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Casamance Creole

Nicolas Quint, Noël-Bernard Biagui,, Joseph Jean François Nunez

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

EDITED BY

Friederike Lüpke

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

and

Alpha Naby Mané (1964–2021)

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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

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PART I

Background and classification of the Atlantic languages

said to be most closely related to the Gombe variety of Nigeria, cf. Abu-Manga 1986: 33). A range of linguistic features at various levels of the language has been proposed for distinguishing 'dialects' and determining overarching groupings of varieties, but clear-cut dialect boundaries in this linguistic continuum can hardly be established. On the one hand, this is because the transition between the lects is fluid and supposedly discriminating variants may co-occur in intermediate varieties, e.g. the perfective middle voice suffixes *-iima* and *-ike* are both used in the Maasina variety (Breedveld 1995b: 7), though claimed as clearly evidencing the main division between a western and an eastern group (Jungraithmayr and Abu-Manga 1989: xxi). On the other hand, different criteria for dividing 'dialect zones' (such as consonant alternation, complex subject pronouns in locative periphrases, verbal inflections, etc.) lead to different geographical distributions of lectal demarcation lines. Even authors who base their groupings on similar linguistic criteria come to different conclusions as can be seen for the tripartite divisions of Diallo (2016) and Apel (2017) who compare discourse-pragmatic markers/strategies across Fula lects but differ in the classification of Maasina as a central or western variety. The classification of the Fula continuum is an ongoing debate. Consensus on dialect areas has not been reached up to now, neither it can be expected that clear-cut geographical boundaries between Fula lects are determinable. The lectal boundaries are fuzzy and classifications yield different grouping depending on which linguistic features are included.

With regard to historical discussions on the distribution of lects and contacts of various speakers throughout the

Fulaphone area, the lack of sufficient data from all varieties but also the non-observance of synchrony or asynchrony of the compared (available) data are often complained about in the literature (e.g. Arnott 1974: 17–18; Breedveld 2009; Apel 2017: 216). Exhaustive descriptions of (particularly the less-documented central) varieties are therefore needed for further studies on language history and language contact in the area.

Finally, I assert that it is tremendously important for comparative purposes to unify terminology and agree upon reference designations for grammatical labels. The 'noun class' numbering or naming of inflectional suffixes presented in Sections 5.2 and 5.3 may serve as examples for the different, partly idiosyncratic conventions that authors comply with, and particularly show an obvious split between research traditions on western and eastern Fula varieties as well as between anglophone and francophone literature. The unification of terminology is thus a prerequisite to facilitate comparative research across the Fula macro-language and to more easily detect variation and uniformity in this linguistic continuum.

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Casamance Creole

NOËL BERNARD BIAGUI, JOSEPH JEAN-FRANÇOIS NUNEZ, AND NICOLAS QUINT

6.1 General presentation of the language and its speakers

Casamance Creole (CC), usually called *kriyol* by its speakers, is an Afro-Portuguese language traditionally spoken in the Senegalese province of Lower Casamance (Map 6.3), most specifically in the city of Ziguinchor (mainly in the districts of Santhiaba, Boucotte-Korentas, Boudody, Escale, Goumel, Kandé, Cobitène, and Néma: see Map 6.4) and in several surrounding villages: (i) to the east, Boutout, Djifanghor, Niagu, Fanda, Agnack, Sindone, Adéane, and Koundioundou; (ii) to the west, Brin, Djibélor, and Djibonker; (iii) to the south, Bourofaye and Mpak; and (iv) to the north, Tobor.¹ CC is a member of the Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles (UGPCs), i.e. a family of genetically related Portuguese-based creoles spoken in West Africa and in the Caribbean (see Map 6.1 and Figure 6.1). More specifically, CC belongs to the Continental branch (Map 6.2) of the UGPCs, together with Guinea-Bissau Creole (GBC), and several other extinct varieties which were probably once spoken along the coast of Senegambia, especially in Joal² and possibly also in Rufisque and Saly-Portudal.

In the absence of any accurate sociolinguistic studies, it is difficult to give a precise figure of the number of CC speakers. However, a reasonable estimate for 2016 seems to be ca. 10,000 native speakers (none of whom are monolingual), and at least an additional 10,000 L2 speakers.³

¹ This list of localities is based on Biagui (p.c.), who had personally met CC speakers who had grown up in all of them. In some of these places, the use of CC is now relictual.

² This variety, consistently attested until the nineteenth century in the writings of several travellers (Boulègue 1968, 1972: 88–100, 1989, 2013: 385), must have died out during the twentieth century.

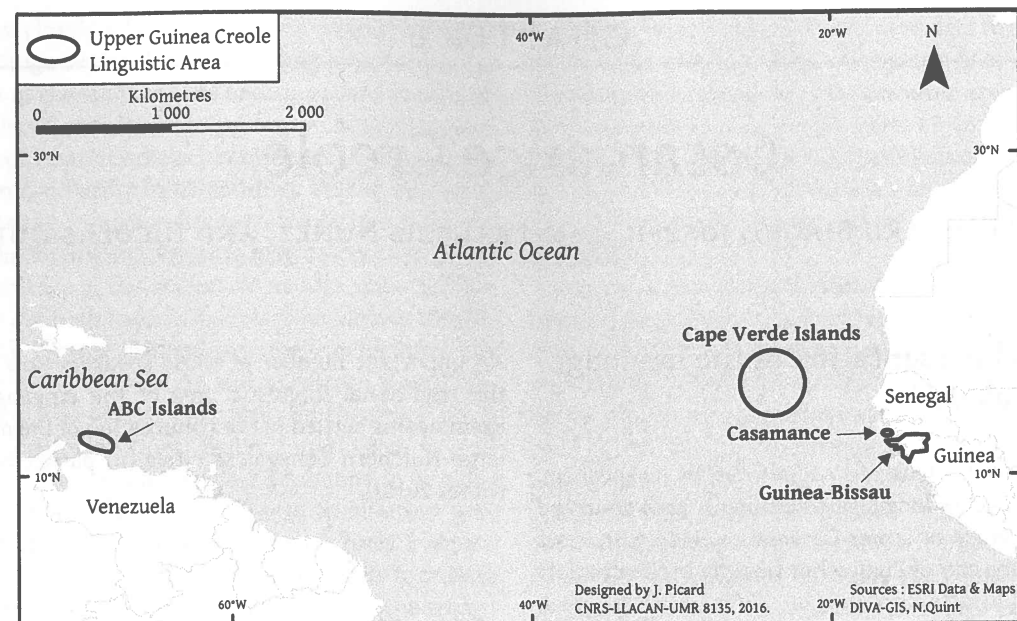
³ These figures are based on the following facts: (i) in Ziguinchor (a city with over 150,000 inhabitants), CC is spoken nowadays, either natively or with varying degrees of proficiency, by a significant proportion of the population (between 5% and 10%), as is shown by daily interaction in the city (e.g. in 2012, in a collective taxi Quint took from Ziguinchor to Dakar, of the seven people—six passengers plus the driver—who were travelling with him, three could speak CC); (ii) in Adéane, Djifanghor, Niagu, and Sindone

An important number of those speakers now live outside the traditional linguistic area of the language, many of them having settled in the conurbation of Dakar or in other large Northern Senegalese cities (in particular Thiès (see Nunez 2015)).

6.2 Previous studies of Casamance Creole

The first documentation of Casamance Creole seems to have been the account of Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocandé (1849), a French resident in Carabane (a locality of Lower Casamance), followed by that of the famous creolist Hugo Schuchardt (1888). Then, in the first half of the twentieth century, several catechisms were produced in CC (e.g. Esvan 1922, 1951), which was at that time an important vehicular language in Lower Casamance. Other sources for the study of the language are Châtaignier (1963); Bal (1980, 1983); Dalphinis (1981); Alkmimn (1983); Dieng (1985); Rougé (1985, 1988); Doneux (1979); Doneux and Rougé (1988); and Moreau (1994a, b). Biagui (2012b, 2018) produced the first comprehensive grammatical description of the language and Nunez (2015) the first corpus-based study in contact linguistics regarding language use among present-day urban speakers in multilingual settings. Biagui and Quint (2013) published the first grammatical sketch of Casamance Creole available in English and in (2015), the first ever book-length literary work in CC, namely *Rey Siñu*, a translation from French of Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* (*The Little Prince*), was released. Several more linguistic papers or book chapters dealing either partially or wholly with CC have been recently issued or are being prepared, such as Nunez and Léglise (2017), and Nunez (2020).

alone, there are certainly over 1,000 native (or totally fluent) CC speakers, to which one should add at least several hundred more people in the other rural localities where CC speakers are attested.



Map 6.1 Upper Guinea Creoles

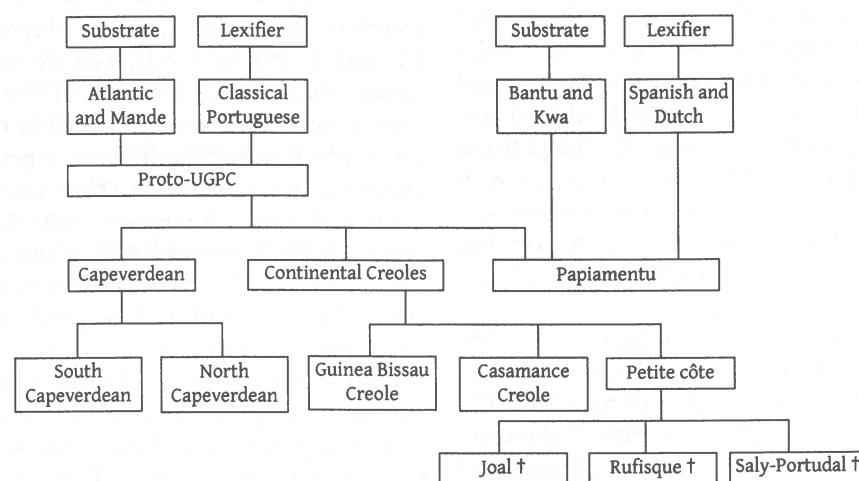
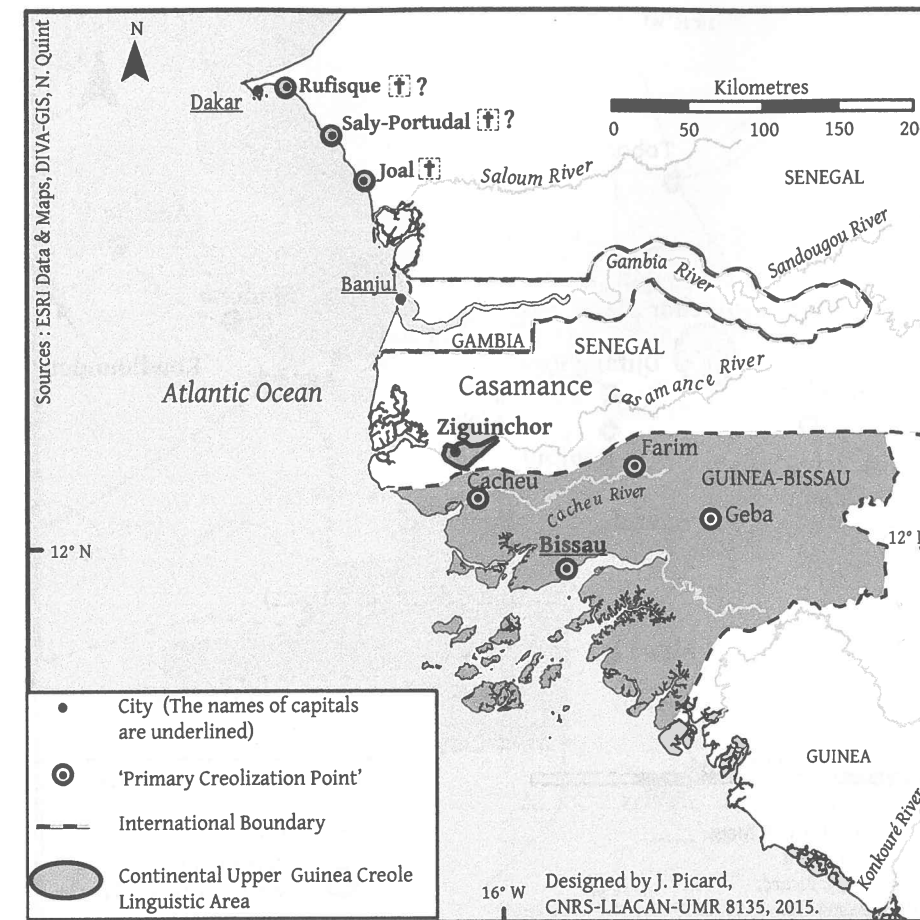


Figure 6.1 Classification of Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles UGPC
(Adapted from Biagui 2012: 4)

6.3 Main grammatical and typological characteristics

Unless otherwise specified, the CC data presented here are primarily based on the variety spoken in Sindone (of which Biagui is a native speaker), and secondarily on the

Ziguinchor (mostly Santhiaba) and Djifanghor varieties, the former being Nunez's native variety and the latter having been used over more than two months by Quint during linguistic fieldwork on Djifanghor Nyun. In 2010, Biagui and Quint also made short enquiries into the varieties spoken in Adéane, Agnack, Fanda, Kandé, Koundioundou, and Niaguis.



