Language, land and languaging

Language and identity on the Upper Guinea Coast

Many thanks to – merci – diina jogehëfi – danke

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Bilingualism without diglossia

Fishman’s famous typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilingualism</th>
<th>Diglossia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>Both diglossia and bilingualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Diglossia without bilingualism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bilingualism without diglossia

• In situations of “rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones” (Fishman 1967: 87)
• “prone to be unstable and transitional” (1967: 87)

Many new interactional approaches
Focus on Western societies or urban contexts

Areas of bi- or multilingualism without di- or polyglossia

Non-polyglossic multilingualism (Alkhenvald 2007)

Indigenous multilingualism (Singer to appear)

Traditional multilingualism (Di Carlo forthcoming)

Organic multilingualism (Crossroads & KPAAM-CAM project 2016)

Small-scale multilingualism (Singer & Harris forthcoming, Lüpke forthcoming a, b and c)

Meaningful geographic settings for organic multilingualism

• Frontier societies (Kopytoff 1987)
• Areas without centralised polities or state formations
• Refuge zones at the fringes of states (marshlands, hills, mountains…)
• Areas not massively exposed to Western monolingual language ideologies and settlement colonisation
The role of organic multilingualism

- Frontier contexts require multiple and flexible alliances between groups conceptualised as distinct
- Social exchange (of women, children, captives, labourers...) creates intensely multilingual societies
- Different languages index sameness or difference according to context to enable these exchanges and their adaptivity

Organic multilingualism becomes a deeply engrained societal habitus over time.

Patrimonial languages at the Upper Guinea Coast

Languages at the Crossroads

1. Fula, Sereer
2. Tenda (Basari, Bapen, Tanda, Bedik, Konyagi)
3. Jaal, Biufada
4. Buy (Kobiana, Kasango), Ñun (aka Bainounk) Guébéher, Gubëeher, Gujafer, Gujaamolo, Guñun...
5. Canpin (Ndut, Palor, Laalaa (aka Lehar), Noon, Saafen)
6. Wolof
7. Ñun (aka Bainounk) Gubëeher, Gujafer, Gujaamolo, Guñun...
8. Mullabam, Bafana
9. Balant (Ganja, Kantakhe)
10. Bijogo
11. Nalu, Baga Fore, Baga Mboteni

Genetic affiliation adapted from Pozdnjakov & Segerer (in prep.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genetic affiliation</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrimonial language at the Crossroads</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Fula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other language at the Crossroads</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Wolof</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Places as ideological home bases for patrimonial languages

- Its affiliation with an (ethnic) group and/or a code
- Its language
- A place

Baïnounk-Jóola
- Gu-béeher
- Ji-béeher
- Baïnounk
- U-/Ñan-béeher

Patrimonial identity and language based on dualism (Brooks 1993)

- Landlords: descendants of the (remembered) founding clan
- Landlords have land rights and can receive strangers

- Important: patrimonial deixis
- Patrimonial language associated with landlords; strangers don't claim this language, even if they speak it

Patrimonial identity and language based on selective ideologies

- (Male) descendants of founders
- Strangers
- In-married women
- Fostered children

Many inhabitants of a place are ideologically erased from representing it.

Language and languaging
The descriptive challenge: condensing ‘a language’ from variable discourse

**Jóola Gubanjalay**
- e-tex
- e-teh
- ja-saw

**Bainounk Gubëeher**
- bu-deg
- gu-saw

**Jóola Kujireray**
- ga-saw
- ka-saw
- e-teh

Data from Abbie Hantgan

The solution: language prototypes as reference points

**Jóola Gubanjalay**
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- ga-saw
- ka-saw
- e-teh

JS giving forms in Jóola Banjal

Where to find multilingual language use close to the language prototypes?

