang, 53–72.
- Tinhorão, José. 1988. *Os Negros em Portugal: Uma presença silenciosa*. Lisbon: Caminho.
- Todd, Loreto. 1979. 'Cameroonian: A consideration of "What's in a name?"'. In *Readings in Creole studies*, edited by Ian Hancock. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 281–94.
- Torrence, Harold. 2013. *The clause structure of Wolof: Insights into the left periphery* [Linguistics Today 198]. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Touré, Ahmadou Dam. n.d. *L'Islam No. 1*. Dakar: ECARICOM.
- Tourneux, Henry. 2006. *La communication technique en langues africaines: L'exemple de la lutte contre les ravageurs du cotonnier (Burkina-Fasso/Cameroun)*. Paris: Karthala.
- Tourneux, Henry. 2007. *Dictionnaire peul du corps et de la santé (Diamaré, Cameroun)*. Paris: Karthala.
- Tourneux, Henry, ed. 2008. *Langues, cultures et développement en Afrique*. Paris: Karthala.
- Tourneux, Henry and Hadidja Konai. 2014. 'La communication linguistique interethnique au Nord-Cameroun'. In *Les échanges et la communication dans le bassin du lac Tchad. Studi Africanistici, Serie Ciado-Sudanese 6*, edited by Sergio Baldi and Géraud Magrin. Napoli: Università Degli Studi di Napoli "L'orientale" Dipartimento Asia, Africa E Mediterraneo, 367–94.
- Tourneux, Henry and Métangmo-Tatou, Léonie. eds. 2010. *Parler du sida au Nord-Cameroun*. Paris: Karthala. Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America.
- Tourneux, Henry and Yaya Daïrou. 1998. *Dictionnaire peul de l'agriculture et de la nature (Cameroun)*. Paris: Editions Karthala.
- Tourneux, Henry and Yaya Daïrou. 1999. *Vocabulaire peul du monde rural-Maroua-Garoua (Cameroun)*. Paris: Karthala.
- Tourneux, Henry, et al. 2010. 'Un niveau de fulfulde véhiculaire destiné à la communication pour le développement'. In *Parler du sida au Nord-Cameroun*, edited by Henry Tourneux and Léonie Métangmo-Tatou. Paris: Karthala, 233–66.
- Tourneux, Henry, avec la collaboration d'Abdoulaye Boubakary et Hadidja Konai. 2011. *La transmission des savoirs en Afrique. Savoirs locaux et langues locales pour l'enseignement*. Paris: Karthala.
- Trajano Filho, Wilson. 1998. *Polymorphic creolehood: The creole society of Guinea-Bissau*. PhD dissertation. Dept. of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- Trajano Filho, Wilson. 2005. A crioulização na Guiné-Bissau: Um caso singular. *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 27: 52–102.
- Trajano Filho, Wilson. 2010. 'The creole idea of nation and its predicaments: The case of Guinea-Bissau'. In *The powerful presence of the past. Integration and conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast*, edited by Jacqueline Knörr and Wilson Trajano Filho. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 157–83.
- Trifković, Mirjana. 1969. *Le Mancagne. Étude phonologique et morphologique*. Dakar: IFAN.
- Tröbs, Holger. 2009. 'On the emergence of the 'split predicate structure' in Manding (West-Mande)'. Presentation at WOCAL 6, Cologne, Germany, 16–20 Aug. 2009.
- Trimingham, John S. 1971. *The Sufi orders in Islam*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The ritual process: Structure and antistructure*. New York: PAJ.

- Ungerer, Friedrich. 2010. 'Word formation'. In *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*, edited by Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 650–71.
- United Nations Population Fund. (15 April 2022). World population dashboard Mali. <https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population/ML>.
- van der Auwera, Johan, Andrej Malchukov, and Ewa Schalley. 2009. 'Thoughts on (im)perfective imperatives'. In *Form and function in language research: Papers in honour of Christian Lehmann*, edited by Johannes Helmbrecht, Yoko Nishina, Yong-Min Shin, Stavros Skopeteas, and Elisabeth Verhoeven. (Trends in linguistic. Studies and monographs; 210) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 93–106.
- van der Hulst, Harry and Jeroen van de Weijer. 1995. 'Vowel harmony'. In *The handbook of phonological theory*, edited by John A. Goldsmith. Cambridge, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 495–534.
- Vandermeersch, Céline. 2002. Child fostering under six in Senegal in 1992–1993. *Population (English edition)* 57(4–5): 659–85.
- Van Valin, Robert D. and David Wilkins. 1996. 'The Case for "effector": Case roles, agents, and agency revisited'. In *Grammatical constructions: Their form and meaning*, edited by Masayoshi Shibatani and Sandra A. Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 289–322.
- Van Valin Jr., Robert D. 2005. *Exploring the syntax-semantics interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vendler, Z. 1957. 'Verbs and times'. *Philosophical Review* 56: 143–60. Reprinted in *Linguistics in Philosophy*, edited by Z. Vendler 1967. Ithaca, New-York: Cornell University Press, 97–121.
