Layers of multilingualism and ideas of language

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Structure of the talk

• A glimpse at multilingualism in Senegal from the perspective of named languages
• A zoom on multilingual practices in Casamance
• A comparison with other small-scale multilingual settings

A perspective integrating ideologies with practice

A shift from assuming fixed or no boundaries at all to look at functions and scope of boundaries
The Crossroads project

• Research questions:
  – 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?
  – What are the language ideologies motivating identities and maintained linguistic diversities?
Focus languages in the “Crossroads” villages

Crossroads:

- Mof Avvi: Jóola Eegimaa
- Djibonker: Baïnounk Gubëeher
- Brin: Jóola Kujireray
- Agnack: Baïnounk Gujaher
- Jóola Fogny

Researchers working on linguistic convergences and divergences in multilingual language use:

- Abbie Hantgan
- Rachel Watson
- Alexander Cobbinah
- Friederike Lüpke
- Alain Christian Bassène
Language use in social networks and communities of practice

Crossroads

Mof Avvi

PhD students:
Social network study

Analysis of actual language use of focus agents

Djibonker:

Brin

Chelsea Krajcik: Spatial gesture and multilingualism

Samantha Goodchild: Multilingualism and gender

Miriam Weidl: Role of Wolof in multilingual repertoires

Marguerite Dieme: Children’s language socialisation

Cheikh S. Sambou: Type and frequency of code-mixing

Tricia Manga: Spatial deixis in Bainounk Gubéeher
Preliminaries: multilingualism in Senegal
Spoken multilingualism

Official contexts, including schools;
Some urban settings;
Contexts where formally educated speakers don’t share another lingua franca

French

Mandinka

Wolof

Pulaar

Kriolu

Joola Fogy

Maninka

Manjak

Seereer

Bassari

Mënık

Mancagne

Pepel

Gubëeher

Soninké

Gujaher

Niominka

Lébou

Bayot

Homes; Schools; Translocal contexts

Homes; Local contexts

Also LWC

Not LWC
Official written multilingualism

• The official language of Senegal is French.
• French and Arabic are the only languages that are the official media of instruction in schools.
• All languages spoken in Senegal can attain the status of national language through their codification.
• Ca. 19 languages have attained codified status so far.

Text in three Baïnounk languages illustrating the codification of "Baïnounk" in the official alphabet for Senegalese languages.
Actual written multilingualism

Official and standardised
In the Latin alphabet and standard spelling

- French
- Mandinka
- Pulaar
- Wolof
- Arabic
- Joola Fogny

Unofficial but conventionalised
In the Latin alphabet in francised spelling in text messages and social media

- Kriolu

In the Arabic script for religious, ritual and personal use and poetry. In francised Latin spelling in social media etc.

- Pepel
- Gujaher
- Maninka
- Manjak
- Seereer
- Bassari
- Mënik
- Mancagne
- Soninké
- Gubëeher
- Niominka
Two layers of multilingualism

Polyglossic multilingualism

Nationally

Hierarchical relationships between languages and some domain specialisations for them

Locally

Small-scale multilingualism

No hierarchical relationships between languages, and no domain specialisation
# Two sets of language ideologies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patrimonial ideologies</th>
<th>Affinity-expressing ideologies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Language as marking first comers</td>
<td>• Language as signalling closeness</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Linked to land rights</td>
<td>• Not linked to land rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Essentialist</td>
<td>• Indexical</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Not linked to linguistic practice</td>
<td>• Expressed by multilingual practice</td>
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Welcome to Casamance
(Some) named languages of Casamance

Regional linguae francae

- Jóola Fogny
- Kriolu
- Mandinka
- Pulaar

National linguae francae

- French
- Wolof

Nominal languages of particular locations
Old small-scale multilingualism

- "African Frontier" situation (Kopytoff 1987) where only small groups can (could?) thrive
- Survival requires multiple & flexible alliances
- Speaking several languages is one mechanism of many to index different affinities as required by context
- Patrimonial identities based on patrilineal descent are not evoked in all contexts and not matched by practices
Genealogical affiliation of Casamance languages

A Senegal Languages
1. a. Pulaar
2. Wolof
B [...]

C Bak Languages (Lower Casamance)
1. Joola Group (Banjal) Kujirërêray, Fogny [...]; (Bayot)
2. Manjaku; Pepel; (Mankanya)
3. [...]

D Eastern Senegal Guinea Languages
1. [...]
2. [...]
3. a. Kobiana [also: Buy], Kassanga [also: Gugëcer]
   b. Banhum [also: Baïnournk, Bañun] group (Gubëeher, Gujäher...)

