

**The role of Wolof in multilingual
conversations in the Casamance:
fluidity of linguistic repertoires**

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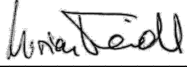
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Abstract

This thesis constitutes a sociolinguistic study of small-scale multilingualism in rural Casamance. This region is characterised by extensive societal and individual multilingualism, due in large part to the maintenance of many small local languages. However, also prominent in speakers' repertoires is Wolof, the de-facto national language of Senegal, which is the focus of this study. While there is a considerable body of research on Wolof in urban centres of the country, no attention has been paid to rural Casamance, where research has generally focused on languages with local status. This is despite the fact that the use of Wolof has been on the rise in this region for more than a century and is connected to many elements of social life.

The central aim of this study is to investigate what role Wolof plays in the linguistic repertoires, practices and lives of multilingual individuals belonging to one household in the village of Djibonker. Research attention has been devoted to an understanding of the social environments in the village, and to the individuals' metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness. The study adopts an ethnographic approach combining participant observations, semi-structured interviews, informal discussions and participatory videography data in order to explore the role of Wolof. Furthermore, it triangulates the data in analysis to consider the researchers', observers' and speakers' points of view.

The study reveals that Wolof is prominent in repertoires and discourse, but its role is fluid and may differ according to the experiences and identities of the participants as well as the relationship between them. Furthermore, findings illustrate that Wolof has a greater presence than estimated and reported by the speakers. Wolofisation however, which is often seen as a threat to smaller languages and language ecologies in Senegal, can be precluded; Wolof does not occupy another language's place but is rather added to the multilingual repertoires of speakers.

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Abbreviations

AR	Arabic
BG	Bainounk Gubeeher
BT	Bayot
E	English
F	French
J	Joola
K	Kaasa
L##	Line number (in transcripts)
MJ	Manjaku
PL.	Plural
SG.	Singular
W	Wolof
→	addressing
mod.	modified

1 Introduction

This study gives a first linguistic insight into the role of Wolof in the daily multilingual language use and linguistic repertoires of individuals in a rural area in the southern Casamance, Senegal. The Republic of Senegal is a country on the Atlantic coast of West-Africa that shares borders with Mauritania to the north, Mali to the east and Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to the south. The separate country Gambia is located within Senegal, which surrounds it almost entirely and also separates the Casamance geographically from the northern parts of the country.

Map (01) Political map of Senegal



(Ezilon.com, 2014)

Historically, Senegal has been a place where many different groups of people interacted and settled, long before the colonial period began. This richness of cultures and languages can be seen in the everyday lives of Senegalese people up to today. French is at present the only official language in the institutional sector in the country, however Wolof is actually the most spoken language and most used language of wider communication in Senegal, yet, depending on the region, it is likely not the only one. Individuals furthermore often identify with and/or speak more smaller local languages

that add up in their linguistic repertoires, and multilingualism represents the norm for the vast majority of population (Sall, 2010; Trudell, 2008 among others).

The Casamance, a region in the southern part of Senegal, constitutes a highly interesting multilingual environment where linguistic diversity is widespread (Cobbinah, 2010; Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Goodchild & Weidl, 2018b; Lüpke, 2016a, 2017), however its multilingual situation remains largely unexplored to date. Building upon background knowledge and publications on West African multilingual societies as well as Senegal, this thesis contributes to the investigation of rural small-scale multilingualism, with the central aim to investigate the role of Wolof in actual everyday conversations without disregarding other languages that can be used in a highly fluid and intermixed communicative practice.

This research deals with the role of Wolof in the village of Djibonker/Jibëeher in Senegal, which can be described as highly multilingual both on a societal and an individual level. The terms Djibonker and Jibëeher refer to the village of interest, however Djibonker denotes the administrative arrangement and Jibëeher the historically older settlement that is identified with the patrimonial language of Baïnouk Gubëeher (see a more detailed discussion on that in §5.1). Considerable research interest is dedicated to one household in this village where four main participants were identified, whose daily and social interactions were the focus of investigation.

Following an introductory presentation of the motivation for this study, the project to which this study is linked as well as the aims and focus of this research, chapter 2 encompasses a review and discussion of existing literature on ‘language(s)’, multilingualism and surrounding topics. Chapter 3 is dedicated to an overview of Senegal and the Casamance’s statistical facts, history and language policies as well as a brief presentation of the languages relevant in this research. Subsequently, the methodology is presented in chapter 4, beginning with the methods of data collection and leading to a discussion of the analysis in which the data is triangulated from researchers’, observers’ and speakers’ views. In chapters 5, 6 and 7, the data is analysed mainly quantitatively; in 5 the focus is on the village as a whole as well as nearby (linguistically) influential areas; 6 is dedicated to the household in which the bulk of research took place, a presentation of the main participants as well as their reported linguistic repertoires; and 7 considers the nature of participatory videography data that was collected throughout this investigation. Although each of the data chapters has a discussion section at the end, chapter 8 addresses and sums up all of the findings and results of this research following the structure of the question of interest (presented in §1.3 below). The final chapter 9

comprises a general conclusion dedicated to the synthesis of findings to amalgamate results, a short summary as well as a discussion of further research, which is followed by the bibliography.

1.1 Research interest and motivation

In West Africa, as in many other regions of the world, the ex-colonial languages and widespread languages of power, identity and wider communication tend to be the focus of research. Literature on Senegal (and Africa) clearly acknowledges widespread multilingualism as an existing linguistic practice (see e.g. for Senegal Lexander & López, forthcoming; McLaughlin, 2009a; Sall, 2010; Shiohata, 2012; Versluys, 2008), however it tends to concentrate only on urban settings and the ‘bigger languages’ (see also the discussion of Di Carlo, Good, and Ojong Diba (2019)). These approaches tend to create an imaginary picture of many rural areas occupied by monolingual societies with ‘only’ ancestral or patrimonial languages represented, which would then, in theory, suffer from urban multilingualism. Yet a closer look at the rural setting of the Casamance, immediately challenges this portrayal. The village of Djibonker/Jibëher is the central focal point, where residents are generally open toward multilingualism and a high degree of multilingualism is not only represented in their linguistic repertoires but also used in everyday conversations.

The area of interest presents us with a multilingual non-Western setting with several languages present that seem to fulfil different roles, even evincing a super-diverse discourse (Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton, & Spotti, 2015; Blommaert & Backus, 2012), but are often used highly intermixed with each other. Here the attention is called to the importance of considering the numerous small and predominantly under-described languages associated with a certain region or village in the area, which often serve as identity or ancestral languages for many. However, additional languages in the area are influential, with Wolof, French and at least one Joola language (and others, depending on the speakers’ experiences) often figuring in peoples’ repertoires. These languages are used in highly adaptive practices, adjusted to the temporary social context but also influenced by speakers’ life-long histories and the languages available in their linguistic repertoires. Even though certain distinctions have to be drawn between the languages to make an analysis possible, especially from a researchers’ view, in daily occurring communication where conversations are to a great extent extemporaneous and unscheduled, and multilingualism is the only natural way to speak for the individuals, languages cannot only be seen as closed entities (Gal, 2016; Irvine, 2016). People move

between language(s)¹ in ways appropriate to themselves or call attention to personal or group targets and simultaneously provoke a mutual linguistic influence and possible changes of all interlocutors' and listeners' linguistic repertoires. As Juffermans (2015, p. 3) mentions:

(...) as multilingual people we do not speak an x number of languages but we *language* [o.e.], making use of whatever linguistic resources are available to us under the local circumstances and conditions in which we lead our lives.

This existence of a fluid use of language(s) (or languaging) - meaning to use a mixture of languages without strict borders, accepting mixtures to different degrees and adapting them to different linguistic and social settings that can clearly be found in the Casamance - might be even higher among the world's population than 'monolingualism' (only incorporating named languages) but is much less documented in academia (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011). Yet the speakers themselves use clear terminologies to describe their linguistic repertoires and communicative practices, as influenced by their experiences and personal or regional attitudes and ideologies, which are incorporated in analysis and help a sociocultural understanding of the situation as a whole (see also Pauwels, Eades, and Harkins (1997)).

Within Senegal, 'Wolofisation', which describes a forceful spread of the language Wolof, is often described as a threat to local language ecologies, ascribed to take over whole areas, assimilating languages and even cultures. Wolof is an often-invoked threat for language endangerment and loss especially for ancestral and identity languages in rural areas (O'Brien, 1998). In the Casamance an increasing proliferation of Wolof is apparent, as for example Dreyfus and Juillard (2004) note that it has even encroached on institutional sectors which previously were the exclusive preserve of French. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that most of the research is again undertaken in urban areas in Senegal, where Wolof (highly intermixed with French and other languages) might be in this position, yet not all rural areas can be assumed to be affected.

Small-scale multilingual ecologies vary substantially from each other in different places in the world, making an estimation of the type of adjustment to dominant, powerful or widespread languages impossible. In Vanuatu for example, Tok Pisin seems to take over and even diminish multilingual repertoires (François, 2012), similar to the situation in areas of Cameroon where Cameroonian Pidgin is a comparable actor (Di Carlo, 2015). In contrast, Lüpke (2016b) presents findings in the Casamance, where village-based

¹ For an elaboration on what is meant by "language(s)" see §2.1.

individuals particularly incorporate Mandinka, a widespread language in certain parts of southern Senegal, into their linguistic repertoires. These speakers were socialised as adaptive multilingual speakers and maintain an open view on linguistic diversity, whereas people who identify with Mandinka seem not to share the same attitudes and ideologies. The role of Wolof in rural areas of the Casamance is however presently unclear and needs further investigation.

As a contribution to the field of rural African multilingualism, this thesis discusses rich data from Djibonker, a village in southern Senegal, presents an analysis in which different viewpoints on languages/language(s) and communicative practices are represented, and relates them to theoretical foundations and (socio)linguistic debates.

1.2 Crossroads Project

This PhD research was conducted within the project “Crossroads: Investigating the Unexplored Side of Multilingualism”, collaborating with an international team with different relevant competences, and strengthening the investigation in the area through collaboration. The ‘Crossroads Project’ provided a unique research environment and had an extensive impact on this thesis. Crossroads is a five-year project funded by “Leverhulme Trust Leverhulme Research Leadership Award” and led by Professor Friederike Lüpke that investigates different aspects of multilingualism in a group of neighbouring villages in the Casamance. The main areas of investigation are Djibonker, Brin and the kingdom of Mov Avvi (including 12 villages, but with a particular focus on Essyl and Banjal), with the project examining their linguistic diversity and most of their inhabitants' identity languages (Baïnounk Gubëcher, Joola Kujireray and Joola Eegimaa/Banjal, which are all part of the Atlantic languages). The language Baïnounk Gujaher spoken in Agnack, a village further east, functioned as a control language, since it is spoken in a different multilingual setting from the so-called ‘Crossroads languages’, as can be seen on the map:

Map (02) The Crossroads area



(retrieved from: www.soascrossroads.org)

The project examines multilingualism in the linguistic interactions of speakers, combining sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and contact linguistic perspectives. Its team consists of an interdisciplinary group of researchers that were based both in the United Kingdom and Senegal. Furthermore, a team of Casamançais research assistants have been trained to transcribe, translate and annotate data in ELAN². In Djibonker, members of the Crossroads team had already carried out linguistic work before the beginning of the project, which facilitated my personal establishment of contacts. Furthermore, the community was always informed about our work and the intentions of the project. While my responsibility in the project was to investigate the role of Wolof in this rich multilingual setting, as a group we worked together on particular components of the project, for instance the social network study (Beyer, 2010; Marshall, 2004), which provided us the opportunity to see the social network contacts of people living in different villages and gain a deeper insight into their linguistic repertoires. This collaborative environment not only eased and paved the way for further investigations, it also provided a fertile environment for exchanging data and ideas, and for overcoming obstacles. The

² 'ELAN' is freeware that allows professional linguistic annotations, transcriptions and translations of audio and video files, see <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>

project regularly updated its progress online (soascrossroads.org) where more information on the team as well as publications and presentations can be found. Furthermore, we established a Crossroads blog (see soascrossroads.org/blogposts/) in which we talk about our individual research as well as Crossroads-related projects and conferences, which also makes our research more accessible for non-linguists.

1.3 Aims and focus of research

In my research I focus on the role of Wolof in the language use of individuals with highly multilingual repertoires, to investigate how this widespread language impacts on a more local, multilingual, small-scale language ecology. The main participants are all adults resident in one household located in the village of Djibonker in southern Senegal. There, the majority of people are highly multilingual and use numerous language(s) on a daily basis, as briefly mentioned before. Various cultures and linguistic repertoires meet, mix and interchange regularly and at a high pace (Cissé, 2005; Cobbinah, 2013; Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Lüpke, 2016a).