Language contexts and their linguistic correlates

- **Single language context**
  - Speaker A Gubëeher
  - Speaker B Gubëeher
  - All speakers speak Gubëeher

- **Dual/multiple language context**
  - Speaker A Gubëeher with speaker B and Kujireray
  - Speaker B Kujireray
  - Speaker C Kujireray

- **Intense code-switching context**
  - Speaker A Gubëeher with speaker B
  - Speaker B Kujireray
  - Speaker C Kujireray

**Auer (1999)**

**Green & Abutalebi (2013)**
Single language context

Insential CA

Conventionalised loans

fr = French
gb = Gubëeher
kj = Kujireray
w = Wolof

Multiple language context

Insential CA [?] (?)

Code alternation

fr = French
gb = Gubëeher
kj = Kujireray
w = Wolof

Language contexts and their correlates revisited

Fused lect

Intense code-switching context

Single language context

Convergent, fused forms

Multiple language context

Code-mixing

Context used to establish prototypes

Intense code-switching context
Fused forms in the intense code-switching context

Jóola Gubanjalay

fu-giin

‘bull’

Bainounk Gubéeher

bu-naapi

fu-jín

fi-jín

Prototype data from Alexander Cobbinah, Abbie Hantgan, Serge Sagna & Rachel Watson

Overlaps between prototypes and degree of reification

Jóola Kujireray

Jóola Gubanjalay

Bainounk Gubéeher

Divergence area is where a code is reified

Emblematic areas in phonology and lexicon are differentiated, other areas converge

Boundaries evoked by standard language culture close to imaginary prototypes

"No, mélanger ak olof barewul de. Mélanger ak Français, moo bare, mo gëna bare. Mélanger ak olof? No no no no.

‘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.’

Language-independent literacies are practiced

Marie Pierre Biagu

Les binois Kasscumay

‘Guys of Brin, hi there.’

Ousseynou Sadio

les si fiarou boudji lobé

‘Hey, the monkeys, what are you saying?’

Christiane Ines Biagu

a la di reme founah fafou

‘What have you been drinking that day?’

TheKing Cain sam

Gay yi beugna na lene

‘My guys, I like you.’

Data and photo from Mia Weidl
Reification as “strategic essentialism” for representing and creating intangible heritage

Different planes of identity creation
- Polyglottic multilingualism & ethnic federalism
- Symbolic and strategic essentialism governs ideologies

Nationally
- Small-scale Frontier setting
- Dualism between insiders/first-comers and outsiders/strangers governs ideologies

Locally

The symbolic power of writing
- 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.

... that can’t reify the language itself

Extract from the statutes of the Baïnounk lobby organisation BOREPAB
Multiple sites of heritage creation

The Kankurang
The Bainounk languages

In the UNESCO register of intangible heritage
In the UNESCO memory of the world register

Patrimonial identity based on contrast

Dualism defines domain in which the contrast is evoked.

Landlords

Strangers

In other domains, this identity remains invisible and inaudible.

The symbolic power of fixing mask performances

- Claimed for and by Mandinka
- Regulated by notables of all official ethnic stakeholders of Ziguinchor
- Attested throughout Casamance and Guinea Bissau in various guises and with different roles all related to social control

The symbolic power of folklore

A Kankurang "cultural dance" in the Gambia
Two regimes

(de Jong 2007) for the Kankurang

Regime of revelation

Regime of recognition

Requires invisibility

Requires visibility

Power and powerlessness of heritage
(and the archive)

Loss of spirituality in carnivalesque performances

Creative reappropriation
Playful mimesis

Performers at a Kankurang festival playing journalists (de Jong 2007: 180)

Language and cultural heritage are imaginary reference points.

Languaging and heritaging happen in practice.

Ideological misunderstandings

Insistence on code-based literacies
Most patterns of organic multilingualism and language contact worldwide remain unstudied. Research focuses on polyglossia in settings involving at least one Western language.

Small-scale multilingualism—"the primal human condition" (Evans 2012)—remains dramatically underresearched. Organic multilingualism is predominantly characterised as language contact between neighbouring groups, although these groups are heterogeneous.

Multilingualism is often seen as endangering, but small-scale multilingualism is globally endangered. The relationships between language ideologies and language practice remain largely unknown.