Multiple choice

Language use and cultural practice in rural Casamance between hybridity and diversity

Friederike Lüpke

Structure of the talk
• A glimpse at the multilingual setting of Casamance
• A glimpse at approaches to multilingualism and language contact
• The goals of the Crossroads project

What limits creolisation?
What drives persisting diversity?
(Some) named languages of Casamance

- Regional languages
  - Joola Fogn
  - Creole
  - Mandinka
  - Pulaar
- National languages
  - French
  - Wolof

Multilingual and mobile individuals

- Between 3 and 10 named languages spoken
- Repertoires are dynamic because of:
  - Fostering
  - Marrying in/out
  - Economic, religious and ritual mobility
- Old and new mobility patterns co-exist

Some settings with fixed linguistic choices

- Contexts/communities of practice translocally associated with particular languages:
  - Mosque: Mandinka
  - Church: Joola languages, French
  - School: Wolof, Mandinka, French
- In addition, local language conventions
Shared cultural practices

- Initiation rites
- Masked dances
- Fertility rituals (*kanyalen/gubos*)
- Exogamy
- Wet rice cultivation
- Religion (« path of the forebears », Christianity and Islam)

**Why do people remain so multilingual (in so many small languages!) when their practices converge?**

Localist and indexing language ideologies contrast with practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideologies</th>
<th>Practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pick out one language as the nominal language of a location – often the language of the founding family</td>
<td>Settlement patterns result in several Casamance languages being present at a location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present one language as the “identity” language of an individual – often the identity language of the father</td>
<td>Additionally, linguae francae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This identity is often invisible to outsiders</td>
<td>Through mobility, complex and changing multilingual repertoires not reflected in the “identity” language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Why is this contrast upheld?**

Approaches to language choice and code-switching

**Multilingual individuals**

- Use different languages in in different domains
- Associate different rights and obligations with different languages
- Structure conversation through code-switching
- Emphasise or minimise difference through language choice

**Social networks**

- Small-scale, dense and multiplex networks have different linguistic changes than large-scale, loose and uniplex networks
- Agents with strong or weak ties can be drivers of language change
Approaches to language contact

Complexification
- In isolation or in situations if long-term co-territorial contact situations involving child bilingualism
- Tips when proportion of non-native speakers becomes too large
- Correlated with small community size, social stability and dense social networks

Simplification (and reduction)
- In contexts involving short-term contact and/or massive language learning by adults
- Correlated with social instability, large community size and loose social networks

“traditional dialects”, lgs of “tribal groups” Creoles and Creoloids Pidgins

All factors and settings play a role in Casamance.

No a priori generalisations of “communities” or situations are possible.

Both complexification and simplification are attested.

Major research questions of the Crossroads project
- What is the shape of multilingual repertoires?
- To what extent do the structures and lexica of codes in the multilingual repertoires converge or diverge?
- What are the linguistic biographies, social networks and communities of practice of individuals, and what is their role in shaping multilingual repertoires and the codes therein?
Focus languages in the “Crossroads” villages

Researchers working on linguistic convergences and divergences in multilingual language use

Language use in social networks and communities of practice

Analysis of actual language use of focus agents

What drives persisting diversity?

a linguistic and cultural ecology
The importance of small differences for the ecology

- “African Frontier” situation where only small groups can (could?) thrive
- Survival requires multiple & flexible alliances
- Speaking several languages serves to index different affinities as required by context
- Co-ordinated cultural activities strengthen the unity in difference

- Persistence of all codes is strengthened by their role(s) in the ecology.

The importance of indexing identities

1) imɛŋ a-n-kołınurse-a pa: le mandɛŋ*
   3Pl 3-Pl-colonise-Pass by Def.PI Mandinka
   ‘They have been colonised by the Mandinka/Muslims.’

2) d-a-n-lab ba-lab b-a-n-jen nko
   Neg.Fut-3-Pl-speak Cl.ba-speak say Niko
   ‘They don’t say a word without adding « Niko ».’

3) minɔ gu-ba her pyr g-i-n-lab-e
   1Plincl Cl.gu-Bainounk pure Foc.1-PI-speak-1Plincl.Perf
   ‘It is us who speak a pure Bainounk.’

* IDs are mainly indexed to members of the ecology and not evoked to outsiders.

The role of indexing identities II

1) imɛŋ a-n-kołınurse-a pa: le mandɛŋ*
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   ‘It is us who speak a pure Bainounk.’