E [...]
New ethnicities independent of language

Jóola
- Not attested before the 19th century
- Ethnogenesis initiated by colonial administrators
- Now seen as an ethnicity with one language
- Codified with the variety Jóola Fogny, also used as LWC
- Jóola languages spoken in contiguous areas today and partly mutually intelligible

Baïnounk
- Bañun/Nyun attested in earliest Portugues sources as important traders with a kingdom
- Reference and relation to modern Baïnounk not clear
- Baïnounk now seen as the authochthones of Casamance
- Baïnounk groups are not located in contiguous areas and not mutually intelligible
- Now seen as an ethnicity with one language
Patrimonial ideologies
Localist naming strategies

Its affiliation with an (ethnic) group

Baïnounk-Jóoola

Baïnounk

U-/Ñan-bëeher

Its language

Gu-bëeher

Ji-bëeher

A place
Language as patrimony

• Dominic’s great-grandfather, an Ujaher, founded the village.
• Therefore, it is an Ujaher village associated with Baïnounk ethnicity.
• The family of the founding clan issues the village chief and controls land rights.
• ‘Latecomers’ maintain the identity links to their place of origin.

The late Dominic Mané from Agnack Grand
Patrimonial identity and linguistic practice in Agnack Grand

Agnack Grand

Primary school

Ujaher household

Gujaher spoken
Patrimonial identity as a male-centred concept...

Men and women in Agnack Grand during a staged oral history session
...creating an imagined homogeneous ethnolinguistic group

- The council of Baïnounk elders:
  - Was elected by 23 male members;
  - Consists of 46 men;
  - In the foundation year, the youngest member was 60, the oldest 86 years old.
Women: bridging agnatic and affine relationships

- Virilocal society
- Women married in an out
- Female identity not expressed in patrimonial language ideologies

Jaqueline Biai from Sonk in Agnack Grand
Children: mobile and multilingual

- Often fostered (in and out) for a variety of reasons
- Socialised in age groups, not in the nuclear family
- Introduced to LWCs at school

Emily Sadio, Marianne Mane, Max Malick Ndiaye and Prospere Mané in Agnack Grand
Affinity-expressing ideologies
Pragmatic and emblematic multilingualism

Jóola Fogy

Baïnounk Gujaher

Jóola Kasa

Mandinka

Kriolu

Women working.m2t
Ideas of language and their relation to language use
Imaginary monolingual reference points
... contrasting with fluid practice

Jóola Banjal
‘to hit’
Jóola Kujireray
‘to hunt’
Baïnounk Gubëeher

[ɛ-ţɛx]
[ɟa-saw]
[ɛ-ţɛh]
[ka-saw]
[ɛ-ţɛh]
[bu-deg]
[gʊ-saw]
[ga-saw]

JS giving forms in Jóola Banjal

Data from Abbie Hantgan
A fully-fledged language as imaginary

Speakers not as code-mixing but as code-creating

’No, there is not a lot of *mixture* [of Casamance languages] with Wolof. The *mixture* with French, it is a lot, it is more. A *mixture* with Wolof? *No no no no.*’

Data and photo: Mia Weidl
... languaging in practice

Marie Pierre Biagui: Les brinois Kasscumay
‘Guys of Brin, hi there.’

Ousseynou Sadio: Les si ñiarou boudji lobé
‘Hey, the monkeys, what are you saying?’

Christiane Ines Biagui: wa dji reme founah fafou
‘What have you been drinking that day?’

TheKing Cain: sama gay yi beugue na lene
‘My guys, I like you.’

French: Orange
Kujireray: Red
Wolof: Purple
English: Green
Strategic essentialism

- Wolof and French dominate the national linguistic market place.
- Speakers of other languages symbolically fight for the recognition of their languages as discrete codes in this polyglossic arena.

Baïnounk orthography workshop introducing the standard orthography based on Wolof
... that must remain symbolic
Reification only for ideological needs
Patrimonial ideologies at different levels of multilingualism

Polyglossic multilingualism

Nationally

Patrimonial language ideologies transferred to the ethnic federation of Senegal

Locally

Small-scale multilingualism

Patrimonial language ideologies signal first comer status
Zooming out
Small-scale multilingualism world-wide

Vaupeś basin (Epps & Stenzel 2013, Stenzel 2005, Chernela 2013, Hosemann 2013)

Upper Xingu (Franchetto 2011, Ball 2011)

Northern Vanuatu (François 2012)

Cameroonian Grassfields (Di Carlo 2012, Good & Di Carlo 2014, forthcoming)

Nortwestern Arnhem land (Singer & Harris forthcoming)

Casamance (Lüpke 2010, Cobbinah 2010, Lüpke & Storch 2013, Cobbinah in prep., Lüpke forthcoming a & b)

Sepik river basin (Aikenvald 2008)
Commonalities of small-scale multilingual settings

• Confined geographic settings
• Multilingualism not determined by polyglossia
• Many shared cultural traits in the entire setting making it a meaningful entity
• Complex exchange dynamics relying on dialectic relationships between similarity and alterity
• Little or no use of a lingua franca
• Understudied and endangered
Multilingualism research focusses on polyglossia in settings involving at least one Western language.

Small-scale multilingualism – “the primal human condition” (Evans 2012) – remains dramatically underresearched.

Small-scale multilingualism is predominantly characterised as language contact between neighbouring groups, although these groups are heterogeneous.

Multilingualism is often seen as endangering (Blommaert 2007), although small-scale multilingualism is globally endangered.