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Linguistic Legacies and Postcolonial Identities in West Africa
Cape Verde, Senegal, and the Western World

ABSTRACT: Over the last two centuries, the western part of the African continent has been a place of dilution and reinvention of linguistic boundaries. This article considers Senegal and Cape Verde as a whole to assess the pertinence of a language-based identity (Francophone or Lusophone) born out of the colonial relationship and appearing in a contemporary globalized world. To apprehend colonial languages as legacies calls to emerge from too-restrictive spatial and temporal constraints in order to consider changes in its actual geographical, symbolic, and historical porosity. This article examine in parallel two territories usually studied separately and gives an account of a constantly changing postcolonial inheritance of which the South Atlantic is the first witness.

KEYWORDS: linguistic legacies, cultural identity, West Africa.

Linguistic Legacies in Africa: Time and Space Issues

A historian working in a field traditionally dominated by linguists must pay constant attention to the relationship between the topic of study and the tools of research. The very notion of "heritage" in history implies a specific approach, which leads to an image of a contemporary situation influenced by previous events. In this prospect, postcolonial studies questions the multiple aspects of what can be apprehended as a colonial heritage and helps in understanding linguistic legacies in Africa. It guides the historian not in criticizing or judging what produced colonialism, but in focusing on the aftermath of the colonial (Young 2009). One difficulty here is to avoid considering the current situation in Cape Verde and in Senegal—and their inclusion both in a world culture and in a very Lusophone or Francophone universe—as exclusively the consequence of decades of colonial domination. Whereas it may be perceived as an oppression as well as a valuable contribution, the presence of the Portuguese language

in Cape Verde or the French language in Senegal should be interpreted in their continuities and changes. To overcome the ideological caesura of independences necessarily leads to work on processes of decolonizations.[1] Both languages have been imposed in Cape Verde and Senegal, consciously ignoring the populations' mother tongues; paradoxically, the French and Portuguese languages also contributed to the political emancipation of these two countries. Since the independences, French and Portuguese have also perpetuated a de facto imposition on national language(s); meanwhile, the presence of these two languages—which acquired an official status in both countries—came to represent a geopolitical strength in external relations and, more unexpectedly, a guarantor of linguistic diversity at the national level, conditioned by political choices and changes in global cultural transfers. Thus in term of linguistic legacies from a historical perspective, it is necessary to go beyond a radical approach considering the imported language only as an oppressive factor, as it is often analyzed by the postcolonial critic. But in the meantime we need to understand—following the emergence of postcolonial studies—that the current situation is still partly shaped by political-ideological tendencies from the colonial era. Insofar as "the globe has undergone a linguistic revolution over the past centuries" (Macqueen 2007: 157), Africa has experienced the genesis of this upheaval within the few decades under colonial rule.

Since it is detrimental for a contemporary and comparative study on Africa to approach its subject from a single language—"linguistic inadequacy,"[2] in the words of Achille Mbembe[3]—it is equally prejudicial to study cultural inheritages in history without considering diachronic linguistics, language geography, or cultural anthropology. However, as Cécile Van den Avenne (2012) has pointed out, synergy between historians and linguists working on the linguistic aspect of the colonization is still poorly exploited. Moreover, spaces are usually studied following the contours of ancient empires, thus limiting a global and comparative understanding of the phenomenon. Here one must take a nuanced approach to avoid an excessive credulity in disciplines that are irrelevant for history. On the one hand, we would not interfere in debates about whether Cape Verdean society is in a situation of bilingualism or diglossia, or whether Dakar's population gives a perfect example of Wolof-French code-switching. On the other hand, such concepts are useful to historians to put into perspective how effective assimilation theory has been in the Four Communes, or the extent to which the literary movement Claridade in Cape Verde reconsidered its insular specificity in

contrast to, and on, the Portuguese and Brazilian models.[4] Our purpose, then, is not to get into these cultural legacies through one or another historiographical tenet, but to consider broader perspectives provided by more interdisciplinary approaches of history—or, in other words, to use interdisciplinarity wisely for the benefit of history. Moreover, the very language in which the history of these spaces—Cape Verde and Senegal, but more broadly Lusophone and Francophone Africa—has been written is of great significance, and research should be read and interpreted from this standpoint.[5]

From all colonial legacies, the linguistic one is probably the most pregnant, and not the least ambiguous. Linguists Ali and Alamin Mazrui (1998: 9) saw in the complex linguistic situation on the African continent as a whole the combination of a "weak linguistic nationalism and the non-expansionist history of much of Africa that made the continent vulnerable to increasing linguistic penetration by the more expansionist Western world," resulting over the decades in "an imbalance in the global flow of languages, creating in Africa a complex and dynamic linguistic constellation." The authors concluded also that "Africa's triple linguistic heritage essentially refers to the interaction of indigenous Africa, the Islamic tradition and the Western contribution" (ibid.: 70). This latter assertion can be true for most of continental Africa—and Senegalese society is well described by this triptych—but it cannot be applied to Cape Verdean society, where the Islamic tradition has not been relevant in language development and where interaction between Europeans and Africans took place under very specific conditions.[6] Cape Verdean Creole may have been formed and progressively structured from the late fifteenth century over several subsequent centuries, but linguists remain divided on the genesis of this Portuguese-based Creole.[7] Initially, relations between the two languages appear to have been less conflictual in Cape Verde than on the continent, where the Portuguese language came up against indigenous languages in situ and where Creole was used by both natives and settlers (reinóis) without great prejudice until the nineteenth century (Veiga 1997). Although Cape Verde was not concerned about the indigenato regime, from the nineteenth century on, education was just as effective a vector of lowering the Creole language with respect to the Portuguese "standard" language of authority and power. Consciousness of this tension, of a vertical relation encouraged by the belief in the unequal value of languages, lasted into the collective memory, beyond the end of the colonial era. This sort of dualism and proximity between languages is less pronounced in the linguistic patrimony on the conti-

nent. Today the Senegalese linguistic legacy has much more to do with West Africa's triple heritage mentioned above. More generally, the complexity of a triple ascendency shaping modern Senegal has been notably studied for the period between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries by the École de Dakar. Since the 1950s this historiographical movement has greatly revisited a Senegambian history highly warped by colonial officers who produced knowledge primarily useful for the governance of the colonies. Historians of Dakar focused their attention on Atlantic slave trade, the expansion of Islam, and the colonial conquest.[8] Besides, as significant as the European influence was on the coast of Senegal during the Atlantic slave trade, and then farther inland under the effective administration of the colony, the analysis of Arabic sources reveals an Islamization of Senegalese society greatly underestimated—indeed, completely ignored—by the "colonial library."[9] Moreover, several vernacular languages were partially transcribed from the Arabic alphabet before they were transcribed into the Latin alphabet.[10] Studying linguistic legacies can bring methodological difficulties to specialists, and one can establish a link between the language theory (Calvet 1979: 38) and historiography in Africa (Diouf 2000): both have been marked by persistent and severe ideology of hierarchy of cultures during the colonial era—linguistic as historical descriptions tended to form colonial relations, turning non-European alterity into inferiority—leading to serious ethical matters from the postcolonial period on, as scholars seek to avoid such a distorted perception yet are unable to move from their respective disciplinary methodology.

A second important issue is to locate our subject in a geographic space, physical as well as metaphorical, and point out in what circumstances the geohistory may or may not influence identities. Although distant by a three-hundred-mile sea space, Cape Verde and Senegal share the same area, a "West African finistère"—that is, Senegambia (Barry 1988)—that we intentionally extend westward in order to include the Atlantic islands. The term "Senegal" has been applied at various levels, as river, geographic region, or political entity. The mixed-race Senegalese priest David Boilat linked it to the Wolof words *sunu gaal*, meaning "our pirogue" (Boilat 1853: 199), while Théodore Monod and Raymond Mauny —in the French edition[11] of the *Crónica da Guiné* (*Gomes Eanes de Azurara*, 1453)— retained the word *Çanaga*, which would be related to Zanaga, the Berber tribe Sanhaja. However, according to the linguist Saliou Kandji, none of these assumptions are credible: the etymology of the toponym Senegal might come from