- Villalón, Leonardo A. 1995. *Islamic society and state power in Senegal: Disciples and citizens in Fatick*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Villalón, Leonardo A. 2007. 'Sufi modernities in contemporary Senegal: Religious dynamics between the local and the global'. In *Sufism and the "modern" in Islam*, edited by Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell. London: I.B. Taurus, 172–91.
- Voeltz, Erhard Friedrich Karl. 1977. *Proto Niger-Congo extensions*. PhD thesis. University of California at Los Angeles.
- Voeltz, Erhard Friedrich Karl. 1996. *Les langues de la Guinée*. Conakry: Université de Conakry, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.
- Voeltz, F. K. Erhard, Aboubacar Camara, Tina Ganong, and Marie Yvonne Curtis. 1997. *Baga. Intam kicicis citem (Syllabaire en langue baka)*. Conakry: Université de Conakry, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2005. 'Antipassif et langues accusatives'. In *Linguistique typologique*, edited by Gilbert Lazard and Claire Moysse-Faurie. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 193–206.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2006a. 'Applicatif et emphase'. In *Constructions verbales et production de sens*, edited by Daniel Lebaud, Catherine Paulin, and Katia Ploeg. Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 155–70.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2006b. 'L'infinitif en wolof'. In *Les formes non finies du verbe*, edited by Odile Blanvillain and Claude Guilmière. [Travaux linguistiques du CERLICO 19/1]. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 61–83.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2010a. Les suffixes -i et -si en wolof. *Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar, Sciences et Techniques du Langage* 7: 21–34.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2010b. 'Possessive voice in Wolof: A rare type of valency operator'. In *Rara and rarissima. collecting and interpreting unusual characteristics of human languages*, edited by Jan Wohlgenuth and Michael Cysouw. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 377–400.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2013. Expression de trajectoire dans quelques langues de la famille atlantique (Groupe Nord). *Faits de Langues* 42: 131–52.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2015a. Sur l'origine du suffixe du pluriel dans le groupe ñuñ-buy. *Linguistique et Langues Africaines* 1: 13–42.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2015b. 'Les classes nominales en Kobia'. In *Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques*, edited by Denis Creissels and Konstantin Pozdniakov. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 317–70.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2015c. 'La possession temporaire en wolof'. Communication presented at *Sénélangues 2015, Les langues d'Afrique de l'Ouest*. Dakar, Sénégal 24–25 April.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2018. 'Le factitif dans les langues atlantiques et les langues bantoues'. In *Le causatif: perspectives croisées*, edited by André Thibault. Strasbourg: TraLiRo ELiPhi, 227–52.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2021. 'Associated motion and deictic directional in Atlantic languages'. In *Associated motion*, edited by Antoine Guillaume and Harold Koch. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 611–64.
- Voisin, Sylvie. 2024. 'Applicatifs, isomorphisme et réanalyses dans les langues atlantiques'. In *L'applicatif dans les langues: Regard typologique*, édité par Dao Huy-Linh, Danh-Tành Do-Hurinville, and Daniel Petit. Paris: Éditions de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, 75–99.
- Voisin, Sylvie and Creissels Denis. 2020. 'Benefactive applicatives and instrumental applicatives in Atlantic languages (Niger-Congo)'. Communication presented to the *SLE, Bucarest. Workshop on Neglected Functions of Applicative Morphology*.
- Voisin, Sylvie and Creissels Denis. 2024. 'B-applicatives and I-applicatives in Atlantic languages (Niger-Congo)'. In *Applicative constructions in the world's languages*, edited by Denis Creissels and Fernando Zúñiga. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter Mouton, 749–82.
- Voisin, Sylvie and Robert Stéphane. 2018. 'Comparing causal-noncausal valence orientation in Atlantic and Mandé languages'. *Valence orientation in contact Workshop. 51st Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea*. Tallinn, 29 August – 1 September 2018.
- Voisin, Sylvie and Alice Vittrant. 2012. Pluriactionnalité temporelle en birman et wolof: Les cas de répétition externe. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* CVII (1): 353–78.
- Vydrine, Valentin. 1998. Sur l'écriture mandingue et mandé en caractères arabes (mandinka, bambara, soussou, mogofin). *Mandekan* 33: 1–86.
- Vydrine, Valentin. 1999a. *Manding-English dictionary (Maninka, Bamana)*, Vol. 1: A, B, D-DAD. St. Petersburg: Dimitry Bulanin Publishing House.
- Vydrine, Valentin. 1999b. Language contact: The case of Manding and Jola-Fogny. *Mandé Studies* 1: 141–57.

- Vydrine, Valentin. 2004. Areal and genetic features in West Mande and South Mande phonology: In what sense did Mande languages evolve? *Journal of West African Languages* 30(2): 113–25.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2006. Toward the reconstruction of the phonological type and the noun morphology of the Proto-Mande. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*. Vol. 2, Part 2. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 3–246.