Map 6.2 Continental Upper Guinea Creoles

6.3.1 Phonology

6.3.1.1 Vowels

There are eight vocalic phonemes in CC (Table 6.1). Nasality and length have no distinctive value. /ɛ/, /e/, and /ɔ/ have a very low frequency (each occurring in less than 1% of all lexical items) and are largely⁴ restricted to words of African (or non-Portuguese) stock: *lɔpɛ*⁵ /lɔ'pɛ/ 'swaddling clothes', *ɲótɔt* /ɲɔtɔt/ 'chameleon', *bɛɲɛk-ɲɛk* /bɛɲɛk'ɲɛk/ 'wading bird sp.'

Conversely, an overwhelming majority (over 99%) of Portuguese-derived items only contain the five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/. However, there are exceptions to this rule: *tɔrsé*

⁴ This restriction is absolute in the case of /ɛ/.

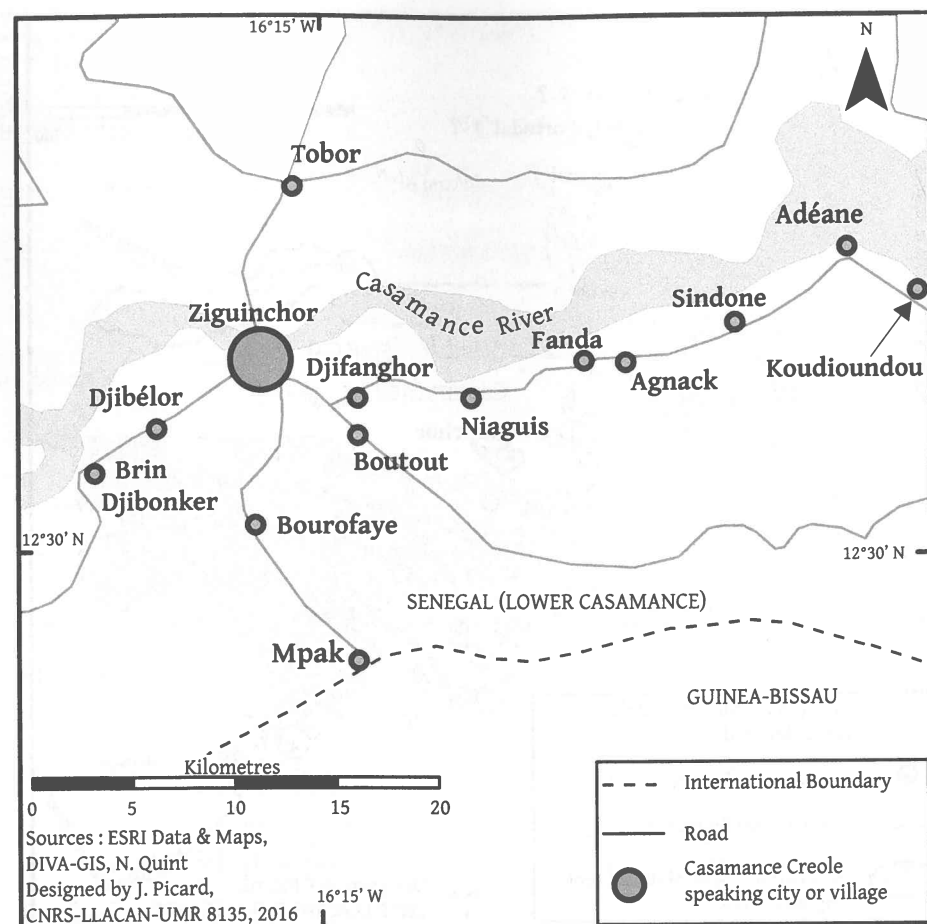
⁵ Acute accents on the vowels are used to indicate the place of stress according to the orthographic rules of the language (see Biagui 2012b, 2018).

/tɔr'sɛ/ 'twist (v.)' (< Portuguese *torcer* /tor'ser⁶), contrasting with *torsé* /tor'se/ 'cough (v.)' (< Portuguese *tossir* /to'sir/).

6.3.1.2 Consonants

There are twenty-nine consonantal phonemes in CC (Table 6.2). Like most neighbouring languages, CC distinguishes four places of articulation (labials, alveolars, palatals, velars) throughout its whole plosive system. However, for oral plosives, the contrast 'palatal' vs. 'velar'

⁶ Unless otherwise specified, the phonological transcriptions of Portuguese items are based on the pronunciation of Classical Portuguese (i.e. the form of the language used between the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the period which witnessed the emergence of the UGPCs). For more details on the history of Portuguese pronunciation, see Teyssier (1980).



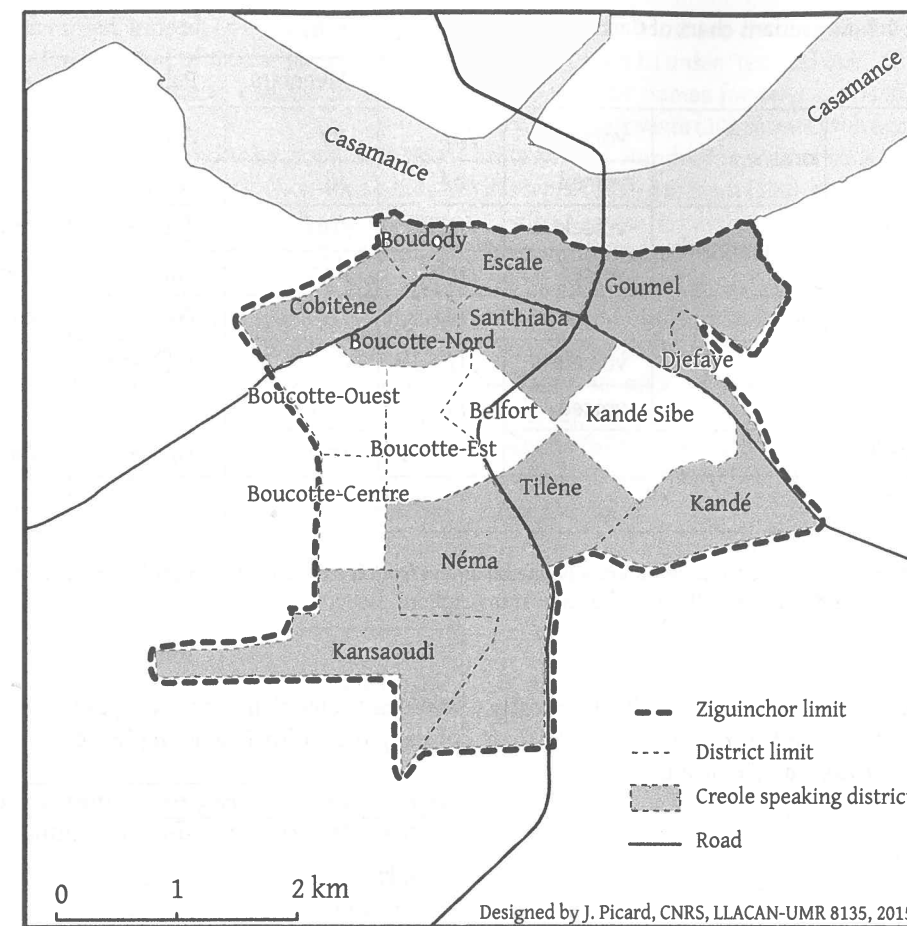
Map 6.3 Casamance Creole traditional linguistic area

is neutralized before /i, e/ and in content words only: (i) /c/ vs /k/: *ceré-keré*/ce're-ke're/'love (v.)'; (ii) /j/ vs. /g/: *jiw-giw*/jiw-giw/'island'. The three phonemes /v, z, ʃ/ (bracketed in Table 6.2) are marginal, as they are possibly not shared by all CC speakers and only appear in recent borrowings from French or Portuguese (the latter mostly through Lusitanized Guinea-Bissau Creole), such as: *móvel*/'movel/'mobile phone' (< Portuguese (*tele*)*móvel*), *voté*/vo'te/'vote (v.)' (< French *voter*); *zeró*/ze'ro/'zero' (< French *zéro*); *bixa*/'biʃa/'queue (n.)' (< Portuguese *bicha*). The prenasalized plosives may appear in all positions, in particular: (i) following a consonant: *disnterá*/disnte'ra/'unearth'; *padurndadi*/padur'ndadi/'priesthood'; and (ii) at the end of a word (in African-derived items only): *pabomp*/'pa'bomp/'bird sp.'. Consonant clusters are common: (i) bilabial: *blufu*/'blufu/'uncircumcized', *pretu*/'pretu/'

'black', *stangu*/'stangu/'stomach', *kumsá*/kum'sa/'begin', *malgós*/mal'gos/'bitter', *mufnesa*/muf'nesa/'unluckiness'; (ii) triconsonantal: *strada*/'strada/'road', *polbra*/'polbra/'gunpowder', *malkriyadu*/malkri'jadu/'ill-mannered'.

6.3.1.3 Stress

CC is a stress language. Each content word has a stressed syllable (indicated in bold characters in this section). The stress is lexical and can fall on three different positions: (i) final: *miñjer*/mi'ñjer/'woman'; (ii) penultimate: *kasa*/'kasa/'house'; and (iii) antepenultimate: *táguba*/'taguba/'board'. Stress is distinctive in CC: *ferca*/'ferca/'thorn' vs. *fercá*/'fer'ca/'sting (v.)'. When the stress falls on a non-final open syllable, the vowel is significantly lengthened: *sibi* ['si:bi] 'African fan palm, *Borassus aethiopicum*' vs. *sibi* ['si'bi] 'go up'.



Map 6.4 Casamance Creole speaking districts in the city of Ziguinchor

6.3.1.4 Syllabic structure

Ten different syllabic types are attested in CC, of which the most frequent is CV (68%⁷): *lobu* CV.CV 'hyena'. Consonantal onsets can occupy up to three positions: *mbruju* 'bundle (of clothes)'. Vocalic onsets are rare (6%): *es* 'this one', *anu* 'year'. Coda-less syllables are clearly dominant (78%), but various consonantal codas are allowed: *krus* 'cross', *puduk* 'snake sp.', *bonékar* 'doll', *sudujk* 'bird sp.'. Although a vocalic nucleus is the standard, some syllabic nasals are attested, when (and only when) a 1SG.S personal pronoun precedes a verb with a prenasalized onset: *N nterá* [ŋ nte'rá] 'I buried'.