Siin Ghaana, that is, the Siin province of Ghaana, dwelling place of the Senegal River Basin since the eleventh century (Kandji 2006). The arrival of the Europeans on the Senegambian coasts fundamentally altered the organization of the region by diverting the trade routes from the Sahara to the Atlantic and turning the West African coastline into the main axis of acculturation (Magalhães-Godinho 1969; Barry 1988). First used to name the westernmost point of the African continent reached by Portuguese explorers before 1450 (nowadays the peninsula of Cap-Vert in Senegal), the term *Cabo Verde* was adopted for the islands off the African coast when the Portuguese reached it around 1460. It is worth noting that locating ocean-surrounded territories[12] such as the Cape Verdean islands, both physically and metaphorically, is still a tricky issue. Thus the geographer Ilídio do Amaral came to describe the islands as follows: "By its geographical location and by its settlement, Cape Verde is an African state; by its geostrategic position, it is a crossroads of African, Mediterranean, and Atlantic influences, an anchorage of the lusofony, that is to say of the 'latinidade,' and more specifically, of Europe, within the Atlantic-center space" (1991: 22). Cape Verde is often referred as a key hub in the geopolitical conception of the Lusophony. The academic António Berbém sees Cape Verde in a position—three hundred miles from the Senegalese coast and fifteen hundred miles from the Brazilian Nordeste—that is strategic both east-west and north-south, located on the maritime trajectory between Europe and South America and between the East Coast of United States and sub-Saharan Africa (Berbém 2004). Meanwhile, the former Portuguese prime minister Mário Soares highlights close ties of Cape Verdians with the United States through its greatest diaspora, along with Brazil as a powerful ally and fraternal country (Soares 2005). Besides, the idea of an international institute of Portuguese language (Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa, or IILP) was launched in 1989 in São Luís de Maranhão, notably on the initiative of the Brazilian president José Sarney; the IILP was effective ten years thereafter, with its headquarters in the Cape Verdian capital, Praia. The historical trajectory of Senegal linked to the Francophone world is just as singular: Léopold Sédar Senghor, passionately fond of French literature, was one of the architects of the Francophonie, while his successor as the head of state, Abdou Diouf (1981–2000), led the political action of the Francophonie as secretary-general of the organization for three consecutive four-year terms (2002–2014). With the meeting of the Fifteenth Francophone Summit (28–29

November 2014), Senegal becomes the first African state to host for the second time a summit—the chief biennial event of the International Organization of the Francophonie (OIF)—in its capital, after the one held in Dakar in 1989.

Does all that mean that Senegal or Cape Verde has a Francophone or Lusophone particular affinity, that both countries share a vanguard position within one or another community of affects, and that their inclusion into the relevant cultural areas shaped by a shared language justify their very Francophone or Lusophone identity? Obviously, the answer depends on the acceptance that one gives to the Francophone or Lusophone notion. Ali and Alamin Mazrui noticed that we constantly refer to Francophone, English-speaking or Lusophone Africa, yet nobody refers to Anglophone Asia or French-speaking Asian countries, although those areas were colonized too. The authors understand it by "the degree and perhaps nature of the lingo-cultural dependence in the societies concerned" (1998: 6). However, in Emilienne Baneth-Nouailhetas's view, categorizations into "phonies" are as useful in terms of classification as they are wrong in terms of identifications; because they associate the common and the different, statements on purpose concerning linguistic policy and the reality of linguistic practices, divisions into "phonies" might be deceitful (2010: 76). Problems in "locating" Senegal and Cape Verde in contemporary geohistory boundaries— even floating boundaries, and this can be true for most African states—is partly linked with the very notion of cultural areas,[13] which itself is historically linked to a Western view of the world (Sabouret 2010). Theorist of cultural geography Paul Claval highlighted that the African world appears as a discrete area of civilization mainly for those who are foreign to the continent (2000: 71), while the political scientist Dominique Darbon considers Africa a geographical reality rather than a "world" (2003: 1). Above all, it seems that academic sciences seek to reflect an African diversity along with its cultural relationship complex with dominant Western-language communities. The new paradigm brought by the establishment of language-based communities has led analysts either to insist on the interaction of historical trajectories of societies and cultures (Chevrier 2008: 64), or to emphasize a relational cultural identity (Wolton 2006: 75), or else to think in terms of a postcolonial specific or relative space rather than a cultural area (Cahen 2007). In sum, language issues are the best way to "lose" Cape Verde and Senegal within the porosity of globalization. Nevertheless, a historical perspective on colonial linguistic legacies makes its complexity understandable.

Linguistic Alterity in Colonial Context

Western School as a Tool for Linguistic and Social Exclusion

A coincidence of history, in 1817 the first French school in the Senegalese city of Saint-Louis was established, and in the same year, the first official primary school opened in Cape Verde in the city of Praia, on Santiago Island. Occidental schools—Christian missions, and particularly official schools—played a fundamental role in spreading European languages. Despite the aim of colonial administrators, who were mainly interested in improving colonial exploitation, schools would form precious auxiliaries into lower echelons of the colonial bureaucracy (Afigbo 1985)—Occidental education was ultimately creating an African elite likely to compete with the settlers' privileges. But this was far from the case at the early stages of the colonial education. The first primary school in Praia seems to have worked with major deficiencies,[14] and the prospects for a Monitorial System[15] initiated by the French teacher Jean Dard in Senegal were soon curbed by the establishment of a colonial administration less tolerant to local cultures. Both Jean Dard and the metropolitan government—namely the Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies—agreed on the necessity to Christianize and "civilize" Africans, but early on, Dard was more pragmatic about the means to achieve the "mission," keeping in mind the singular role of language in the main relations between Europeans and African, the trade in agricultural goods:

> If black people were in relation with real philanthropic Europeans, if they were called on to a peaceful, legitimate, and respectable agricultural trade, and if we bothered to teach them to read, write, and calculate in their own language, they could soon take place among civilized nations. (. . .) Although the language I profess [Wolof] is new for Europe, it is common in Senegambia (. . .) and it is the basis of teaching of those who intend to trade. (. . .) Whatever one may say, blacks should be educated in their mother language; otherwise, no sustainable settlement, no civilization. Indeed, how useful can be French or English words repeated by a young African, when he cannot understand what these words mean in his own language? (1826: 24, 26, 37)

Following the Monitorial System's deliquescence in Senegal, education was entrusted to the Church through the teaching of the Brothers of Ploërmel in Saint-Louis, Gorée, and then Dakar. From 1841 to 1903, primary education in Senegal turned into a quasi monopoly; French language was the only medium of instruc-

tion, and Wolof and other indigenous languages were prohibited (Bouche 1975: 1:174). Secular education began when Faidherbe arrived at the head of the colony (1854–1861, 1863–1865); his main objective was to attract a Muslim population and convert them to European ideas. More original was the creation by the governor of the École des Otages (School of Hostages) in Saint-Louis (1856–1971, 1892–1903), intended to educate the local chief's sons. In teaching them French and instilling into them basic concepts of European civilization, Faidherbe had a very specific purpose, as illustrated in the following extract from his correspondence with the minister, dated 18 January 1856: "I think we should have these hostages from all countries of the river. Thus, in the Cayor region, there is no one individual surrounding the Damel [King] capable of serving as an intermediary between him and us. . . . They must learn our language for the convenience of our relations with the country" (quoted in Sow 2003–2004: 54).

Colonial education in Cape Verde, too, has experienced irregularities. The anthropologist Manuel Brito-Semedo identified three distinct periods. Up to 1817, no legislation suggests the existence of a public education in the colony. From 1817 to 1845, the educational system was introduced without serious monitoring from the metropole. Public education was regulated by the Royal Decree of 14 August 1845, which authorized the creation of new primary and secondary schools. A primary school was opened on the island of Brava in 1848, then transferred to Praia on the island of Santiago, following exactly the residence of the governor. The first secondary school in Cape Verde was created in 1860 in Praia but had a short existence due to the lack of teachers and students. The first secondary school to operate regularly was actually the Seminário-Liceu, which opened its doors six years later in São Nicolau. Its main purpose was to produce priests; however, it could also perform public functions. The Seminário-Liceu de São Nicolau played a major role in the formation of a Christian religious consciousness in Cape Verde. Following the 1910 proclamation of the Republic in Portugal and the separation of the churches and the state, the Seminário-Liceu was replaced by the Liceu Nacional de Cabo Verde in 1917, located in Mindelo. The only secular school in the archipelago up to 1960, this national secondary school—known as Liceu Gil Eanes—formed the whole Cape Verdean elite of this time.[16] Cape Verde was somehow favored over the continental Portuguese colonies: up to 1875, the archipelago had more primary schools (45) than Guinea (6), São Tomé e Príncipe (2), Angola (25), and Mozambique (8) combined (Brito-Semedo 2006: 122). In both Senegal and Cape Verde, colonial education partic-

ipated to create a "national" class of elite, the product of a racial and cultural miscegenation. Up to 1903, European education was virtually applied only in the Four Communes, for a Christian population that was largely *métis* and "assimilated." According to Denise Bouche, at the dawn of the twentieth century it was the second, if not the third or the fourth, generation to attend a French school (Bouche 1975: 1:425).

