



# Langues & Littératures

N° 20

janvier 2016

*Revue du Groupe d'Etudes Linguistiques et Littéraires*



Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis

B.P. 234, Saint-Louis, Sénégal

ISSN 0850-5543

## **LANGUES ET LITTERATURES**

Revue du Groupe d'Etudes Linguistiques et Littéraires (G.E.L.L.)

B.P. 234 Saint-Louis (Sénégal) – Tél. (221) 961 22 87 – Fax 961 18 84  
Courriers électroniques: boucamara2000@gmail.com ou naedioba@yahoo.fr

Compte Chèque Postal n°09553-A Saint-Louis, Sénégal  
Directeur du G.E.L.L.: Pr Boubacar CAMARA

### **COMITE SCIENTIFIQUE ET COMITE DE LECTURE**

Begong Bodoli	BETINA (UGB, Sénégal)	Locha	MATESO (France)
Boubacar	CAMARA (UGB, Sénégal)	Maweja	MBAYA (UGB, Sénégal)
Mamadou	CAMARA (UGB, Sénégal)	G. Ossito	MIDIOHOUAN (Bénin)
Mosé	CHIMOUN (UGB, Sénégal)	Pius Ngandu	NKASHAMA (USA)
Moussa	DAFF (UCAD, Sénégal)	Fallou	NGOM (USA)
Alioune	DIANE (UCAD, Sénégal)	Albert	OUEDRAOGO (B.Faso)
Cheikh	DIENG (UCAD, Sénégal)	Sékou	SAGNA (UGB, Sénégal)
Samba	DIENG (UCAD, Sénégal)	Oumar	SANKHARE (Sénégal)
Dieudonné	KADIMA-NZUJI (Congo)	Ndiawar	SARR (UGB, Sénégal)
Mamadou	KANDJI (UCAD, Sénégal)	Aliko	SONGOLO (USA)
Baydallaye	KANE (UGB, Sénégal)	Omar	SOUGOU (UGB, Sénégal)

### **COMITE DE RÉDACTION**

Administrateur	Badara	SALL
Rédacteur en Chef	Mamadou	BA
Directeur de publication	Birahim	DIAKHOUMPA
Secrétaire de rédaction	Lamarana	DIALLO
Trésorier	Banda	FALL
Chargé de la communication	Kalidou	SY

Copyright: GELL, Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, 2016

ISSN 0850-5543

## Sommaire

*Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* de Jean-Marie Adiaffi, un roman transgénérique et transdisciplinaire ..... 3

### **Babou DIENE**

La didactique du français et le niveau des postulants des universités au Sénégal ..... 19

### **Ibrahima Ba**

Inconstance ou valeurs réelles du présent de l'indicatif dans le système des temps: étude diachronique du tiroir ..... 47

### **Fidèle DIEDHIOU**

Les aspects morphologiques et sémantiques de la documentation du Baoulé ..... 59

### **Emmanuel KOUAME YAO**

Urban Mobility: How Social Identities Are Constructed Through Language in a Multicultural Area? ..... 73

### **Albinou NDECKY**

L'évolution du métier de journaliste sportif au Sénégal: de la période coloniale à aujourd'hui ..... 91

### **Ibrahima SARR et Mamadou KOUMÉ**

Réflexions méthodologiques et approches didactiques sur la motivation dans l'apprentissage de l'espagnol comme langue étrangère ..... 109

### **Cheikh GUEYE**

La phrase assertive à sujet inversé dans *Le vase d'or* d'Ernest-Théodore-Amadeus Hoffmann ..... 129

### **Birame SÈNE**

LE REALISME ROMANESQUE: CE VIEUX LIT DE PROCUSTE ..... 147

### **Moustapha FAYE**

---

L'action de l'Eglise catholique dans l'entreprise coloniale française au Sénégal, 1817-1872..... 157

**Valy FAYE**

Medias, langues nationales et promotion des valeurs culturelles endogènes en République Démocratique du Congo: cas des émissions télévisées de la Direk-tv ..... 177

**Maweja MBAYA**

Le repère constitutif en koulango..... 185

**Kra Kouakou Appoh Enoc**

La morphologie des verbes palaka..... 201

**Kanabein Oumar YEO**

Le roman de l'oraliture ou la réécriture des récits oraux ouest-africains chez Ahmadou Kourouma et Boubacar Boris Diop..... 217

**Serigne SEYE**

Aimé Césaire: Poetik der Revolte oder vom Einfluss des Surrealismus und Sturm und Drangs auf die schwarze Literatur französischer Sprache ..... 237

**Ibrahima DIOP**

Dévoilement féminin et pratique thanatographique dans Harrouda de Tahar Ben Jelloun..... 255

**Yao Louis KONAN**

De la plasticité des genres: réflexion sur la spécificité et la proximité des genres romanesque et historique. Approche théorique et quelques exemples sur le personnage historique..... 271