Table 6.1 Vowel chart of Casamance Creole

		Place of articulation		
		Front	Central	Back
Aperture	Closed	/i/		/u/
	Mid	/e/	/ɛ/	/o/
	Open	/ɛ/	/a/	/ɔ/

6.3.1.5 Word structure

Most CC lexical items are either mono- or disyllabic (45% each of all lexical items). For stress-bearing items (i.e. content words and some pronouns), the preferred structure is disyllabic (68%) with no dominant stress pattern; 56% of

⁷ This and the following percentages concerning syllable and word structure all come from Biagui (2012b: 314–34, 2018: 333–56) and are based on a small textual corpus containing one song, one folktale, and ten proverbs.

Table 6.2 Consonant chart of Casamance Creole

			Labials	Alveolars	Palatals	Velars
Plosives	oral	voiceless	/p/	/t/	/c/	/k/
		voiced	/b/	/d/	/ɟ/<j> ^a	/g/
	prenasalized	voiceless	/mp/	/nt/	/ɲc/<ñc>	/ŋk/
		voiced	/mb/	/nd/	/ɲɟ/<ñj>	/ŋg/
nasal			/m/	/n/	/ɲ/<ñ>	/ŋ/
Fricatives		voiceless	/f/	/s/	/ʃ/<x>	
		voiced	/v/	/z/		
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 in angle brackets after the phonemic transcription.

those disyllables are stressed on the last syllable (mostly verbs: *kortá* /kor'ta/ 'cut') while 44% are stressed on the first syllable (mostly nouns: *kasa*/'kasa/'house').

6.3.2 Morphology

6.3.2.1 Noun phrase

6.3.2.1.1 The noun

In CC, in contrast with the Atlantic languages spoken in the same area (such as Joola and Nyun), noun class morphology is absent. A two-gender system (masculine/feminine) exists. It is limited to the expression of natural gender and utilizes three different marking strategies: (i) different roots for each gender (ca. ten nouns referring to humans and domestic animals): *womi* 'man' vs. *miñjer* 'woman'; *bodi* 'he-goat' vs. *kabra* 'goat'; (ii) same root for both genders and use of a feminine marker -a (fewer than ten nouns, all referring to human beings): *bisiñu* 'neighbour (M.)' vs. *bisiña* 'neighbour (F.)'; (iii) analytical marking by means of *macu* 'male' and *fémiya* 'female': *fiju macu* 'son' lit. 'male child' vs. *fiju fémiya* 'daughter', lit. 'female child'. Gender agreement with the noun is limited to two qualifiers (adjectives) only: *beju* 'old', and *dudu* 'crazy': *uñ womi dudu* 'a crazy man' vs. *uñ miñjer dudu* 'a crazy woman'.

Plural number is marked on the noun by a suffix with three allomorphs: (i) -s after unstressed vowels: *ba-juda*/*ba'juda*/'girl' > *bajudas*/*ba'judas*/'girls'; (ii) -wus after stressed vowels: *jotó*/*ɟó'tó*/'fish sp.' > *jótówus*/*ɟó'tówus*/'fish.PL sp.'; and (iii) -us after consonants: *miñjer* 'woman' >

miñjerus 'women'. In most cases, the noun is the only bearer of the plural suffix in a noun phrase:

- (1) *Kel bu amigu-s suriyanu ta kantá*
 DEM 2SG.POSS friend-PL Levantine HAB sing
sabi.
 nice(ly)
 'Those Levantine friends of yours sing nicely.'

For proper nouns and independent plural pronouns (see Section 6.3.2.1.5), CC has a collective plural regularly expressed by a prefix *ba-* combined with the plural marker: *ba-Pidru-s* 'Peter and his friends', *ba-nosus*, 'I/me and my friends (1PL.EXCL)', *ba-bosus*, 'you and your friends'.

Noun derivation is widely attested and expressed exclusively through suffixation. There are around twenty recorded nominal suffixes, of which seven are fully productive or semi-productive, for example: (i) qualifier > noun: *fiw* 'ugly' > *fiwndadi* 'ugliness'; (ii) noun > noun: *batota* 'cheating' > *batoteru* 'cheater'; (iii) verb > noun: *coloná* 'translate' > *colonadora* 'translation'.

Noun compounding is quite limited and mostly observed in frozen occurrences: *pis-reya*, 'ray (fish)', lit. 'fish [from/on] sand', *kacor-mangji* 'mongoose', lit. 'dog [from] mangrove'.

6.3.2.1.2 Articles and demonstratives

There is no definite article. There is an indefinite article *uñ* 'a' (< Portuguese *um*). It precedes the noun and contrasts with the numeral *unsoj* 'one'. It is less frequently used than English *a* and Portuguese *um*, and its exact pragmatic value

still needs to be ascertained. Indeed, in most cases, the definite or indefinite interpretation of a bare noun (e.g. *womi* 'a/the man') depends on the general context in which it occurs.

Adnominal demonstratives precede the noun and have two basic forms *e* (immediate) and *ke(l)* (non-immediate), encoding both spatial/temporal deixis and discourse reference: *e mininu* 'this child' (coinciding with both the place and time of utterance + within sight) vs. *kel mininu* 'that child (previously mentioned + out of sight)'. To specify the relative distance (deixis) in space and/or time of a given entity, CC combines these two demonstratives with the post-nominal adverbials *li* 'here' and *la*, 'there' (see Section 6.3.2.4.1): *e mininu-li*, 'this child (close by)' vs. *e mininu-la* 'that child (a bit farther)' vs. *ke(l) mininu-la*⁸, 'that child (over there, still farther)'. The values and forms of adnominal demonstratives are summarized in Table 6.3. below:

Table 6.3 Adnominal demonstratives (X = any noun)

Basic forms	Immediate		Non-immediate	
	<i>e</i>		<i>ke ~ kel</i>	
Deictic combinations	Form	<i>e X-li</i>	<i>e X-la</i>	<i>ke ~ kel X-la</i>
	Value	+near	in between	+far

The corresponding pronominal demonstratives are given in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Pronominal demonstratives

Basic forms	Immediate		Non-immediate	
	<i>es</i> 'this one' (PL. <i>esus</i>)		<i>kella</i> 'that one' (PL. <i>kellawus</i>)	
Deictic combinations	Form	<i>es-li</i> (PL. <i>esus-li</i>)	<i>es-la</i> (PL. <i>esus-la</i>)	<i>kel-la</i> (PL. <i>kelus-la</i>)
	Value	+near	in between	+far

6.3.2.1.3 Numerals

The numeral system is decimal and its basic components derive almost exclusively from Portuguese: 1 = *unsoj*, 2 = *dos*, 3 = *tres*, 4 = *kwátur*, 5 = *siñku*, 6 = *sis*, 7 = *seti*, 8 = *witu*, 9 = *nobi*,

⁸ *li* cannot be combined with *ke(l)*.

10 = *des*. The teens are derived analytically from the basic units: 11 = *des ku unsoj* 'ten and one', 12 = *des ku dos* 'ten and two', etc. The names for tens are: *binti* (20), *trinta* (30), *korenta* (40), *siñkwenta* (50), *sesenta* (60), *setenta* (70), *oytenta* (80), *nobenta* (90). Hundreds are also formed regularly: *sentu* (100), *dos sentu* (200), *tres sentu* (300), and so forth.

When a noun is combined with a compound numeral, it is frequently inserted between: (i) the tens and the units: *des kabalu ku dos* 'ten horse[s] and two', i.e. 'twelve horses'; or (ii) the hundreds and the tens: *tres sentu diya ku sesenta-siñku* 'three hundred day[s] and sixty-five', i.e. '365 days'.

There is only one synthetic ordinal: *purmedu* 'first' (< Portuguese *primeiro*), which precedes the noun; all other ordinals follow the analytic pattern [*di* + cardinal]: *di dos*, 'second', *di tres*, 'third', etc. Analytic ordinals with *di* come after the noun:

- (2) *N ka ø konsé bu fiju di tres*
 1SG.S NEG PFV know 2SG.POSS child ORD three
 'I don't know your third child.'

CC, like many other West African languages (e.g. Bambara, Mandinka, Nyun, Tamasheq, Wolof), has an additional numeral system used only to count money (officially expressed in Senegal in CFA [franc], i.e. the standard currency unit); it uses the following units: (i) *pesu* (=5CFA): *dos pesu* '2 pesu' (2x5CFA=10 CFA); (ii) *taja* (=50CFA): *tres taja* '3 taja' (3x50CFA=150 CFA); (iii) *sentu* (=500CFA); (iv) *kuntu* (=5,000CFA). These 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 *sis des kuntu* 'six [times] ten kuntu', i.e. '60 kuntu' (=60x5,000CFA=300,000CFA) with *sesenta baka* '60 cows' (SNS).

6.3.2.1.4 Other determiners of the noun

Indefinite determiners: the most frequent are *kada* 'each/every', *kiliñ* 'same', *ni(nso)ñ* 'no (+noun)', *tal* 'a certain', *tantu* 'some', *tudu* 'all/whole/every', and *wítur* 'other'. They typically precede the noun⁹.

Qualifiers correspond to the class of adjectives in English. They generally follow the noun: *karu bonitu* 'car nice', i.e. 'nice car', except for *boñ* and *maw*, which are mostly pronominal: *boñ/wom* 'a [a] nice/bad man'. Qualifiers are dealt with in more detail in Section 6.3.2.3.

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

⁹ However, *tudu* can either precede or follow the noun but with different values: (*N kumé*) *tudu manggu* '(I've eaten) every (kind of) mango' [distributive value] vs. (*N kumé*) *manggu tudu* '(I've eaten) the whole mango' [holistic value+singular] vs. (*N kumé*) *mangus tudu* '(I've eaten) all the mangoes' [holistic value+plural (-s marker)].

Table 6.5 Personal pronouns and possessives

PERSON	Pronouns				Possessives	
	subject	object	independent	topic	pronominal	postnominal
1SG	N ^a	-m [m]	mi	a-mi	ñā/na	di mi
2SG	bu	-bu	bo	a-bo	bu	di bo
3SG	i	-l	yel		si	di sol
1PL.EXCL	no	-nos/-nu	nos	a-nos	no	di nos
1PL.INCL			nosus	a-nosus		di nosus
2PL	bo	-bos	bos	a-bos	bo	di bos
3PL	e	-elus/-lus	yelus		se	di solus

^a N stands for a homorganic nasal consonant which adopts the place of articulation of the following consonant: N *ben* [m beŋ] 'I came', N *durmi* [n dur'mi] 'I slept', N *jantá* [ɲ ja'nta] 'I had lunch', N *kantá* [ŋ ka'nta] 'I sang'.

6.3.2.1.5 Personal pronouns and possessives

Table 6.5 above provides an overview of personal pronouns and possessives.

Subject and object pronouns are differentiated for all persons but one (2SG).

Subject pronouns are all unstressed and precede the verb¹⁰: N *sebé*, 'I know'. When the subject is semantically empty, CC requires an expletive pronoun, a function fulfilled by the 3SG subject pronoun *i*:

- (3) *I* *ø* *parsi-m* *kumá i* *na* *bentiya*
 3SG.S PFV seem-1SG.O COMP 3SG.S IPFV be_windy
amañaj.
 tomorrow
 'It seems (to me) that it will be windy tomorrow.'

Object pronouns are always post-verbal and directly attached to the verb: *e* *wojá-bu*, 'they saw you.PL'. The 1PL forms *-nos* and *-nu* are freely interchangeable. The form *-elus* [elus] (3PL) combines only with verbs that end with *-á*: N *wojá* 'I saw' > N *woj-elus* 'I saw them', whereas *-lus* combines with the remaining verbs: N *kudí* 'I answered' > N *kudí-lus* 'I answered them'. With the exception of *-elus* and *-bos*, all object pronouns are unstressed.