Great Ideals, Restricted Applications

The organization of the colonial education described briefly above turned to be inconsistent with the colonial ideologies developed under the Third Republic in France (1870–1940) and the Estado Novo in Portugal (1933–1974), both grounded on the need to educate—"civilize"—the colonized population in order to grant them full citizenship within their respective empire. Supposed to be the universal key for the access to this citizenship, a means of democratic integration, imperial languages were in fact a highly exclusive medium, creating a de facto and de jure imbalance in the colonial relationship. Ali Mazrui opposed a French cultural arrogance (refusing to mix cultures in colonial schools and insisting on the supremacy of French civilization) and a British racial arrogance (insisting on the segregation of the races between schools but permitting the mixture of cultures in the curriculum), arguing that "the threat [of imperial European tongues over indigenous African languages] was particularly serious in those colonial powers of Latin expression (French, Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish) which had a strong preference for cultural assimilation in their language policies for the colonies" (1998: 14, 28). However, African colonial historiography went beyond a tight dichotomy between an indirect rule applied in British empire and a direct rule applied in French empire. Several historians have demonstrated how aleatory these two systems were in practice, and according to Raymond Betts, "colonial policy was without clear, final objectives. More short-range process than well-defined system, it vaguely included notions of self-government in its British form, and of political integration in its French and Portuguese forms. Broadly poised between these policies of 'differentiation' and 'identity,' colonial administration of the inter-war era was described by its practitioners as necessarily empirical, an exercise in cultural and political accommodation" (1985: 314). French rhetoric focused on *Mission civilisatrice*, and assimilation in its colonies first rose among geographical milieu before seducing a part of the political class and being elevated as an official imperial doctrine. At no point in modern

history, noted Alice Conklin (1997: 1), did the French make more claims for their civilization than during the "new" imperialism of the Third Republic. The claim was still relatively contained in Leroy-Beaulieu's work *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1874), in which he advocated that a task of initiation be established in Senegal by means of moral influence and intellectual leadership: "Without pretending to assimilate us indigenous, which would be madness with the few European population we have, we must bring them closer to us by education, ideas, work, and legislation. (. . .) All that can be asked is to form to our morals and our ideas a certain nucleus of intelligent men, who then will spread around them our civilization throughout the country" (Leroy-Beaulieu 1882 [1874]: 403). According to Raoul Girardet (2009 [1972]: 53), Leroy-Beaulieu was an economist faithful to the liberal school, but nonetheless imbued with an industrialism of Saint-Simonian origin. Nearly a decade later, the Republican Jules Ferry took up officially and more firmly this way, arguing that "the superior races have the right and the duty to civilize the inferior races."[17] And in 1895, the French jurist Arthur Girault published what will remain a condensation of colonial ethics for many officials in the colonies—*Principes de la colonisation et de législation coloniale*—in which he described assimilation as "an ideal that should lead to a union more and more intimate between colonial territory and metropolitan territory." The author conceded that assimilation policy was greatly enhanced by the triumph of republican ideas (1904 [1895]: 54, 55).[18] In the meantime, the French language acquired a new dimension: inside France, the generalization of public education contributed to the foundation of French in the regions, implanting more firmly a linguistic national unity; in the nascent empire, the French language proved to be an excellent tool of domination over the colonized population and the most effective way of extraterritorial expansion. A geopolitical and geolinguistical conception of the language emerged with the first occurrence of the term *francophonie*, in a work by the geographer Onésime Reclus, in 1880.[19] As for the *Mission civilisatrice* rhetoric, the term *francophonie* was strongly marked in its origins by the ideal, the utopia: idyllic vision for those who anticipate it, nightmarish imposition to whom it should be applied (Parker 2010: 237). However, the chosen way of assimilation in the Four Communes[20] showed its limits: victim of its "generosity," the colonial project had to establish legal subterfuges to avoid the political assimilation of the Originaires, these latter getting the citizen's political rights without having the citizen's civil rights (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2001). Instead of an effective spreading of the French language, and

even under the associationist tendency of the interwar years, the colonial administration was content with a strategy of cultural and linguistic impregnation (Ndao 2000, 2011). If "thinking Francophone" (Sautman 2001: 120) somehow became possible from a geopolitical aspect after the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial Francophonie remained a myth on the eve on the Second World War (Michel 2000).

One might notice among the promoters of French colonial expansion—notably after the defeat of the Franco-Prussian War followed by the amputation of Alsace and a part of Lorraine from its national territory—the fear of a lost grandeur (Girardet 2009 [1972]: 74). Likewise, Portugal experienced a nostalgia of the glorious centuries of discoveries marked by an intense claim of its so-called historical rights related to African territories. An empire "built upon the ruins of two earlier imperial constructions" (Clarence-Smith 1985: 1) in the Orient, then in Brazil, the African possessions of Portugal were subject to intense negotiations with other colonial powers. From the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) to the Brussels Conference Act (1890), the aim was to convince people of the antecedence of the Portuguese presence in Africa and of the humanitarian and civilizational features of Portuguese conquests (Jerónimo 2010: 68). And the 1890 British Ultimatum was the source of the main feature of the Portuguese external policy until the 1970s: that is, the defense of its colonial heritage (Pinto 2004: 12). The foundations of the Portuguese colonial ideology were laid down between 1928 and 1933, the period of consolidation of the Salazar dictatorship.[21] Its aims did not differ significantly from the "colonial-republican" French ideology: to integrate the colonies into the mother country by "civilizing" the African population and ultimately turning them all into Portuguese citizens (Newitt 1981: 185). However, and beyond this shared utopia, in the 1950s the Salazar regime invented the singularity of a Portuguese empire devoid of racial tensions due to an alleged special ability among the Portuguese colonizers to adapt to tropical lands and peoples. I use the term "invented" to indicate that the Estado Novo reproduced—with the approval and cooperation of the author—a simplified and nationalist version of the lusotropicalism coined by Gilberto Freyre during the 1930s.[22] The concerns then about the culture and language of the archipelago focused notably on the degree of Europeanization of the Cape Verdean society. In the following excerpt, the governor of Cape Verde seems convinced of the great cultural proximity between "its" colony and what was perceived as the highest standard, the model of the lusitanian metropole:

> The Cape Verdean Creole is the work of the Portuguese heart, and without any obvious sign of intellectual inferiority, on the contrary, appears always prone to accept all intellectual and artistic manifestations it encounters. (. . .) Honestly, the problem of the expansion of the Portuguese language and civilization is not relevant in Cape Verde. Certainly the people use a dialect—the *crioulo*—but mostly Cape Verdeans understand Portuguese language, and they are understood. This dialect varies enough from island to island, but one feels as a backdrop the Portuguese language. Concerning the expansion of Portuguese civilization, there is nothing to refer. The Cape Verdean does not differ from the metropolitan. Its civilization is ours.[23]

Nearly three years later, in 1953, the judgment on Cape Verdean Creole was less favorable in Freyre's *Aventura e Rotina*: the author described it as a "dialect which repels" him (Freyre 1953: 248). According to the Brazilian sociologist, the issue was a cultural invigoration through the use of Portuguese language among Cape Verdean population: "Given the cultural bastardization [*incaracterização*] reached by the Cape Verdean, the remedy for this situation seems to me a reinvigoration of European influence among its population, to the extent that it carries, in younger generations, attitudes even more European than the current ones; a more European behaviour" (1953: 250). Despite the fact that the *indigenato* status has never been applied in the archipelago—which marked a distinct separation from the continent, where the assimilated population, the *civilizados*, never represented more than a very small percentage of the population—Cape Verde did not experience as tight a relation with its metropole as the Four Communes did with France. But as for French authorities, it was advantageous to the Portuguese colonial project to put forward one of its colonies in relation to the others, and to use this distinction, rather than to accept a true integration that would have spread to the other colonies. The banner deployed during the visit of the Portuguese head of state in Praia—even in 1968—was clear about it: "Cabo Verde, Província de Portugal, limiar do Ultramar."[24] And to establish this distinction, colonial languages contributed to a process of alienation, and then of cultural and linguistic reconstruction of colonized societies.

Between Cultural Alienation and Linguistic (Re)Appropriation
Two writers have forcefully pointed out the cultural alienation through the foreign language. Frantz Fanon (1952), for whom to speak "is to be able to employ

a certain syntax, to possess the morphology of this or that language, but above all, it is about to assume a culture, to bear the weight of a civilization," believed that all colonized people stands vis-à-vis the language of the civilizing nation, that is of the "mother" country's culture. Albert Memmi (1957) brought to light, from a fine observation of the daily relation between colonizer and colonized in the Maghreb, the cultural yoke under which the latter population had to evolve: "The colonial bilingualism is neither a diglossia, where one popular idiom and one purist language coexist and both belong to the same emotional universe, nor a simple multilingual wealth, which has an additional but relatively neutral tool; it is a linguistic drama." Half a century after Kipling's poem, would the European languages have become a kind of "black man's burden"?