- Vydrine, Valentin. 2008. *Dictionnaire dan-français (dan de l'Est)*. St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoria. Online at www.reflex.cnrs.fr.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2009. On the problem of the Proto-Mande homeland. *Journal of Language Relationship* 1: 107–42.
- Vydrin, Valentin. 2014. 'Ajami scripts for Mande languages'. In *The Arabic script in Africa*, edited by Meikal Mumin and Kees Versteegh, 199–223. Leiden: Brill.
- Wade, Sophie. 2015. *Les marqueurs discursifs et syntaxiques dans la cohérence du discours menik*. PhD dissertation. University of Cologne.
- Wane, Mohamadou H. 2017. *La grammaire du noon*. PhD thesis. University of Leiden.
- Ware, Rudolph T. III. 2004. Njànga: The daily regime of Qur'anic students in twentieth-century Senegal. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 37(3): 515–38.
- Ware, Rudolph T. III. 2014. *The walking Qur'an: Islamic education, embodied knowledge, and history in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Watson, Rachel. 2015. *Kujireray: Morphosyntax, noun classification and verbal nouns*. PhD thesis. SOAS, London.
- Watson, Rachel. 2018. Patterns of lexical correlation and divergence in Casamance. *Language & Communication* 62 (Part B): 170–83. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2018.04.0>.
- Watson, Rachel. 2019. Language as category: Using prototype theory to create reference points for the study of multilingual data. *Language and Cognition* 11(1): 125–64.
- Watt, Dominic and Anne Fabricius. 2002. Evaluation of a technique for improving the mapping of multiple speakers' vowel spaces in the F1 ~ F2 plane. *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics* 9, edited by Diane Nelson. Leeds: University of Leeds, 159–73.
- Watters, John. 1979. 'Focus in Aghem. A study of its formal correlates and typology'. In *Aghem grammatical structure* [Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics, 7], edited by Larry M. Hyman. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 137–97.
- Waugh, Linda and Monville-Burston. 1986. Aspect and discourse function: The French simple past in newspaper usage. *Language* 62(4): 846–77.
- Wei, Li. 2018. Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics* 39(1): 9–30. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039>.
- Weidl, Miriam. 2018. *Nga nel? [What did you say!?] The role of Wolof in multilingual conversations in the Casamance: Fluidity of linguistic repertoires*. PhD thesis. SOAS, University of London.
- Weinrich, Harald. 1964. *Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Weiss, Henri. 1940. *Grammaire et lexique diola du Fogy (Casamance)*. Paris, Larose.
- Welmers, W. M. E. 1971. 'Niger-Congo, Mande'. In Sebeok, Thomas A. T. S. – BibTeX, Ed. *Current trends in linguistics, vol. 7: Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 113–40.
- Welmers, William E. 1973. *African language structures*. Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wenger, Étienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available online at [https://books.google.com/books?id=heBZpgYUKdAC&dq=Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity&printsec=frontcover&q=](https://books.google.com/books?id=heBZpgYUKdAC&dq=Communities+of+Practice:+Learning,+Meaning,+and+Identity&printsec=frontcover&q=).
- Westermann, Diedrich. 1921. *Die Gola-Sprache in Liberia: Grammatik, Texte und Wörterbuch*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Co. Online at www.reflex.cnrs.fr.
- Westermann, Diedrich. 1927. *Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Westermann, Diedrich. 1928. Die westatlantische Gruppe der Sudansprachen. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 31(3): 63–86.
- Westermann, Diedrich and Margaret Arminel Bryan. 1952. *The languages of West Africa*. London, New York & Toronto: Dawson's of Pall Mall for the International African Institute (IAI).
- Westermann, Diedrich and Hans J. Melzian. 1930. *The Kpelle language in Liberia: Grammatical outline, colloquial sentences and vocabulary*. Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer. Online at www.reflex.cnrs.fr.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1979. Are grammatical categories vague or polysemous? *Paper in Linguistics* [Currently known as Research on Language and Interaction] 12(1–2): 111–62.
- Wilkins, David P. 1991. The semantics, pragmatics and diachronic development of 'associated motion' in Mparntwe Arrernte. *Buffalo Papers in Linguistics* 1: 207–57.
- Will, Izabela. 2014. 'Hausa metaphors: Gestural idioms containing body-part terms'. In *The body in language. Comparative studies of linguistic embodiment*, edited by Matthias Brenzinger and Iwona Kraska-Slenk). Leiden: Brill, 161–76.
- Williams, Gordon and Sara Williams. 1993. *Enquête sociolinguistique sur les langues cangin de la région de Thiès au Sénégal*. Dakar: Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL).
- Williamson, Kay. 1989. 'Niger-Congo overview'. In *The Niger-Congo languages*, edited by J. Bendor-Samuel. Lanham: University Press of America, 3–45.