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

¹⁰ Two forms of the equative copula *sedí* 'be' cannot combine with unstressed subject pronouns. Instead, those two forms only allow independent or topic pronouns in the subject position (see footnote 15 and Section 6.3.2.4 below).

- (4) *E* *na* *dá-bu* *yel*
 3PL.PL IPFV give-2SG.O 3SG.INDEP
 'They will give it to you.'

When the independent 3SG and 3PL pronouns follow the preposition *pa* 'for/by', the resulting combinations are slightly irregular: *pa mi* 'for me' but *pa rel* 'for him/her', *pa relus* 'for them'.

Topic pronouns are characterized by the marker *a-*, which is prefixed to all but the third person pronouns. Topic pronouns mainly appear clause-initially and are nearly always reinforced by a subject pronoun:¹¹

- (5) *A-mi* *N* *ka* *ø* *mesté bay.*
 1SG.TOP 1SG.S NEG PFV want go
 'I do not want to go' or 'As for me, I do not want to go.'

(5) translates more easily into French as '*moi (=a-mi) je (=N) ne veux pas [y] aller.*'

Prenominal possessives are unstressed and are always adnominal: *ñā kasa* 'my house'. Postnominal possessives are all stressed. They may be either (1) adnominal: *karu di bo* 'car of you', i.e. 'your car' or (2) pronominal: *e karu i di bo* 'this car is of you', i.e. 'this car is yours'. When used as pronouns, postnominal possessives can be inflected for number:

- (6) *I* *di mi* vs. *I* *di mi-wus*
 COP 1SG.POSS COP 1SG.POSS-PL
 'It/she/he is mine' 'They are mine.'

¹¹ The only exceptions to this rule involve the use of topic pronouns as subjects. Such use is only attested with the following forms of the equative copula *sedí* 'be': *i 'am/are/is'* and *yera bay 'was/were'*. Independent pronouns can also be used as subject pronouns for the forms *i* and *yera bay*.

Diachronically, postnominal possessives partly derive from the independent series preceded by *di* 'of'. However, there is a formal distinction for the third persons: *di sol(us)* is the only possible form for the possessive, whereas both *di yel(us)* and *di sol(us)* are attested (according to speakers and communities) in non-possessive use: *no papiyá di yelus* = *no papiyá di solus* 'we spoke about them'.

Intensive pronouns are produced from independent pronouns + *mé/propí* 'really': *mi-mé/mi-propí* 'myself', *bo-mé/bo-propí* 'yourself'.

6.3.2.1.6 Structure of the noun phrase

The basic word order of CC noun phrases is as follows (see also (1)):

- (7) DET + INDEF + NUM + NOUN-(GENDER) + QUAL + GEN
 N *ka* *ø* *wojá*
 1SG.S NEG PFV see

<i>kel</i>	<i>wítur</i>	<i>tres</i>	<i>prim-a</i>	<i>bonitu</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>Pidru</i>
DEM	other	three	cousin-F	pretty	of	Peter

 'I didn't see those three pretty cousins of Peter's.'

6.3.2.1.7 Oblique marking of noun phrases

CC uses prepositions to mark oblique functions (coding for diverse types of adjuncts) of noun phrases. The most common prepositions are *di* 'of/from', *disná* 'since/from', *ku* 'with', *na*, 'in/on', *pa* 'for/by', *nundi* 'at (s.o.'s home)', *riba* 'over', *siñ* 'without', *té/tok* 'until'.

- (8) *Ku* *no* *papé.*
 PREP 1PL.POSS father
 'With our father'

6.3.2.2 Verb phrase

6.3.2.2.1 The verb word

Most CC verb words are characterized by a final thematic vowel, often inherited from Portuguese: (i) /a, e, i/ in most cases: *kontá* 'tell', *kumé* 'eat', *durmi* 'sleep (v.)'; (ii) /o, u/ occur more rarely (mostly in items of African stock): *yorombó* 'separate grains of different sizes by moving a basket horizontally', *lambú* 'steal'.

6.3.2.2.2 Inflections

Verbs are inflected for aspect with three basic values, all expressed through preverbal particles: (i) perfective (zero marked): N *ø* *bebé* 'I drank', (ii) habitual (marker: *ta*): N *ta* *bebé* 'I [usually] drink'; (iii) imperfective (i.e. non-habitual imperfective, marker: *na*): N *na* *bebé* 'I am drinking/I will drink'.

CC verbs belong to two aspectual classes: (i) dynamic (or 'weak') verbs (e.g. *bebé* 'drink'), which have past reference when combined with the perfective marker *ø* (see above); and (ii) stative (or 'strong') verbs (e.g. *sebé* 'know'), which have present reference when preceded by the perfective marker *ø*: N *ø* *sebé* 'I know'.

There is one past tense marker *bay*. It always follows the verb and regularly combines with aspect particles (which are then situated relative to a past time reference): N *ta* *bebé bay* 'I used to drink' (PAST HABITUAL); N *ø* *bebé bay* 'I had drunk' (PAST PERFECTIVE = English pluperfect for a dynamic verb).

With transitive verbs inflected for past, the clitic object pronoun is always inserted between the verb and *bay*: N *bebé-l bay* 'I had drunk it'. In double-object constructions, *bay* is typically inserted between the first and second object:

- (9) N *ø* *dá* *Pidru bay* *kóbur.*
 1SG.S PFV GIVE Peter PST money
 'I had given Peter money.'

Modality and other aspectual values are expressed by (i) adverbials (less grammaticalized than the tense-aspect markers): (a) *jan* (PERFECT/COMPLETIVE, post-verbal): N *bebé jan*, 'I've (already) drunk'; (b) *na* (ASSERTIVE, post-verbal): N *bebé na*, 'I did drink, I drank indeed', (c) *yar* (EPISTEMIC, preverbal): N *yar* *bebé* or *yar* N *bebé* 'I may/might have drunk'; (ii) semi-auxiliary verbs (all preceding the main verb): *mesté* 'want to', *podé* 'be able to, can, may', *pirsisá* *di* 'need'.

Passive voice is marked by the bound suffix *-du*: *bebé* 'drink' > *bebedu* 'be drunk'. The agent is never overt.

- (10) a. *Joy* *ø* *bebé* *biñu* *fep.*
 [active] John PFV drink wine completely
 'John drank all the wine.'

- b. *biñu* *ø* *bebe-du* *fep.*
 [passive] wine PFV drink-PASS completely
 'The wine was completely drunk.'

The verb negator is always *ka*. It is usually inserted between the subject and the aspect marker (for the special case of prohibitive, see below):

- (11) a. *Mariya ta* *papiyá* *kriyol.*
 Mary HAB speak Creole
 'Mary speaks Creole.'
 b. *Mariya ka* *ta* *papiyá* *kriyol.*
 Mary NEG HAB speak Creole
 'Mary doesn't speak Creole.'

Table 6.6 Imperative and prohibitive forms of the CC verb *bebé* 'drink'

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

The imperative and prohibitive forms of the verb *bebé* 'drink' are given in Table 6.6. This is applicable to all CC verbs.

6.3.2.2.3 Derivation

Verb derivation is productive and utilizes various morphological devices: (i) suffixation, e.g. (a) inchoative (adjective > verb): *brajku* 'white' > *brajkusé* 'become white'; (b) instrumental (noun > verb): *faka* 'knife' > *fakiyá* 'stab'; (ii) prefixation, e.g. inersive (verb > verb): *dobrá* 'fold (v.)' > *disdobrá* 'unfold'; (iii) reduplication: *capá* 'patch/repair (v.)' > *capá-capá* 'patch in several places'.

The causative is the commonest verb extension in CC (attested for more than 50% of basic verbs). It is marked with a compound suffix of the type $-V_T-nt-V_T$ (V_T = thematic vowel) and systematically triggers an increase of one in the valency of the verb: *sibí* 'go up/rise (intransitive)' > *sibintí* 'raise sth. (transitive)'; *kumé* 'eat sth. (transitive)' > *kumenté* 'make s.o. eat sth. (ditransitive)'. In a few cases, a causative verb can itself produce a causative extension, giving rise to a double causative: *pegá*, 'start (fire)' > *pegandá*¹² 'light (v.) sth. (transitive, causative)' > *pegandantá* 'make s.o. light sth. (ditransitive, double causative)'.

Reflexives and reciprocals are expressed analytically by means of constructions involving: (i) *kabisa* 'head' and *kurpu* 'body' for the reflexive: *matá kabisa* 'kill oneself, commit suicide' lit. 'kill [one's] head', *labá kurpu* 'wash oneself', lit. 'wash [one's] body'; and (ii) *yútur* 'each other' for the reciprocal: *keré yútur* 'love each other'.

6.3.2.2.4 Copulas

CC has two copulas, *sedi* and *sá*.

sedi is primarily an equative copula (12). It is also the only CC verbal lexeme to have several lexical roots: *i* (present progressive), *yera* *baŋ* (past progressive), and *sedi* (combinable with all aspectual particles and the tense marker *baŋ*).

¹² The *-nd-* sequence in *pegandá* is a less frequent allomorph of the *-nt-* causative infix (see above). The choice between *-nt-* and *-nd-* for causative endings depends on phonological, morphological, and lexical factors (Biagui 2012b: 195–206, 2018: 203–13).

(12) *Pidru i pádur.*
Peter COP priest
'Peter is a (Catholic) priest'.

sá is primarily a locative copula:

(13) *Pidru sá na Sicor.*
Peter COP in Ziguinchor
'Peter is in Ziguinchor'.

Both *sedi* and *sá* can introduce a qualifier (see Section 6.3.2.3), in which case the use of *sedi* implies that the property encoded by the qualifier is inherent (14a), while the use of *sá* implies that this property is temporary or transient (14b)¹³:

(14) a. *Mariya i bonitu.*
Mary COP pretty
'Mary is pretty', i.e. 'Mary is a pretty woman' ('she is always pretty').

b. *Mariya sá bonitu.*
Mary COP pretty
'Mary is pretty', i.e. 'at this moment, Mary looks pretty' (e.g. 'she is wearing nice clothes or has painted her face (...) in a way that makes her prettier than usual').

6.3.2.2.5 Structure of the verb-phrase

For CC verb phrases other than imperatives/prohibitives (see Table 6.6 in Section 6.3.2.2.2 above), the basic word order is as follows:

S + NEG + ASP + V-PASS + PST
(15) *Pidru ka ta da-du baŋ kóbur.*
Peter NEG HAB give-PASS PST money
'Peter did not use to receive money', lit. 'Peter was not [usually] given money'.

¹³ The contrast *sedi* vs. *sá* is clearly an Ibero-Romance feature of CC, reminiscent of, and inherited from, Portuguese *ser* vs. *estar*.

6.3.2.3 Qualifiers (or 'adjectives')

The members of this word class display both nominal and verbal properties.

Like nouns, they can be inflected for gender (see Section 6.3.2.1.1) and number and combine with determiners:

(16) *Kal saya-s ku bu ø ngostá? Kel*
interr skirt-PL RELO 2SG.S PFV like DEM
burmeju-s wo kel braŋku-s?
red[QUAL]-PL or DEM white[QUAL]-PL
'Which skirts do you prefer? The red ones or the white ones?'

Like verbs, qualifiers can be inflected for tense and aspect (17). When combined with the perfective zero marker, qualifiers have present reference (18) and therefore behave like stative verbs (see Section 6.3.2.2.2).

(17) *Si pagu ø balí baŋ, Pidru na*
if salary PFV be_worth PST Peter IPFV
kuntenti baŋ ku si tarbaju.
happy[QUAL] PST with 3SG.POSS work
'If [his] salary were decent, Peter would be satisfied with his job.'