**Ndioro SOW**

# Urban Mobility: How Social Identities Are Constructed Through Language in a Multicultural Area?

Albinou NDECKY\*

**Résumé:** La ville a toujours été perçue comme un lieu privilégié d'observation des phénomènes sociaux. Elle peut être considérée comme étant plus qu'un endroit où coexistent des identités sociales qui se manifestent à travers les langues (Calvet, 1994: 16). Sa présence dans les sciences sociales est en quelque sorte paradoxale. En fait, étant dans le même temps potentiellement centrale et implicitement centrale, la ville joue un rôle important qui est rarement traitée comme un objet de recherche pleinement reconnu (Mondada, 2000: 59). Sur cette base, analyser « les voix multiples » de la ville nous amène à discuter ou à remettre en question la notion de mobilité et les contacts entre les différents groupes sociaux qui composent sa population et au-delà, des langues et les représentations qui les sous-tendent.

**Mots clés:** langue, contacts, la mobilité, urbanité, représentations

**Abstract:** The city has always been perceived as a privileged place of social action. It can be regarded as being more than a place in which coexist social identities that are manifested through languages (Calvet, 1994:16). Its presence in Social Sciences is somehow paradoxical. In fact, being at the same time potentially and implicitly central, the city plays an important role that is seldom treated as an object of research fully recognized (Mondada, 2000:59). On the basis of this, analysing "the multiple voices" brings us to discuss or to question the notion of mobility and contacts between the various social groups that compose its population and beyond, of the languages and the representations which underlie them.

**Keywords:** language, contact, mobility, city, representations

## INTRODUCTION

The city has always been perceived in certain disciplines (geography, sociology ...) as a privileged place of observation of social phenomena in "constant tension". In Sociolinguistics for example, it can be considered as "more than a place of

---

\* Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, Sénégal

coexistence of languages" (Calvet, 1994: 16). In fact, according Lorenza Mondada "The presence of the city in Linguistics is paradoxical: both potentially and implicitly central, the city plays a role that is rarely treated as a fully recognized research object" (2000: 59). From there, we can say that analyzing how social identities are constructed through language in a multicultural area means to discuss contacts between the different social groups that compose its population and beyond, language contacts and representations or imaginaries that underlie them.

In "Urban Sociolinguistics", the emphasis is mainly put on the role of the languages and speeches used in the city could play in the (re)configuration of urban space at different levels of scale. Through the two types of speech (in and on the city), the Mancagne speaker living in the multilingual environment of the city of Goudomp tend to territorialize and to categorize the space he invests. This ways of acting through language (a performative act), enables him to adapt the territory which he occupies. That is why when conducting a research on the use of language in the urban space, it is necessary to take into account a certain number of parameters in order to describe and to explain, at the same time, the link that might exist between the populations on the one hand and, on the other hand, the structure, the function and the evolution of the language, (Boukous, 1999:15).

Basing our analysis on the data collected *in situ*, we will attempt to show, through a qualitative analysis, how the "distribution" of the speech is made inside the houses, streets and at the Goudomp market. This approach will allow us to see how a deep analysis of the so-called "multilingual discourse" leads today to the questioning of the founding concepts in sociolinguistics such as language, the standard variation, mixing...

## **I. GENERAL RESENTATION**

### **I.1. Goudomp, a multicultural city**

The city of Goudomp, current capital of the department of the same name, became an autonomous town on October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1990 by the Decree No. 90/1135 of October 8<sup>th</sup>, 1990. Located in the region of Sédhiou in Casamance (southern Senegal), Goudomp covers an area of 12.5 km<sup>2</sup>. It is bounded in the East by Baconding, in the West by Ponta Dos, in the South by Akintou and in the North by the left bank of the Casamance River. It is divided into four (4) administrative districts that are Hamdallahi, Sansancono, Diolacounda 1 and Diolacounda 2. According to the 2012

census, the city of Goudomp had a population of 21475 inhabitants. The population is composed mostly of Mandinka (40%), Balanta Mané (18%), Diola (12%), Manjack (7.8%), Mancagnes (8.2%) of Fulani (7%) and other groups coming from the Northern part of Senegal (8%). Its density is 2095 people per km<sup>2</sup>. Young people under 20 years account for 65% of the total population.

### **I.2. Sociolinguistic landscape**

Thanks to its geographical position as a crossroads city, its economic activities, Goudomp attracts daily people and/or traders from other parts of the country as well as those of neighbouring countries (Mali, Guinea Bissau and Guinea Conakry). Given the fact that multilingualism is manifested concretely where its “monolingualisms” converge/meet on the tracks, markets, ports and, more generally, in the city which lead tracks and where the markets and ports are located (Calvet, 1994:11 ) Goudomp can be considered nowadays as a true “market of language” (Calvet, 2002), a true linguistic laboratory. And, due to a gradual concentration of the population of various origins, a phenomenon of “multilingualism of contact”, is transmitted and is developed through out in city”, (Juillard, C., 2007:236).