Cape Verde experienced from the late nineteenth century, through a singular nativist movement, a first step toward the affirmation of a culture and language specific to the archipelago. It is hardly possible to claim that the work of the Cape Verdean nativist generation showed the premises of an independence or even demarcation from Lisbon: even denouncing the oppression of the Portuguese colonialism over Cape Verdeans, nativist writers remained loyal to Portugal, viewed as the fatherland, "a Pátria" (Duarte 1998). More interesting here is that some of them—Eugénio Tavares and Pedro Cardoso are the most frequently cited—used the Creole language in their poetry, valorizing publicly what was still named the Creole dialect of Cape Verde (Monteiro 2003). In 1924, Eugénio Tavares published a text titled *Língua de pretos*—literally, *Language of Blacks*—in which he promoted the use of his mother language in Cape Verde, concluding that "the Cape Verdian dialect can be spoken and can be written. For many reasons, and especially because it constitutes the documentation of a transformation, of one of the fortunate transformations of the Portuguese language among colonial people."[25] In this regard, the poet Gabriel Mariano noticed that, when writing in Portuguese language, the nativists' generation only produced a "photocopy" of Portuguese poets, whereas writing in Creole allowed the poet to identify with his own land, with his very island or region.[26] Yet the Claridoso movement initiated by Manuel Lopes, Baltazar Lopes da Silva, and Jorge Barbosa in 1936 with the first issue of the *Claridade* review, put poets' feet more firmly into the mother soil and definitely contributed to building the cultural identity of the islands, the *Caboverdianidade*. "Social and telluric witness" and "the most innocent way to express [our] reality" (Manuel Lopes), "affirmation of the Cape Verdean nationality" (Gabriel Mariano), *Claridade* brought to a generation of

elites the "craving to discover their [our] cultural identity" (Henrique Teixeira de Sousa).[27] Or, more precisely, the Cape Verdean elite, highly influenced by dominant models of Portuguese and Brazilian literature along with a certain universal culture (many attended the São Nicolau Secondary School, and few of them went back and graduated from Portuguese universities), built the *Caboverdianidade* as a specific insular identity from its own experience. In this process, that the academic Francine Vieira saw as an identity strategy for the social ascent of a minority group (2005: 396), the search for a proper position between Africa and Europe—and the debate on the genesis of the Cape Verdean Creole is a part of it—has been constant. So the writer Manuel Ferreira came to affirm that Africa doesn't really exist in Cape Verdean society and that "the cultural evolution is progressive in the meaning of creolization and will never been regressive in the meaning of the African recuperation."[28] Significantly different has been the message of the agronomist and poet Amílcar Cabral, who in 1952 advocated for a transcendence of the resignation of the *Claridosos*, and later, as the famous independence leader, promoted the "reafricanization of consciousness."[29] The use of languages was enclosed, until the end of the colonial era and even later, within a set of values based on the prejudice of the linguistic superiority of the Portuguese language over Creole. "We had a certain cult for Portuguese language"—said the writer Teobaldo Virginio—"which was a target to reach, the way of promotion,"[30] while Gabriel Mariano wondered publicly in 1965 why those in Cape Verde studied a dead language such as Latin rather than Creole, a living language.[31] And the anthropologist Luís Batalha, who conducted a concise study on the "Portuguese-Cape-Verdean elite," clearly demonstrated how this group mingled—including linguistically—into the Portuguese culture. Under colonialism, their status encouraged their identification to an alleged racial superiority camouflaged by an educational superiority. Bilingual, they have never been discriminated against while speaking Creole, unlike the majority of Cape Verdean population who did not sufficiently master the Portuguese language. Putting Portuguese identity above all, "being Cape Verdean and speaking Creole was a regional appreciation integrated within the overall framework of the Portuguese identity" (Batalha 2004: 198).

If one can speak about one national culture and language in Cape Verde, a Senegalese counterpart of the *Caboverdianidade* could not emerge into the colonial Senegalese society: regarding its ethnic plurality and linguistic diversity, the reappropriation of a native culture had necessarily to overcome fragile national

boundaries to reach a broader African ideal, a black universal. Following the relative cultural pluralism shown among the Originaires, the model moved toward the ideology of the African nationalism, which found expression, from the 1930s in Senegal, in the Négritude movement (Diouf 2000: 583). However, Négritude—although clearly reacting to assimilation ideology, possibly more than the Claridade movement did—emerged from European archetypes and used the very colonial language at the heart of its emancipation project. Within the logic of Léopold Sédar Senghor, the matter was to assimilate (French civilization) instead of being assimilated, and Senghor considered himself black and French, as "Afro-French" within the framework of the French imperial community.[32] Cultural and unitary affirmation of the black civilization found its support in journals published in Paris by an "assimilated" elite from French Caribbean and Africa.[33] Concerning the use of languages, Senghor first developed his argument on a culturalist basis, advocating for a greater attention to be given to the African languages in education; this was the phase of "loyalty" to the African languages and cultures (Ndao 2008: 9). On the edge of independence, his speech focused more on "bilingualism as solution."[34] And following the independence, Senghor—thenceforth president of the Senegalese republic—took the turn toward the French language as the official one for the state, the exclusive one in national education, and worked for the promotion of a Francophone community. As he wrote in his well-known paper "Le français langue de culture," published in the journal Esprit in 1962, it was about maintaining and reinforcing the teaching of French language in Africa and erecting "La Francophonie, cet Humanisme intégral."

The invention of a cultural and linguistic alterity has been a necessity in the colonial project in order to create a hierarchy to the benefit of the conquering culture. The process of dehumanization of the African—negation of his history, languages, and capacity of autonomous creation, a negation supported by a belief in racial inequality—made possible the creation of a colonial imaginary where "the inferiority of the Other consecrate the superiority of the Similar" (Henriques 1999–2000). The grammar of animality applied to the indigenous (the prevalence of the physical over the intellect) justified the domestication of the colonized (Mbembe 2000: 266–267). Conklin remarked that French imperial ideology identified civilization with "mastery." "To be civilized"—says the author—"was to be free from specific forms of tyranny: the tyranny of the elements over man, of disease over health, of instinct over reason, of ignorance over

knowledge and of despotism over liberty" (1997: 5). Finally, one can say that this dialectic of liberation of the colonized through assimilation and under the control of colonial rules has been reversed. In adapting oneself to the dominant language, the "assimilated" elite restored its own culture into the human civilization, not without totally overcoming the colonial complex "between Prospero and Caliban."[35] Because colonization was "a permanent war against the resources of human freedom,"[36] the indigenous elite in Senegal, in Cape Verde, assumed the right to struggle against colonialism using the French or Portuguese language as a powerful weapon, or, in Gabriel Mariano's words, "the right to anticipate, literarily, the moment of liberation and destruction of the pressure factors" (Laban 1992: 298).

Linguistic and Cultural Flux in Contemporary Cape Verde and Senegal
The Construction of Bi/Multilingualism in Postcolonial States

From the colonial background, one can better understand the complexity of linguistic issues in contemporary Cape Verdean and Senegalese states and their integration into the world system as autonomous entities, from 1960 (Senegal) and 1975 (Cape Verde). Because of their specific linguistic situation, their respective paths in term of language policy[37] diverged significantly. In the meantime, one can establish a relative symmetry, at the supranational level, concerning their inclusion in language-based communities—namely the OIF and the CPLP (Community of Portuguese Language Countries).