(18) *Mariya ø bonitu.*
Mary PFV beautiful[QUAL]
'Mary is beautiful'.

However, qualifiers also have properties that differentiate them from both nouns and verbs: firstly, they can express attributive qualities (19); secondly, when used in transitive constructions (20), the pronominal object (usually expressing the EXPERIENCER) must be an independent pronoun (not an object pronoun).

(19) *No ø wojá karu bonitu.*
1PL.S PFV see car nice[QUAL]
'We saw a nice car'.

(20) *Si manera ø sabi-mi.*
3SG.POSS manners PFV nice[QUAL]-1SG.INDEP
'I like his manners', lit. 'His manners are nice [to] me'.

Thirdly, qualifiers are also gradable. The comparative has two forms, one expressing superiority, the other, equality.

The comparative of superiority exhibits four different possible patterns:

- (i) comparee + *mas/má* + standard + QUAL (21).
- (ii) comparee + *mas/má* + *di ki* + standard + QUAL.
- (iii) comparee + *mas/má* + QUAL + *di ki* + standard.
- (iv) comparee + *mas/má* + QUAL + standard.

(21) *Mariya ø mas Pidru giru.*
Mary PFV be_more Peter clever
'Mary is cleverer than Peter'.

Two qualifiers have irregular comparatives of superiority: *boŋ* 'good' > *mas miñor* 'better' and *maw* 'bad' > *mas piyor* 'worse'.

The comparative of equality follows the pattern [comparee + QUAL + *suma* 'like' + standard].

(22) *Mariya ø giru suma Pidru.*
Mary PFV clever like Peter
'Mary is as clever as Peter.'

The absolute superlative is expressed through several intensifiers: (i) *mutu/pasá* + QUAL: *mutu sabi* 'very nice'; or (ii) QUAL + *dimás/pasá*: *beju dimás* 'very old'. The relative superlative follows a pattern similar to the comparative of superiority:

(23) *Bu yernoŋ ø mas glos na bo*
2SG.POSS brother PFV be_more greedy in 2PL.POSS
kasa.
house
'Your brother is the greediest of all your family'.

6.3.2.4 Adverbials

6.3.2.4.1 Spatial reference

CC has a two-degree spatial deictic system: *li* 'here (close by)' vs. *la* 'there'.

6.3.2.4.2 Time reference

In the domain of time, CC has developed an elaborate system to situate a given temporal time unit (day, year) in relation to the reference time (Table 6.7):

6.3.2.4.3 Intensifiers (or 'ideophones')

Like many Niger-Congo languages, CC has a wide array of intensifying adverbs or ideophones, each of which specifically intensifies or nuances the meaning of one (or a few) qualifier(s) or verb(s).

(24) *E bistidu ø burmeju wək.*
DEM dress PFV red IDEO
'This dress is **bright** red.'

(25) *Pidru ø fartá kef.*
2SG.POSS PFV be_satisfied IDEO
'Peter is **completely** full/satisfied (with food).'

Over seventy such ideophones have been identified to date in CC, only one of which is of Portuguese origin.

Table 6.7 Adverbials coding temporal reference (days and years)

Unit	-4	-3	-2	-1	RT	+1	+2
Day		ontordiya pasadu '3 days ago'	ontordiya '2 days ago'	awonti 'yesterday'	awosi 'today'	amañaj 'tomorrow'	yermoj di amañaj ^a 'in 2 days'
Year	woraninu '4 years ago'	wotraninu '3 years ago'	woranu '2 years ago'	wotranu 'last year'	esanu 'this year'	paranu 'next year'	paraninu 'in 2 years'

^a The literal meaning of this form is 'brother of tomorrow'.

6.3.3 Sentence structure

6.3.3.1 Nuclear sentence

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

- (26) *Pidru ø kumé (karna)*
Peter PFV eat meat
S V (O)
'Peter ate (meat).'

With ditransitive verbs, either the recipient (R) or the theme (T_H) can immediately follow the verb¹⁴ without any difference in meaning. When the recipient follows the theme (27b), it can be marked optionally by the preposition *pa* 'for'.

- (27) a. *Mariya ø longá mininu karangés*
Mary PFV hand_over child crab
S V R T_H
'Mary handed over a crab to the child.'
- b. *Mariya ø longá karangés (pa) mininu*
Mary PFV hand_over crab for child
S V T_H R
'Mary handed over a crab to the child.'

6.3.3.2 Topic and focus

6.3.3.2.1 Topic

In CC, topicalization is achieved mainly through left-dislocation (combined with a specific intonation). The topic can be a subject (28), an object (recipient or theme), or an oblique complement (29).

- (28) a. *Pidru ka ø sebé nada*
Peter NEG PFV know nothing
S V O
'Peter doesn't know anything.'

¹⁴ This characteristic clearly distinguishes CC from Capeverdean, in which the order SVRT_H is compulsory.

- b. *Pidru, i ka ø sebé nada*
Peter.TOP 3SG.S NEG PFV know nothing
S.TOP S V O
'As for Peter, he doesn't know anything.'

- (29) a. *No ø bej ku Pidru*
1PL.S PFV come with Peter
S V OBL
'We came with Peter.'

- b. *Pidru, no ø bej ku yel*
Peter 1PL.S PFV come with 3SG.INDEP
OBL.TOP S V OBL
'(As for) Peter, we came with him.'

6.3.3.2.2 Focus

Focus constructions follow the pattern [(i 'COP.FOC') + FOCUS + RELATIVE]. The focus can be a subject, an object (30), an oblique complement, or an adverb (31).

- (30) a. *Pidru ø wojá Mariya.*
Peter V see Mary
S V O
'Peter saw Mary.'

- b. (I) *Mariya ku Pidru ø wojá.*
COP.FOC Mary RELO Peter PFV see
O.FOC S V
'It is Mary that Peter saw.'

- (31) a. *Bo ø cigá awonti.*
2PL.S PFV arrive yesterday
S V ADV
'You (PL) arrived yesterday.'

- b. (I) *awonti ku bo ø cigá.*
COP.FOC yesterday RELO 2PL.S PFV arrive
ADV.FOC S V
'It was (lit. 'is') yesterday that you (PL) arrived' or 'you (PL) arrived yesterday.'

6.3.3.3 Complex sentence

6.3.3.3.1 Coordination

The commonest CC coordinating conjunctions are *didi* 'therefore', *ma* 'but', *niñ* 'nor', *pabiya* 'because', and *wo* 'or' (32).

- (32) *Bu na bej wo bu na fíká?*
2SG.S IPFV come COORD 2SG.S IPFV stay
'Are you coming or [are you] staying?'

Additive clause coordination is mostly expressed through juxtaposition (33).

- (33) *Pidru ø bej, i ka ø wocá Mariya,*
Peter PFV come 3SG.S NEG PFV find Mary
i ø bay.
3SG.S PFV go
'Peter came, didn't find Mary and went away.'

6.3.3.3.2 Subordination

The three main types of subordinate clauses are represented in CC: adverbial (34), complement (35), and relative (36) clauses. They are all introduced by invariable clause-initial markers.

- (34) *Antu ku bu na bay, N ø mesté*
SUB 2SG.S IPFV go 1SG.S PFV want
ADVERBIAL CLAUSE
wojá-bu.
see-2SG.O
'Before you go, I want to see you.'

- (35) *N ø sebé*
1SG.S PFV know

- kumá biñu ku liti ka ø diyentá.*
COMPL wine with milk NEG PFV go_together
COMPLEMENT CLAUSE

'I know that wine and milk cannot be combined with each other.'

- (36) *Womi ki na bajá sij i ña*
man REL.S IPFV dance that_way COP 1SG.POSS
RELATIVE CLAUSE
tiw.
uncle
'The man who is dancing that way is my uncle.'

6.3.3.4 Interrogative sentence

Yes-no questions are optionally introduced by *nos* or *nti*.

- (37) *Nti fera ø loñji di li?*
Q market PFV be_far from here
'Is the market far from here?'

In open-ended questions, the question word (Q) always occurs at the beginning of the sentence and usually follows one of two patterns: (i) Q + relative *ki/ku* (general case (38)), or (ii) Q + noun + *ki/ku* (adjectival interrogatives (39)). The most frequent question words are *kal* 'which', *kej* 'who', *kisá* 'what', *kantu* 'how many/much', *kumá* 'how', *nundé* 'where', *pabiya* 'why', (*na*) *kal wora/diya/mis/anu/tempu* (lit. '(at) which hour/day/month/year/time) 'when'.

- (38) *Kej ki ø cigá awonti?*
Q REL.S PFV arrive yesterday
'Who arrived yesterday?'

- (39) *Kantu kasa ku bu ø wojá?*
Q house REL.O 2SG.S PFV see
'How many houses did you see?'

6.4 History of the language: its origins and relationships with African languages

6.4.1 A brief overview of the history of Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole and the origins of Casamance Creole

As will be seen in more detail in this section, CC is a Portuguese-based creole language descended in all likelihood from proto-Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole (proto-UGPC), an Afro-Portuguese pidgin (or incipient creole), which must have developed as soon as the first Lusitanian sailors reached the West African shores and came for the first time into contact with the inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa, i.e. during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese fleet rounded Cape Bojador (1434) and reached the peninsula of Dakar (1445). Under the view adopted in the present study (see data and sources hereafter and below in Section 6.4.3), proto-UGPC is the common ancestor of all UGPCs, i.e. Capeverdean, Guinea-Bissau Creole, Casamance Creole, and Papiamentu. Although there are no direct recordings of proto-UGPC, two different sources allow us to have an idea of what it may have looked like: (i) reconstruction through systematic comparison between all modern UGPCs; and (ii) the study of Renaissance

Portuguese and (to a lesser extent) Spanish theatre, in which black servants often spoke a specific variant of Portuguese, some features of which have been shown to fit several well-known characteristics of present-day UGPCs (Teyssier 1959; Tinhorão 1988; Kihm and Rougé 2013).

There is still much debate as to the exact birthplace of proto-UGPC, some scholars (Naro 1978; Kihm and Rougé 2013) advocating that its first speakers may well have been black communities living in Lisbon during the second half of the fifteenth century while others (Quint 2000; Jacobs 2010, 2012) believe that this pidgin was first spoken in Western Africa itself. The debate is still more vigorous regarding the place where creolization, i.e. the appearance of the first native-speakers of proto-UGPC, took place: in the Cape Verde islands, in mainland Africa or in Portugal? The viewpoint adopted here (see Quint 2000, 2007, 2008, 2012; Jacobs 2010, 2012) is that the first stable community of native speakers of any variety of proto-UGPC must have come into being on the Capeverdean island of Santiago. This position rests on two main arguments. Firstly, from a sociolinguistic perspective, it seems almost certain that the Cape Verde islands had no permanent inhabitants before the Portuguese discovered and settled them (in 1462), first with Portuguese people, then shortly afterwards with African slaves, who soon came to represent a clear majority (over 85%) of the local population. Hence, in contrast with Portugal, where the African community has always been a minority—ca. 10% (Tinhorão 1988: 102–3) of the whole population in Lisbon during the sixteenth century—which eventually merged into the Portuguese majority through biological and cultural absorption, Africans were more numerous than Portuguese on the island of Santiago (which made it more difficult for their linguistic assimilation to take place). At the same time, this African majority was linguistically heterogeneous (speaking many different local languages) and politically weak, as they were dominated by the Portuguese ruling elite, which prevented the emergence of an African vehicular in Cape Verde. These specific sociolinguistic conditions (many languages spoken in one place with no clear linguistic majority) can be considered as particularly favourable for the development of a creole and make Renaissance Cape Verde a more plausible place than Portugal for the creolization of proto-UGPC. Secondly, from a historical perspective, the hypothesis of a Cape Verde cradle for UGPCs is more credible than the hypothesis of an African mainland cradle (along the Senegambian and/or Guinea-Bissau coast). Indeed, the first permanent Portuguese settlement in Guinea-Bissau (at Cacheu) dates back to the end of the sixteenth century (between 1592 and 1595; see Carreira 1984: 19–20), i.e. some 130 years after the settlement of Santiago in Cape Verde. Many historical sources (Silva Andrade 1996) also show that Capeverdean merchants (most of whom

probably spoke UGPC as a first or second language and also used it as a business language) regularly came to the mainland for trade purposes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is therefore most probable that the use of UGPC as a native language spread from Cape Verde to the West African mainland (due to the linguistic influence of Capeverdean merchants and settlers) in the course of the sixteenth century, and that UGPC then began to be spoken in the cities and trading posts founded by the Portuguese (accompanied by Capeverdean communities), namely Bissau, Farim, Geba, and Cacheu, which can be held as the four **primary creolization points** of Guinea-Bissau.