Indeed, like most of the cities in Casamance (Kolda, Sédhiou, Ziguinchor ...) Goudomp is a multilingual area where 13 ethnic groups corresponding to 13 languages have been living together. From there, we can legitimately ask what happens every day when these people speaking different first languages meet. Which language(s) do they use to communicate? These are some of the questions we will try to answer below. However, before we analyze them, let's see who the Mancagnes people are.

### **I.3. The Mancagne people**

Like most people living in the natural region of Casamance (Balanta Nagas, the Pepels the Manjaques, ...), the Mancagne people living in Goudomp come from the area known today as the Republic Guinea-Bissau (Trincaz J., 1979; Juillard C., 1995; Dreyfus M. & C. Juillard, 2004). Coming mainly from regions Côt and Bula (Guinea Bissau), they founded several villages along the border between the two countries and among which we can mention Akintou, Bindaba, Bantancountou, Kaneupar, Unjiw, St. Paul, etc.).

The reasons for this migration were primarily economic. According to Trincaz, economically, the rise of peanut farming in Casamance attracted these populations

whose coloniser were no longer able to provide adequate opportunities, (1981: 211). And quoting Amilcar Cabral, the author informs us that for this reason, thousands of peasants leave their homeland and seek better living conditions in neighbouring countries where there are peace and necessary resources for their maintenance. Thus, the Balanta preferred to stay in the Republic of Guinea, while peanut growers (Mancagne, Pepel and Manjacks) settled in the Republic of Senegal.

This idea is further enhanced here by that of Pelissier quoted by Trincaz when he states that: “Paradoxically, it is the artificial setting of a political border between the French and the Portuguese’s colony which is at the main causes of these movements. This boundary created between populations once with the same resources and living in a comparable human climate, imbalances that explain its crossing by increasing numbers of workers from Guinea Bissau”, (1981: 210).

After World War II, immigration resumed vigorously. But once the war broke out in Casamance under the leadership of the MFDC, the Mancagne people were forced to leave the villages located along the border between the two countries. Many of them returned to their homeland (Guinea Bissau) while the other preferred to find refuge in most cities (including Goudomp) where there was more security. Since then, they coexist with several other ethno-linguistic groups.

According to the figures from UNESCO in its 2002 report, the total population the Mancagne community was 68,955 people, including 40,855 in Guinea-Bissau and 26,450 in Senegal. In Goudomp, they represent less than 10% of the total population. This minority position is one of the reasons that will make them to create an association called Pkumel and whose primary purpose is to fight for the survival of their language, the main vehicle of the culture of their group.

## **II. WHEN THE POLITICAL AND LINGUISTIC QUESTIONS ARE EMBEDDED**

### **II.1. From political questions...**

In Senegal and parallel to the French school, some programmes of national languages literacy and codification have been developed for a long time. But among more than 30 languages spoken in this country, only six of them were chosen by L. S. Senghor and granted the status of national languages (Cissé, 2005:103).



These six languages are: Wolof, Serere, Pulaar, Diola, Mandingo and Soninke. Since then until the early 2000s, no other language spoken Senegal territory could benefit from the status of a national language. But in March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2000, the country experienced a political change with the coming to power of Abdoulaye Wade, the leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) with the slogan “Sopi” (meaning change). Popular expectations especially in terms of language policy had been then updated.

On February 7<sup>th</sup>, 2001, a new Constitution was adopted by referendum. This goes further than the March 7, 1963 one (that is, the first) with a new extension on national languages and their status. Indeed, in its first article, it is formally recognized that “The official language of the Republic of Senegal is French. The national languages are Diola, Malinke, Pulaar, Serer, Soninke, Wolof AND any other language that would be codified”. From then, the Senegalese minority ethnic groups like Mancagne would profit by the opportunity given to them to codify their languages.

## II.2 ... to the linguistic defense

The Mancagnes community which has been claiming to be victims of a lack of recognition as an ethnic group in their own right (because often associated or considered as Manjaques), saw in this opening that has offered them by the new Constitution an opportunity to mark their difference. That’s why one month after the adoption of the Constution, the work carried out since 1993 as part of Pkumel activities lead to the codification of their language in March 2001 as the eighth national language after Balanta mané. Since then Pkumel has set a goal, as part of its activities, to literate as many as possible Mancagnes in their “mother tongue”. Taking into account the good results obtained but especially the enthusiasm that these courses have attracted from the population concerned, the President of Pkumel, in his address on the occasion of the celebration the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the association in December 2003, sent to other members as follows:

*Je pense que nous avons un appui de taille qui n’existait pas au début dans le développement des langues nationales. Ceci étant, les jeunes vont certainement se rencontrer ici ; ouvrez-leur la porte. Faites en sorte qu’on y trouve des ouvrages d’autres langues. De façon comparée, ils pourront s’ouvrir à d’autres cultures. Ne serait-ce que s’ouvrir par la langue sur les autres langues, ce qui est un enrichissement incroyable. Et sachons aussi que les jeunes qui ont soif d’apprendre emmagasinent et ensuite n’oublient pas. C’est le moment où il faut les vacciner en terme [sic] de la chose. Mais cela ne doit pas être isolé, il faut qu’ils puissent rayonner à Dakar, en Guinée Bissau, en France et partout où sont*

les Mancagnes, de façon à interagir avec eux et ils l'aideront à se développer. L'effort viendra de vous-mêmes et non seulement du Gouvernement. (Pkumel, 2005:20)<sup>1</sup>.

From this passage, we can not only understand how the codification of the language Mancagne contributed to the awakening of the linguistic consciousness of this minority, but mainly, we can already get an idea of the guidelines on which Pkumel association will now orient its activities. Since its creation (on December 1993) to the early 2000s, Pkumel activities were mainly focused on cultural events and the literacy campaign. But today, given the numerous challenges related to the demands of modern life, Pkumel felt that its scope should go beyond the simple framework of permanent meetings between its members. Thus to achieve its objectives, Pkumel will install a radio station based in Goudomp. The choice of Goudomp is due to two main reasons: 1) its strategic position as the crossroads town (its proximity to Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry and the Gambia); 2) the ethno-linguistic mixing that characterizes its population (13 ethnic groups corresponding to 13 languages that are used).

### II.3 Through the radio, a hidden policy

According to Ndao, the struggle for the survival of minority languages in Senegal:

[...] s'organise avec la création de radios dont l'objectif principal est la revitalisation des langues à travers des programmes prioritairement culturels, conçus pour rehausser le statut des langues, moderniser le corpus (vocabulaire politique, administratif, économique, judiciaire, terminologies diverses), valoriser les pratiques linguistiques auprès des locuteurs en situation d'insécurité consécutive à l'hégémonie wolof, fidéliser les communautés linguistiques et prendre en charge les préoccupations sociales plus spécifiquement communautaires dans l'information quotidienne. Ces dynamiques socio-langagières obéissent à une logique de préservation de la diversité linguistique

---

<sup>1</sup> I think we have significant support that was not there at the beginning in the development of national languages. This means that young people are certainly going to meet here; open the door to them. Help them find here some books in other languages. Through a comparative approach, they will be opened up to other cultures. *Would they be opened by the language over other languages, which is an amazing enrichment.* And let us also mention that young people who are eager to learn never forget what they have learned. This is the time where you have to vaccinate them in terms [sic] of the thing. But this should not be isolated, they must be able to radiate in Dakar, Guinea Bissau, France and everywhere Mancagnes are living in, in order to interact with them and they will help him to develop. The effort will come from yourself and not just from the Government. (Pkumel, 2005: 20) [The translation and all subsequent ones are mines. The underline is mine]

mais recèlent en même temps des postures identitaires parfois révélatrices des enjeux sociopolitiques liés aux questions de langues. (2011:18)<sup>2</sup>

From here, we understand that the radio becomes a powerful means of communication whose purpose is to educate, to literate rural people, to touch the housewife (Canute, 2008: 151). The radio has, according to the media specialists, two main targets: “*massiveness*” and “*mediativity*”. According to Lohisse (1998: 141), massiveness means “[...] la capacité qu’ont ces instruments de porter le message [...] à partir d’une source simple à des millions de personnes quasi simultanément”<sup>3</sup> As for the mediativity, it is defined as

[...] l’interposition, entre celui qui émet et celui qui reçoit, d’une machinerie si importante, tant au plan bureaucratique que technique, qu’elle joue un rôle de puissant filtre et décolore en quelque sorte le message dans le sens de l’impersonnalisation. (Lohisse, 1998:142)<sup>4</sup>.

So what might be the policy implemented by Pkumel? Indeed, although this was never stated openly in almost all official texts, there is no doubt here that the first objective of the responsible of this association is to fight for the survival of their culture whose mancagne language is the first vehicle. As a minority group wherever they may be present, their language has been declared by UNESCO’s experts in its 2009 report, not as endangered language but rather a vulnerable language.