- Williamson, Kay and Roger Blench. 2000. 'Niger-Congo'. In *African languages. An introduction*, edited by Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11–42.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1959. Uma volta linguística na Guiné. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 14: 569–601.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1961a. *An outline of the Temne language*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1961b. Outline of the Balanta language. *African Language Studies* 2: 139–68.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1961c. Who are the 'Cunantes' of Portuguese Guinea? *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 79(4–6): 157–62.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1961d. Numeration in the languages of Guiné. *Africa* 31(4): 327–77.

- Wilson, William A. A. 1962a. Temne and the West Atlantic group. *Sierra Leone Language Review* 2: 26–9.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1962b. Temne, Landuma, and the Baga languages. *Sierra Leone Language Review* 1: 27–38.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1963. 'Diola et les langues de Guinée'. In *Actes du 2ème colloque internationale de linguistique négro-africaine*, Dakar 12–16 avril 1962, edited by Maurice Houïs, Gabriel Manessy, and Serge Sauvageot. Dakar: Université de Dakar, Revue de Langues de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, 280–91.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1965. A reconstruction of the Pajade mutation system. *Journal of West African Languages* 2: 15–20.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1968. An interpretation of the Temne tone system. *Journal of West African Languages* 5: 5–12.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1984. Biafada, Pajade, and the 'Polyglotta'. *Journal of West African Languages* 14: 61–80.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1989. 'Atlantic'. In *The Niger-Congo languages*, edited by John Bendor-Samuel. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 81–104.
- Wilson, William A. A. 1993. An outline description of Biafada. *Journal of West African Languages* 23: 59–90.
- Wilson, William A. A. 2001. Vowel harmony in Bijagó verb extensions. *Journal of West African Languages* 28(1): 19–32.
- Wilson, William A. A. 2007. *Guinea languages of the Atlantic group. Description and internal classification*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Wilson, William A. A. 2008. Personal fieldnotes (1959–1960). ms.
- Winford, Donald. 2020. 'Theories of language contact'. In *The Oxford handbook of language contact*, edited by Anthony P. Grant and Donald Winford. Oxford: University Press, 50–74.
- Winters, James and Patricia Winters. 2002. *Onéyanonj – une étude phonologique du bassari*. Dakar: Société Internationale de Linguistique.
- Winters, James and Patricia Winters. 2004. *A grammar of Oniyan*. Dakar: Société Internationale de Linguistique.
- Wintz, R. P. Edouard. 1909 [reprint 1968]. *Dictionnaire français-dyola et dyola-français, précédé d'un essai de grammaire*. Elinkine (Sénégal): Mission catholique.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1953. *Philosophische Untersuchungen*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wolf, Matthew. 2007. For an autosegmental theory of mutation. *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 32: 315–404.
- Wolff, Ekkehard. 1991. 'Sprachstandardisierung in Afrika: Begriffe, Probleme, Perspektiven'. In *Language standardisation in Africa/Sprachstandardisierung in Afrika/Standardisation en langues en Afrique*, edited by Norbert Cyffer, Klaus Schubert, Hans-Ingolf Weier, and Ekkehard Wolff. Hamburg: Helmut Buske-Verlag, 1–21.
- Wolfson, Nessa. 1982. *The conversational historical present in American English narrative*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 2005. Ancestral languages and (imagined) creolisation. *Language Documentation and Description* 3: 252–62.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998a. 'Language ideology as a field of inquiry'. In *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, edited by Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3–47.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998b. Simultaneity and bivalency as strategies in bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8(1): 3–29.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. and Bambi B. Schieffelin. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 55–82.
- Wright, Donald R. 1985. Beyond migration and conquest: Oral traditions and Mandinka ethnicity in Senegambia. *History in Africa* 12: 335–48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3171727>.
- Wright, Donald R. 1999. 'What do you mean there were no tribes in Africa?': Thoughts on boundaries and related matters in precolonial Africa. *History in Africa* 26: 409–26.
- Wyse, Akintola. 1979. On misunderstandings arising from the use of the term creole in the literature on Sierra Leone: a rejoinder. *Africa* 49(4): 408–17.
- Wyse, Akintola. 1991. *The Krio of Sierra Leone: An interpretive history*. Washington: Howard University Press.
- Yillah, Sorie. 2011. *Temne phonology and morphology*. München: Lincom.
- Ylikoski, Jussi. 2003. Defining non-finites: Action nominals, converbs and infinitives. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 16: 185–237.
- Yovsi, Relindis D. and Heidi Keller. 2003. Breastfeeding: An adaptive process. *Ethos* 31(2): 147–71.
- Zawada, Britta and Mtholeni N. Ngcobo. 2008. A cognitive and corpus-linguistic re-analysis of the acquisition of the Zulu noun class system. *Language matters. Studies in the languages of Africa* 39(2): 316–31.
- Zeltner, J. C. 1963. Histoire des sultans de Maroua. *Abbia* 3: 77–92.