This generally complex linguistic situation, whereby nearly every individual is capable of and regularly uses several languages in social interactions, results in highly multilingual conversational exchanges that at first glance may seem to be random but follow discourse strategies for language alternation and even fluid languaging practices that can be analysed with sufficient background knowledge. Within a macro sociolinguistic approach, I am concerned with the function of Wolof within different social communicative interactions as well as the speaker's perceptions of the languages in use. Furthermore, I investigate, describe and analyse patterns occurring in the use of Wolof and other languages, including: factors influencing language alternation, reasons for a change/intermixture of languages, and socially and contextually significant influences on the choice of language(s).

The central aim of this study is to analyse the motivations and patterns behind language alternation and switches in multilingual practices with a focus on Wolof and its function in this vast number of languages that play different roles and are constantly used intermixed. Therefore, my research questions are threefold:

1. To what extent and why do multilingual people in the village of Djibonker use Wolof and how is it integrated in their everyday lives?
 - How did their linguistic repertoires develop over time, and depending on which criteria? When and how did individuals acquire Wolof?
 - What role does Wolof play in individuals' daily interactions? Which other languages are used?
 - Which roles do age, gender and social status play in shaping linguistic repertoires and the role of Wolof in them?

2. How do the main participants observe and describe the use of Wolof within their own linguistic behaviour and that of others? How explicit is their metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness?
 - How do they describe different roles of languages, and especially Wolof, in repertoires? What is their self-reported proficiency in the production and comprehension of languages? How do they assess other people's linguistic repertoires and language use?
 - What language ideologies and attitudes surround Wolof, and what is the connection to linguistic practices?

3. When is Wolof used in multilingual conversations within the household of investigation? What factors influence switches into and out of Wolof?
 - To what extent are linguistic and extra-linguistic triggers influential?
 - Which patterns of language use are observable and why?
 - What is expressed in Wolof and why?
 - To what extent are speakers and observers aware of switches and mixtures of language(s) and how does that correspond to different views on the data?

The questions above have been selected to address issues not covered by the existing literature; their relevance follows from my own research experience. The topic is particularly worthy of investigation since to date no study has looked specifically at everyday social communicative interactions, in which the actual language data is supported by in-depth ethnographic knowledge on the speakers as well as the linguistic and cultural constellations. Little is known about the actual real-life application of multilingual repertoires within conversations that include more than two speakers in a highly versatile setting such as in Djibonker; it therefore deserves more research attention.

2 Literature review and theoretical framework

In the following chapter relevant publications are reviewed, drawing on macro and micro approaches to discuss how they can be adapted to this intensive small-scale investigation. Since the topic concerns the role of Wolof in multilingual conversations, the discussion is primarily based on the general notion of language, but also encompasses multilingualism, how languages can construct identities and what roles social network structures can play in language use. Thereafter this review is concerned with more methodological approaches to the investigation of linguistic repertoires, alternations in multilingual use of languages as well as a discussion on the languaging approach. Finally, this chapter presents and discusses the literature on the use of languages and social structures in Senegal as well as central publications on African (rural, small-scale) multilingualism.

2.1 What is ‘language’ (not)?

This first subchapter concerns the idea of languages as distinctly categorised, idealised, and singular entities as often used in grammatical and typological studies as well as the public sphere, and a more fluid approach which challenges the validity of these boundaries. The discussion will point to the fact that, whilst conducting sociolinguistic research, the researcher has to deal with the definitions of the term ‘language’ itself and demonstrate an awareness of different applications. Only this can then lead to an approach that incorporates (standardised) language, society and social interaction in an investigation. We have to be aware that how the concept of language is perceived varies depending on which factors are considered decisive for integration or exclusion, related to what Mufwene and Vigouroux (2017) describe as the ‘ecology of language’ that can be affected by internal and external influences which will be further discussed below.

Decisive distinctions in how language is approached have to be made between the motivations behind it. Within institutional sectors, with political motivation or the typological categorisation of languages, mixtures of languages and the social factors influencing it might be left out. With a more social approach, in which the description of the individuals and their environment can be as crucial as their use of language, an investigation of language can integrate different descriptive criteria (Gal, 2016; Irvine, 2016; Irvine & Gal, 2000). When consulting publications, it is therefore essential to draw out the assumptions and intentions underlying each definition of language.

In the following subchapter I will discuss language as an entity with clear and rarely disputable borders. Subsequently, this conceptualisation of language will be brought into connection with the framework of sociolinguistics and the closely related discipline of linguistic anthropology (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2008). This will exemplify concepts that are beneficial for research which aims to describe language while integrating the social factors surrounding it. The heart of the discussion therefore lies in the interconnection of different theories and approaches, and the use of this juxtaposition to describe and analyse languages within communicative interactions of multilingual individuals³. Finally, the prototype theory will be introduced to the reader as a target-oriented solution for understanding within which frameworks multilingual individuals can perceive languages, an approach that is essential for analyses later on in this work.

2.1.1 Language: a delimited system?

Language as we observe it today in many Western (or Westernised) systems is a created construct which is institutionalised to serve a purpose and consequently influences for instance education, economics and politics, and vice versa. As such, language is clearly considered an object that is either oral or written, while following glossaries, orthographies, grammars and typological categorisations that are defined and delimit each other. Based on that, for reasons of correctness, a speaker using a language should not leave its prescribed setting (Blommaert, 2011; Lüpke & Storch, 2013). However, we have to be aware of the social construction and limitations within ‘language’ as portrayed above, as Boghossian (2001, p. 1) argues: “[t]his thing could not have existed had we not built it; and we need not have built it at all, at least not in its present form”. His work contains a concept that can be extended to standardised languages since, seen from a political and economic perspective, language and how it is structured and (re-)defined by local stakeholders has a huge impact on society and how people use it. Originating from typological restrictions of categorisation, which themselves are based on structural and functional features of a language and were authored by a person (or groups of people) in a certain place and setting (as determined by their own experiences, perceptions and aims), classifications of languages are spreading all over the world and are followed precisely in many institutions. In most official public spheres, as well as in

³ In this research only interactions between present human beings are investigated. Nevertheless, communications with the world we (generally) cannot see, meaning for example god, ancestors or spirits, would also yield into interesting results but has in my case to be considered following ethical principles. This is the reason that communications with someone in a ‘hidden world’ were excluded in the present, even though I am aware of its importance in language use, social structures and interactions.

linguistic documentation, grammatical and typological investigations, terms and concepts are implemented as rigid mechanisms even though the humans and systems that are designated are in constant movement.

However, there is still an awareness that many speakers are able to use two or more languages. Within approaches dealing with that fact, terms like L_1 , L_2 or L_x are regularly used for description. Every language is seen as a construct in one's repertoire that has clear borders; L_1 is the language that was "learnt first" or "learnt best" and is therefore dominant. All other languages are enumerated and assessed by, for instance, proficiency or the timeframe in which it was acquired (see e.g. Myers-Scotton, 2007; Wolff, 2012). Prejudices like L_1 being more prestigious than L_2 , or a speaker being more proficient in L_1 than in L_x permeate this approach. This categorisation however will not be reflected in this research due to the fact it ignores mixtures of languages and effects a simplification of the language use of individuals that does not allow a closer look at actual language use and the social factors behind it.

Another similar approach, that of 'mother tongue' (F 'langue maternelle'), frames L_1 as the most prominent language in speakers' lives and should be mentioned here since the term is still current. However, this terminology might misleadingly denote the language which the mother teaches or passes on but could similarly signify the father or any other caregiver responsible for the child. This reverts back to a conservative Westernised setting, which does not take into account other family constellations and models of upbringing as they are predominant in West African societies (see §5.2.1 for Djibonker, where the theoretically predominant role of the language and culture of one's father is discussed). Addressing these difficulties, Bonfiglio (2010) redefines the term such that it is independent of the languages of the parents. Mufwene (2010) states in this connection that children of immigrants can, for instance, adopt an 'urban vernacular' or a mixture of languages in addition to their 'mother tongue' and use it even more than a language previously learned as a 'mother tongue' (Mufwene, 2010, p. 915). Therefore, 'mother tongue' can be seen as the way of speaking with which an individual identifies herself/himself and feels most comfortable in a certain period of their life. It has commonly been assumed that this is motivated by a desire for integration with the people whom one is in close contact with, and can change over time (Bonfiglio, 2010; Mufwene, 2001; Ouane & Glanz, 2010). However, these concepts originate from the assumption that it is possible to draw more or less clear distinctions between languages. For those who grew up learning multiple languages concurrently, concepts like 'mother tongue' are particularly problematic since they force speakers to arbitrarily divide and categorise them. The dynamicity of people has to be considered; as people can move throughout

their lives, change their environments, participate in different activities and make contact with diverse populations, the languages they use change as well (see §2.5), provoking a different attribution of values for languages through for instance relocation, triggered by interlocutors or context.

However, the abstract and static notion of ‘language’ is still used frequently which is to a certain point unavoidable and reasonable. Individuals everywhere in the world name languages on the basis of identification and need, while being influenced by the institutionalised terminology. People are fundamentally aware of the languages they master and often do not fear to distinguish them; yet, descriptions can vary depending on particular ideologies and attitudes, which are often adapted to language or variety, and do not always correspond to official classifications of language. Distancing from the typological and genetic interpretation of language is often implied by an individual using such terms as ‘I speak English’, which does not have the same meaning as for instance ‘I am proficient in British English and stick to the strict typological and grammatical rules of it’, but rather implies different semantic information that might be understood or interpreted by the interlocutor(s), depending on context, intonation, shared common knowledge, body language etc. However, terminologies for languages often have more fine-grained distinctions for the speakers themselves, going beyond the institutionalised terms, and often including background experiences. These depend essentially on the context in which a human being is in a direct connection⁴ with other people, considering culture(s), religion(s), norms, expectations and aims (Bamgbose 2000; Kroskrity 2007; Singer and Harris 2016) and the rules governing this cannot be generalised (Blommaert, 2008; Di Carlo, 2018; Lüpke, 2016a).

Concentrating on the individual’s self-perception of language creates a different perspective on what is included or excluded in a language, accepting differing terminologies applied by individuals. It displays terms used by individuals to describe their linguistic repertoires or languages used during conversation, without (necessarily) conforming to an official classification of the language as such. Individuals are used to mentioning and naming languages they are in contact with and to talking about their own and others’ repertoires (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Vigouroux, 2011 among others). The terminology can be used to indicate an individual’s positions towards a certain language, to identify with a language through a certain term, to describe a self-perception or the perception of others in a context-sensitive manner. As a matter of fact, such descriptions

⁴ This also includes phone conversations, conversations on the Internet etc.

can play a vital role in gaining information about attitudes and ideologies as well as linguistic biographies, since these can often be repatriated and connected to personal experiences and views (Cognigni & Vitrone, 2011).

Even though certain expressions are chosen to serve a purpose in a conversation and therefore possess some kind of delimitation, they appear to be used more naturally and unconsciously. Expressions are used differently in different contexts (whereby the same terminology can even have different connotations), navigating between concepts and ideologies and even establishing new (or not officially recognised) terms. This demonstrates the relation between how people name their languages within their linguistic repertoires (for further explanations on linguistic repertoires see §2.5) and social constellations. Individuals can move among a huge range of possibilities made available by the content of their repertoires and therefore create inclusion or exclusion through certain terminologies used (Busch 2015).

Even though in this thesis I want to remove myself from the theoretical constraints of strictly categorised languages, we still need to use the rather abstract notion of named languages for navigation and orientation. Therefore, clear categorisation of languages, as shown at the beginning of this subchapter, has only a limited relevance in so far as it influences the parties involved in this research differently. Notwithstanding, individuals are in the centre of this research and languages are seen as their crafts with which they can work freely. When focusing on actual, natural social interactions, which are part of our daily lives, the application of these rules loses importance; the speaker's linguistic behaviour is constantly reconstructed and adapted to the environment and context. Taking speakers' own terminology into account in conjunction with their interpretation of the language used is therefore necessary, while acknowledging its infinite variation.

2.1.2 Language(s) in sociolinguistic research

Opinions on 'what a language is' are reciprocal as speakers are heavily influenced by stakeholders' decision-making but at the same time influence the bigger systems themselves, as discussed above. In a manner of monitoring, defining borders and creating generalisations for languages may not always be a useful expedient, especially not to describe multilingual settings as they exist in Senegal where oversimplified generalisations are avoided. Following an argument by Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2005), a structuralist view on languages directly feeds into monoglot ideologies that are unrealistic and therefore counter-productive. When discussing languages within sociolinguistic research, they need to be handled from different points of view.