In both countries, the colonial language became the official language at the independence. From these dates, Cape Verdean Creole (CVC)—the first language for almost all of the population—is the only national language beside the Portuguese official language, whereas in Senegal, French, the official language, faces thirty-eight local languages spoken on the territory;[38] six of them (Wolof, Pulaar, Serer, Jola, Maninka, and Soninke) have been officially recognized as national languages since 1971. The long-term Francophone population in Senegal was estimated at about 20 percent in 2002, 8 percent more than in the 1988 census.[39]

Contemporary linguistic policy in Senegal is often evaluated and probably etter understood, following a presidential periodization: Senghor's term (1960–1980); Diouf's term (1981–2000); and Wade's term (2000–2012). Despite his expressed intentions, Senghor's policy in favor of national languages in education has been very modest. According to the academic and dissident Amady Ali

Dieng, Senghor never in practice promoted the national languages, which he did not consider scientific languages, and therefore at the same rank as the French language.[40] From the *nègre intégral*, product of a linguistic and cultural deep-rootedness advocated during colonialism, Senghor adapted Négritude with the concept of the *homme intégral*," or "integral human," product of the universal civilization (Ndao 2008: 55). However, after a five-year period continuing a colonial elitist teaching based on the French language as mother tongue (1960–1965), Senegal chose an education in French language but with reference to other national languages (1965–1980).[41] This later policy has been greatly influenced by researches carried out by CLAD—the Centre for Applied Linguistics of Dakar—ironically a French-inspired center that for a while benefited from technical and financial support from France (Kazadi 1991: 94). Pierre Dumont, a linguist and the head of CLAD, was clear about the French language in Senegal: it would never be a language of national communication, thus it had to be considered as a foreign language, vehicle of a foreign culture and civilization.[42] The Senghor option has been a very gradual transition toward the promotion of national languages into education, preferring French language as a tool of scientific and technical development, best suited to inter-African and international relations.[43] His language policy oriented toward the Francophone world—and France—rather than toward the literacy into national languages of its citizens at some point received harsh criticism, as evidenced by a text published by the Union des Étudiants de Dakar in 1968 protesting "the defence and illustration of the French language" led by the Senegalese government.[44] Abdou Diouf's mandate at the head of the state opened a new era with the convocation of the States General for Education and Training (États Généraux de l'Enseignement et de la Formation [EGEF], January 1981), recommending a bilingual education system more in line with the Senegalese sociolinguistic reality, and the establishment of a National Commission of Educational and Training Reform (CNREF). By giving up the method of teaching French "pour parler français" elaborated by CLAD, the beginning of the Diouf era signaled "the most total disavowal for the extreme francization policy under Senghor" (Cissé 2005: 117). Altough—as Momar Coumba Diop and Mamadou Diouf have noted—Abdou Diouf dared to tackle the great taboo of the Senghor's era, the problem of languages (Diop and Diouf 1990: 275), the state did not overcome major issues such as using national languages as medium of instruction, or bearing the costs of an ambitious reform in the context of a sluggish economy.[45] The linguist Ibrahima Diallo shows

how the chronic politicization of the public institutions, combined with a lack of genuine political will, led to serious blockages and finally to an almost status quo in national language policy through the decades.[46] However, and concerning French language, beyond the various obstacles to the implementation of the stated objectives since the independence, Moussa Daff notes a certain evolution in mentalities: if in the 1960s, 1970s, and even 1980s what mattered was the language proficiency, nowadays what is highlighted is language understanding.[47] On a more symbolic level, the linguistic decolonization of Senegal became famous through the 1990s initiative of Diouf's government to rename major streets, schools, institutions, and public spaces whose names had any colonial connotations, mainly in Dakar, Saint-Louis, and Thiès (Diallo 2010: 69–70). Under Wade's presidency (2000–2012), the effective recognition of national languages in Senegalese society took a step forward with the approval of the new constitution, which stipulated in its first article: "The official language of the Republic of Senegal is French. The national languages are Jola, Maninka, Pulaar, Serer, Soninke, Wolof, and any other national language that will be codified."[48] Since then, eight other languages have been codified and granted the national language status (Diallo 2010: 71). From 2004, Abdoulaye Wade supported the creation of an Academy for National Languages (ASLN) that was founded in 2007. Composed of senior and traditionalist researchers representing the fourteen national languages, the ASLN advises the state in the implementation of the national language policy, works to make national languages a common heritage to all Senegalese in order to preserve the national unity amid the linguistic diversity, and support the development of national languages in the educational system.[49]

The most striking fact in term of linguistic flows into the postcolonial Senegalese society is the ascent of Wolof as a national lingua franca. Currently approximately 44 percent of Senegalese population are native speakers of Wolof, and the language is spoken and understood by over 80 percent of the population (Cissé 2005). This tendency began just after the French conquest in the late nineteenth century, concomitant with the development of commercial contacts and urbanization from Saint-Louis region to the peanut basin and the Senegal River drainage basin (O'Brien 1998; Dieng 2010), and might have even started as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, when Wolof benefited from a central position within the ethno-linguistic territory of northern Senegal coupled with a dominant political and military position.[50] Therefore, it is an urban Wolof, with its extensive borrowings from French, which has taken the lead in

independent Senegal (O'Brien 1998: 33). This situation allowed the sociologist and philosopher Pierre Fougeyrollas—appointed as professor at the University of Dakar—to say in 1967: "We can already say that Wolof appears as the true national and popular language of Senegal. The crystallization of Senegal into a national community requires the fundamental encouragement of Wolof language. (. . .) There is now and especially two languages in Senegal: the one ascending from the masses to the power, which is the Wolof, and the other, going down the floors of the governmental building to meet these masses, which is the French. National and popular language on the one hand, borrowed official language on the other hand, that seems to me to be the new linguistic situation in Senegal."[51] But Léopold Sédar Senghor—who, according to the political scientist Donal Cruise O'Brien, had a particularly strong aversion to the cultural-political cause of Wolofization (1998: 40)—significantly restrained this postcolonial linguistic rebalancing. This was evidenced by disagreements between the president and his opponents, based on orthographic issues but hiding a deeper political struggle on the role of Wolof and French in Senegalese society.[52] Just the opposite of Senghor in terms of speech and symbols, Wade was an ardent advocate of Wolof and its use among Senegalese population. During his presidency, statements made in Wolof by politicians, including Wade himself, increased to the point that Wolof language seems nowadays to be in a good position—at the *status* level—to postulate seriously as official language, along with the French (Ndao 2011).

The fact that the postcolonial linguistic landscape in Cape Verde is much more homogeneous than that in Senegal—where two related languages, Portuguese as the official language, and Cape Verdean Creole[53] as the national language, are present—did not necessarily result in a more harmonious and balanced linguistic coexistence than for its continental neighbor. The key issue since the independence of the archipelago has been the search for a true Portuguese-CVC bilingualism, whereas the linguistic situation was hitherto characterized by a diglossic situation inherited from the colonial period. Despite significant progress in the transcript, standardization, and enhancement of CVC, the assertion that "in Cape Verde, the Creole language reigns but the Portuguese language governs" (Veiga 1997) is still hardly refutable. However, and maybe more here than in Senegal, the voice of the civil society—mainly linguists and writers—has been considered by the state. Linguistic policy in Senegal has for a while been heavily influenced, if not dictated, by presidential wishes, whereas linguistic pol-

icy in Cape Verde established a more symbiotic link—and the common linguistic inheritance is relevant—with the linguistic reality of the Cape Verdean society. Two major events contributed to shaping contemporary linguistic policy in Cape Verde: the international linguistic conference of Mindelo in 1979 and the forum of bilingual literacy held in Praia in 1989. The former produced a phonetic-phonological-based alphabet of CVC, and the latter tried to conciliate this alphabet and an etymological alphabet. But none of them forced itself on the population, who continued to use an empirical alphabet (Fonseca 1998). In 1994, the Committee for Standardization of the Cape Verdean Language was formed, and it worked out a Unified Alphabet for the Cape Verdean writing system, the ALUPEC. According to Manuel Veiga, the ALUPEC emerged from the necessity to combine linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects in order to "on the one hand, functionalize and systematize the writing of Creole, and on the other hand, propose an instrument that can be accepted, if not by the totality, at least by the majority of users" (1998: 96). In 1998, the ALUPEC was approved by the Council of Ministers of Cape Verde for a five-year trial period and was recognized as a viable system for writing the CVC in 2005.[54] Moreover, the current Cape Verdean constitution (2010), resuming the constitutional revision (1999) of the 1992 constitution, states the following concerning the use of languages in the territory:

> Article 7 (Role of the State):
> i) To preserve, to enhance, and to promote the Cape Verdean mother language and culture.
>
> Article 9 (Official Languages):
>   Portuguese is the official language.
>   The State promotes the conditions for the formalization of the Cape Verdean mother language, on par with the Portuguese language.
>   All national citizens have the duty to know the official languages and the right to use them.
>
> Article 79 (Right to the Culture):
> 3. To assure the right to the culture, rests specially with the State:
>   f) To promote the defence, the valorization, and the development of the Cape Verdean mother language, and to encourage its use in written communication.[55]

Article 9 maintains an ambiguity—willful?—regarding the status of languages: indeed, how can the Portuguese be the official language while citizens are sup-

posed to know and are granted the right to use the official *languages*, plural? Gilvan Müller, a linguist and the chair of the Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa (IILP), notes that Cape Verde is seeking a way to manage its identity and institute bilingualism.[56] Although Portuguese can be considered a second language rather than a foreign language in Cape Verde (Cahen 2007), and one can speak about a linguistic continuum that includes the Portuguese language and the different variants of Creole language (Vasconcelos 2004: 160), a significant part of the population doesn't properly speak Portuguese (Veiga 2000: 44). According to Marilena Pereira Lopes, chairwoman of the Brazilian Cultural Centre in Praia, who had a long working experience with youth and children in Cape Verde, a significant percentage of young Cape Verdians finish secondary school without fluency in the Portuguese language, without the ability to write an A4-sized page in Portuguese.[57]

Nevertheless, the threat of a new colonial type situation raised by the replacement of the colonial language by the lingua franca (Calvet 1979, *Langue, corps, société*: 156), as it may occur in Senegal,[58] does not exist in Cape Verde, where linguistic issues lead to a more natural national cohesion. And the Cape Verdean poet José Luís Hopffer Almada, who saw a "capeverdeanization" of the Portuguese language along with a "de-creolization" of the Cape Verdean language,[59] noted that even though the issue is prickly, the trend is now irreversible, due both to the valiant love and affection that all Cape Verdians devote to their *língua pátria*—as a greater symbol of identity and cultural diversity— to the insertion of the dignifying of the Cape Verdean language into the broader framework of the construction of an effective bilingualism between Cape Verdian communities from the islands and from the diaspora (Almada 2010: 42).