- Zintgraff, Eugen. 1895. *Nordkamerun*. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel.
- Zlatev, Jordan, Johan Blomberg, and Caroline David. 2010. 'Translocation: Language and the categorization of experience'. In *Language, cognition, and space: The state of the art and new directions*, edited by Vyvyan Evans and Paul Chilton. London: Equinox, 389–418.
- Zlatev, Jordan and Yangklang Peerapat. 2004. 'A third way to travel: The place of Thai in motion-event typology'. In *Relating events in narrative, Vol.2: Typological and contextual perspectives*, edited by Ludo Verhoeven and Sven Strömquist. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 159–90.
- Zoll, Cheryl. 1998. *Parsing below the segment in a constraint-based framework*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1986. The principle of phonology-free syntax. Introductory remarks. *Ohio State Working Papers in Linguistics* 32: 63–91.

Place index

Note to the reader: Atlantic languages are not indexed for the overview chapters 1-3 and 21-25. Languages which have a chapter dedicated to them in part II (chapters 4-20) are not indexed. Keywords appearing in titles of chapters and parts, section headings and captions for figures, maps and tables are not indexed.

- ABC Islands, 132, 147
 Adamawa, 98, 100, 122, 653-8, 661-2, 664-8
 Adéane, 131, 134, 149-50
 Agnack, 10, 131-2, 134, 149-50, 298, 307, 319-21, 324, 334, 340, 508
 Banjul, 6, 7, 62, 599, 691, 694, 696
 Baol, 61, 63, 625
 Bel-Bel, 417
 Benue, 654, 657
 Bignona, 191, 695-6
 Bissau, 133, 144, 599
 Bitonko, 417
 Boké, 388-9, 418
 Boucotte-Korentas, 131, 135
 Boudody, 131, 135
 Bourofaye, 131, 134
 Boutoute, 131, 134, 291-4
 Bouyouye, 238
 Brin, 131, 134, 211-12, 264, 266, 689-90
 Cacheu, 133, 144, 149-50
 Cameroon, 653-4, 656
 Cap-Vert peninsula (Senegal), 61
 Casamance (region), 6, 61, 191, 211, 238, 263, 266, 291, 318-20, 346, 494, 595-6
 Casamance (river), 191, 211, 306, 507
 Cayor, 61, 75
 Chad, 653, 655
 Cobitène, 131, 135
 Dakar, 31, 61-2, 80, 131, 143, 150, 263, 291, 293, 605, 614, 671, 689, 694
 Diamaré, 122, 622-4, 654-6, 658
 Diembereng, 238
 Djiblor, 131, 134, 291-2, 298, 306-7
 Djibonker, 7, 41, 131, 134, 212, 263-4, 291-2, 298, 306-7, 689-90
 Djifanghor, 131-2, 134, 145, 149-51, 291-317
 Djolof, 61
 Dobali, 389, 417
 Efok, 238
 Escale, 131, 135
 Ethiolo, 173
 Fanda, 131-2, 134
 Far North (Cameroon), 655-8, 662
 Farim, 133, 144
 Fatick, 586, 618
 Fouta Djallon, *see* Futa Jalon
 Fouta Toro, *see* Futa Toro
 Freetown, 599-603
 Futa Jalon, 52, 97, 99, 153, 172, 472, 482, 484, 500, 511, 609, 615, 618, 653
 Futa Toro, 97, 99, 122, 153, 484, 500, 511, 577, 609, 612, 618, 653, 655, 662
 Fuuta Jal(l)o(n), *see* Futa Jalon
 Fuuta Jaloo, *see* Futa Jalon
 Fuuta To(o)ro, *see* Futa Toro
 Gambia (river), 172, 595
 Gambia, the, 17, 61-2, 99, 153, 191, 293, 595, 653, 695
 Garoua, 660, 662
 Geba, 133, 144
 Goumel, 131, 135
 Granville Town, 600
 Guinea, 32, 172-3, 238, 293, 388, 413, 417-18, 424, 430, 437-8, 450, 500, 509, 581, 595, 605, 609, 633, 653, 655, 659, 660
 Guinea-Bissau, 29-30, 32-3, 40-2, 131, 134, 143-5, 149-50, 153-4, 238, 263, 266, 319-21, 346, 388, 399, 417-18, 581, 584, 596, 602, 695, 626
 Her, 238
 Joal, 131-3
 Kaabu, 7, 153-4
 Kabrousse, 238
 Kadiakay, 238
 Kagbaaga, 27, 28, 560, 563-4
 Kagbassa, 389, 41, 8
 Kajoor, 625
 Kalagba, 417
 Kamsar, 388-89, 403, 405-6, 418
 Kandé, 131-2, 135, 150
 Kanfarandé, 388-9, 417, 418
 Katoufoura, 388-91, 416, 418
 Kédougou, 173
 Koudioundou, 131-2, 134