Further on, the terms ‘language’ in singular and ‘languages’ in plural, are used to describe a system that follows standardised and idealised perceptions, and the term ‘language(s)’ (singular and plural) to refer to a more fluid movement between languages. Consciously discerning approaches towards a classification and idealisation of the concept of language, combined with the versatile self-representation of speakers’ language(s) and everything that lies between, creates opportunities to understand ideologies and attitudes that are bound to multilingual language use (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). An institutionalised perception of language, people’s self-interpretation and the description of a (socio-)linguist originate from different points of view. From the perspective of sociolinguistics, in order to gain an understanding of how and why possible borders between languages are created, ignored or transcended, analyses of actual communicative practices in different contexts are essential (Auer, 1998; Bucholtz & Hall, 2010). Individuals can therefore be analysed interacting in a social way, while being influenced by many different factors using language(s) as a tool. This aims to find new ways of describing multilingual language use, while combining different concepts. Even though strict categorisations were viewed critically above, the complete rejection of rules in a linguistic analysis might lead the researcher to be lost in a whirlpool of events, lacking the means of description. Watson (unpublished manuscript) accurately points out that ‘we need to describe and name languages to describe multilingual practice, but multilingual practice often seems to challenge the value of the description’.

A way to deal with concepts that are already being used in combination with new strategies of analyses is expedient. As such, approaches are discussed that enable the analysis of everyday language use, while focusing on the speakers’ descriptions of language(s) and what these can contain, instead of using the concepts of named, categorised languages with clear delimitations. This leads to a description of language(s) use that is somewhat in-between strict borders and a fluidity of conceptualisations. However, the aim here is not to search for ‘the right classification’ for a language, nor to implement new terminologies, since they might be as useful or useless as existing ones. The aim is to show a way of discussing multilingual language use based on data of people communicating in a day-to-day manner, while focusing on individuals’ interactions.

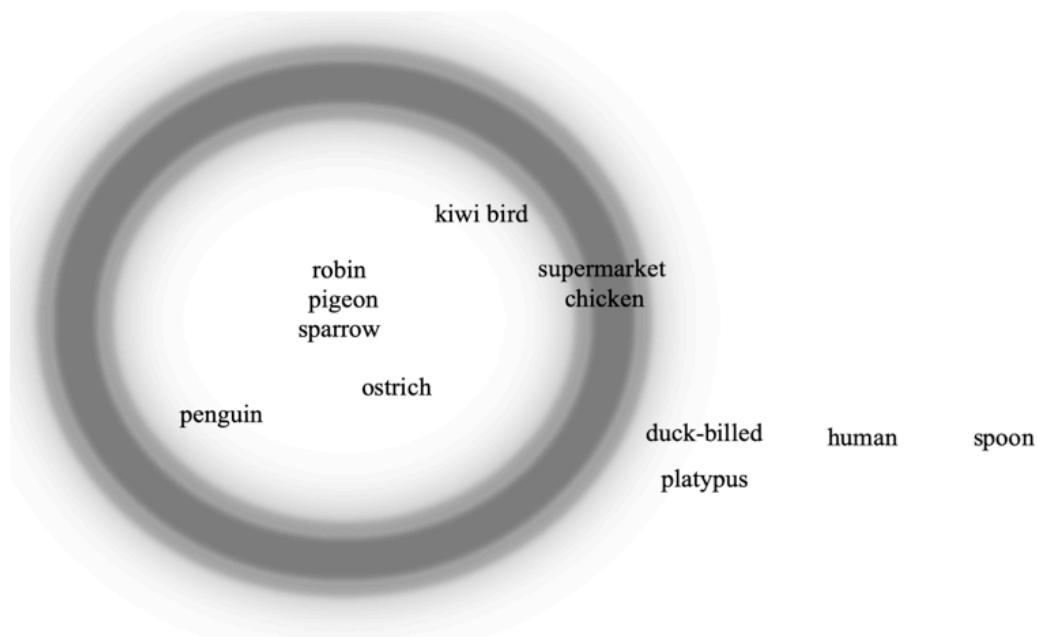
2.1.3 The prototype theory: language(s)

In this chapter, the prototype theory is discussed in terms of language use to give an insight into individuals’ possible patterns of thought. This approach was initially

developed by Rosch (Rosch, 1977; Rosch, Mervis, Gray, Johnson, & Boyes-Braem, 1976 among others), who used it within the discipline of cognitive psychology, but was further developed by e.g. Osherson & Smith (1981) who proved the adequacy of the concept, as well as for example Kamp & Partee (1995) and Hampton (1995) who build upon Osherson and Smith's paper while focusing on problems of prototypicality and especially the semantic properties of concepts. Here, however, Watson's work on implementing the theory for the categorisation of language(s) is central and used for the objective of this research (Cobbinah et al. 2017; Watson 2016b, 2016a, 2019). She uses the theory not only to create categories of language(s), but also to present issues with the essentialist and conservative conceptualisations with which they were used throughout history and still are in many domains. Particularly relevant to highly multilingual conversations (as is the case with this research), this theory constitutes an innovative way to describe a mix of very closely related and fairly distant languages in natural conversation and creates a potential for analysis precluded by comparable approaches.

An example of the prototype theory for language(s) is presented below (for improved understanding) in the format used by Watson (initially presented at the Crossroads-KPAAM/CAM Workshop, Watson (2016b), further published in Watson (2019)), before customising it for the needs of this research. She exemplifies the category 'bird' and shows that most of the people would argue that they can clearly distinguish between what is a bird and what is not a bird (e.g. a pigeon is a bird, a spoon is not a bird). The conditions to fit into the category 'bird' are proposed as flying, having wings, having feathers and laying eggs, to which most people would agree without protest. On the other hand, the assumption of *all birds X* or *only birds X* can easily be refused since there are birds which cannot fly (penguin), don't have feathers (supermarket chicken) or wings (injured bird); conversely there are other categories of animals that lay eggs and fly; finally there are birds which can, for instance, swim but are still not in the category 'fish'. Paying attention to these difficulties in the clear definition of the category 'bird', Watson proposes a figure to solve the issue:

Figure (01) Prototype: bird



(presented by Watson (2016b), recreated by Weidl 2018)

In this diagram, the birds that most closely correspond to the categorisation are centred. Animals that are seen as birds but do not fit the full prototypical categories most people would associate with a bird are a bit closer to the fuzzy *edges* of the circle, while the supermarket chicken, which could be seen as a bird but could also shift into another category as for instance ‘food’ or ‘meat’ occupies the grey area. Furthermore, Watson also grades the categories outside the circle; therefore, she shows that even though all of us would agree that ‘a human’ and ‘a spoon’ do not fit in the categorisation of bird, one might still see more similarities between a human and a bird than between spoon and a bird. Gradation of features is thus used to define a category, which does not correspond to a binary concept. This can be applied to all subjects that need categorisation, and therefore also language. Language is composed of a huge number of features (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, etc.), which fit either one or numerous languages and could be used as the categories within this theory. Therefore languages, their sounds, lexical items and more complex linguistic constructions can fit the categorisation, be on the fuzzy edge of it or outside the category, which makes us realise that a language cannot be seen as a monolithic category.

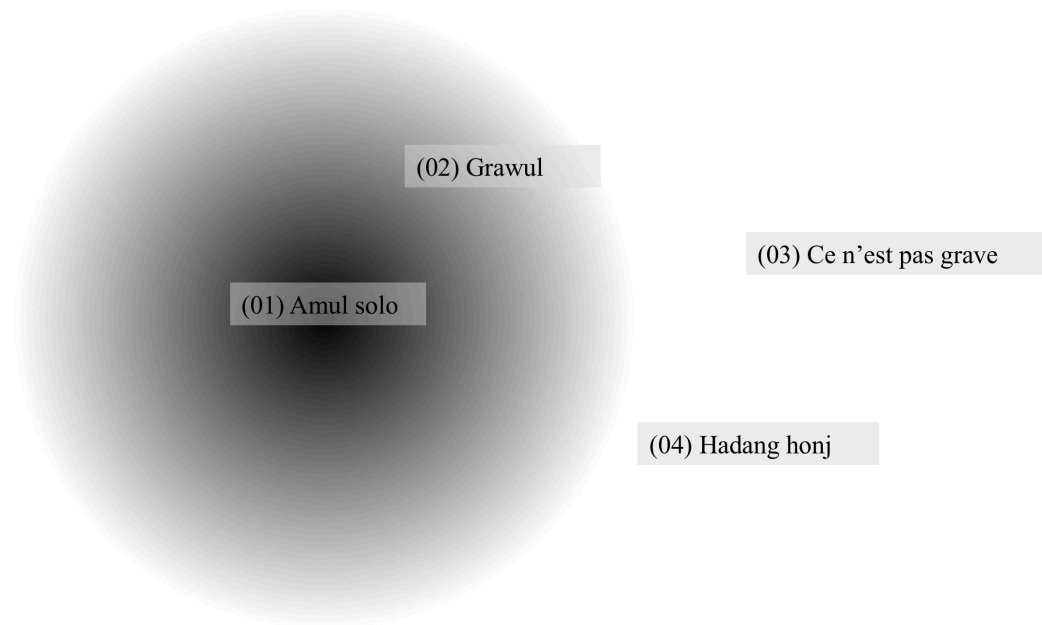
Since it is not the aim to categorise a language as a whole, but rather to find a purposeful categorisation of language(s) within this sociolinguistic approach, I will focus

on utterances rather than, for instance, phonemes. Subsequently, I will present an example of four utterances, which originate from language data from people in Djibonker. The diagrams and discussion below will briefly show how these examples are treated within the prototype theory. Wolof is represented in normal script, **French** in bold and *Bainounk Gubëeher* in italics, following ‘standardised’ categorisation.

- (01) Am-ul solo.
 Have.NEG.3SG importance.SG
 ‘It does not matter.’
- (02) **Graw-ul.**
 serious.NEG.SG
 ‘It does not matter.’
- (03) **Ce n’-est pas grave.**
 That.DEM.PROX NEG.be.PRS.3SG NEG serious
 ‘It does not matter.’
- (04) *Han-dang honj*
 do.NEG.SG thing.SG
 ‘It does not matter.’

Firstly, an example for the category of Wolof shall be demonstrated. Putting the utterances into a diagram similar to the one used by Watson, this would look as follows:

Figure (02) Prototype: Wolof



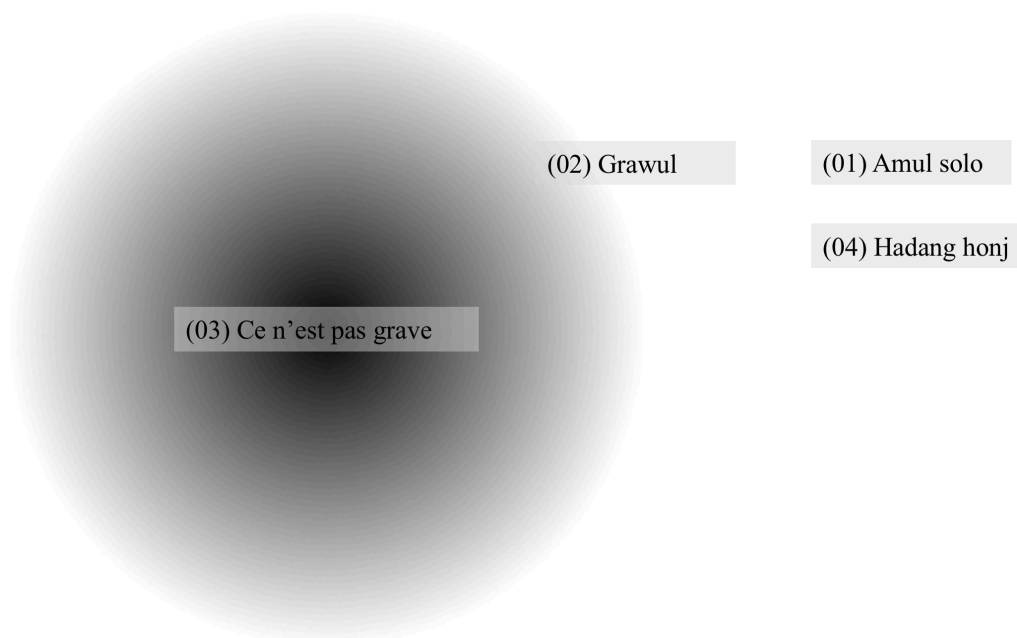
Example (01) has the strongest affiliation to the category of Wolof and is therefore placed in the centre of the circle since it uses Wolof syntax, morphology and lexicon and would even fit in the standardised variety of Wolof following for instance Diouf (2003, 2009); nothing in this written sentence contradicts it. Example (02) is a bit vaguer; an adjective from standardised French is used (*graw* [grave]) but adapted to the Wolof phonology and also complemented with the Wolof suffix ‘-ul’ to negate it in the 3rd person singular⁵. Although it expresses the same message as above, this example is still placed in the circle. The following two examples possess syntax, morphology and lexicon from French (03) and Baïnounk Gubëeher (04) and would therefore be outside the circle. Nevertheless, since Baïnounk Gubëeher is a language rooted in West Africa and shares structural features with Wolof (e.g. noun classes, in contrast to French), example (04) is placed closer to the circle than example (03). Focusing on the perception of a speaker who is familiar with all the mentioned languages and the area where the utterances were expressed, this categorisation might be accurate. In this case I want to indicate that even Wolof speakers who claim not to speak French⁶ are able to understand or even use the utterance of example (03) in Senegal.