As regards CC, although there may have been individual UGPC speakers wandering through Casamance since at least the sixteenth century (Pérez-Crosas 2009), 1645 can be considered as the true beginning of the Casamance UGPC variety, as that date marks the foundation of the city of Ziguinchor by the Portuguese, together with a group of Cacheu settlers, who probably already spoke the Cacheu variant of UGPC. Therefore, Ziguinchor can be viewed as a **secondary creolization point**, as its first Creole speakers came themselves from Cacheu (i.e. one of Guinea-Bissau's primary creolization points) and, from a historical and linguistic point of view, CC clearly derives from Cacheu UGPC (Doneux and Rougé 1988: 75–7; Rougé 1988: 8)¹⁵. Another key date for the history of CC is the fact that, in 1884, the Portuguese political presence ceased in Ziguinchor, as the city and its surroundings were handed over to the French government. While this political change triggered no disruption in the transmission and use of CC in Casamance, CC was nonetheless removed from direct Portuguese (and Bissau UGPC variety) linguistic influence and submitted to the influence of French, the new official language. Such modifications of the linguistic environment of CC have had some impact on the linguistic characteristics of this variety (see in particular Section 6.4.4.3).

6.4.2 The Portuguese and African elements in the lexicon of Casamance Creole

CC is a Portuguese-based creole, which means that the vast majority of its core vocabulary can be traced directly to Portuguese, and more precisely to Classical Portuguese (PT), i.e. the stage of the language which was in use at the time of the first contacts between Portuguese and West Africans: *miñjer* 'woman' < PT *mulher*/mu'ker/; *forti* 'strong' < PT *forte*/'forti/;

¹⁵ Nowadays, as shown by Quint's fieldwork in 2012, the Cacheu UGPC variety has been almost completely levelled by the Bissau variety, which has become the main vehicular language throughout Guinea-Bissau (Quint and Moreira Tavares 2019: 121, 133–9; Quint 2024).

ciw 'many' < PT *chêo~cheo*/'cêo, 'ceo/'full'. 98% of Swadesh's 100-word list in CC is Portuguese-derived.

However, African languages, too, have significantly influenced CC and left their traces at all levels of the grammar.

6.4.3 Pervasiveness of the African element

6.4.3.1 Phonology

6.4.3.1.1 Phonemic /ŋ/ in CC

The presence of phonemic /ŋ/ (in particular in initial positions) is clearly an African feature, as /ŋ/ is widespread in most Niger-Congo languages spoken in West Africa, whereas it is missing in Portuguese. Moreover, several CC items beginning with /ŋ/ can be traced back to African languages: *ŋolí* 'look daggers at s.o.' (< Mandinka *ŋùlu*), *ŋosí* 'suck (palm kernels)' (< Nyun¹⁶ *ŋwəs*).

6.4.3.1.2 Prenasalized plosives

Prenasalized plosives are also a typical Niger-Congo (non-Portuguese) trait. Particularly noteworthy is the presence in CC of prenasalized plosives in word-final position (see Section 6.3.1.2). Prenasalized plosives are not found in final position in most Niger-Congo languages, and are altogether missing in all other Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles. However, Nyun, one of the main adstrate language clusters of CC, does have word-final prenasalized plosives: Nyun *budúgund* 'he-goat', *lermp* 'cattle egret', *soróŋk* 'stork' (compare with CC *suduŋk* 'stork'). Therefore, Nyun is very likely to have played a role in the appearance of word-final prenasalized plosives in CC.

6.4.3.2 Grammar

6.4.3.2.1 The causative verb extension

The CC synthetic causative $-V_T-nt-V_T$ (see Section 6.3.2.2.3) is quite similar (in terms of form, function, meaning, and productivity) to its Mandinka counterpart *-ndí*. See Table 6.8 for basic verbs and their causative extensions in CC and Mandinka.

The similarity between Mandinka and CC is reinforced by the existence of a variant $-V_T-nd-V_T$ (see Section 6.3.2.2.3) of the causative in CC. Note, moreover, that a very similar causative verb extension is also attested in Guinea-Bissau Creole, but not in Capeverdean and Papiamentu. It is therefore quite probable that contact with Mandinka (here acting as an adstrate) played a role in the development of a

¹⁶ All Nyun examples given in this chapter come from the variety spoken in Djifanghor (Chapter 13, this volume).

Table 6.8 Two examples of basic verbs and their causative extensions in CC and Mandinka

Example	Verb	CC	Mandinka	Meaning
1	Basic	<i>ferbé</i>	<i>fáji</i>	'boil' (intr.)
	Causative	<i>ferbenté</i>	<i>fájindi</i>	'boil' (tr.)
2	Basic	<i>siná</i>	<i>karáy</i>	'learn'
	Causative	<i>sinantá</i>	<i>karandí</i>	'teach'

synthetic causative in CC and Guinea-Bissau Creole, i.e. the continental varieties of UGPCs.

6.4.3.2.2 The first person plural inclusive vs. exclusive contrast

CC is the only Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole to have a 1PL inclusive vs. exclusive contrast in its pronominal system (see Section 6.3.2.1.5). Although the lexical material used to convey this contrast is clearly Portuguese-derived, the way it is rendered in CC closely parallels Nyun.

Table 6.9 1PL inclusive and exclusive free pronouns and their relation to plural marking in Casamance Creole and Nyun

Part of speech	Inflectional type	CC	Nyun	Gloss
1PL free pronoun	Exclusive	<i>nos</i>	<i>min</i>	PRON
	Inclusive	<i>nos-us</i>	<i>min-oy</i>	PRON-PL
Noun	'dog'	<i>kacor</i>	<i>jíhi</i>	N
	'dog-PL'	<i>kacor-us</i>	<i>jihí-oy</i>	N-PL

As Table 6.9 shows, in both Nyun and CC, the 1PL inclusive free pronoun is constructed following the same pattern: 1PL exclusive pronoun + nominal plural suffix. Such a similarity is unlikely to be due to chance and it seems safe to assume that the 1PL inclusive vs. exclusive contrast in CC was inherited from (viz. calqued on) the Nyun adstrate (or a typologically similar Casamance language).

6.4.3.3 Semantics

In addition to the use of a special numeral system for money (see Section 6.3.2.1.3) and semantic intensifiers (see

Section 6.3.2.4.3), some other striking features deserve to be mentioned.

6.4.3.3.1 Nightly avoidance taboos

Like Wolof and probably many other Senegalese languages, for a reduced set of culturally central items, CC speakers traditionally use two different forms according to whether one is speaking during daylight or at night. In all cases, the daytime form is the basic term and the night-time form is a descriptive periphrasis thereof, obviously coined in order to avoid directly naming the basic term at night (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10 Nightly avoidance taboos

Meaning	Period of use	
	daytime	nighttime
coal	<i>karboŋ</i>	<i>wuru pretu</i> 'black gold'
fire	<i>fugu</i>	<i>brasa</i> 'embers'
needle	<i>guja</i>	<i>kusaŋ di kosé</i> 'something to sew'
salt	<i>sal</i>	<i>wuru brayku</i> 'white gold'; <i>kusaŋ di pí na biyanda</i> 'something to [be] put in rice'
snake	<i>kobra</i>	<i>liña di coŋ</i> 'thread from ground'

To the best of our knowledge, this type of lexical avoidance has hitherto never been mentioned in the literature on CC (or any other UGPC).

6.4.3.3.2 Conjuring names

In conservative CC-speaking communities, children (mostly those born to a woman who previously miscarried) are often given special names to ward off bad luck, such as *mortu-negá* '[even] death refused [it]', *beŋ pa bay*, 'it won't stay long [with us]', lit. 'come in-order-to go', *speransa* 'hope (n.)'. This phenomenon closely parallels similar linguistic practices observed among Jólola (Sagna and Bassène 2016), Wolof, and Mandinka speakers.

6.4.4 The Afro-Portuguese heritage: a tool to trace back the history and genetics of Casamance Creole

Both the African and Portuguese elements observable in CC correspond to several distinct historical layers. Unravelling these layers enables us to better understand the contact

and social phenomena which led to the emergence of CC, as well as its taxonomic position among the Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles (see Figure 6.1).

6.4.4.1 The stage of proto-Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole

6.4.4.1.1 Elements common to the three branches of UGPC

The claim that Papiamentu, Capeverdean Creole, and the two continental UGPCs (CC and GBC) share a common ancestor is supported by several linguistic elements shared between these three branches (Quint 2000; Jacobs 2009, 2012; Quint and Moreira Tavares 2019). Table 6.11 lists some of these elements.

The elements shown in Table 6.11 exemplify several types of arguments supporting the existence of a genetic relationship between the three branches of UGPCs. First (F1-3), some PT-derived items are found in all three branches with regular phonetic correspondences (e.g. epenthesis of /u/ in the middle of the /sk/ sequence of PT *escuro*). Second (F4-5), other PT items have followed a similar semantic evolution in all UGPCs: (i) PT noun *mister* 'necessity, need (n.)' has become a verb; and (ii) PT *manterha* (from the old formula *Deus te/vos manterha* 'may God keep you [in good health]!'), the 3SG present subjunctive form of *manter* 'keep', has become a noun. Third (F6-7), some African items (all derived from Mandinka (Mdka.) or another Mande language, e.g. Bambara (Bamb.)) are common to all UGPCs.

However, the ABC branch is clearly the most divergent branch of the family, as it has been subject to heavy Spanish (F8) and more moderate Dutch (F9) influence. The Papiamentu vocabulary also includes some African words coming from Kwa (F10) and Bantu (F11) languages, which are not found in other UGPCs (Quint 2000: 167-83; Jacobs 2012: 261-2).

6.4.4.1.2 Elements common to Insular and Continental UGPCs only

The Insular and Continental UGPCs contain many common elements (Table 6.12) which they do not share with Papiamentu.

These common elements can be traced back to two different origins: (i) PT (F1-3), with specific phonetic or semantic evolutions shared by both continental and insular UGPCs; (ii) an African substrate, in which three main languages are represented: Mandinka (F4), Wolof (F5), and Temne (F6).