In front of the threat of seeing their language disappear one day, the radio Pkumel Fm stands today as the voice of the whole mancagne community. Thus, although its range extends far beyond the city limits, granting it the status of a regional radio or even an international one, its purpose is primarily the distribution of proximity and mass mailing. Logically, the will is, according to Ball (2003: 20), “[...] to make

<sup>2</sup> [...] is organized with the establishment of radio stations whose main objective is language revitalization through cultural programs primarily designed to enhance the status of languages, modernize the corpus (political vocabulary, administrative, economic, judicial, terminologies variety), valuing linguistic practices among speakers in a situation of linguistic insecurity due to the expansion of Wolof hegemony, retain language communities and to support social concerns, more specifically in the daily news. These sociolinguistic dynamics follow the logic of preserving linguistic diversity, but at the same time conceal the identity positions that reveal sometimes socio-political issues related to language issues.

<sup>3</sup> [...] the ability of these instruments to carry the message [...] from a single source to millions of people almost simultaneously.

<sup>4</sup> [...] the interposition, between the one who sends and who receives such an important machinery, both bureaucratic and technically, it acts as a powerful filter and fade somewhat in the direction impersonalizing the message.

attentive and even captives, the largest possible number of people among those who are likely to be achieved”. The first target is the mancagne youth qualified as having limited competence in their “mother tongue” due to the presence of the other languages, the Mandinka more precisely. This is what motivated the message of the president of the Association on the occasion of the inaugural ceremony of the radio on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2007:

Aujourd’hui qu’une radio émettant en ondes moyennes sur les 106.00 vous donne la possibilité de vous faire entendre à des centaines de kilomètres, je pense qu’il est grand temps que chaque père de famille joue son rôle de transmetteur de cette richesse qu’est sa langue maternelle à ses enfants. A vous jeunes mancagnes de Goudomp je dirais que si vous êtes fiers d’être des descendants de Mankanha, vous serez prêt à défendre votre culture, vous participerez à sa diffusion en commençant cependant par *la maîtrise et l’usage correct de votre langue maternelle, le mancagne*.<sup>5</sup>

It appears from this call two main points. We have on the one hand, the role of transmitters of the language that should be played by parents and, on the other hand, the motivation that every young person should have to not only learn but also and above all to “master” this idiom in order to be able to always use it “correctly”. From there, one could rightly ask what the speaker means by “the correct use of language”?

From the analysis of this argument, we immediately understand that it refers to a specific way of speaking - that probably codified, standardized variety- which serves as a reference, the nowadays “norm”. It is in this context of permanent “linguistic tensions” where each community is fighting for the maximum diffusion of its language, where we conducted our fieldwork.

### III. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Two distinct but complementary approaches were used. Based on qualitative ethnographic method, we first preceded by the collection of data in various communication situations before then we move to semi-structured interviews. The

---

<sup>5</sup> Today, thanks to a radio station broadcasting on medium wave 106.00 that gives you the opportunity to be heard hundreds kilometres away, I think it is high time that each father plays its role as a transmitter of their mother tongue to their children. To you young Mancagnes of Goudomp I would say if you are proud to be the descendants of Mankanha, you will be ready to defend your culture, you will participate in its diffusion by starting *by the mastery and the correct use of your mother tongue which is the Mancagne language*.

objective here was to identify the process of identification and differentiation recognizable in both language's behaviours and speeches of the people about their experience of language contact in this multicultural environment.

### **III.1 Participant observation**

Despite being a member of the community under studied, we were convinced that the time spent in France made us become a "foreign goudompois". We were no longer that son or nephew nor that brother, cousin or simply a childhood friend with whom we had to share both moments of joy or of pain. Therefore, to "get access to field" (Ndecky, 2014) became necessary for us. And the positive response that we gave to lunch invitations here and there was a way for us to return to our old and new networks and to profit by the same occasion to collect the "living word", that is to say, every day speech. The data were collected in different communication situations ranging from sharing the family meal to open discussions on various themes and with people of all ages. From the sixteen (16) recorded discussions, we finally selected twelve (12) with an average length of 1:30 minutes; that is eighteen (18) hours.

### **III.2 The interview**

The purpose of the interview was to allow us to understand the attitudes and representations of the Mancagne people. In other words, the goal here was to understand how speakers of this group categorize and represent their own language and the way they use it. The main target here was to verify the hypothesis according to which the Mancagnes of this city are shared by the fear of losing one day their language and the need not to feel as "foreigners" in the city remaining where they live by the mastery of the other languages. A guide structured in three main points corresponding to the objectives (representations, everyday use of the language and the respondent biography) had been prepared. All questions have been memorised. So, the interview was finally a simple conversation. Twenty-four (24) people were interviewed but we finally selected only eighteen (18); that to say six (6) women and twelve (12) men. Their ages ranged from seventeen (17) to sixty-six (76) years. Each interview lasted an average of forty (40) minutes, which makes us a total of twelve (12) hours. The analysis of data collected allows us to see more of the ambivalence of the situation in which these people live.