⁵ Find a further discussion of ‘grawul’ in Nunez and Léglise (2017).

⁶ In Senegal it is improbable that a speaker has never had any contact with French since it is widespread and officially dominates the institutional sector. See further discussion on that matter in §2.7.2.

Nevertheless, if I analyse the example to find a French prototype that fits, for instance, French speakers who do not know the region, it is not feasible to just move the circle over utterance (03) since the whole constellation changes:

Figure (03) Prototype: French



While example (03) constitutes the centre of the circle, example (02) is placed on the outer edge of it. This indicates the fact that a French speaker, who has never been in contact with Wolof, would not understand the meaning of the utterance even though the root *graw* [grave] originates from French, whereas a Wolof speaker (even if they report not to speak French) would be able to grasp its meaning.

On the basis of the diagrams shown above, it seems fair to suggest that language can be seen as an epistemological entity within a structured linguistic analysis as long as the researcher is aware of its openness and flexibility. It should be acknowledged that these examples are generated to help comprehend the theory; however, while working with natural language data the instances are far more complex. One might rarely find transparent examples like this one, without searching and omitting data, which should never be the object of research. Nonetheless, this concept will open possibilities in the categorisation of language that are otherwise occluded. As one can clearly see, it is not easy to define what belongs to one language and what belongs to another. This was further discussed as the assembly of social scales by Gal (2016) and Irvine (2016), focussing on different perspectives on similar phenomena such as language(s).

In this subchapter not only different theories and concepts were addressed, but also different points of view that are prudent in sociolinguistic analysis. Therefore, the

proposed approach, combining the prototype theory, the concept of language and the individual's perception of language constitutes an appropriate method to analyse and describe natural and highly multilingual language data on a small-scale, combining different methods of intensive research. Nevertheless, it is further important not to forget that language is not a stable construct, since it varies and develops with the speakers by whom it is owned and changes constantly, which makes every analysis only a short-term representation of people's repertoires and their use.

2.2 Perspectives on the study of multilingualism

In the research on language, several schools of thought emerged with differing ways of classifying linguistic situations. Multilingualism, for instance, corresponds to the number of named languages mastered by a speaker or used within a community. It is widely agreed on that multilingualism can be found everywhere on the globe and presents an important issue in linguistic research as well as in anthropology, sociology, politics, economics, etc. However, the appearance of multiple languages in a speaker's repertoire or in that of a society cannot be explained by a single approach to multiple contexts, which creates abundant possibilities for further research (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2012; Edwards, 2012 among others). Not only is the phenomenon of multilingualism culturally and linguistically highly complex, it demands adapted methods of analysis focused on the languages, contexts, individuals, ideologies, cultures, purposes and so on.

The investigations of multilingualism have exponentially expanded not only in volume, but also in methodology and descriptive coverage (mainly in Europe) within the last decades (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a; Edwards, 2012; Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015 among others). An examination of the phenomenon in different academic and non-academic fields has therefore yielded many different approaches and methods to describe it (for more information see Kemp, 2009). In a multilingual situation, it is not a simple task to establish borders between two (or more) languages (as discussed earlier in §2.1); in research one's conceptual definitions of languages are adapted according to particular contexts, regions, aims of the investigation and so on. However, in situations where more than one language is used, a line of research argues in favour of the theoretical distinction between individual and societal multilingualism, two concepts that are intertwined and mutually influential. Whereas individual multilingualism is often nurtured by local

multiculturalism⁷, influencing one's private life and experiences, societal multilingualism operates on a broader and more official level and can strongly affect speakers' attitudes and ideologies towards languages (Zarete, Lèvy, & Kramsch, 2011). Heller (2008) puts forward the view that multilingualism is all about the boundaries one creates, which makes the separation of a societal and individual multilingualism crucial, since there might be a considerable difference. But opinions differ regarding how to distinguish between languages and determine what constitutes a speaker of a certain language or variety.

This section aims to give a broader insight into the terms associated with multilingualism, starting with a brief discussion of the development of (partially misleading) terminologies and their backgrounds, then focussing on the concepts of societal and individual multilingualism since these will be further applied as relevant approaches throughout this research.

2.2.1 Bi-, multi-, pluri-lingual?

Multilingualism, or the acquisition and use of more than one language has a long and rich history and over the years an enormous amount of research has accumulated. Within this chapter, more recent approaches as well as concepts central to the context of this research will be presented. The use of more than one language in a group of people or within a communicative exchange has been investigated, named and renamed frequently. Looking back, several trends have been established, approaching multilingualism from different angles. One example therefore is the differentiation of monolingualism, bilingualism⁸ and multilingualism, whereby multilingualism describes the use of three or more languages and is often used in connection with L1, L2, Lx, as discussed above (see e.g. Heller, 2007; Myers-Scotton, 2007; Romaine, 1995 among many others). In this view, languages are clearly defined entities that are superimposed on each other and comprise the centre of attention, whereas the speakers themselves are rather unnoticed as individuals and contexts are only sparsely given attention. The clear definition and distinction of named languages is required for the theory to be applicable, leaving an ethnographic approach, as well as the speaker's view on communicative events, aside.

⁷ Multiculturalism is used to define a situation in which an individual is to some extent part of more than one cultural orientation e.g. through different cultures of the mother and the father or different cultures of one's family and the main population of society in which the individual lives etc.; meaning that more than one culture is directly influential on one person.

⁸ Sometimes even Trilingualism; see e.g. the research on 'Pre-School Multilingualism in Africa' by Wolff (2012)

The argument for adopting a purely structuralist view on languages in analysis not supported in this study and will therefore not be further elaborated.

In the second and newer trend, several scholars began to investigate languages from a different angle and focus on the speakers' linguistic behaviour in a more natural environment. This development is briefly discussed below to provide an understanding of how multilingualism is addressed within this research. Considering the advancement of approaches, various terms were reinvented (as multilingualism has a different purport) and new terms were introduced to describe the phenomenon of the use of more than one language, such as plurilingualism, heteroglossia and many more (see e.g. Bailey, 2007; Blackledge & Creese, 2010a; Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Vigouroux, 2011 among others). All of the concepts and approaches within the post-structuralist movement of the description of communicative events situate language practices in a social and political context, as Blackledge & Creese accurately point out:

[Bilingualism and multilingualism] are notions which are constructed historically and socially and which have different meanings across different spaces and times. Questions about multilingual practices must always be situated in relation to major forms of social organisation. In order to understand access to, and use of, a range of linguistic resources, it is necessary to take a critical view of the ways in which discourses represent those resources. (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a, p. 6)

Therefore, it is not possible to generalise the meaning of certain terms, as they are adapted to research and not even bi- and multilingualism are always clearly differentiated, despite what could appear as self-evident from the prefixes “bi-” and “multi-”. The work of Weinreich (1953) refers to multilingualism as a term that covers languages as well as dialects of languages, whereas bilingualism only refers to the standards of languages and therefore the mastery of two (or more) standardised languages with the latter building upon the earlier. Bhatia & Ritchie (2012) in their study use “bilingualism” as a cover term for bi- and multilingualism. Stavans & Hoffmann (2015) use the term trilingualism to describe the use of three languages, and multilingualism to refer to the use of more than two languages. In their work the distinction from bi-/trilingualism (with clear borders between the languages) is that in the case of multilingualism a multiplicity of languages are used without wanting to draw a clear line between them. They suggest this is due to the need to distinguish between people who have acquired two languages and people who have acquired three or more languages in order to do their sociolinguistic perspective justice. They further state that “bilingualism is not the sum of two monolingualisms, and that trilingualism/multilingualism does not equal bilingualism with the addition of (an)other language(s)” (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, pp. 2–3). Another contrast is

traceable between multilingualism and plurilingualism whereby plurilingualism is understood as a phenomenon that implies the mastery of (at least necessary) vocabulary in another language combined with the knowledge of more than one culture. According to the Council of Europe, where this term is used, languages and cultures cannot be separated and enrich all communities and individuals involved (Breidbach, 2003). Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005) (and later Blommaert and Rampton (2011)), attempt to fill gaps in sociolinguistic studies of multilingualism by focusing on multilingualism in urban settings and taking a diasporic-globalised context into account. They pursue this target by a re-examination of important work by Goffman (e.g. Goffman (1986)). The authors argue for a reversal of thinking and try to find a new description of multilingualism, coming up with the concept of “space and scale” that allows a description of this phenomenon while maintaining a distinction between individual and societal use of language, which will be further discussed in the chapters below.

However, a number of studies have claimed to have detected monolingual conversations in multilingual Senegal; for instance Sagna (2008, forthcoming) reports Joola Eegimaa to be dominant in the village of Essyl, not far from Djibonker, and McLaughlin (1995) describes a monolingual Pulaar use of the Halpurlaar?en in northern parts of Senegal as a response to the dissemination of Wolof. Critically considering their views, I examine a ‘monolingual’ language use, or what comes closest to monolingual speech in the data collected within this research. Generally speaking, I do not agree with labelling a social exchange of multilingual individuals as a monolingual way of conversing without clear proof. In the aforementioned research, lects or varieties are not considered as constitutive of multilingualism, nor are switches on an intrasentential small level or signs and body language that transmit essential information taken into account. However, this is not the case in this research. Supported by prior research on the use of multiple languages/language(s), within this research multilingualism is used as an umbrella term which incorporates the aforementioned approaches but does not aim to further categorise multilingualism as such. However, social factors that influence the acquisition, the choice and the use of language(s) are examined on a societal and an individual level of multilingualism.

2.2.2 Societal multilingualism - institutional monolingualism

Societal multilingualism, going hand in hand with multiculturalism, is a contact phenomenon that is traceable everywhere in the world and describes a society or group of people who are in contact with and surrounded by more than one language; a reality in

which the individuals have to perform their lives. Humans are and have always been mobile, even though our given options of mobility have been changing throughout time due to external factors like peace, crisis, needs, innovations and technology. Even though contact with people identifying with other languages and cultures is conventional, it does not always happen voluntarily, considering wars, conquerors, colonisation etc., and can involve an extensive transition and changing reality for the individuals involved. Social interactions and exchange can pursue various targets, ranging from a survival strategy to trading or creating a community of practice out of social need, while bringing along different experiences, languages, and cultures, which therefore influence each other. In these situations, languages can at the same time reach a status of institutionalisation, governing the application of only certain languages in certain contexts. This could be the choice of languages for religious purposes, to perform cultural tradition, to educate, to govern a country, etc. (Garcia, 1992). Especially in Western(ised) societies or for Western(ised) individuals, a presupposed monolingualism often constitutes the unmarked case in people's perception of reality. This is however closely related to the nation-state ideology of the Western world which determines an institutionalised "language of a country" for its inhabitants (Jaspers, 2005). This is manifested in the stakeholders' effort to keep languages "clean" and "correct" through preventing a mixture with others and making its speakers use the language "properly", meaning conformity to standardised grammars, lexicons etc. Yet societal multilingualism exists all over the world to varying extents where people are in direct contact with more than one language. Institutional monolingualism however appears to suppress the visibility of multilingualism while influencing speakers' perception of the reality and therefore their actions - a fact that needs to be further investigated and included in (socio-)linguistic research. Auer & Li Wei's (2007b) work outlines possible sources for an institutional monolingual theory and establishes a link to the discipline of linguistics. Illustrating the background of the concept of monolingualism by means of European history, they trace the reasons for its implementation and ways in which the monolingual concept reached its present strength. This also foregrounds the development and influence on the public sphere:

[...] the study of linguistics was equal to analysing single languages (even though these were compared, classified and typified). The fact that languages influence each other through language contact (“borrowing”) was acknowledged of course from the very start of linguistics, but this contact was not seen in the context of multilingualism, and it was taken to be a secondary phenomenon which presupposed the existence and stability of the language system in contact. The European (standard) languages were seen to ‘naturally’ belong to and justify the existence of the European nations in a one-to-one relationship, such that the establishment of a new nation state almost inevitably entailed the ‘invention’ of a new standard language (Auer & Li Wei, 2007b, pp. 1–2)

They also indicate that the growing reliance on monolingual nations only began to draw attention in the 18th and 19th centuries, giving the example of the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy, which was a plurilingual state. Through the stakeholders’ change of linguistic perception the focus of research was also heavily influenced, which led to a reciprocal strengthening of monolingualism as concept. The idea of the conformity of a nation and one ‘pure’ language for all of its inhabitants was implemented. This means in effect that communicating in another language equates to speaking as a stranger (Auer & Li Wei, 2007b).