Considering the facts that: (i) these shared elements are so numerous and significant; and (ii) insular and continental UGPCs have been separated for centuries, the most reasonable explanation to account for their similarities is that they

Table 6.11 Some elements common to all three branches of UGPCs

Element	Code	ABC	Insular	Continental		Origin
		Pap.	CV	CC	GBC	
'dark(ness)'	F1	<i>sukú</i>	<i>sukuru</i>	<i>sukuru</i>	<i>sukuru</i>	PT <i>escuro</i>
'first'	F2	<i>promé</i>	<i>purmeru</i>	<i>purmedu</i>	<i>purmedu</i>	PT <i>primeiro</i>
'round'	F3	<i>rondó</i>	<i>rodondu</i>	<i>rodóndu</i>	<i>rodondu</i>	PT <i>redondo</i>
'greeting'	F4	<i>manteña</i>	<i>manterha</i>	<i>mantiña/manteña</i>	<i>manteña</i>	PT <i>manterha</i>
'need/want'	F5	<i>mester</i>	<i>mesti/meste</i>	<i>mesté</i>	<i>misti</i>	PT <i>mister</i>
'squat'	F6	<i>yongotá</i>	<i>djongotu</i>	[<i>jokoni</i> < Wol. <i>jonkon</i>]	<i>jungutu</i>	Mdka. <i>joŋkóto</i>
'termite/ant'	F7	<i>badjaga</i> 'ant'	<i>bága-bága</i> 'ant'	<i>baga-baga</i> 'termite'	<i>baga-baga</i> 'termite'	Mdka. <i>báabaa</i> Bamb. <i>bagabaga</i> 'termite'
'name'	F8	[<i>nòmber</i> < SP <i>nombre</i>]	<i>nómi</i>	<i>nomi</i>	<i>nomi</i>	PT <i>nome</i>
'many'	F9	[<i>hopi</i> < NL <i>hoop</i>]	<i>txeu</i>	<i>ciw</i>	<i>ciu</i>	PT <i>chẽo</i>
'twin'	F10	[<i>ohochi</i> < Fon <i>hoxovi</i>]	<i>jémia/gémia</i>	<i>gémiya</i>	<i>jémia/jémiu</i>	PT <i>gêmeo</i>
'basket'	F11	[<i>makutu</i> < Kik. <i>nkuta</i>]	<i>balai</i>	<i>baley</i>	<i>balai/balei</i>	PT <i>balaio</i>

Table 6.12 Some elements common to insular and continental UGPCs

Element	Code	Insular	Continental		Origin
		CV	CC	GBC	
'see'	F1	<i>odja</i>	<i>wojá</i>	<i>oja</i>	PT <i>olhar</i> 'look'
'co-wife/ rival'	F2	<i>kumbósa</i>	<i>kumbosa</i>	<i>kumbosa</i>	PT <i>comborça</i>
'not' (NEG)	F3	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	PT <i>nunka</i>
'look' (v.)	F4	<i>djobe/djobi</i>	<i>jobé</i>	<i>jubi</i>	Mdka. <i>juubee</i>
'mix' (v.)	F5	<i>djagasi</i>	<i>jagasi</i>	<i>jagasi</i>	Wol. <i>jaxase</i>
'kapok (tree)'	F6	<i>polon</i>	<i>poloŋ</i>	<i>poloŋ</i>	Tem. <i>an-polon</i>

descend from a common proto-Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole (proto-UGPC) or pidgin, which would have appeared during the second half of the fifteenth century, when, as mentioned above (see Section 6.4.1), the first Portuguese sailors reached the Western coasts of Africa. Papiamentu is also partly descended from proto-UGPC, although its relationship with the two other branches of UGPCs is harder to prove, due to the many other languages that have exerted

their influence on the language of the ABC islands (see Section 6.4.4.1.1 and Figure 6.1).

One should note that, in some cases at least (F4), some CC forms are closer to those of the insular UGPCs (Capeverdean) than to GBC. In the case of F4, it is reasonable to assume that CC and CV (which do not belong to the same branch of UGPCs) have retained the vowels of a proto-UGPC form **jobé* /*jo'be*/, while the GBC cognate has diverged at a later

Table 6.13 Some items and features distinguishing continental and insular UGPCs

Item/feature	Continental		Insular		
Meaning	Code	CC + GBC	Origin	CV	Origin
'machete'	F1	tarsadu (GBC)/ torsadi (CC)	PT <i>terçado</i>	maxin / spáda	PT <i>machinho</i> ^a / <i>espada</i>
'linger'	F2	tardá	PT <i>tardar</i>	dura	PT <i>durar</i>
'add'	F3	burní	Non-European	kirsi	PT <i>crecer</i>
'bull-calf'	F4	туру siñu	PT <i>touro</i> + <i>-zinh</i>	djáki	Wol. <i>yëkk</i>
causative	F5	synthetic (see Section 6.3.2.2.3)	Mandinka	analytic <i>poi</i> 'put'+ verb	PT <i>pôr</i> ~ <i>poer</i>

^a *Machinho* comes from Modern (not Classical) Portuguese.

date from the ancestral form.¹⁷ As a rule, CC contemporary forms are often closer than those of any other UGPC to the proto-UGPC forms that we have reconstructed for the family (Quint 2000: 307–18). In other words, today's CC seems to be the most conservative, archaic spoken variety of UGPC.

6.4.4.2 Elements specific to Continental Creoles

Despite the many elements shared by Continental and Insular UGPCs, some items and features allow us to draw a clear dividing line between the two branches.

The differences between the two branches (Table 6.13) of UGPCs are of two main types. The first type (F1–2) comprises cases where a similar meaning is expressed by means of two different PT-derived words: one found in insular UGPCs and another in continental UGPCs. In the second type (F3–5), one branch selected a PT-derived item or construction while the other branch retained a non-European (i.e. generally African) element to express the same meaning. Usually, continental UGPCs are (or have been) more prone to integrating African elements (F3 and F5) than insular UGPCs, but there are exceptions to this tendency, as shown by F4, in which CV has retained a Wolof item while CC and GBC use a PT-derived form. As a rule, when contrasted with insular UGPCs, CC clusters mainly with GBC, which clearly warrants the notion of a continental branch of UGPCs (separate from Capeverdean), whose two members, CC and GBC, must be descended from a common ancestral stage, which we will label Old Continental UGPC.

¹⁷ In this particular case, the first vowel of GBC *jubi* is closer to the Mandinka etymon *juube*. However, the vowels of GBC *jubi* reflect a widely attested tendency in GBC to close the PT and proto-UGPC mid vowels /e, o/ to /i, u/ respectively (see also F1 in Table 6.14). Owing to this tendency, it is safe to say that present-day GBC *jubi* must be descended from an earlier **jobé*, common to CC, GBC, and Capeverdean.

6.4.4.3 The typical Casamance features

The differences between CC and GBC are limited, and mutual intelligibility between the two continental varieties is unproblematic. However, as shown in Table 6.14, several features, including phonological (F1), morphological (F2–3), and lexical (F4–7), allow us to distinguish CC from GBC. One of the main sources of differences is that CC has borrowed items from the African adstrate languages spoken in Casamance with which it is in direct contact (F4–6)¹⁸, as well as from French (F7), the official language of Senegal. This African and French lexical layer distinguishes CC not only from GBC but also from all other UGPCs.

6.4.5 The other side of the coin: the Creole legacy to the neighbouring languages

Over the course of its history, CC has extensively borrowed from African languages, but, conversely, it also has provided many lexical elements to those languages.

Although all CC words in Table 6.15 are derived from Portuguese, the Wolof and Nyun borrowings are generally closer to their CC counterparts than to Portuguese, and this applies both to form and meaning. Therefore, it seems reasonable to postulate that, in most cases, the Ibero-Romance lexical items found in Senegalese languages were borrowed from CC (or other related UGPC varieties spoken on the Senegambian coast; see Section 6.1) rather than directly from Portuguese. The CC lexical contribution to West African languages is still poorly studied: further research is

¹⁸ In F6, both CC and GBC have an African-derived form for the same meaning, but while GBC has retained the common UGPC item (see Table 6.11), CC seems to have innovated with a more recent borrowing from Wolof.

Table 6.14 Some contrastive features between Casamance and Guinea-Bissau Creoles

Feature	Code	CC	Origin	GBC
UGPC /e/ and /o/	F1	<i>mordé</i> 'bite'	UGPC */mor' de/ < PT <i>morder</i> /mo'rder/	<i>murdi</i>
Past marker	F2	<i>bay</i> (see §3.2.2.2)	PT imperfective past marker <i>va</i> '-/ve/ (<i>cantavas</i> 'you used to sing') X Joola/Mdka <i>bay</i> 'finish'	<i>ba</i>
Qualifier > Noun	F3	<i>bonitás</i> 'beauty'	PT <i>bonito</i> 'beautiful' + suffix <i>-esco</i> -/'esku/	<i>bonitasku</i>
Africanisms	F4	<i>silafanda</i> 'present'	Mdka. <i>síláfánda</i> 'present'	NA
	F5	<i>puduk</i> 'snake sp.'	Nyun <i>púdduk</i> 'snake sp.'	NA
	F6	<i>jokoni</i> 'squat' (v.)	Wol. <i>jonkon</i> vs. Mdka. <i>jonkóto</i>	<i>jungutu</i>
French terms	F7	<i>pel</i> 'shovel'	French <i>pelle</i> /pel/ vs. PT <i>pá</i>	<i>pá</i>

Table 6.15 Some Wolof and Nyun lexical items borrowed from CC

African language	CC	Classical Portuguese	
Wolof	<i>caabi</i> 'key'	<i>cabi</i> /'cabi/'key'	<i>chave</i> /'tʃavi/'key'
Wolof	<i>feebur</i> 'illness'	<i>fēbur</i> /'febur/'illness/fever'	<i>febre</i> /'fɛbri/'fever'
Wolof	<i>kàcoor</i> 'crook'	<i>kacor</i> /'ka'cor/'dog'	<i>cachorro</i> /'kɛ'tʃorru/'puppy'
Wolof	<i>paaka</i> 'knife'	<i>faka</i> /'faka/'knife'	<i>faca</i> /'fakɛ/'knife'
Wolof	<i>soble</i> 'onion'	<i>sabola</i> /'sa'bola/'onion'	<i>cebola</i> /'se'bola/'onion'
Nyun	<i>karáfa</i> 'bottle'	<i>garafa</i> 'bottle'	<i>garrafa</i> /'gɛ'rɾafe/'bottle'
Nyun	<i>kelerɛɲ</i> 'cauldron'	<i>kalerɔɲ</i> 'cauldron'	<i>caldeirão</i> /'kaldej'rɛw/'cauldron'

needed to identify this contribution and ascertain its actual importance and sociohistorical implications.

6.5 Sociolinguistic information

6.5.1 Creole-speaking communities and their ethnic affiliations in Casamance

Although Casamance Creole has been spoken in what is South Senegal today for over three and a half centuries (i.e. since the foundation of Ziguinchor in 1645 by Portuguese and Creole speakers originating from the Guinea-Bissau city of Cacheu; see Section 6.4.1), the language remains a relative newcomer in the area, having developed among the many languages and cultures that already existed in and around Ziguinchor. Significantly, in Nyun, CC is still referred to as

gubaabɔ 'the Europeans' language', in spite of the fact that most of today's CC speakers do not have European origins. Indeed, most speakers are descended from Casamance people who gradually adopted the language and religion of the first Cacheu settlers (the majority of whom were probably of African descent), while typically retaining, at the same time, part of their previous ethnolinguistic identity. As a consequence, not all CC speakers share the same ethnolinguistic affiliation: (i) some Christian families in Ziguinchor city centre (in particular in Santhiaba and nearby areas) claim a full *kriyol* identity; (ii) a majority of speakers consider themselves Nyuns but speak CC as a first (e.g. in Sindone) or second language (alongside Nyun, e.g. in Agnack and Djifanghor); (iii) there are also some pockets of CC-speaking Joolas (e.g. in Adéane and Niaguis).

Nowadays, a considerable number of CC speakers reside in the big cities of Northern Senegal (i.e. outside of the CC traditional linguistic area). With ca. 2,500 speakers, the area

of Dakar is home to the largest community outside of the CC homeland, and at least several hundred speakers can also be found in Thiès (see also Section 6.1 above).

As may be expected in such a multilingual setting as the city of Ziguinchor and its surroundings, one is hard-pressed to find a truly monolingual CC speaker. Most speakers are fluent in or at least can speak Wolof reasonably well (the main vehicular language in Senegal), many have a good (or very good) command of French (the official language of Senegal, also used in Catholic church services), and a fair number are proficient in one or several other African languages (mostly Nyun, Joola, Mandinka, Mankanya, or Manjaku).