Toward a "Postwestern" World?

It would be dishonest to see contemporary states as confined into tight linguistic boundaries—that is, French in Senegal and Portuguese in Cape Verde. Language configurations that emerged after independences created unprecedented possibilities of opening toward the world; meanwhile, self-determination has led to a rediscovery and a rereading of the African past—through Négritude for Senghor, through a reafricanization process for Cabral—for a time alienated by the colonial domination. The globalized postcolonial era did not evacuate the pangs of linguistic imperialism; rather, it pointed out and inevitably questioned this new paradigm, in both postcolonial African and postcolonial European

societies. Not without misunderstandings: the anthropologist Luís Batalha noticed that the Portuguese–Cape Verdean elite established in Portugal struggled during the colonial era for the recognition of their "Portugueseness" while they were above all (seen as) Cape Verdean, and they now struggle for their *Caboverdianidade* while they are essentially Portuguese (2004: 195). Discourses emanating from the Francophonie or the Lusophony, and the subsequent negative echo prevalent in public opinion,[60] affected and continues to affect mostly its periphery. Thus the ethnocentric Portuguese discourse on the vitality of the Portuguese language in Cape Verde ends up being irritating for Cape Verdeans, according to the writer José Vicente Lopes: "If Portuguese understand lusophony as a cultural imperialism, it is their problem, we do not concern about it here. (. . .) This is a paranoia of the Portuguese, and not of the Africans." Germano Almeida, another Cape Verdean writer, states clearly, "To use the Portuguese language does not make me a Portuguese."[61]

Through "linguistically-based constraints on the flow of information" (Mazrui 1998: 82), Western languages have continued to exercise a key role for postcolonial African states in their relation to the world. However, former metropoles lost their exclusivity as dominant models, partly because of the globalization of cultural consumption flux: Brazilian *telenovelas* produced and exported by TV Globo have gained increasing influence in Cape Verdean homes over these past twenty years,[62] while the eyes of urban Senegalese audiences are riveted on Bollywood movies; the most-watched programs of the Senegalese audiovisual landscape are *Hello Bombay* and *India in Senegal*.[63]

While the post–World War II globalization process enlarged the scope of cultural relations and opened new possibilities for linguistic flows, it crystallized simultaneously mentalities in a center/periphery logic inherited from the imperial-colonial world configuration of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the discourse pronounced by the French president Nicolas Sarkozy on 26 July 2007 at the Cheikh-Anta Diop University of Dakar was relevant concerning how the dialectic of mastery elaborated by the French imperial ideology has been integrated into a contemporary rhetoric: "The tragedy of Africa," said Sarkozy, "is that the African man has not fully entered into history. (. . .) In this universe where nature commands everything, man escapes from the anguish of history that torments modern man, but man remains static in the middle of an unchanging order where everything seems to have been written beforehand. (. . .) The problem of Africa is to stop always repeating, harking back; it is to

free itself from the myth of the eternal return, to realize that golden age that Africa keeps regretting, will not come back, for the reason that it has never existed."[64] Yet, as the historian Jean-Pierre Chrétien has pointed out, in the process of independences, colonized and colonizer were actors of an institutional change involving old and recent inheritances of the African experience, and cutting the umbilical cord to the metropole did not prevent continuities and transmissions (2008: 72). And if what now exists is a cultural mixed race par excellence, as the Senegalese literary critic and diplomat Makhily Gassama argues, it is the "African man," rooted in his African culture and mastering the culture of the other, especially the Western one (2008: 29). Language appropriation by Africans and the fluidity in its day-to-day evolution on the continent constitute the first evidence that Africans past and present contribute to the dynamic of globalization. It is worth remembering that, as the linguist and former chairwoman of the IILP Amália Mingas reminds us, the Portuguese language in Luanda is different than the one in Lisbon; likewise, the French spoken in Dakar is not the same as the French spoken in Paris.[65] This means that the evolution and the interaction of languages are the basis of linguistic heritages. And the "recognition of an ecological structure of knowledge" (Müller 2011), one that is the opposite of the hierarchical structure devised by the colonial ideologies, may now be included in speeches but has yet to be fully applied in Cape Verde, in Senegal, and broadly in the Global South.

NOTES

1. Each decolonization is certainly not chronologically limited to an independence day. To go beyond the symbolic event means to understand the phenomenon as a process built before and after the independence. Breaks that one wishes to see or not see in colonial history are often poorly thought out: key issues are omitted, leading inevitably to unrestrained answers. The anthropologist Marc-Henri Piault, in the title of the book he edited—La colonisation: Rupture ou parenthèse—can conclude neither "rupture" nor "parenthesis." Likewise, the historian Frederick Cooper, in his Colonialism in Question, specifies: "One is not faced with a stark choice between a light-switch view of decolonization—once independence declared, the polity became 'African'—and a continuity approach (i.e., colonialism never really ended), but one can look at what in the course of struggle before and after that moment could or could not be reimagined or reconfigured, what structural constraints persisted, what new forms of political and economic power impinged on ex-colonial states, and how people in the middle of colonial authority system restructured their ties within and outside of a national political space" (2005: 19–20).

2. All quotes in this text that were originally in French or Portuguese have been translated by the author.

3. The French version of his text says *indigence linguistique*, which reflects better the idea of destitution in contrast with a linguistic wealth or diversity (Mbembe 2001: 9).

4. Such interference into another discipline can lead to assumptions hardly acceptable for specialists of the referred field. It is thus useful to fit our subject to our discipline and that of the others, as Michel Cahen (2007) did when denying the existence of a Lusophone culture based on the unique fact of a common language: the author introduced himself as a historian and not as a linguist or a literature specialist.

5. This is particularly striking concerning Portuguese colonial historiography. Until the Carnation Revolution (25 April 1974)—that is, for nearly a century—research on Portuguese colonialism in Africa has been mainly undertaken by English-speaking scholars. This can be explained by the Portuguese semiperipheral condition in the modern capitalist world system since the seventeenth century (Santos 2002), reinforced by the fact that the intellectual and repressive climate of the Estado Novo (1933–1974)—initiated by the 28 May 1926 nationalist and antiparliamentary coup d'état—made impossible the development of any serious Portuguese historiography of both metropolitan and overseas Portugal (Chabal 2002: 31).

6. The question of the discovery of the archipelago is a debate (Lima 2007). Although African fishermen from the continental coast seem to have visited islands before (Wolof, Serer, Lebu), it is generally acknowledged that Cape Verde was free of occupation when discovered by the Portuguese between 1460 and 1462. First established under an agro-esclavagist system, Cape Verde turned soon to the transatlantic slave trade (which peaked in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but continued until the nineteenth century); the islands were a depository for slaves being shipped to Brazil, the Caribbean, and Central America. Meanwhile, Cape Verdean society emerged progressively from a mix of Europeans settlers (Portuguese, Spaniards, and Italians) and enslaved Africans from the Guinea Coast (Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, Bidyogo, Papel, and Balanta people), creating a specific Creole culture. See Carreira 1972, 1977; Andrade 1996; Cardoso 1998.

7. Specialists are mainly divided on the preponderance of European or African elements in the formation of Cape Verdean Creole. See relevant chapters in Carreira 1982; Quint 2000; Veiga 2000.

