Yakpo, Kofi. 2011. Review of L'élément africain dans la langue capverdienne (variété de Santiago), by Nicolas Quint. Journal of African Languages and Linguistics 32(1). 168-70. https://doi.org/10.1515/jall.2011.005.

Nicolas Quint: *L'élément africain dans la langue capverdienne (variété de Santiago)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008. 131 pp. EUR 14.

This book by Nicolas Quint, researcher at the French Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), presents a detailed treatment of African elements in the Santiago variety of the Portuguese-lexicon creole (henceforth SCVC) spoken in the Cape Verde Archipelago. The book is a bilingual Portuguese–French edition. Originally, it is in fact a translation from an English contribution by Quint to the volume *Black through White*, edited by Angela Bartens and Philip Baker, and due to appear with Battlebridge. The edition under review additionally features an informative preface written by Manuel Veiga, until recently Minister of Education of Cape Verde. Veiga is an eminent authority on the Cape Verdian language, certainly one of very few linguists who have held a comparable government post, and has been championing the introduction of Cape Verdian Creole as a medium of instruction in the country. A valuable resource are the annexes, which contain a complete listing of words of African origin in SCVC documented by Quint as well as their etymologies.

In Chapter 1 (21–32), Quint provides a brief overview of the socio-history of the peopling of the Cape Verde archipelago and its linguistic implications. Like other scholars before him (cf., e.g., Alleyne 1980 and Faraclas 1993 for the Atlantic English-lexicon creoles, Koopman 1986 for Haitian Creole), Quint relativises the differences between the potential substrate languages of SCVC by pointing to the lexical and grammatical similarities within and between the Atlantic and Mande linguistic families. This observation, which Quint makes in passing, has been corroborated by works in areal linguistics since Klingenheben's pioneering 1929 article, which provide ample evidence for the *Sprachbund* character of the Sahel region including the Mande and Atlantic language families (e.g., Cyffer 2000, Caron and Zima 2006).

Chapter 2 (32–70) is dedicated to the analysis of the origins, word classes, and semantic fields of the altogether seventy lexemes of African origin that Quint lists. He assigns a total 60 % of his corpus to Mande (e.g., **djobi** 'look at', from Mandinka **juubee**), and some 16 % to Wolof roots (e.g., **lombu** 'wrap up', from **lamboo** 'wrap up, envelop'). Other African languages together provide for the remaining 24 % of African-derived lexemes of SCVC. It comes as no surprise that within the Mande component of the lexicon Mandinka words provide the largest percentage since "[...] le mandinka est la seule variété de mandingue parlée à proximité de la côte de la CCV". Even if it should be borne in mind that speakers of the Mande language Susu had probably begun arriving in the coastal area of modern Guinea in the 16th–17th centuries, there is little doubt that Mandinka played a primordial role, as it does today, in serving as a community and trade language in the coastal belt stretching from modern day Senegal to Guinea.

Quint's word class analysis further reveals that all African etymons in SCVC can be traced to content words in the respective African languages, while not a single etymon appears to be derived from and still functions as a function word in modern SCVC. This is an interesting fact from the perspective of contact linguistics and I am curious to know Quint's views on why this is the case. The Atlantic English lexicon Creoles (AECs) have at least some functional elements of undisputably African origin. For example, most AECs feature reflexes of the probably Igbo-derived 2nd personal plural pronoun $\mathbf{\hat{u}n}(\mathbf{u}) \sim \mathbf{\hat{u}n}(\mathbf{a})$. Similarly, systems of grammatical tone are found in all African AECs (e.g., Faraclas 1996 for Nigerian Pidgin, Yakpo 2009b for Pichi), in some American AECs (e.g., Rountree 1972 for Saramaccan) and in the American Hispanic-lexicon Creole Papiamentu (Rivera-Castillo 1998).

Nevertheless, Quint engages in a discussion of "restes d'affixes africains" (55ff.), i.e., vestigial affixes, in which he demonstrates that African functional elements have been incorporated into the creole together with the roots they occur with. One example is the word **malánka**, translated as 'igname' ('yam'), which contains the noun class prefix **ma**- and is probably derived from the

Bantu language Kikongo. However, this word is also found throughout the hispanic Americas as a designation for the African food crop 'taro' or 'coco yam'. It is listed, for example, in the classic *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* by Friederici. It is therefore more likely that it was borrowed into SCVC via Portuguese rather than directly through an African language.

Of particular interest in Chapter 2 is how Quint draws on the analysis of the semantic fields of which the African and Portuguese-derived vocabulary forms part in order to propose a model of language contact in the emergence of SCVC. Hence, according to Quint, the presence of African words with rather specialised meanings in the periphery of the lexicon, and Portuguese lexicon in the core of SCVC, attests to the appropriation of the Portuguese lexicon from within, i.e., through an active process of acquisition of (parts of the linguistic system of) Portuguese by the African population of Santiago. The inverse model would have been "infiltration" (61), i.e., the diffusion of Portuguese lexicon into the language by borrowing and replacement of African-derived vocabulary "from the periphery inwards", comparable to the kind of heavy borrowing from Norman French and Latin that characterises English. Here Quint skims the surface of a dispute that has been occupying scholars for quite some time: Can the end result of these two contact processes not simply be the same, namely a language structure largely derived from one (set of) language(s) on one side and a lexicon largely derived from another (set) on the other side? Or is there something distinct to the nature of creole languages like SCVC as opposed to other languages with a mixed heritage like Ma'a (Mous 2003) or Media Lengua (Muysken 1997) (cf. Matras and Bakker 2003 for a good overview of the debate)?

This discussion is of immediate relevance for Chapter 3 (70–95), in which Quint directs his attention to the African imprint on the structure of SCVC when he says "il semble bien que les mots issus de langues africaines ne représentent en santiagais que le sommet de l'iceberg [...]" (71). He then picks out parts of the SCVC system to demonstrate their essentially African nature: the prolific use of ideophones, the use of **mátchu** 'male' and **femia** 'female' to mark gender, the bipartite structure of the tense system (past vs. present), a perfective-imperfective aspect opposition which interacts with the lexically specified stativity value of verbs, and finally the semantic structure of specific Portuguese-derived items, of collocations and idiomatic expressions.

The substrate-friendly leanings that Quint manifests in this final section should not belie the fact that a major strength of this book is the carefuleness of his analyses. In fact by pointing out in his conclusion (97–99) that Portuguese has also left considerable structural, semantic, and, I would add, phonological traces in SCVC (which is addressed in Quint (2000)), he captures the genius of this fascinating language and underscores the essentially hybrid, African-European nature of the creole of Santiago. Given that the African component

of SCVC has been downplayed or outrightly denied for a large part of the history of the study of this language (e.g., Lopes 1957), this book and others of its kind (e.g., Lang 2009) are welcome contributions to the field.

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