The idea of one nation-one language (and therefore one culture) displays its negative position towards societal multilingualism or the use of more than one language in official contexts. Contrary to this notion, the world is a multilingual space with between 4000 and 6000 languages (depending on how they are counted) spoken on the planet, but in just under 200 countries; which are, to a large extent, officially monolingual nations (Garcia, 1992). This proves the insubstantiality of the assumption that the majority of the society is monolingual. However, up to today, the consensus view in certain (public) domains seems to support the commonality of one language for a national formation, even though it is clear that its inhabitants live within a societal multilingualism. Empirical evidence therefore is the public compulsory education system, which for most of the world (especially in Western countries) is monolingual, using the language that was chosen to be most appropriate for the area and its population while creating an academic monolingualism as a side effect (Auer & Li Wei, 2007a). As Blommaert et al. (2005) mention, the public debate about multilingual spaces is often closely related to immigration and asylum policies. Local stakeholders, supported by a certain percentage of the country’s population, seem to fear the loss of identity, unity and nation through an increasing societal multilingualism. Following the assumed need of a single clearly defined language to unify a nation, the concept of monolingualism as a political tool is

transparent (Joseph, 2006; Pujolar, 2007). However, the argument for the existence of a monolingual society bound to a geographical sphere can be easily refuted, simply by mentioning the numerous standardised languages (e.g. English, German, French) that are spoken and institutionalised in more than one nation (Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

The term “monolingual” is used either to describe an individual, a group of people, community or even a region and nation. But more than merely describing the linguistic skills of someone or a group, it is established as a concept, originating from a way of thinking that refers to unity and cohesion and is affiliated to a widespread concept of culture as discussed above. Within this framework, societal multilingualism is often perceived as the more marked concept, within which the knowledge of other languages and cultures could also imply a deviation from one’s own, or one’s nation/region and the presupposed language of the country’s stakeholders (Canagarajah, 2013; Romaine, 1995). However, the reality is different and monolingual language policies pleasing a certain part of the population at the same time suffer restrictions through their concept (Garcia, 1992). The present situation of official languages in Europe have a long history of codification and norming in which linguists played a major role and directly influenced societal language ideologies.

Whereas in European societies the monolingual concept enjoys widespread acceptance, in West African societies a cultural and linguistic hybridity is the norm and the vast majority of the population is more aware of it. An accepted multilingual and multicultural practice constitute day to day life, defying many idealised concepts of language use (Lüpke, 2010). In West Africa, given the diversity of languages with official status(es), the concept of monolingualism might never have been imposed to the same extent as a part of language ideology. Nevertheless, a prestigious and empowering monolingualism was enforced by emperors, colonial powers and stakeholders over a long period of time and the identification of West African nations with mostly one official European language is still relevant and might not change. During the colonial era, which heavily influenced the current official linguistic situation, standardised European languages were imposed to achieve a unity in the colonised nations, even if only a certain elite had unrestricted access to the official educational system and therefore the means of learning the languages. As a matter of fact, this strategic move prioritised European languages over local ones, entailing power, success and prosperity, and created a social class distinct from the rest of the population. This division was used by colonial powers in West Africa to justify their language policies while enforcing European languages, which continued to influence the public sector as well as individual perceptions.

The above discussion reveals important insights into the background of people's perception of monolingualism and multilingualism within (West African) societies, the monolingual institutional orientation and a multilingual population. It illustrates the creation of power hierarchies that influence individuals' everyday lives.

2.2.3 Individual multilingualism

Following the above discussion of theoretical multilingual diversity of languages in a country or region, as well as the implementation of language in a society or an institution, this section is concerned with the individual multilingualism of a speaker and individual linguistic repertoires. Every human being's (social) experiences are closely related to languages(s), which influence their lives and may or may not coincide with the imposed language situation of their country, society or community (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 6). Therefore, I focus on the varied use of languages, mixtures of language(s) and lects that play an active role in individual's lives. Individual experiences and backgrounds constitute crucial aspects and do, from a social and linguistic perspective, contain many more languages and/or varieties than a societal multilingualism proposes. This individual multilingualism appears as a result of a person's life experiences and knowledge, heavily influenced by places they live in, social environments, education etc. and are, as Blackledge & Creese point out for their participants, an "eclectic array of linguistic resources to create, parody, play, contest, endorse, evaluate, challenge, tease, disrupt, bargain and otherwise negotiate their social worlds" (2010a, p. 25). Yet an approach that incorporates the 'social' in linguistic, as well as more than named standardised languages, is not consistent throughout work on multilingualism. Aronin & Hufeisen for instance introduce their book with a distinction between societal and individual multilingualism, arguing that 'research in societal and individual multilingualism takes place mainly in countries with more than one official language and/or in countries which have heavy immigration rates' (2009, p. 4). In this research, I dispute Aronin & Hufeisen's (2009) view since Senegal only has one official language and is not heavily influenced by immigration rates and has not been for a long time (see chapter 3 on Senegal).

While it is generally agreed that there are individuals who are monolingual, meaning that they speak only one named language, views differ with regard to whether non-standardised varieties and (socio)lects are included in the specification. The claim of the existence of only one form of a language, and that the same variety of it is used in every social context, would be a great over-simplification. The concept of individual monolingualism, while focusing on one language in a highly idealised view of linguistic

systems, discards and ignores other language(s), receptive knowledge, sociolects and scopes of application (for further discussion see §2.5 linguistic repertoires). In the actual language use even of a speaker of only one named language, a certain degree of common experiences and knowledge is needed to create comfortable conversations in which the varieties and lects are used, enrich each other and enhance social and communicative skills (Braunmüller & House, 2009; N. Evans & Levinson, 2009).

Different applications of terminologies can be found; for instance Bailey (2007) uses ‘monolingualism’ to specify a person who is proficient in one standardised language and not more, but recognises the complexity of language within it. Yet in differentiating monolingual and multilingual speakers, he applies more subtle descriptions for monolinguals:

All language provides linguistic and discursive forms rich in social connotations for the negotiation of identity. Monolingual individuals exploit various registers, accents, sociolects, word choices, etc. for the omnipresent tasks of positioning themselves and others within social categories and the larger social world. (Bailey, 2007, p. 257)

Bailey uses the term heteroglossia or heteroglossic speech to describe this phenomenon while focusing on individual use of multiple varieties within one distinct language. He therefore broadly agrees with the usage of the term monolingualism but sees the necessity to further expand and refine it. Another significant analysis and discussion, which is closely related to Bailey’s approach using a different terminology, was presented by Joseph (2006). In his work he even goes so far as to call a monolingual individual an ‘invention of the imagination’, with an ignorance towards everything that deviates from ‘the majority language’ of a certain area.

Current research seems to indicate that even in a very restricted view on language with a clear classification and structured system, the majority of the world population is multilingual since they have active or passive access to more than one language, variety or lect in their linguistic repertoires that are meaningful in different contexts (Coupland, 2010; Philips, 2004; Vertovec, 2007). Available evidence for this claim of individual multilingualism is traceable in everybody’s personal experiences, independent of the number of named languages within their repertoire, but also in varieties and sociolects, as Busch (2015) clearly shows. She exemplifies varieties and sociolects by the simple illustration that each of us would share the same information differently depending on the context in which one is situated. The speaker presenting information might change to another variety/sociolect aligned to the context and interlocutors, building up on

experiences and common knowledge, while sticking to the same named language. Everybody can clearly feel this multilingual use of different varieties/sociolects when leaving a familiar social environment. In such circumstances, communication can feel difficult and rather uncomfortable, even though we possess knowledge of the language. The manner of communication is not the same with a family member, in which case a certain unmarked way of conversing occurs naturally and we choose our words, pitch, body language and so on in an accustomed way; conversely, with a police officer or a teacher, the same information would need to be delivered in a very different way (Busch, 2012, 2015; McLaughlin, 2008a; Thijs, Rehbein, & Verschik, 2012). Therefore, this research is concerned with an approach that includes more than generalised standardisations, focusing instead on people living and engaging in a social environment, who are, in their individuality, not monolingual.

The concept of monolingualism is agreed on in terms of the description of a certain situation in which only one language is the accepted one (observations in Djibonker can be found in chapter 5), or for the perception of people in different contexts (for an example see §7.2.1 on ‘monolingual’ discourse), rather than to describe speakers. This could be a spiritual/traditional/local event, in which one is required to use a certain language, an educational situation in which a standardised language is required, a conversation with an interlocutor with whom one has only one language in common, or an interview in which the language of communication is prescribed. In these situations certain parties perceive a ‘monolingual’ discourse, even though the reality can be rather different and should not imply that the individual interacting is actually monolingual. Therefore, a speaker who is able to use only one standardised language is likely to be multilingual at the same time. What I want to point out here is that in this research the former concept, which to some extent opposes monolingual and multilingual speakers as two different entities, will not be dealt with as such. In this area the official categorisation and standardisation of language is not comparable with the context in a European country. Imposing such a system within the realm of this research would be rather patronising. Furthermore, the focus here is placed on the analysis of highly multilingual speakers and it is rather unlikely to identify a speaker who is able to use and understand only one language. Individual multilingualism should by no means be perceived as something negative or causing problems in a community or area; discrepancies appear in connection to ethnic, political and economic motivations rather than originating from the multilingual individual.

In various recent works, the practice of (individual) multilingual interactions is discussed in e.g. Lüpke & Storch (2013), Busch (2015) or Juffermans (2015) etc., which

contribute to an understanding of complex linguistic repertoires, the choice of language and lived experiences. Sociolinguistic approaches considering social realities will be central to this work. In this dynamic context, the acquisition and use of language does not always follow strict rules, although with enough background knowledge patterns can be determined. In the following subchapter the linguistic repertoire of multilingual individuals, its formation, fluidity and perception will be discussed in detail with reference to the area of investigation.

2.3 Linguistic construction of identity

In this section I discuss the construction of identity, which is strongly connected to named language(s) in general, but with the emphasis here on central parameters influencing current societies in a West African and Senegalese setting. It is assumed that most of the inhabitants there are living within and in contact with a vast number of cultures, language(s) and identities, are influenced by the country's history and political interventions. As such, a certain degree of (societal and/or individual) multilingualism is presupposed and different language(s), registers, varieties and lects⁹ need to be applied to interact in a social life (see e.g. Pauwels (2016)). This diverges to some extent from the reality of many Western citizens, since given circumstances vary and the determination of an identity is influenced by different factors (for instance discussed by Obeng & Adebija (1999) among others, for Sub Saharan Africa). Following this theoretical discussion of existing research on the construction of identity and its connectedness to language(s), the phenomenon will be contextualised in the reality of Senegalese, and especially southern Casamance settings (see chapter 3).

Identity is a very complex concept and has been viewed from many different angles within different disciplines, with only a fraction of the investigations considering language as a central parameter. Joseph (2004) for example, describes the identity of an individual as following:

⁹ Further on language(s) is used to refer to mixtures of languages, varieties, registers and lects, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Identity has the additional meaning of ‘the condition of being identical’, and even *personal identity* is ambiguous between one’s name, which performs the ‘deictic’ function of indicating an individual, and that other thing we might think of as the *meaning* of one’s name, which performs the ‘semantic’ function of telling us who that person *really* is. [Italics in original] (Joseph, 2004, p. 2)

Bucholtz & Hall (2004) further establish a strong link between individual identity and a sense of belonging to a certain group of people or to a community similar to oneself in any way. This sameness can be characterised not only through other people but also political concepts, location of birth and belonging, ethnicity, language, culture and so on, allowing all kinds of mixtures of concepts which mutually influence each other.

Language however needs to be a central aspect of discussion, since the language(s) one grows up with shapes one’s perception of situations, provides access to different information and ultimately is needed to think about and express one’s identity. Although an (probably stereotyped) identity can be ascribed to an individual in any social interaction merely visually, language plays a huge role in self-representation and the assessment of one’s interlocutors and is a decisive aspect in the creation of identity. The vast majority of work in this area has instead focused on its relationship to culture, which includes language on a sublevel rather than as an equal or additional level. However underrepresented in sociolinguistic research, the importance of language and identity was adopted by well-known ethno-linguists and anthropological linguists like Gumperz & Hymes (1964) who primarily discussed an ethnography of communication. Duranti’s (1997, 2004) discussion of identity construction as a function of language and Riley’s (2007) intensive ethno-linguistic study on the dynamicity of language, culture and identity constitute further notable contributions to the field. Considerable research on identity and language has also been conducted within a psychological approach, as for instance Budwig (2000) among others worked on the representation of what she calls “the self” (equal to ‘one’s identity’) through language in different situations. However, each of these studies claims a fundamental importance of language for identity and agrees on the fact that identity and language(s) are connected social phenomena.