The ecology defines itself in reference to its “outside”, where maximal difference is construed with, e.g., Mandinka or Wolof identity and language.
Many thanks to – merci – diina jogehêfi – danke

Mandana Seyfeddinipur
Anne-Laure Vieille Alpha Mané
The Leverhulme Trust The AHRC
Samantha Goodchild Rachel Watson
Anne Pauwels Max Malick Ndiaye
Caroline Juillard Ferdinand de Jong
Anna and Remigusz The family of the late
Sowa Dominic Mané
All the inhabitants of Miriam Weidl Chelsea Krajcik
Agnack, Dibonker and Alexander Cobbinah
Brin
Klaus Beyer
The VW Foundation Alain-Christian Bassène

Bonus material

Factors nurturing multilingualism and polylectality in Africa (Lüpke & Storch 2013) – all attested in Casamance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>✓</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exogynous marriage patterns, often beyond linguistic borders</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language acquisition in peer groups and age classes, not in the nuclear family</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widespread child fostering, irrespective of language borders</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility and migration for economic, educational, occupational, religious and ritual purposes</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joking relationships and patronymic equivalents beyond ethnolinguistic borders</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polylectality and multilingualism to differentiate occupational groups, social status, create ethnoregisters, etc.</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy practices relying on conventionalised exo- and multigraphia</td>
<td>✓</td>
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Djibonker, a Baïnounk village without Muslims???

Jacqueline Biagui (Baïnounk/converted Muslim)
Partner: Mamadou Bojang (Joola Fogny/Muslim)
Step-daughter: Adj Bojang (Fogny/Muslim)
Cousin: Martha Biagui (Baïnounk/Christian)
Niece: Coocotte Aminata Diata (Fogny/Muslim)
Nephew: Mamadou L. Diata (Fogny/Muslim)
Step-daughter: Adja Bojang (Fogny/Muslim)

Slide from Alexander Cobbinah

Postulated communities: Agnack Grand

Population

How do you say ‘crab’ in Baïnounk Gujaher?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consultant</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Collective</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominic Mané</td>
<td>raŋ-gux a-duka</td>
<td>ḋan-gux i-nak</td>
<td>ba-gux barumuni</td>
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<tr>
<td>25/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierrot Mané</td>
<td>raŋ-gux ran-duka</td>
<td>ḋan-gux ḋa-nak</td>
<td>ḋan-gux ḋe yë rummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/1 morning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierrot Mané</td>
<td>raŋ-gux ran-duka</td>
<td>ḋan-gux ḋa-nak</td>
<td>ba-gux ba-rumuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/1 evening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortense Diandy</td>
<td>raŋ-gux ran-duka</td>
<td>ḋan-gux ḋa-nak</td>
<td>ba-gux ba-rumuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naby Mané</td>
<td>raŋ-gux a-duka</td>
<td>raŋ-guxa ḋa ḋa-nak</td>
<td>ba-gux ba-rumuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Léon Mané,</td>
<td>raŋ-gux kaduka</td>
<td>raŋ-guxa ḋe ḋe i-nak</td>
<td>ba-guxa ḋe yë jemb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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A word: on «shifting» and «forgetting»

Women and children...
- In Senegal are often said to shift to Wolof, and this is invoked as a threat to minority languages because it is interpreted as an incidence of language shift.

Adults...
- Who don’t speak their main identity language (i.e. the one proclaimed by the father) are often said to have forgotten «their» language.

The women and children from very diverse linguistic backgrounds need a lingua franca to talk to each other. Whether they will shift to Wolof in other contexts is a very different issue.

In many cases, these adults have grown up as foster children in a different language ecology — but paradoxically many adults with a different identity label will speak the language in question.
Letting go of the idea of the homogenous and coherent code free of « interferences »

- Multilingualism research reveals that the codes in the repertoires of an individuum influence each other from the earliest stages of multilingual acquisition:
  - Gesture repertoire and gesture space changes in both languages in bilingual acquisition (Gullberg 2012, 1010a and b)
  - The phonetic inventories of language learners change in both languages in second language learning (Chang to appear, 2012)

Languages aren’t just added or subtracted and attrited – repertoires are dynamic in all their aspects over a person’s lifespan (see also Dimmendaal 2001 & Mc Laughlin 2001).

Diverse and complex settings as new and urban?

- Multilingualism is almost exclusively discussed in the contexts of urbanization, migration and globalization.
- Often, new globalised contexts are seen as qualitatively new and « superdiverse » settings (Blommaert & Rampton 2011).

Students at Dakar University

Di Carlo (in press), Beyer & Schreiber (2013), Good (2013) and Lüpke and Storch (2013) discuss multilingualism as old and deeply engrained in many African settings, including rural ones.