 Koukouba, 388-89, 391, 414, 418
 Lake Chad, 655
 Maasina, 101, 104, 106-7, 110, 112, 115-17, 130, 484, 486, 489, 503, 506, 589, 653, 655
 Mali, 52, 97, 153, 438, 607, 633, 653, 655
 Mandara mountains, 654-5, 658
 Manding (Mande, Manden, Mali), 153
 Maroua, 654-658, 660, 662
 Mauritania, 61, 62, 97, 605-6, 636, 652-3, 577
 Mof Avvi, 6, 8, 211-12, 214, 232, 235, 264, 266, 483, 688-97
 Mof Ávví *see* Mof Avvi
 Mof Ěví *see* Mov Avvi
 Mossor, 238
 Mpak, 131, 134
 Néma, 131, 135
 Ngaoundéré, 660, 662
 Niaguis, 131-2, 134, 149-50, 291-3
 Niamone, 7, 298, 307
 Nigeria, 653-6
 Niodior (Senegal), 613, 616-19
 Niokolo-Koba (national park), 173
 Northeastern Nigeria, 656, 661, 668
 Northern Cameroon, 653-69
 Northern Nigeria, 653, 655-6
 Northwestern Nyun, 307
 Nyalou, 238
 Petite Côte (Senegal), 20, 61, 132, 617
 Province of Freedom, 600
 Rufisque, 131-3
 Saalum, 61, 72, 80, 586, 611, 616-17, 656
 Saint-Louis, 80
 Salémata, 173
 Saloum, *see* Saalum
 Saly-Portudal, 131-3
 Santhiaba (Ziguinchor), 131-2, 135, 149-50
 São Domingos, 319
 Senegal, 3, 4, 7, 19, 24, 27, 29, 30-1, 38-9, 41-2, 49, 52, 55, 61-2, 68, 172-3, 131-4, 137, 146, 148-52, 153-4, 191, 238, 263, 292-3, 298, 309, 346, 424, 596, 605-6, 609, 611-12, 615, 618, 625, 628, 637, 640, 647, 653, 657
 Sierra Leone, civil war, 603
 Sierra Leone, Company, 600
 Sierra Leone, independence of, 602
 Sindone, 131-2, 134, 149-51, 309
 Sokoto, 98, 127, 653, 656
 South Sudan, 653, 660
 Sudan, 13, 653
 Susa(a)na, 238, 320
 Tekrur, 606
 Thiès, 131-2, 150
 Tobor, 131, 134, 306-7
 Walo, 61
 Western Cameroon, 659
 Yola, 661-2
 Youtou, 238
 Ziguinchor, 7, 131-5, 144, 149-52, 191, 238, 263, 291-4, 306, 308, 319-21, 325, 366, 507, 512, 599, 688-9, 693, 694-6

Person and subject index

- ABC Upper Guinea Creoles, 146-7
 Abolition, 600
 Absolute form, 660
 Adlam, 99
 Adstrate, 145, 148
 Americo-Liberians, 596
 Amulets, 608
 Anterior, 406, 409, 431
 Aorist, 404, 409
 Apodosis, 405
 Assertive marker, 139
- Babbling, 591, 636, 640
 Bamba (Mbacké), Shaykh Amadou, 606, 612, 615
 Benefactive applicative, 557
 Benefactive causative, 75
 Besprochene Welt, 435
 Boundaries, ethnic, 596, 597
- Centrifugal, 81, 544-6, 548-50
 Centripetal, 541, 544-9
 Clusivity, 355
 Codeswitching, 61, 264, 266, 309, 547-9, 617, 650, 651, 678, 697-8
 Colonial, 3-4, 49, 319, 596, 602
 Colonialism, *see* colonial
 Colonization, *see* colonial
 Columbus, Christopher, 3
 Conservative variety, 657, 660-2, 666-7
 Consonant mutation autosegmental representation of, 589-90
 theoretical status of, 589-90
 control construction, 170, 359, 364, 539
 Counting system (currency), 14, 137, 145, 298, 335
 Creoleness, contested indigeneity of, 604
 Creolization and decolonization, 603-4
 and migration, 597
 versus pidginization, 598-9
- Crioulos, 596
 Current Time Region, 407-9
 CvP-model, 598
- Decolonization, 603, 604
 Descriptive copula, 301, 304
 Detached Time Region, 407-409
 Diagne, Atou, 614, 615
 Distal Time Region, 407-409
 Ditransitive, *see* double object construction
 Double object construction, multiple object construction, 157, 350
- Ellipsis, 267, 268
 Emic, 688, 691
 versus etic, 596, 597
 Enregister, 3-4, 12-13, 692
 Enregistered, *see* enregister
 Enregisterment, *see* enregister
 Enslaved, 599, 658
 Epistemic marker, 139
 Erzählte Welt, 435
 Ethnic, 6, 8-9, 11, 38, 57, 61, 97, 154, 172, 219, 266, 291, 318-9, 346, 417, 449, 596-9, 603-4, 637, 647, 653-4, 657-8
 Ethnicization, 597, 599
 Ethnogenesis, 598
 Eurafrikan groups, 596
 European-African interactions, 596, 599