Returning to the original argument that language is tied to thinking and thinking is tied to creating a self-identification and self-representation which can be described as identity, I here want to refer to Bucholtz & Hall’s definition of identity, which they argue to be “an outcome of cultural semiotics that is accomplished through the production of contextually relevant socio-political relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy” (2004, p. 382). This definition forms

the basis of their theory and the representation of identity through language. Bucholtz & Hall therefore discuss four semiotic processes to explain the development of social identities through languages; *practice*, the actions that determine our everyday social interactions and are habitual; *indexicality*, a process in which the social behaviour of one moment points to a prior event or experience which is thereby juxtaposed; *ideology*, designating people's acquired belief systems which stand in close relation to power structures; and *performance*, meaning an intentional and self-aware presentation of one's identity comparable to playing in front of an audience (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, pp. 377–381).

Language(s) can play a significant role in identification with a group, a context or a situation and is manipulable for self-representation and thus identity:

We are supposed to be born into that identity, based on the language, community, and place that locates our birth. In terms of language, we have the ability to speak our “native” language intuitively and enjoy authority in it. On the other hand we are supposed to be incompetent or inauthentic in the languages of other communities. What might mark our variations and differences in using the other languages are treated as deficiencies and evidence of our alienation. Our right to use semiotic resources categorized as belonging to another language, place, community comes into question. (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 22)

Framed in a similar manner to societal and individual multilingualism, the following part presents some fundamental ideas underlying two orientations in the construction of identity and language, which are inextricably linked: (a) national identity, of one's state of origin/residence, and (b) the more personalised identification of an individual in various smaller settings. McLaughlin further splits (a) into two subcategories, arguing that “the first of these is a population's relationship and sense of belonging to a nation-state, and the second is the identity of an individual nation-state within the international world order” (2008c, p. 79).

However, within a West African setting, it constitutes the normality for many multilingual individuals to adopt multiple identities which can be influenced by all of the concepts discussed in the subchapters below. Therefore, an individual can and is willing to adapt their identity (or representation(s) of their identity) to the social context, which is often indexed through language(s) (Di Carlo, Good, and Ojong Diba 2019.; Lüpke 2016a). They do not represent a complete and essentialist identity but rather move fluidly between several that they have adopted throughout their lifespan, performing the one that seems expedient in given situations (Bräuchler & Ménard, 2017). These findings are of

great importance for this research and will be thoroughly discussed in relation to local phenomena in Djibonker in chapters 5 and 6.

In the following subsections I will discuss different settings and situations that can constitute influential factors for individuals' development and representation of identity through languages/language(s), as a means of establishing oneself in one's surroundings. Therefore, I will start the discussion on a wider scale, subsequently narrowing it down to more personal and specific influential factors and representations, considering parameters that play a role in Senegalese settings with highly multilingual speakers.

2.3.1 National identity

The national identity of an individual is strictly bound to belonging within frontiers and creates a sense of sameness among people on the inside and an otherness of everyone else. This sameness follows the idealised theory that inhabitants are united by language, ethnicity, culture, tradition and so on. The official language becomes institutionalised and hegemonic, often leading to an underrepresentation of others, and borders create distinctions between languages where the speakers themselves might not have drawn them (Fishman, 1999a; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In this context, Canagarajah has put forward a slightly exaggerated example for language and identity in a national Western setting and asserts, "English is now language of the English and of England. The connection is circular and self-perpetuating, that is, the language identifies the people and the place; the place and people identify the language" (2013, p. 22). However, as Canagarajah is aware, the reality is far more complex, and this assumption might not be applicable without expansion. The statement might yet be accepted by some individuals without critique, following a nationalistic or even patriotic approach, which includes local stakeholders in large part, as Bucholtz & Hall mention that "homogeneity is itself a contested ideological achievement that seeks to erase crucial differences in identity" (2004, p. 371). It is generally agreed in research that these categorisations exist and influence personal self-representation, as living in a nation is indispensable. Already as a small child we learn which country we belong to and differentiate from others (e.g. through language), which is further enhanced by the institutional sector, media etc. This is clearly visible in the fact that most of the people asked about their nationality would give a trained response that builds a part of their identity.

Although the nation can function as a form of self-representation and identification, it is in particular an indicator for local stakeholders to allocate people to a certain area. Even if the official title of a nation does not accord with its official named language, its

terminology is an indication of a certain language and culture and therefore part of an identification. However, an identification through national identity does not have to be accurate for individuals, since it may follow generalisations and stereotypes (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010; Joseph, 2004; Simpson, 2008). When identifying as Austrian, it would appear clear to most European citizens that one is highly likely to have a certain proficiency in German, but it might not be the case for a citizen socialised in other parts of the world. In French West Africa, being European is often equated with being French or being able to speak French rather than with one's origin. It would therefore be more likely for many inhabitants to assume an Austrian from Europe speaks French. On the other hand, identifying with an African country in a European setting might for the most part make people think of the language that was presupposed by former colonial powers, which in the case of Senegal and French does not relate the majority of population.

Language and nation has been discussed in different contexts by many scholars, with African identity in and outside Africa being a central topic in (recent) research and even popular culture (see e.g. Dolby (2006) discussing nation and cultural citizenship and Ndubuisi (2013) focusing on African identity; Omoniyi (2010) on postcolonial identities in Africa). For further detailed consideration of language and nation as a regime of identity, see Silverstein (2010), Edensor (2002) and Simpson (2008) among others.

2.3.2 Identity, heritage and origin

In this subsection, the characteristics of smaller scale identification with language(s) are described. This is of huge importance in a multilingual and multicultural area such as West Africa where inhabitants are likely to identify with different concepts of identity throughout their lifespan or even different environments within short periods of time. This kind of identification, which is very close related to language(s), is comparable to national identity but practiced in much smaller, context specific settings. However, instead of focussing on 'the named language', smaller scale identification patterns allow much more variation and can even extend beyond national borders. Therefore language(s) can be determiners for belonging to a certain group: an individual using language(s) roots oneself in a group and identifies with it while either consciously or unconsciously expressing one's identity in the form of communication. This in turn leads to a self-representation and a perception of others around us with language(s) constituting (parts of) one's (temporary) identity (Canagarajah, 2013). These findings on self-representation are congruent with the statement of Blackledge & Creese that "[t]he social construction of distinction based on 'ethnicity', 'race', and 'class', goes hand-in-hand with the social

construction of distinction based on linguistic practice and ideology” (2010a, p. 5). ‘Race’ and ‘class’ will not be further elaborated here since it would extend the scope of this research. However, what is characterised by Blackledge & Creese as ‘class’ is later (§2.3.3) theoretically included in relation to hierarchy, power and integration patterns.

Groupings, in which a certain identification and belonging is expressed through language(s) (but also through other parameters as for instance dress code) can often be named by the speakers but do not have to accord to the official named languages within a nation or system (Coupland, 2010; Robinson, 2009; Safran & Laponce, 2005). Whereas identification as well as linguistic representation in Europe is often primarily related to one’s place of origin¹⁰, in multilingual and multicultural West Africa concepts differ. However, the concept of language ‘territorialisation’, as described by Blommaert (2010), needs to be further elaborated here in the context of Senegal. As the term indicates, this approach discusses the language of a territory, area or even village, as applied by Lüpke (2016a, 2016b), Goodchild (2016) and Goodchild and Weidl (2018b) in Senegalese contexts. It is mainly rural spaces of the southern Casamance (and wider areas in West Africa) that are ascribed a patrimonial language, which is described as the language of the founder of a settlement. These mainly patrimonial languages are therefore territorialised and are the de-facto identity language of a village, which however does not mean that all residents are compelled to identify with it. Furthermore, in most cases in Senegal, one’s ethnicity, culture and language of identity are ascribed to the paternal heritage, regardless of whether the father, his culture and language actually play a role in the child’s life. The child automatically adopts their father’s ‘labels’ and the maternal heritage is subordinated if it differs from the father’s. Therefore, many Senegalese individuals can name their identity in another way, which in this case neither presupposes that the language or culture of identification of the father is the one they are most familiar with, nor that they have actually been in direct contact with it. In the case that the mother's linguistic and cultural identity differs, it is possible that her heritage is more active in the upbringing of a child. However, individual identification with one or the other is then context dependent, and in certain situations the mother’s identity could be prominent as well (Di Carlo & Good, 2014; Joseph, 2004; Lüpke, 2016b). Furthermore, living an everyday life in a cultural and linguistic environment differing from the parents’ identity and language admits a certain identification with it and can, as with ethnic identification,

¹⁰ I for example identify as speaking “Steirisch” the variety spoken in the Steiermark in Austria but can further narrow it down to “Weizerisch”, spoken in Weiz my town of origin, as I can distinguish people from other villages/towns in Steiermark) or can open it up to say I speak Austrian (German) or German. However, all of that is geographically defined.

be expressed through language (Fishman, 1999b; Fishman & Garcia, 2010). Significant parameters for the present discussion on identity and language can be found in religion and local activities that are distinctive in West Africa and Senegal. Religions and traditions are often strictly bound to certain ways of using languages and can therefore strongly influence the individual's self-representation either while practicing or simply entering a related discussion (Joseph, 2004; Linares, 1992; Ngom, 2003).

Besides the above-mentioned parameters, there might be many more that can only be described individually in connection to a person, since they are strictly bound to personal experiences and background. In the next section I will discuss structures in which differentiated representations of identity through languages play a role.

2.3.3 Identity, hierarchy and power

In addition to identities that are presupposed due to one's paternal/maternal heritage or the area and social environment one is living in, a certain status and position can be assigned to language(s) and therefore the people using them; meaning that for instance some of the language(s) used are generally perceived as being more advanced, urban, intellectual languages than others that could be seen as more rural, primitive or conservative. Using prestigious language(s) could therefore create the impression of a more advanced mind, as opposed to language(s) that do not enjoy a special reputation (Canagarajah, 2013). The speakers themselves create these constructions of social values, which are simultaneously influenced by their ideologies towards the language(s) (Mendoza-Denton & Osborne, 2010). A more prestigious way of communicating can be presented by using a named language of instruction in a country, a language which represents the elite and power, a language with importance in traditional practices and so on. The speakers can, to a certain extent, navigate through social interaction by the application of different language(s) to follow their needs. Power and markedness, meaning to create a social hierarchy visible through one's language use, therefore plays a huge role in identity creation and social inequities are connected to them since social hierarchies often abide by concepts of otherness (Bucholtz, 1999; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Eckert, 2000).

However, this creation of one's identity through language can be far more complex than a simple separation of social class, as for example McLaughlin (2008c, 2009b) and Shiohata (2012) discuss regarding an urban vernacular in Senegal. French is clearly seen as the most prestigious language in Senegal but for the elite; however the establishment and acquisition of 'urban vs. rural variety' (as mentioned in McLaughlin (2009b)) can be

relevant. Whereas a speaker of an urban variety might be seen as somehow modern and sophisticated by younger people in a more rural setting, they would not attract attention in the urban setting at all as long as they do not use a rural variety. However, the same person would not enjoy a similar creation of value in a more traditional and conservative group since the use of an urban variety could be perceived as the loss of heritage and identity. Additionally territorial restrictions to certain languages have to be considered, and linguistic identities that are highly relevant in one area might not play a role in one's self-representation in a different setting (Mendoza-Denton & Osborne, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Whereas Canagarajah (2013) discusses the temporary identity representation made possible by borrowing from other language(s) to create community solidarity, Rampton (1999) uses the term 'crossing' to designate the way an individual can adapt to situations and apply different styles. However, representing one's identity through language(s) is linked to the use of our (multilingual) linguistic repertoires in the sense that speakers can also adapt and change their identities. Depending on people's experiences and the richness of their linguistic repertoires, they can align themselves to different social groups or change their identities. In the following section, I will discuss linguistic repertoires, which can be seen as the tool for the creation of an (linguistic) identity.

2.4 Social networks of communication

In this section, different types of networks of communication are presented and discussed, which stand in connection to the construction of individuals' identities. As a matter of fact, every human being who communicates with others in any possible way with a certain regularity also participates in a social network. Communication without any kind of social interaction is not possible. These networks can be rather complex, and an investigation has to be versatile. Therefore, with regard to what was discussed in the sections before, a rich amount of background knowledge on individuals and their environment needs to be accessible to understand social network structures, and vice versa. It seems to be impossible to understand given situations only extraneously, without acknowledging e.g. social duties, individual and joint attitudes, ideologies and experiences. A social network can be described as a phenomenon of contact, consisting of individuals' reciprocal interaction, and following a motivation, purpose or need. Social networks differ from each other with regards to cultures, historical and political factors, languages/language(s), shared experiences, personalities, etc. (Beyer & Schreiber, 2017; Dodsworth, 2014; Lesly Milroy, 1987). With a focus on the language(s) used during

interactions within social network structures, attention has to be paid to the differences between a person's self-reported linguistic repertoire (incorporating attitudes, ideologies etc.), the external report from other people in their surroundings, and for instance a linguist with potentially different world views and a certain training to analyse the languages/language(s) used.