Note that the southern Senegalese region of Casamance is also home to a sizeable number of Guinea-Bissau Creole (GBC) speakers (several thousand at least), who can be found in places such as the Tilène district of Ziguinchor or the city of Goudomp. Most of these are (or descend from) people who have moved to Senegal from Guinea-Bissau since the 1950s. The daily interaction of GBC speakers with CC speakers in Casamance, in particular in Ziguinchor, probably accounts for the existence of several seemingly recent borrowings from modern Portuguese (or acrolectal GBC) in CC (see Section 6.3.1.2), and possibly also for some lexical alternations observed among urban Ziguinchor CC speakers, such as *kunsi* (GBC-like form; see F1 in Table 6.14) ~ *konsé* (more traditional CC form) 'know'.

6.5.2 Casamance Creole and religion

Since its very beginning, CC has been associated with (Catholic) Christianity, as it was brought to Casamance by Christian settlers from Cacheu (see Section 6.4.1). CC's alternative name, *lingu kriston* 'Christian language', bears testimony to the link between CC and this specific religious identity. As a matter of fact, the overwhelming majority of CC speakers are Catholic Christians and CC remains widely used both in church services and in religious instruction in the Ziguinchor area. Due to this religious prestige, CC enjoys the status of a vehicular language among local Catholics, which accounts for its comparatively high number of L2 speakers¹⁹ (at least as numerous as L1 speakers; see Section 6.1).

Because of the strong connection between CC and Catholicism, conversions of CC speakers to Islam often lead to language shift (in particular from Casamance Creole to Mandinka), as the converts tend to move to live in non-CC-speaking areas or villages. The reverse process (acquisition of CC by converts to Christianity) can also be observed.

¹⁹ Throughout this chapter, the label L2 speaker designates an individual who did not acquire CC during childhood as (one of) their main home language(s).

6.5.3 Internal variations and stratifications

As the CC speech community is relatively small and tight-knit (its members regularly interact with each other²⁰), the amount of internal linguistic variation is quite limited. However, several patterns of variation can be distinguished: (i) diatopic variation, e.g. 'antlion' is *mamé di tuk-tuk* in Kandé (Ziguinchor), *kokolé-kolé* in Santhiaba (Ziguinchor), *kukulú-kulú* in Niaguis, *mamá-kutí* in Sindone, and *kukulúku* in Adéane; (ii) urban (Ziguinchor, Z) vs. rural (R, outside): (a) Z *mpustur* 'curious' vs. R *mpusturu*; (b) Z *karneru* 'sheep' vs. R *karnedu* (< PT *carneiro*); (iii) first language (L1) vs. second language (L2) use, e.g. Djifanghor L2 CC speakers tend to use analogic causative extensions, such as (a) L2 *basintí* 'outmatch, be better than' (< *bas* 'below'), L2 *masintí* 'get more than, be better served than' (< *mas* 'more'), which are ungrammatical for L1 speakers; (b) L2 *labantá kurpu* 'wash oneself', lit. 'wash.CAUS²¹ body' vs. L1 *labá kurpu* 'id.', lit. 'wash body' (see Section 6.3.2.2.3).

6.5.4 Evolution of the language in urban settings

In contemporary usage, particularly in urban settings²², CC speakers, even during in-group interactions (where CC dominates), regularly resort to elements taken from their multilingual repertoire, which generally includes at least CC, French, and Wolof. As shown in (40), the three main languages spoken by urban CC speakers can intermingle in one and the same sentence and even in one and the same word (see *misère-loo-i-l*).

- (40) (...) *parce que* N na *misère-loo-i-l*
 because 1SG.S IPFV trouble-CAUS-V_T-3SG.O
tok i ø moré.
 until 3SG.S PFV die
 (...) 'because I'll cause him [so much] trouble that he'll die', lit. (...) 'because I will cause him trouble until he dies' (Nunez 2015: 211). **Bold italics** = Wolof, underlined italics = French, *italics* = CC.

²⁰ Such interactions take place in church services, village festivities (in which inhabitants from other villages often participate), and shopping trips to Ziguinchor (where rural CC speakers meet urban CC speakers). Inter-marriage between CC-speaking communities is quite frequent (in particular between the different Nyun villages), which contributes to the maintenance of linguistic links between these communities.

²¹ For L1 CC speakers, the causative of *labá* 'wash' is *labandá* while *labantá* means 'rise, get up'.

²² For an overview of the multilingual repertoire of a rural CC-speaking community (Agnack), see Lüpke (2016a).

Recent corpus studies (Nunez 2015) have shown that language contact between CC, Wolof, and French has different consequences depending on the domain considered.

Concerning genitive constructions (GC), for all three languages in contact, the syntax is 'possessum + genitive marker + possessor', but the genitive marker has different forms (see Table 6.16). In unilingual genitive constructions (i.e. containing words of one language only), the weight of each language contributing overt genitive markers is not significantly different from the weight of the same language in the whole corpus. However, in mixed genitive constructions, we observe an overrepresentation of CC genitive markers (93% vs. 76% in unilingual genitive constructions), contrasting with an underrepresentation of French genitive markers (4% vs. 18% in unilingual genitive constructions). This distribution seems to instantiate a 'snowball effect' (Thomason 2001; see also further developments on this topic in Johanson (2002); Ledegen and Légli (2013); and Légli and Chamoreau (2013)), due to the segmental (and syntactic) similarity between CC and French genitive markers, which seems to account for an increased dominance of CC genitive markers in mixed genitive constructions.

Table 6.16 Proportion of overt genitive markers in unilingual and mixed genitive constructions uttered by trilingual (CC/French/Wolof) CC speakers (adapted from Nunez 2015: 200–1)

Language	Overt genitive markers			Whole corpus
	Forms occurring in corpus	% in unilingual GC	% in mixed GC	
CC	<i>di</i>	76	93	71
French	<i>de/du/d'</i>	18	4	16
Wolof	<i>-u/-i</i>	6	3	13
	TOTAL	100	100	100

As regards lexical time reference (names of the days, adverbs of time, dates, etc.), the three languages at stake still present a distinct profile of use. In this semantic domain, CC and French are the only languages attested in Nunez' corpus²³ and they each dominate in different semantic domains (see Table 6.17). Overall, French predominates in formal

²³ The absence of Wolof can partly be ascribed to the fact that, in today's spoken Wolof, many terms indicating time reference come from French. This is particularly true for 'calendar' terms (such as numbers and the names of days and months), as precolonial Wolof, which used an Islamic calendar (with lunar months and a different system of time calculation), often had

domains (acquired through schooling where French is the sole medium of instruction), while CC predominates in colloquial domains (where no use is made of any numerals, in contrast with some of the domains where French is dominant, where dates and hours are mentioned). An interesting case is the domain of greetings, where both CC and French forms compete in the speech of multilingual CC speakers.

Table 6.17 Semantic domains of dominance in CC and French for lexical time reference in a corpus produced by trilingual (CC/French/Wolof) CC speakers (adapted from Nunez 2015: 83–106)

Dominant language	Semantic domain	Register
CC	times of the day (<i>morning, afternoon. . .</i>), time expressions related to the day/year of reference (<i>today, yesterday, this year, next year. . .</i>)	colloquial
French	hours, names of the days, names of the months, calendar dates	formal
Both	greetings (<i>good morning. . .</i>)	colloquial

6.5.5 Present-day vitality and perspectives

The number of CC speakers probably reached its peak towards 1960 (ca. 50,000 speakers according to Châtaigner (1963)), when CC was the main vehicular language in Ziguinchor and the surrounding villages. Although CC has clearly receded in the last fifty years, it is still passed on to new generations, at least in several of the villages where it is traditionally used (e.g. Sindone and Djifanghor). Furthermore, in some rural areas where CC still enjoys a high prestige as a vehicular language among Christians, it is even locally displacing the use of other languages to its own profit, as is happening in some Nyun sections of Djifanghor, where the younger generation (under 30) speaks mostly CC and Wolof at home and is no longer fluent in Nyun, the preferred home language of the older generation. In urban settings, however, there is a clear tendency among traditionally CC-speaking communities towards language shift in favour of Wolof (the main Senegalese vehicular language) and French

no direct equivalent of the French way of expressing dates (itself based on a Christian calendar). Therefore, it may be more exact to say that, for the semantic domain of time reference, only *French-derived items* (whether they occur in French or Wolof discourse chunks) and CC items are attested in Nunez' corpus.

(both the official language of the country and a particularly valued language among Senegalese Christians). To sum up, in the near future, CC will probably continue to recede in the big cities, including Ziguinchor, where it has lost a great deal of its vehicular function and could well cease to be a spoken language in the medium term. However, in the CC-speaking rural areas around Ziguinchor, CC is likely to survive much longer, as new generations continue to be raised in this language in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

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Mandinka

DENIS CREISSELS

7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 The Mandinka language and its speakers

Mandinka is spoken by approximately 1.5 million speakers in the Gambia, Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau. Speakers of Mandinka call themselves *Màndiŋkòolú* (singular: *Màndiŋkòo*) and designate their language *Màndiŋkàkàŋò*. *Màndiŋkòo* is an inflected form of the noun stem *Màndiŋká*, resulting from the addition of the derivational suffix *-ŋká* 'people from . . .' to the geographical term *Màndiŋ*, which primarily refers to the region that constituted the starting point of the Manding expansion (see Sections 7.1.3 and 7.1.4). *Màndiŋkàkàŋò* is literally 'language of the people from Manding'.

7.1.2 Genetic affiliation

Mandinka is the westernmost member of the Manding dialect cluster, included in the Western branch of the Mande language family:

Mandinka \subset Manding \subset West Mande \subset Mande

The Mande language family was included by Greenberg in the Niger-Congo phylum, but the evidence for a Niger-Congo affiliation for Mande is rather slim; Dimmendaal (2011), for example, argues that Mande is best treated as an independent language family.

It is commonly admitted that the time distance between the most ancient branches of the Mande language family exceeds five millennia, whereas the time depth of the Manding dialect cluster does not exceed eight centuries. On the classification of Mande languages, see Vydrin (2009).

Within the Manding dialect cluster, Mandinka is particularly close to the Maninka varieties of Eastern Senegal and Western Mali, but is nevertheless sufficiently different to be considered a distinct language.

7.1.3 A note on terminology

Etymologically, Mande, Manden, Manding, and Mali are variants of a toponym designating the upper valley of the Niger River and a state located in this region, whose capital was Kangaba. In the thirteenth century, the Manding prince Sunjata Keita founded an empire, known as the Manding, Mande(n), or Mali empire, that extended over a large area and flourished until the sixteenth century.

A risk of confusion may arise from the fact that, in linguistic terminology, Mande and Manding are conventionally used with meanings that must be carefully distinguished: Manding refers to a set of closely related languages or dialects resulting from the evolution of the language that was spoken in Manding before the expansion of Sunjata's empire, whereas Mande refers to a language family containing languages that have only a remote relationship with Manding and are spoken by communities that historically had nothing to do with the Manding empire.

7.1.4 The historical context

The area where Mandinka is spoken largely coincides with the area of influence of the pre-colonial state of Kaabu, which, according to oral traditions, originated as a province of the Manding empire; it was conquered by a general of Sunjata Keita called Tiramakhan Traore, and after the decline of the Manding empire became an independent kingdom. Mandinka hegemony in the region lasted until 1867, when the Kaabu capital (Kansala) was taken by the armies of the Fula kingdom of Fuuta Jaloo.

7.1.5 Language contact

Since the foundation of the Kaabu kingdom, Mandinka has been relatively isolated from the other Manding varieties, and this may explain why it does not share certain grammatical phenomena commonly found across Manding varieties (for example, a system of preverbs such as Bambara *lá-*, *mǎ-*).

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