## IV. HOW DOES THE MANCAGNE LANGUAGE “LIVE” IN GOUDOMP?

### IV.1 Ambivalence in everyday life

Some researchers interested in language behaviour of linguistic minorities have shown that in a strong ethno-linguistic conflict, relations between groups do not occur in a vacuum but rather are influenced by a range of socio-structural and situational factors that can fundamentally affect the nature and the quality of intergroup contact between speakers of contrasting ethno-linguistic groups, (Bourhis et al, 1994:167). More, continue Bourhis et al., being a member of disparaged low-status linguistic group can take its toll on the collective will of members to survive or maintain themselves as a distinctive linguistic community in the intergroup structure, (1994:170). Therefore, we understand the ambivalence situation the Mancagne community of Goudomp is living in and that could be summed up as follow: closure (to save their language) and openness (to other languages by their mastery).

In such a situation, languages are no longer considered as simple means of communication that allow meeting and exchange between individuals. On the contrary, they are often used (especially in situations of high linguistic conflicts) as tools to break communication between groups of people who have been managing their language differences for a long time. So we see here that the notion of “language border” is at the heart of the issue. How the discourse on language allows the speaker to internalize the relation with his/her language and his own use of that language? How all this is symbolized in their speech? To above questions, Sériot (2010: 15) responds that the “subjective positions” (positionnements subjectifs) allow us to understand how the discourses on language could be a gateway to opinion movements and very deeply hidden sensibilities, not in a “mentality”, but in specific historical and geographic circumstances in struggles in specific ideas.

### IV.2. When identifying oneself with a language becomes the norm

Today, we have gone from six (6) to twenty-four (24) languages which have the status of national languages in Senegal. Now we all know that when a language has a name (that is when it is codified), it becomes a homogeneous object, no longer a set in a *diasystem*, but rather an object of language policy, education... It also becomes an “object of discourse” easy to confuse with object in the real world (Sériot

1997:167). Codifying (or giving a name to) a language finally means to create something that does not exist before. In other words, this means homogenize, closing a set of originally networks or elements in relation to each other heterogeneously. So, if we start from the idea that languages are not things or objects, but the means of passion with multiple and shifting borders as well as the amount of discourses they engender, if we admit that sometimes their definitions proceed from the expression of fantasy and one's own representations to generate identity suffering, we need to question carefully the categories of discourses that we use on them. This is what we will see in the following section.

### IV.3. When naming a language means to create

The codification of the Mancagne language has given it a name recognized by the State of Senegal. And as put forward by Canut (2001: 446), the names, wherever they come from in the social field, are created to establish, or either legitimize political will (a national language to be imposed), a linguistic reality occulted (languages excluded from the public domain). This never goes without consequences which may be located: a) at the level of representation and b) in terms of language practices. Consider this excerpt from the data collected. In To the question to know what does this speaker think about the “quality” of the Mancagne language spoken in, he answers:

- 15<sup>6</sup> R: hum ? ah ! uhula ici à Goudomp + uŋkita kahoŋ +  
*How ? ah ! the Mancagne here in Goudomp + it is not bad +*  
 16 uŋkita kahoŋ ʔi Goudomp ʔi + uhula uŋkita kahoŋ ʔi Goudomp +  
*it is not bad here in Goudomp + the Mancagne is not bad here in*  
*Goudomp +*  
 17 pabia iyale katoŋ ki iyaŋ ʔi Goudomp ʔi + *on parle mancagne +*  
*because in every house here in Goudomp + they speak Mancagne +*  
 18 baŋini uhula et la force de + de la communauté mancagne est que +  
*they speak Mancagne and the force of + of the Mancagne community*  
*is that +*  
 19 nous parlons mancagne ++ mais ɲɛpɛnle ʔuŋ bɛlay ʔuŋ +  
*we speak Mancagne ++ once out of the house +*  
 20 ɲɛʔini uʔup wi bukundi bankaŋiniŋ +  
*we speak the languages spoken by the others +*

<sup>6</sup> The transcription conventions are: simple break (+), long break (++), interrogation (?), exclamation (!), the Mancagne Mancagne (in normal font) and the French translation (in italics).

Here we have an accurate illustration of the phenomenon of linguistic representations that the speaker himself has on the language he uses in this multicultural environment. One quickly perceives (lines 15 & 16) and through the three successive negations (“the Mancagne is not bad here”) that, for this interviewee, the quality of their language is “good” despite the fact they constitute an ethnolinguistic minority in this milieu. The widespread use of Mancagne within the family seems to be the norm. That is also what explains Juillard’s (1995:79) assertion when analysing the evolution language repertoires of Mancagne and Mandjak in the city of Ziguinchor, she stated that a particularly significant act of resistance to homogeneity is noticed is the two groups. Continuing her analysis, she informs us that the Mancagnes are the most resistant. Their tendency to partition comes from the attachment they have to ancestral values and cults which are based on a non-hierarchical design fetishes: everyone has a fetish for family cope with their anxieties (p.70). Therefore, there is no reason of accepting another language come and disturb this order within the family sphere. But being aware that “his” language use is limited only in the family environment, the Mancagne adapts himself immediately to the outside world (lines 19 and 20). This openness is perhaps one of the reasons why they are among the most polyglot of the city.