 Expectative, 542, 543, 544
 Expletive pronoun, 138, 567
 External repetition, 550-2, 553, 575
- Factative, 77, 409
 Flagging, 156, 349
 Franco-Arabic schools, 607
 Frontier, 3, 9-10, 318, 633-4
 Garay, 611
 Genericity, 472, 477
- Glossonym, 3, 6-9, 13, 211, 318, 605, 653
 Griot, 445, 624, 625-6
- Hamitic Hypothesis, 49, 50, 98
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 5
 'have' verb, 154, 166, 361
 Hizbut Tarqiyya, 614-615, 618
- ICESCO (Islamic World Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), 605
 Incalculable plural, 297-8, 312
 Inclusivity versus exclusivity, 602, 604
 individual-level vs. stage-level, 356, 363
 Initial consonant alternation, 111, 526, 649, 652, 660-663
 Instrumental (verb), 140
 Insular Upper Guinea Creoles, 146-8
 Internal repetition, 550-2, 573, 575
 Item-and-arrangement, 588
 Item-and-Process, 588
- Jaabi, War, 606
 Jihadism, *see* Jihad
 Jihadist, *see* Jihad
 Joking relationship, 604, 625, 648
- Kaba, Fode, 7
 Koelle, Sigismund, 48, 50, 389, 440
- Labile, *see* lability
 Lability, 166-167, 558, 564
 Lake Chad, 655
 Landlords, 9-11, 319, 600
 Landlord-stranger relationships, 600
 Landuma, 417
- Language community, 9-13, 49, 291
 Language death, 49
 languages of religious explanation, 609, 610, 618
 Latin script, 61, 99, 483, 605, 611, 612, 617, 618, 670, 671
 Lexifier, 132
 Liberated Africans, 601
 Lingua franca, 191, 263, 388, 417, 579, 598, 601, 518, 636, 637, 649, 671
 Lingua-creolization, 598
 Lingua-pidginization, 598
 Lingu kriston, 150
 Literal alliterative agreement, 510
 Logophoricity, 13, 170, 356
 London Poors, 600
 Luso-Africans, 596
- Macro-Sudan belt, 13, 444, 571
 Mainline events, 404, 409, 416
 Mali Empire, 52, 153, 438
 Mama Jombo, 11
 Mande expansion, 595
 Mande-speaking groups, 595
 Manding empire, *see* Mali Empire
 Mane invasions, 437, 439
 Maroons, 600
 Maroua, 654-658, 660, 662
 Matrilineal, 11, 211, 238, 319, 595
 Matrilineality, *see* matrilineal
 monolingual, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 57, 131, 150, 264, 319, 617, 636, 637, 640, 641, 651, 652, 687
 Monolingualism, *see* monolingual
 Mourides, 606, 609, 611, 614-616
 Multilingual, 4-14, 49, 54, 55, 57, 61, 131, 150, 151, 172, 211, 213, 214, 216, 263,

- 264, 266, 319-20, 325, 388, 654, 660, 688-699
 Multilingualism, *see* multilingual
 Multiple suffixation, 571, 573, 574
- Non-canonical passive, 567-8
 Nova Scotians, 600
 Number system, anthropomorphic, 14, 245, 335, 457
- Oblique passive, 567, 568
- Patrilineal, 11, 211, 238, 319, 595
 Patrilineality, *see* patrilineal
 Patrimonial deixis, 11, 689
 language, 10-1, 14, 211-12, 289, 319-20
 model, 11, 603
 Plural associative, 160, 471, 479
 calculable, 297-8, 312
 collective, 32, 136, 486, 493, 498, 499, 500, 513
 count vs. uncountable, 465
 countable, 32, 244, 330
- uncountable, 465, 497, 514
 Postcolonial nation, 602-603
 Prenasalized plosives, 134-5, 145
 Principle of phonology free syntax, 424
 Protasis, 404
- Quotative, 170, 360, 363
 Qur'anic schools, 605, 607-611, 615, 617-618
 Vowel harmony regressive, 173, 182
 roundedness, 348
- Repertoire, linguistic, 7, 12, 41, 61, 150, 212, 290, 309, 321, 618, 622, 635, 650, 659, 688, 689-690, 693-696, 697, 698, 699
 Roman script, *see* Latin script
- Shrine, 10, 11, 238
 Slavery, 49, 637, 600
 abolition of, 600
 Small-scale multilingual, 9, 14, 49, 236
 Small-scale multilingualism, *see* small-scale multilingual
- Sociative causative, 560, 573, 575
 Socio-creolization, 599