The data yielded by studies such as Marshall (2004), Moore (2010) or Dodsworth (2014) among many others, provide strong evidence that while analysing the relationship between a speaker and other individuals, it is common to find multiple networks which can be interweaving and which influence each other, while in a multilingual situation, a wide range of language(s) can be used. On this account Goffman (1981) indicates that the investigation of the mix of languages used in communicative utterances in a network should be realised as a type of "production format". In doing so, he emphasises the lack of critical attention paid to the deconstruction of the idea of distinct languages. Research on these social structures requires a complex approach, which has to be adapted to the given situation; a social network approach can go far beyond conducting research on e.g. one community in an urban setting with a major influence of European languages, owing to the greater density of public institutions and therefore also the ex-colonial language. Throughout one's lifespan, people participate in different communities and groups, in which certain linguistic practices are performed with variable intensity and regularity. Investigations therefore address people adopting different linguistic practices that are adjusted according to a certain person or group, a moment, a context and so on. Individuals perform togetherness, but simultaneously reciprocally influence each other through their different experiences and linguistic repertoires, as single speaker can be affected by a group and change their use of language in a similar way, or an individual can exert an influence on the group (Blommaert et al. 2011).

For a better orientation within the analysis of social networks, the following section discusses the approach of speech communities, even though it has undergone many revisions and seems to be barely used nowadays. However, it serves as an important foundation for the subsequently developed models of social network analysis (SNA) and communities of practice (CoP), which are discussed in more detail in the following subsections. The concept of a speech community is applicable to a group of speakers with general behavioural norms and rules of communication, wherein some ways of speaking are permissible as authentic and some are not, and restrictions are additionally attributed to a geographically defined population (Gumperz & Hymes (1964); redefined by Coupland (2010) and Wenger (2009) among others). However, within the analyses of speech communities in scientific work, the tendency to ignore external influences on a

certain group of people is criticised, as e.g. Labov (2001) himself reflects on restrictions to intra-varietal change through language contact previously expressed within his work. Furthermore, within the development of sociolinguistic science the increasing critique of essentialism and Euro-centric ideologies like “treating early experience of living in families and stable speech communities as crucial to grammatical competence and coherent discourse” (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 6) have been challenged. Hence, the concept of speech community is often adapted and replaced by the concepts of communities of practice and social network analysis. These two approaches, which are often intertwined and might even be inseparable, follow a more empirically anchored approach in which linguistic variation and social meaning are co-constructed. Milroy & Gordon for instance point out that “[b]oth of these concepts are better understood as a means of capturing the dynamics underlying speakers’ variable language behaviours than as social categories parallel to class, gender, or ethnicity” (2003, p. 116).

Nevertheless, any kind of research on social network structures still has the potential to exceed our current sociolinguistic understanding of multilingualism. The results can only reflect the reality of the group of people on whom the research is focused, while keeping possible rapid changes of situation in mind. Even though the timeframe in which the research was conducted is represented in the data, longitudinal studies can be helpful in the establishment of more theoretical generalisations. Further, it is a helpful tool to investigate tendencies and patterns within the language use in given areas and networks that can help to gain a deeper understanding of languages in contact. To date, only a very small number of studies on CoPs and SNA have been carried out in West Africa (Beyer & Schreiber, 2017; Schreiber, 2009). Overall, they tend to categorise languages as entities with clear borders and to describe language use in urban centres and especially language contact with ex-colonial languages. In order to investigate social network structures and language use, several complementary methods of data collection are needed in order to achieve a deeper knowledge of individuals’ linguistic behaviour, and results cannot be generalised.

2.4.1 Communities of practice (CoP)

Within a community of practice, or rather a community of *social* practice, which is a part of one’s social networks, a group of people share an interest or need and interact regularly; within this interaction they respond to the social environment in which they live. Therefore, they establish a way of using language(s), lexis or even certain vocabulary that is recognisable and constitutes the natural way of conversing within the group. The

term 'Community of Practice' was first used and developed by Lave & Wenger (1991) as a helpful tool for describing the social theory of learning, but was further developed and brought into sociolinguistics. The concept of practice connotes an interaction in a social context, where structure and meaning of actions exist to a certain point and knowledge and experiences are shared. A CoP therefore goes beyond abstract characteristics like age, class, gender or a characterisation through localisation, as e.g. studying a village/district at the same time as a CoP. They are constituted by a regular interaction of a group of people, within which they have developed certain ways of interacting, handling situations, behaving and communicating. These could for instance be represented by a dance group, a group of salesmen and women at a market, a group of friends sharing common activities, or craft workers, as mentioned by Lave (1991). The crucial point is the commitment of all participants and a certain regularity of activities.

However, individuals' worldviews, ideas and emotional connections within a CoP can be hard to detect from an outside position. These connections are often not clearly communicated since participants of the community are already aware of them, know each other, share views, ideologies and attitudes and to some extent possess common knowledge. Therefore, investigation of CoPs and language use not only includes statements about the language(s) and their roles, but also things that are deliberately unsaid, implied or assumed and might only be fully understood by a member of the CoP. The way to use language(s) in conversations within an individual's CoP follows certain patterns that have to be acquired at some point and are shared by all members to various extents. Although participants share knowledge and perspectives, no individual has exactly the same experiences as anyone else in the group. People have different backgrounds, experience situations differently, have their own personality, act differently and thus influence others, which might play a role in the linguistic behaviour within contact situations. Such an engagement involves the whole person and their experiences, knowledge and verbal and nonverbal actions (Dodsworth, 2014; Eckert, 2006; Wenger, 1998). The way of behaving and using language(s) within one's CoP can be retrieved or triggered in different situations in life, not only through direct contact with its members but also through for instance a reference to an event closely related to the CoP.

Each individual is likely to participate in more than one CoP at the same time and joins or leaves communities during different life stages for different reasons. This also means that a person can share more than one CoP with another individual, and know them in various roles in the communities as for example a sports friend, co-worker, neighbour, cousin etc. (Dodsworth, 2014; Eckert, 2006; Smith, 2009; Wenger, 1998). The concept of CoP provides an approach that is crucial in sociolinguistic research, focusing on the

use of multilingual repertoires, the transmission of all kinds of information, and understanding the context behind it.

2.4.2 Social network analysis (SNA)

Social network analysis is a powerful approach used to understand individuals' interactions and their social ties to each other. The approach does not originate from linguistics yet has long been used as a tool by researchers of other disciplines. Anthropologists, for example, have used it to investigate the structure of societies and the importance of networks in providing support for families, social policy and social practice (e.g. Lévi-Strauss, 1973); sociologists and social psychologists (e.g. Cook & Rice, 2003) have applied the analysis within the "social exchange theory"; political scientists (e.g. Ward, Stovel, & Sacks, 2011) have used it to virtualise which actors are more central in political and economic interactions, and which ones constitute bridges to the periphery. What creates the strong link between these disciplines and the sociolinguistic approach is the fact that a social network is created by people to support their daily lives, where some kind of communication is needed to share information (Beyer and Schreiber, forthcoming). From a sociolinguistic perspective, a social network can be seen as a type of contact situation in which either a norm is developed, or change happens. Applying a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, a social network analysis shows how languages change or are maintained, and how variation patterns do or do not come about through interactions between people (Lesley Milroy & Gordon, 2003; Romaine, 2003). Further assuming that there is no individual who is monolingual (Bamgbose, 2000 among others), multilingualism influences the choice of language(s) (within the speakers' linguistic repertoires) in the conversation through context and interlocutor(s) and simultaneously has an impact on the speakers' linguistic repertoire.

Social network analysis has no clear predetermined methods for data collection and can, within its theoretical claims, be adapted to the aims of the research. Therefore, even within one discipline, it needs to be aligned with the context of the research, in order to investigate the connectedness of individuals through modalities of interactions and communications. Therefore, individuals' culture(s), world views, social obligations and experiences need to be investigated and further elaborated with the cooperation of the people who are the focus of investigation, as one can see in the works of Milroy & Li Wei (1995), Marshall (2004) or Schreiber (2009). In linguistics, a social network is the aggregation of relationships and conversations of individuals where either a group or an ego can be considered as a point of reference. Social networks do not have any prescribed

social or geographical boundaries and can manifest in face-to-face interactions, or through the help of devices like phones or online applications. Yet, not only is the individual's network central, it is also of great importance to investigate in more detail than merely counting people's contacts and the time individuals spend together. A further, deeper investigation in the activities that people share is crucial and mutual influence must not be perceived as equal for all individuals spending time together. For example, people who work together, but next to loud machines that make it impossible to communicate, evidently cannot be analysed in the same way as people who work in a job in which it is possible or even important to communicate. In order to discover the ties that link speakers to each other, a focus on the intensity, length, and regularity of communicative events is necessary. Furthermore, the strength of ties between the people communicating can be established.

To date, there have only been a few investigations into social network structures and their relation to language use in West Africa. Along similar lines to research conducted in the Western world, Salami (1991) provides a good illustration about multilingual Yoruba speaking urban residents in south-western Nigeria. Within the social networks of investigation, he is mainly focussing on what he calls "common spoken Yoruba". The data gathered, mostly through semi-structured interviews with speakers in the area, shows evidence of phonetic/phonological variation in language. In the work of Beyer (2010), the discussions centre on social network structures including kinship structures in a rural environment along the border of Burkina Faso and Mali, east of the Sourou River. In this research he focuses on clarifying the external social factors that can influence linguistic adjustments in different contexts of highly multilingual speakers. Beyer & Schreiber (2013; forthcoming) published findings of two neighbouring villages with multilingual inhabitants on the border of Burkina Faso and Mali, where they apply the SNA to a rural context while focusing on contact-induced language change. Within this research the authors clearly show the importance of developing and adapting methodologies to establish relevant categories. Furthermore, the team of the Crossroads Project (soascrossroads.org) was investigating multilingual conversation in the social networks in nearby villages (Djibonker, Brin and Essyl) in the southern Casamance in Senegal. Within this research, six participants, a man and a woman from each village, represent the egos of social networks. Data on their linguistic behaviour and recordings of their daily conversations have been collected with and around them; the results are forthcoming. These investigations on a small-scale level will help to establish a better understanding of the multilingual settings.

2.5 Linguistic repertoires

A linguistic repertoire can generally be described as the central storage in any individual's mind, where language(s) and experiences, knowledge and feelings associated with them, are located. Lüdi's definition for linguistic repertoire, in his debate of multilingual language(s) use and its implications for linguistic theory, is used as a starting point for discussion:

The totality of these resources [language(s)] constitutes the linguistic repertoire of a person or a community and may include different languages, dialects, registers, styles and routines spoken. (Lüdi, 2006, p. 14)

As is clear in his delineation, a linguistic repertoire comprises more than just named languages stacked on top of each other. In the understanding of most people growing up in the global north, when describing their linguistic repertoires their representations are shaped within a well-established system, meaning an educational system where a certain language policy is represented. These policies are further reinforced by socially common and frequent contact with media, where exactly these languages are used, and the public sphere, representing and accepting only a small number of languages¹¹. Therefore, the number of, and distinction between languages in one's own linguistic repertoire (where it is also probable that only named languages are mentioned) can be expressed effortlessly (Jørgensen et al. 2011). Propagating a common view in most official institutions and educational systems, people are trained to identify certain lexemes and phrases as e.g. Italian, German, French, English¹² etc.; a mixture is often inappropriate and gets "corrected" by a teacher or supervisor, provoking a denaturalisation of speech. This might be reasonable in certain contexts, but at the same time leads to an extreme, where other possibilities are rejected undeclared, without realising that a mixture of languages can constitute the more natural way of conversing. Yet, in sociolinguistics, the idealisation of language as an entity has been challenged (see e.g. publications from Leung, Harris, and Rampton (1997) as well as Lüpke and Storch (2013) where such issues are discussed).

Repertoires are deeply connected with one's identity, wider communication practices in the area in which one lives, religious/traditional purposes and institutional

¹¹ As it is common for many people in the UK for example to receive an education in English, following the news/television in English and communicate in English in offices, the tube etc.

¹² Here I am naming some European languages to point out the long and obliged placement of them in West Africa but not to forget that West African languages are used in the public sphere and educational sphere as well e.g. Bambara in Mali, Moore and Fula in Burkina Faso, Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo in Nigeria among many others (Ouane & Glanz, 2010).

requirements¹³. The language(s) in the repertoires can occupy a certain period of the speaker's life or the whole lifespan to different degrees (Busch, 2012, 2015; Kinginger, 2011; Pauwels et al., 1997). This section aims to establish a general understanding of individuals' multilingual repertoires (focussing on highly diverse settings) to further elaborate the individual development and external shaping of one's repertoire and discuss social internal and external influences on the implementation of it. For inhabitants in West Africa it is common to have more than two named languages in their linguistic repertoire, which are generally used on a daily basis. Yet finding people with many more named languages in their repertoires does not constitute a rarity in most areas, especially not in the southern region of Senegal where this research is based; influential factors on people's linguistic repertoires will be discussed from this perspective.