But what about the concrete language practices? Do they reflect truly the discourse of the speaker on his own language as well his way of using it?

#### **IV.4. When what is said is not what really exists**

Most research on the language contact (Weinreich, 1953; Labov, 1966; Milroy, 1980; Gumperz 1982; Scotton, 1993, etc.) have tried to show that when two or more languages are in contact, there is interplay that causes several phenomena qualified or known under the name of borrowings, code switching, etc. But the recent fieldworks conducted in strongly multilingual environments (in many African cities for example) have led some researchers (Canut, 2001; Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Juillard, 2007; etc.) to challenge this notion of language contact. For Canut (2001:452), the notion of “languages in contact” (as opposed to “languages without contact”) is ambiguous. It means homogeneous systems cut off from the reality shifting language practices. Based on the plastic character and both moving and fluctuating speech of the speaker, Canut tries to show that this phenomenon is difficult to grasp. And from there, we see immediately that the notions of “language”, “ethnic” or “cultural identity” are ineffective.



For proof look at the excerpt below, a discussion between a reporter of Pkumel Fm radio programs and its leader. The discussion focuses on a telephone link they would like do in order to allow listeners to follow the mass of the annual pilgrimage through the radio waves. Transcription conventions are the same as those used above.

- 25 R parce que normalement + wol n̄ə taar la ame damēt̄ən dan +  
*because normally + if we knew it earlier +*
- 26 c'est au ni + au niveau de la SONATEL + c'est facile +  
*it is at the SO + at the SONATEL + it is easy +*
- 27 D heureusement aujourd'hui + ʔi p̄əʂe comme ça que +  
*Fortunately today + i twas by trying like that+*
- 28 bajakin + désolé connexion impossible  
*i noticed that + i twas impossible to be online*
- 29 avec ces gens-là + donc + ěh + aujourd'hui +  
*with them + so + euh + today +*

It is difficult if not impossible in this extract, to say exactly in what language the discussion is conducted between the two speakers. In other words, “the point is that there is no monolingual ‘area of security’ to which we linguists can turn in order to describe and make sense of these bilingual data” (Auer, 2007:325). The corpus is structured so that it is difficult or impossible to go from one of both languages used in order to determine which one could be called the “matrix language”. This is what brings Canut to assert that “la dynamique linguistique observable en ville tout comme dans les villages se constitue par une multitude d’agencements, de formes qui s’entremêlent, se croisent, se transforment jour après jour” (2007: 24)<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, at the slightest movement, the encounter with others involves meeting with other experiences of the words, more or less distant from the first we used formerly.

According to Calvet (1994: 13), all this is nothing but the result of an abundance of innovations, some of which will remain in the language and others will be

---

<sup>7</sup> the observable linguistic dynamics in the city as well as in the villages is constituted by a multitude of layouts, shapes, that intertwine, cross and change day after day.

abandoned. Therefore can we / should we, in this context, talk about the good or bad mancagne? What is left of this language and through which the Mancagne community of Goudomp identify itself?

#### **IV.5. For a demystification of dialects called "multilingual"**

Far from being something the researchers in Linguistics would be able to grasp the outlines, multilingual talk (or language use in cities) could be seen as a simple maze of words and speech that, ultimately, lead to the questioning of the founding concepts of linguistics such as language or system. From there, we can define the multilingual talk not as a mixture of languages, but as all scattered knowledge internalized by every speaker, and which he/she actualizes according to the communication situation, the theme under discussion or the person he/she is discussing with. In other words, that is to say the experience of the multilingual talk does not result from a build-up languages within a course in space and time. On the contrary, it seems rather to arise in the spontaneity of the experience of language. The example presented above leads to exceed an approach of language in terms of language contact or mixtures which are the result of practices after homogenization.

If the "logic" based on the concept of ethnicity has always put forward that in African societies, each social group be matched with a language of its own, the concrete actualization of speech in a strong ethno-linguistic area (like Goudomp) leads to the relativisation of the notion of language. The speech updates allow you to move the boundaries of a (language as a system), a real fantasy of linguistic unit whose consecration comes from the movement of speech and political conditions of their appearance, wherever it occurs.

Thus, the illusion would be therefore to suggest that language is a stable and unified reality of which we can speak in the singular in a given analysis as when one studies the other objects of the universe. That is why we think and / or defend the idea according to which multilingual speeches are not equivalent to language addition where the logic would dictate and that by a simple calculation, a speaker who has in his repertoire one language plus another language, the result is always two languages that appear clearly when he is speaking. Instead, the sum of knowledge acquired and internalized by the speaker results in a single talk as is the case of the Mancagne variety spoken in city of Goudomp.