 Sociocultural creolization and pidginization, 599
 Sociolinguistic space, 688-689, 691-694, 694, 695, 696, 697-699
 Socio-pidginization, 599
 Speech community, 9-11, 97, 150, 263, 309, 693
 Sprechhaltung, 435
 Strangers, 9-11, 319, 600
 incorporation of, 600
 Subject pronoun inversion, 662-664
 Sub-Saharan fragmentation belt, 3
 Substrate, 132, 146
 Sudanic belt, 13
 Sufi orders, 606, 611, 616
 Sunjata Keita, 153
 syllabic nasal, 135, 155
- Taboo, 13, 25, 104, 625
 Talismans, 608
 Tall, Al-Hajj Umar, 606
 Temporal domain, 407
 Thematic vowel, 139-40
 Tijaniyya, 606
- Time reference, 137, 139, 141-2, 151
 Time region, 407-409
 tonal polarity, 175, 178
 Tone floating, 349
 grammatical, 398, 414
 Touré, Ahmed Sékou, 413
 Transethnic (pidgin) potentials of creolization, 604
 identity, 602, 604
 Translanguaging, 5, 12, 650
 Traore, Tiramakhan, 153
 Tritransitive construction, 362
- Verb subject index (VSI), 293-4, 299-300, 304
 Vigesimal, 224, 273, 298, 335, 457
- Wolofal, 61, 611-615, 618
 Wolofization, 49
- Zero-copula, 275, 276

Language index

- Arabic, 61, 62, 68, 99, 100, 104, 331, 418, 605-612, 614, 615, 617, 618, 626, 637, 641, 654, 655, 658, 660, 670, 687
- Bambara, 137, 146-7, 153, 511, 591, 635, 636-7, 640-1, 645, 647, 648-9, 650
- Bantu, 18, 31, 37, 43, 46, 50, 56, 120, 132, 146, 464-7, 484-5, 522, 535, 541, 549, 550, 559, 561
- Bapen, consonant mutation in, 584
- Bayot, 213, 320, 695
- Bedik, 173, 583, 621, 628, 632, 633, 634
- Berber, 619
- Betawi, 597
- Biafada, consonant mutation in, 584-585
- Cangin, 463, 468, 482, 588
- Capeverdean, 132, 142-8
- Creole
 ABC Upper Guinea Creoles, 146-7
 Insular Upper Guinea Creoles, 146-8
 Old Continental Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole, 148
- Proto-Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole (proto-UGPC), 132, 143-4, 147-8
 versus Krio, 597-598
- Dutch, 132, 146-7
- Eastern Nyun, 307
- Ejamat, 238
- English, 61, 65, 76, 83, 136-7, 139154, 309, 690, 694, 695-696
- English-based creole languages, 595
- Floupe, 238
- Fon, 147
- French, 4, 7, 14, 38, 61-2, 70, 92, 96, 134, 138, 144, 148-51, 154, 172, 238, 264, 265, 266, 295, 297, 307-9, 346, 690, 691, 694, 695-696, 697-698
- Ganoore, 621, 622-4
- Gubaabo/o, 7, 149
- Guhaaca, *see* Kasanga
- Guhaja, *see* Kasanga
- Guinea-Bissau Creole (GBC), 131-2, 146-50
- Guñaamolo, 269
- Guḽuy, *see* Kobiana
- Igo, 478
- Jaad, 463, 469, 479-482
- Karon, 191
- Kasa, 191, 239
- Kasanga (Guhaja, Guhaaca), 263, 289, 318, 320
 consonant mutation in, 581
- Kikonga, 147
- Kobiana (Guḽuy), 289, 320, 463, 469, 475
 consonant mutation in, 581-582
- Konyagi, 173
 consonant mutation in, 583-584
- Koré, 631
- Krio, 601
- Kru, 412
- Kulango, 478
- Kwa, 132, 146
- Kwataay, 197
- Landuma, 417
- Lebu, 61, 74, 80, 579
- Limba, 598
- Linggu kristonj, 150
- Manjaku, 150, 346
- Mankanya, 150, 291, 296, 306, 309, 346
- Mende, 160, 598, 599
- Mënik, *see* Bedik
- Munik, *see* Bedik
- Ndut, 463, 480-482
- Niger-Congo, 141, 145, 291, 296, 304
- Palor, 96
- Papiamentu, 132, 143, 145-7
- Pepel, 346
- Petite Côte (Senegal), 20, 61, 132, 617
- Pidgin, 143-4, 147, 598
- Portuguese, 6, 7, 38, 40, 131-4, 136-7, 139-41, 143-50, 154, 263, 295, 308-9, 318-20, 371, 607, 618, 656
 on the West African coast, 596
 Portuguese-based creole languages, 596
- Saafi, 463, 479, 481
- Seereer, 67, 96, 154, 388
 consonant mutation in, 586-588
 writing in, 616-618
- Sereer, *see* Seereer
- Soninke, 154
- Soso, 388, 389, 392, 394, 395, 417, 418, 419
- Spanish, 132, 144, 146-7, 690, 694, 695, 696