8. This approach was initiated by Abdoulaye Ly with his work on the Company of Senegal (1958), and has been continued by historians such as Boubacar Barry and Abdoulaye Bathily. The "second founder" perspective on the movement is the perspective of Cheikh Anta Diop in *Nations Nègres et Culture* (1954). See Ibrahima Thioub, "L'école de Dakar et la production d'une écriture académique de l'histoire," in Diop 2002: 109–153.

9. Mamadou Diouf mentions the researches of Rawane Mbaye, Souleymane Bachir Diagne, and Ousmane Kane, whose translations and historic commentaries contributed to the opening of knowledge on Senegal history from the Islamic viewpoint. See Diouf 2000: 369.

10. This was the case of Wolof (Wolofal) and Pulaar (Ajami). See Cisse 2006.

11. Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Chronique de Guinée*, préface et traduction de Léon Bourdon (Dakar: IFAN, 1960).

12. Hence the difficulty for Cape Verdeans trying to define themselves to the other. This is relevant on the islands—"Are we African or not?" or "Are we fundamentally hybrid European-African?" (Andrade 1996)—and abroad, in the United States, where the identity question is "Are we black or white?" (Fisher and Model 2012). For example, it is striking that in the eight-volume *General History of Africa* edited by UNESCO, Cape Verde is very slightly mentioned here and there, and that the maps, even the ones dedicated to West Africa, rarely include this country. The dichotomous aspect of the nation continues, since it is reflected in the title of a recent valuable collective work on postcolonial Cape Verde: Suzano Costa and Cristina Sarmernto, eds., *Entre África e a Europa: Nação, Estado e Democracia em Cabo Verde* (Coimbra: Edições Almedina, 2013).

13. One should point out here that the notion of "cultural areas" distinguishes itself from that of "area studies": the former is based on a geohistoric approach of a specific whole, whereas the latter builds the object a priori and follows pre-established categories (Compagnon 2010: 2). According to the professor of French literature Anne Berger, area studies, in producing regional divisions, invented and acted on its subject while also studying it (2006: 13). A French, and more generally Francophone, understanding of cultural areas has been notably characterized by Fernand Braudel's work, who thought about cultural and civilizational facts over the long term: "A cultural area is, in anthropologists language, a space into which is found dominant the association of certain cultural features (. . .). The fixity of spaces firmly occupied and of boundaries that confine them does not exclude the permeability of these boundaries, facing the multiple travels of cultural goods that constantly cross them" (Braudel 1993 [1963]: 43, 45).

14. Elias Alfama Moniz, in his work on colonial education in Cape Verde, demonstrates the magnitude of the failure of this first school: in five years (1884–1889), not even one student had completed his studies (2007: 8).

15. École Mutuelle de Saint Louis (1816–1841). Also known as "mutual education," this method was supposed to allow one teacher to train many students at the same time, the more advanced students giving lessons to the others.

16. See Batalha 2004; Moniz 2007; Ramos 2011.

17. See Paul Robiquet, ed., *Discours et opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 5 (Paris: A. Colin, 1893–1898).

18. The related evolution, between the metropole and the colony, to a quite theoretical and imaginary degree, persuaded some scholars to give a name to this hybrid figure: the Colonial Republic. See works of the collective Achac, namely N. Bancel, P. Blanchard, and F. Vergès, eds., *La République coloniale: Essai sur une utopie* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), and N. Bancel, P. Blanchard, and S. Lemaire, eds., *La fracture coloniale: La société française au prisme des héritages coloniaux* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005).

19. Onésime Reclus, *France, Algérie et colonies* (Paris: Hachette, 1886 [1880]), 282.

20. Saint-Louis and Gorée (1872), Rufisque (1880), and Dakar (1887) were placed under the same municipal laws as those in France. Its inhabitants were named Originaires and received specific rights within the French colonial empire. For example, Saint-Louis and Gorée inhabitants were granted the rights of French citizens as early as 1833, and in 1848 Senegal gained a seat in the Chamber of the Deputies in Paris. But the Four Communes was more than a model of colonial assimilation; it also proved that "pluralism and native distinction were at the heart of the colonial project." As Diouf illustrated, Governor Faidherbe combined Islam and colonial modernity, French and Arab languages, which was translated in public space by a Wolof tongue inflected by Arabic and French tones. See Conklin 1997; Diouf 2000; Coquery-Vidrovitch 2001.

21. The Codigo do Trabalho Indigena was promulgated in 1929, the Acto Colonial in 1930, and 1933 saw the adoption of the new Portuguese constitution, the Carta Orgânica, and the Administrative Overseas Reform Act. The Portuguese Colonial Act was repealed in 1950 when the colonies were declared "Overseas Provinces of Portugal," and the 1961 reforms abolished the *indigenato* status. See Newitt 1981.

22. The very term "lusotropical" appeared actually quite late in Freyre's work (its first occurrence was during a conference in Goa in November 1951), but the ideology without the term was present in his *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933) and was already well established in his *O Mundo que o Português Criou* (1940). Freyre used the term "to describe sociologically the cultural complex marked by the presence in warm countries, not the Portuguese man with ethnic value but rather the culture, mainly from Portuguese roots, which men ethnically different but sociologically similar were the holders, the deformers and the re-creators" (Freyre 1961: 57). To defend its colonial policy to international opinion, the theory rehabilitated by the Salazar propaganda, or neolusotropicalism (Cahen), removed the less acceptable ideas such as the importance of biological and cultural miscegenation or the Arab and African heritages among Portuguese people, to retain the notion that Portuguese colonization was a natural process favorable to all. See Freyre 1940, 1961; Castelo 1999, 2008, 2011; Cahen 2010; Almeida 2008.

23. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon)—Relatórios da Inspecção Superior da Administração Ultramarina, Carlos Alves Roçadas (Governador da Provincia de Cabo Verde), *Relatório do Ano* 1950, 2:432, 2:443.

24. "Cape Verde, Portugal's Province, threshold of overseas." A picture of this scene, as well as many others showing the journey into the colonial possessions of the Portuguese head of state Américo Thomaz, can be seen in Boletim Geral do Ultramar, *Visita do Chefe do Estado Almirante Américo Thomaz às provincias da Guiné e de Cabo Verde* (Lisbon: Agência-geral do Ultramar, 1968).

25. Eugénio Tavares, "Língua de pretos," in *O Manduco: Orgão defensor dos interesses da Colónia* 1, no. 11, 1924.

26. Gabriel Mariano (Sintra: 28 July 1984) in Michel Laban, *Cabo Verde: Encontro com escritores* (Porto: fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1992), 1:326.

27. Manuel Lopes (Lisbon: July 1984; February 1985), Gabriel Mariano (Sintra: 28 July 1984), Henrique Teixeira de Sousa (Santo Amaro de Oeiras: 22 July 1984) in Laban 1992: 84, 320, 167.

28. Manuel Ferreira (Linda-a-Velha: 17–18 July 1984) in Laban 1992: 113.

29. Amílcar Cabral, "Apontamentos sobre Poesia Caboverdiana," *Cape Verde: Boletim de Propaganda e Informação,* no. 28, 1 January 1952, and "Libération nationale et culture," Syracuse University, 2 February 1970, in Cabral 1975: 1:30, 1:324.

30. Teobaldo Virginio (Boston: April 1987) in Laban 1992: 283).

31. During a lecture held in Assomada (Santiago Island) in 1965, on the topic "Creole language and the teaching of Portuguese language." Gabriel Mariano (Sintra: 28 July 1984) in Laban 1992: 339.

32. Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Le problème culturel en AOF," Conférence faite à la Chambre de Commerce de Dakar pour le Foyer France-Sénégal, 10 September 1937; "Vues sur l'Afrique noire ou assimiler, non être assimilés," 1945, in Senghor 1964: 11–21, 39–69.

33. *La Revue du Monde Noir* (1931) aspired to "give to the intellectual elite of the Black race and to the friends of Blacks, an organ where to publish their artistic, literary, and scientific works." In 1935, Aimé Césaire first defined Négritude in *L'Étudiant Noir,* a less politically oriented journal than *Légitime Défense,* a Marxist-inspired manifesto published in 1932. Later, Alioune Diop founded *Présence Africaine,* whose aim was to "define the African originality and accelerate its integration into the modern world." See Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990). *Éthiopiques—Revue negro-africaine de littérature et de philosophie* (Dakar); all issues (from 1975) are available at http://ethiopiques.refer.sn/. For a critical approach, see Marcien Towa, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: Négritude ou Servitude?* (Yaoundé: Éditions CLE, 1971). Stanislas Adotevi, *Négritude et Négrologues* (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1972). Mongo Beti and Odile Tobner, eds., *Peuple Noirs, Peuples Africains: Revue des radicaux noirs de langue française* (1978–1991); all issues available at http://mongobeti.arts.uwa.edu.au/.

34. Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Le problème des langues vernaculaires ou le bilinguisme comme solution," *Afrique Nouvelle,* January 3, 1958.

35. See Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Post-colonialism, and Inter-identity," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 39, no. 2, 9–43.

36. "Problèmes d'enseignement en Afrique Noire" (editorial notes), *Présence Africaine*, no. 6, February–March 1956, 56–57.

37. The linguist Robert Chaudenson discerns three levels of intervention in the field of language: language "policy," including major decisions at a national or supranational scale; language "planning," which concerns the terms and deadlines of political goals; and language "management," which is the implementation of the language planning. "Language policy" is used here in its broader sense, related to any political language intervention. Furthermore, Chaudenson distinguishes between the *status* (related to institutions, functions, and representations) and the *corpus* (concerning the very linguistic practices) of the language.

See Chaudenson, 1989: *Vers une révolution francophone?* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989), and Chaudenson, ed., *La francophonie: Représentations, réalités, perspectives* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991).

38. M. Paul Lewis, ed., *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=SN. Mamadou Cissé (Cheikh Anta Diop University) argues that about twenty language groups can be seriously taken into consideration (Cissé 2005: 101).

39. Observatoire démographique et statistique de l'espace francophone (ODSEF), Québec, September 2010. See Niang Camara 2010.

40. Interview with the author, Dakar, 17 June 2010.

41. This is the periodization chosen by Moussa Daff (1998). Others insist instead on 1960–1980, a period marked by a broader continuity with the colonial linguistic policy, where French language kept its privileged status despite the attempt to introduce national languages in formal education (Ka 1993; Cissé 2005).

42. Pierre Dumont, *Politique linguistique et enseignement au Sénégal*, CLAD no. 70 (Dakar, 1977), 4, 10. Launched in 1963, the CLAD was originally created to improve French teaching in Senegal, adapting the pedagogy to local sociocultural realities. Along with the IFAN (Institut Français d'Afrique Noire—1936, renamed Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire / African Institute of Basic Research in 1966), the CLAD provided a wide range of scientific data on national languages contributing to develop standard and official written codes.

43. See Léopold Sédar Senghor, "L'enseignement du français," Allocution en réponse au discours d'usage de M. Demba Diouf, Dakar, 15 July 1974 (Senghor 1977: 515–524) and "Le français et les langues africaines," Préface à la thèse de doctorat d'État de Pierre Dumont, titled *Les relations entre le français et les langues africaines du Sénégal*, Éditions Karthala et ACCT, 1983 (Senghor 1993: 238–253).

44. *Memorandum sur l'université de Dakar*, published by the UED in 1968, cited in Calvet 1979: 134.

45. For matters raised by the EGEF and CNREF, see Ka 1993: 276–290; Cissé 2005: 99–133.

46. For example, the two main departments, DAEB (Directorate for Literacy and Basic Education) and DPLN (Directorate for the Promotion of National Languages), have been renamed and assigned to different ministries several times, in almost every government reshuffling, causing regularly changes in their missions and their responsibilities. See Diallo 2010: chap. 5.

47. Interview with the author, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, 16 June 2010.

48. *Constitution de la République du Sénégal du 22 janvier 2001*, http://www.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/Constitution.pdf (accessed September 2012).

49. *Statuts de l'Académie Sénégalaise des Langues Nationales (ASLN)*, 24 July 2007. Its preamble notes that "it is proved that no country in the world has grown in a foreign language." Furthermore, the report of the ASLN's chairman specify that the ASLN does not concern itself with certain languages in use in Senegal such as French (official language), Arabic, Bambara, or Portuguese Creole, which are not considered national languages. ASLN, *Rapport introductif du Président de l'Académie*, Dakar, 18 July 2009. Documents are available at http://www.cnre.sn/index.php?tg=articles&topics=75.

50. As mentioned by Fiona McLaughlin (2008). From 1880 onward and the building of the Dakar-Niger Railway by the French in order to transport peanuts to the coast, Wolof circulated as a urban and commercial lingua franca as new cities grew up on the railway lines. According to Amady Ali Dieng, such an early spread of Wolof language in Senegal avoided a situation of creolization, or pidgin, as happened for example in Côte d'Ivoire (interview with the author, 17 June 2010).

51. Pierre Fougeyrollas, *L'enseignement du français au service de la nation sénégalaise*, Conférence du 14 avril 1967 / prononcée devant tous les inspecteurs d'enseignement primaire du Sénégal dans le cadre des deux journées d'information organisées par le CLAD, p. 2.

52. In 1976, Cheikh Anta Diop—a native speaker of Wolof and a linguist—had to change the name of the Wolof-language journal *Siggi* (meaning "head up") of his political party, Rassemblement National Démocratique (RND), because of Senghor's objection to the orthography of the term, which he claimed to be written "Sigi"; in the end the journal was named *Taxaw*, "stand up." The film director Ousmane Sembène, who launched, along with the linguist Pathé Diagne, the Wolof-language periodical *Kaddu* ("words"), had a similar unfortunate experience with his movie *Ceddo* ("pagan warrior") in 1977: the title was censured by the state for not being spelled *Cedo*. See Fírinneni Ní Chréacháin in discussion with Sembène Ousmane, "If I Were a Woman, I'd Never Marry an African," *African Affairs* 91, no. 363, April 1992, 241–247; Cissé 2005: 111, 115; Diallo 2010: 61.

53. Several Cape Verdean Creoles evolved on each island of the archipelago and they are generally sorted into two main groups, the Barlavento Creole (from the windward islands to the north), spoken by about 35 percent of the population, and the Sotavento Creole (from the leeward islands to the south), spoken by about 65 percent of the population (Ernesto Pardal, "Línguas de Cabo Verde," in Cristóvão 2005). But overall, according to Elisa Silva Andrade (2002: 265), the archipelago is characterized by a relatively homogeneous Creole culture, with widely shared traditions and a common linguistic heritage.

54. Decreto-Lei no. 67/98, 31 December 1998 (Boletim Oficial no. 48, 5th supplement), and Resolução no. 48/2005, 14 November 2005 (Boletim Oficial no. 46). Texts available at http://alupec.kauberdi.org/.

55. *Constituição da República de Cabo Verde*, 2a Revisão Ordinária, 2010, Boletim Oficial—Suplemento, I Série, no. 17, 3 May 2010.

56. Gilvan Müller, "A língua é de quem se apropria dela e gere," *A Semana*, 4 June 2011, http://www.asemana.publ.cv/spip.php?article64922&ak=1 (accessed September 2012).

57. Interview with the author, Praia, April 2010.

58. Louis-Jean Calvet used the term "tangled diglossies" (*diglossies enchassées*) to describe situations where several statuses of languages emerge on a given territory, as occurred in postcolonial Senegal with French, Wolof, and other African languages (Calvet 1987: 47).

59. José Luís Hopffer C. Almada, *Número especial da revista Pré-Textos: IV Mesa-Redonda Afro-Luso-Brasileira*, Palacio da Assembleia Nacional (Praia), 10–17 June 1994, 37–39.

60. On the one hand, political discourses of the CPLP and the OIF have their own logic, governed by a diplomatic language that uses euphemism to hide the most striking tensions. On the other hand, the media coverage, following the logic of a structural semantics, confines Francophonie and Lusophony to recurrent specific issues—such as the "good health" of the French or Portuguese languages in the world or the merits of the Francophone/Lusophone policies toward former colonies. For this latter, Francophonie or Lusophony are unconsciously perceived—including by the media "from the south"—as a one-way tool: from France, or from Portugal, to the world.

61. Interviews conducted by Fernando Barbosa Rodrigues and presented in the master's thesis titled "Política da língua no Cabo Verde pós-colonial: Um desafio à construção da lusofonia" (Lisbon: Departamento de Antropologia Social—Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa, 2002), 98, 114.

62. See Jaqueline Pereira de Pina, "As influências da telenovela brasileira no cotidiano de Cabo Verde," dissertation, Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, February 2007; see also "Media: Bem-amadas novelas brasileiras," *Expresso das Ilhas*, 2 February 2012,

http://www.expressodasilhas.sapo.cv/pt/noticias/go/media—bem-amadas-novelas-brasileiras (accessed September 2012).

63. Aurélie Fontaine, "Indafrique: Le Bollywood, une passion sénégalaise," *Jeune Afrique*, 1 December 2011, http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/ARTJAWEB20111130183055/ (accessed September 2012).

64. As transcriptions may differ from one source to another, the best is to watch his speech filmed by the national Senegalese television (RTS) and available at http://youtube.com/watch?v=k9tU1vlKaTU (accessed September 2012).

65. Interview with the author, Praia, April 2010.

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