## CONCLUSION

In this text, we tried show how conducting a sociolinguistic study of language behaviour of a minority living in a multilingual environment is not easy. For this, the researcher should, in order to clearly identify its object of study, consider the two main things that are: the speeches that speakers have on their own language and the actual use of it. The opposition of linguistic representations (discourse on language also called *epilinguistic speech*) as to the concrete actualization of the word of the speaker (spoken word) is due to the fact that we remain convinced that if the use of language does not exist without the representations made by the speaker, the interaction between these two levels is more than necessary. That is why the analysis of subjective responses to interview questions (epilinguistic speech analysis) should not lead to general interpretations or conclusions. On the contrary, these subjective markers are revealing metaphors, intersubjective fluctuations emerging from the individual speaker's activity. From here, one can understand why it was necessary for us to link the two poles in order to have an overview on how the Mancagne is nowadays used in Goudomp. At the same time, this fact has allowed us to understand that, far from being something the specialists in Linguistic would be able to grasp the outlines, multilingual talk can be seen as a mere "interlacing speech".

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACHDEV, Itesh & BOURHIS, Richard Yves (2001). « Multilingual Communication », in ROBINSON, Peter W. & HOWARD, Giles (Eds), *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. California: California University Press.
- AUER, Peter (2007). « The monolingual bias in bilingualism research, or: why bilingual talk is (still) a challenge for linguistics? », in HELLER, Monica (Eds.). *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- BOUKOUS Ahmed (1999). « Le questionnaire » in CALVET Louis-Jean & DUMONT Pierre (dirs), 1999, *L'enquête sociolinguistique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- BOURHIS, Richard Y., HOWARD, Giles & HOWARD, Jake (1994). « The genesis of vitality theory: historical patterns and discorsal dimensions », in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, in REAL, Allard & LANDRY, Rodrigue (Eds). Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, n°108, 167-206.

- CALVET, Louis-Jean (1994). *Les voix de la ville. Introduction à la sociolinguistique urbaine*. Paris: Payot.
- CALVET, Louis-Jean (2002). *Le marché aux langues. Les effets linguistiques de la mondialisation*. Paris: Plon.
- CANUT, Cécile. « A la frontière des langues », in *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 163-164, XLI-3-4, 2001, pp. 443-463.
- CANUT, Cécile (2007). *Une langue sans qualité*. Limoges: Lambert-Lucas.
- CANUT, Cécile (2008). *Le spectre identitaire: entre langue et pouvoir au Mali*. Limoge: Lambert-Lucas.
- DREYFUS, Martine & JUILLARD, Caroline (2004). *Le plurilinguisme au Sénégal. Langues et identités en devenir*. Paris: Karthala.
- GUMPERZ, John J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- JUILLARD, Caroline (1995). *La vie des langues à Ziguinchor, Sociolinguistique urbaine*. Paris: Presses du CNRS.
- JUILLARD, Caroline (2007). « Le plurilinguisme, objet de la sociolinguistique descriptive », *Langage et société*, 3-4, n°121/122, pp. 235-245
- JULLARD, Caroline (1995). « L'évolution des répertoires linguistiques des minorités ethniques en milieu urbain: les Manjacks et Mancagnes de Ziguinchor », in *Sciences et Techniques du Langage*, n°1, pp. 65-90.
- LABOV, William (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington: Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- MILROY, Lesley (1980). *Language and social networks*. London: University Park Press.
- MONDADA Lorenza (2000). *Décrire la ville. La construction des savoirs urbains dans l'interaction et dans le texte*. Paris: Economica.
- MYERS-SCOTTON, Carol (1993). *Social Motivations for Code-switching, Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- NDECKY Albinou (2011). *Pratiques et représentations des parlers mancagnes de Goudomp*. Thèse de doctorat de l'Université de Picardie Jules Verne d'Amiens.

NDECKY Albinou. « Enquêter dans un milieu de fortes « tensions linguistiques » : le chercheur au centre du processus de collecte des données ? », in LEONARD Jean Léo (Eds), à paraître.

SEROT Patrick (1997). « Faut-il que les langues aient un nom ? » in Andrée TABOURET-KELLER (Dir.). *Le nom des langues, Vol. II*. Montpellier: Presses de l'université de Montpellier, pp.167-190.

SEROT, Patrick (1981). *Les langues ne sont pas des choses. Discours sur la langue et souffrance identitaire en Europe centrale et orientale*. Paris: Petra, 2010.

TRINCAZ, Jacqueline. *Colonisation et religion en Afrique noire, l'exemple de Ziguinchor*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

TRINCAZ, Pierre-Xavier. *Colonisation et régionalisme, Ziguinchor en Casamance*. Paris: ORSTOM.