As briefly mentioned above, an individual's linguistic repertoire has to be seen as a dynamic construct that can be applied differently and is shaped through interaction with others, relocation or change of context throughout one's lifespan (Busch, 2015). Hence, different language(s) can have different meanings and occupy varying positions in the stages of an individual's life; they can be (partially) forgotten or re-remembered and new ones can be acquired. An investigation of a speaker's linguistic repertoire therefore has to include considerations of places the person has lived, worked or spent a lot of time in up to the present, focusing on the linguistic environment in these places and the extension and intention of the language(s) used there. In overcoming the aforementioned factors, in looking not for idealisation but for authenticity, homogeneous notions of 'language', 'culture' and 'ethnicity' become futile (Blommaert & Backus, 2013). Canagarajah (2013) describes hybrid linguistic performances characterising a person's identity and mentions translanguaging practices as a phenomenon drawing on the speaker's "sociocultural in-betweenness", which is strongly connected to people's experiences, contacts and mobility. Even though the approach of sociocultural in-betweenness gives a good insight into how the identity and linguistic repertoire of an individual can be shaped, to my mind the terminology evokes a negative connotation. 'In-betweenness' would mean to stand in the middle of cultures and, being familiar with many multicultural identities in multilingual West Africa, the prevailing situation of individuals seems neither to be a 'being between cultures', nor a 'stacking cultures on top of each other'.

¹³ Institutional requirements are often bound to history, economy and politics. A widespread example, therefore, is the implementation of a Western school system with a 'European language' during the colonial era and beyond; an interference in the system which is an influential factor on people's attitudes and ideologies towards languages.

Besides agreeing with Canagarajah's assessment that "users treat all available codes as a repertoire in their everyday communication and not separated according to their labels" (2013, p. 6) I here want to expand his notion by bringing attention to productive skills and receptive competence, described by Beerkens (2010) and Braunmüller (2006) as "receptive multilingualism", which are often not mentioned in the speakers' reports on their linguistic repertoires.

Receptive multilingualism encompasses the life experiences and social factors influencing an individual. Such receptiveness within multilingual situations would mean that the speakers stick to a certain language in a conversation to respond to an utterance delivered in another language, proving receptive competences without necessarily possessing or showing active competences. Whereas this phenomenon is often seen as helpful to increase mobility in a European setting (meaning e.g. the ability to mutually understand parts of Italian and Spanish speech with only a little effort) in a highly multilingual setting as West Africa, where most of the languages are not that closely related, the meaning can shift. Receptive multilingualism might be applied through a (from a linguistic view) closely related language but also others. However it has not received attention in African settings and has mainly been discussed for European languages like Dutch and German in the border regions of Germany and the Netherlands (Beerkens, 2010). Yet Singer & Harris (2016) for instance discuss a multilingual communication of two speakers in northern Australia, where receptiveness of each other's languages is lived and the speakers apply it as a normal way of communication in which each of them sticks to a different language. What can be seen in the Australian setting can also be observed in West Africa, where receptive multilingualism often goes beyond the borders of closely related languages. Yet, even though a full receptive understanding of another language might indicate a high competence, it is still possible that the speaker does not speak, but only understand it. This can be closely related to the fact that there is actually no intention to speak it and receptiveness is sufficient for the speakers' needs. However it is generally accepted that the receptive linguistic knowledge of a speaker is greater than the productive, which can for instance be influential in translanguaging conversations (Braunmüller, 2006; Canagarajah, 2013; Thijs et al., 2012). Although the receptive competence of language(s) might not be primarily reported in one's self-description of linguistic competences, it is still part of this research and will be included in analysis. There are no limits to the plenitude of linguistic repertoires, yet different influences can be accounted for and will be discussed in the following subchapter.

2.5.1 Mobility and the development of linguistic repertoires

Besides the language(s) of one's caregivers as well as a vested interest in the acquisition of a language, there are different political, historical, economic and social constellations that directly affect individuals and therefore their experiences and linguistic repertoires. A person's individual linguistic repertoire is flexible and can change during a short period of time or during a lifespan, whereas social contact with others is a factor with a strong influence on a personal linguistic repertoire. The more an individual moves and faces different situations with different people, in theory, the greater plurality is introduced.

In the establishment of linguistic repertoires one further has to consider that most of West Africa's inhabitants are rather mobile (see chapter 5 where this is discussed with reference to the area of interest); they live in different places throughout their lives, commute to work, move in and out of family responsibilities, spend holidays elsewhere etc. and communicate with people living in different places using different language(s) on a national and international level (for further readings see e.g. Goodchild & Weidl, 2018b; Juffermans, 2015; Lüpke, 2010, 2016a; Trudell, 2009). However, what has to be considered is that even if an individual hardly moves their place of residency throughout their lifespan, their social environment is still for the most part highly mobile and therefore directly influences their experiences and life histories (Pauwels, 2016). These exchanges are now increasingly possible due to modern technology, shaping the linguistic repertoires that are used to produce multilingual and translanguaging conversations. Individuals are influenced through various sources, which also further develop their linguistic knowledge and contribute to a growth of individual multilingualism all over the world. In the following section some common factors that influence the linguistic repertoire of multilingual speakers in Senegal are discussed.

The influences that can play a role in the establishment of a highly multilingual repertoire in the area of interest can be grouped as following: (a) history and politics; meaning West Africa and Senegal which have a long history that goes far beyond the colonial period and slavery (see chapter 3) and there were huge movements which brought large numbers of people with different (linguistic) identities together (Clark & Phillips, 1994). Later in the colonial period new systems of language were imposed while shaping borders to the interest of the colonial powers. This directly affects the inhabitants up to today and influences their linguistic repertoires (Bâ, 2007; Bichler, 2003; Nugent, 2007). (b) Geography; individuals in West Africa are influenced by their geographic location, like individuals everywhere. However it is interesting how, going beyond the

local languages, repertoires of people living in distinctive contexts such as border areas on trading routes are influenced by different language(s) than individuals in the rest of the country (Bamgbose, 2000; Trudell, 2009). (c) Upbringing; a primary influence on one's individual linguistic repertoire depending on where and with whom an individual grew up and learned to speak. (d) Education; people acquire different languages through (public, official) education, but they can further consciously decide to acquire new and additional languages/language(s) (Fagerberg-Diallo, 2002; Ouane & Glanz, 2010). (e) Family responsibilities and child fostering; individuals are highly likely to move between places because of their responsibilities to for instance help other family members who live in a different place. Also child fostering is more common and frequent in West Africa and Senegal than in Western societies and often follows different motivations (González, DeRose, & Oloo, 2011; Lüpke & Storch, 2013). (f) Linguistic residencies; meaning people moving somewhere or sending their children with the aim of learning another language, for instance to the place that is closely related to their traditional identification (Calvet & Dreyfus, 1990). (g) Economic, conflict and professional migration; describing a (temporary) forced migration due to economic, conflict or professional reasons that can initiate integration into a new linguistic environment, and result in the acquisition of more language(s) (Dyer, 2010; Linares, 2003; Mezger Kveder & Flahaux, 2013). (h) Marriages; in many West African settings traditionally the women moves into the household of the family of her husband, which is often in another village so there is also a different linguistic environment plus the women come with a different linguistic repertoire into the new village and use these language(s) to for instance talk to their children, relatives and so on (Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Lüpke, 2016b). (i) Neighbourhood multilingualism¹⁴; in a neighbourhood that is multilingual, an individual might decide to acquire their neighbour's language(s) (Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Singer & Harris, 2016). All of these points might play a role in the linguistic repertoire of the speaker in the area and shape their language(s) throughout their lives.

2.5.2 Attitudes, ideologies and awareness

This subchapter provides contextual information regarding the representation of an individual's awareness of their language use, attitudes and ideologies. Within multilingual situations and speakers' daily interactions, the way language is used adapts depending on the interlocutor(s), context and aims that are followed, possibly reflecting a self-

¹⁴ Mentioned by Dreyfus and Juillard (2004) as "relations de voisinage".

identification or withdrawal. Even within ‘a language’ variations are possible and essential in social interactions, as Asif argues for registers, as part of one’s repertoire:

Language users often employ labels like ‘polite language,’ ‘informal speech,’ ‘upper-class speech,’ ‘women’s speech,’ ‘literary usage,’ ‘scientific term,’ ‘religious language,’ ‘slang,’ and others, to describe differences among speech forms. Metalinguistic labels of this kind link speech repertoires to enactable pragmatic effects, including images of the person speaking (woman, upper-class person), the relationship of speaker to interlocutor (formality, politeness), the conduct of social practices (religious, literary, or scientific activity); they hint at the existence of cultural models of speech – a metapragmatic classification of discourse types – linking speech repertoires to typifications of actor, relationship, and conduct. This is the space of register variation conceived in intuitive terms. (Agha, 2004, p. 23)

However, it is not only one’s ‘register’, meaning different varieties of the same language, that is used differently in different situations, but also the use and mixture of the language(s), creating a highly complex situation from the perspective of a sociolinguistic researcher. Depending on the situation, speakers themselves are influenced by context and environment and might even adapt the representation of their linguistic repertoires.

Language identifies groups of people and the speakers themselves identify with languages/language(s); they can move fluidly between them, differentiate them and assign different values to them. Language attitudes, concerning the personal assessment of a speaker towards language(s) and language ideologies, are therefore crucial in determining larger-scale perceptions of language(s) and thereby constructing collective interests. Such attitudes and ideologies coexist in the perception of every speaker towards language(s), yet individuals’ awareness of them and their effects vary (see also §2.3 on the linguistic construction of identity, which has a strong link to attitudes and ideologies towards language(s) as well as Garrett, Coupland, and Williams (2003), Myers-Scotton (2007) and Kristiansen (2010) for a more in-depth discussion on attitudes and ideologies).

Based on this understanding, an approach focussing on metalinguistic awareness within empirical research on language pragmatics emerged, focussing on influences that structure and form a performance during the use of language(s). Speakers’ metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness therefore enables them to adapt (language(s)) to certain situations and reach their goals in conversation in the most beneficial way possible (Cobbinah et al., 2017; Di Carlo, 2016; Lüpke, 2016b; Mertz & Yovel, 2003). However, as previously mentioned, speakers might not always be accurately aware of how they use language(s). Linguistic ideologies in this context are to a certain extent socially shared

and grounded, and clearly influence the metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness of a speaker who might follow or believe in them, as they can be applied intentionally or adapted unconsciously (Silverstein, 1981).

Using one's metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness means to manipulate language use in complex ways, heterogeneously adapted to social context. This is however an acquired competence that is connected to social power and can be expanded and changed throughout speakers' lives. However, how a communicative exchange works is highly influenced by culture and society and therefore needs to be discovered in its context (Kristiansen, 2010; Romaine, 1995; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

2.6 Practicing multilingual conversation

Theoretical approaches to the linguistic analysis of more than 'one language' in conversational exchanges are numerous. A trend that is still present and was already mentioned several times throughout this chapter is to stick to a strict categorisation and separation of language_a and language_x (e.g. Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Myers-Scotton, 2004; Serra, 1998). This, however, only seems to be an appropriate approach in settings with not many more than two speakers sharing not many more than two languages. A rather new approach pursues the assumption that there is a fluid movement within the use of different languages (Canagarajah, 2013; Jørgensen et al., 2011). Yet some researchers have recently questioned whether speakers themselves, and possibly also the researchers, are able to distinguish between languages (Juffermans, 2015; Storch, 2016). Furthermore, many other publications can be located in between the two extremes of classification and a complete opening of the approach, as for example Auer (1999) and Green and Abutalebi (2013) who both integrate a more fluid concept of the use of more than one language in their works while still following certain defined structures of analysis. However, in this chapter, the use of 'multiple codes' or language(s) will be further discussed as it reflects social forces and past experiences of all sorts, as was already indicated by Gumperz and Hymes in their early publications (Gumperz 1982; Gumperz and Hymes 1972). Gumperz (1982) further refers to the fact that interlocutors analyse and judge each other in order to communicate at all; this includes the assessment of the speakers linguistic competences but also which kind of conversation it is and how to best react to it. This approach in turn brings us back to the former subchapter and Silverstein's discussion on awareness and how ongoing meta-level calculations direct communicative events (Silverstein, 1981).

The following sections will provide a theoretical framework for analysis by firstly presenting a review on the existing literature which encompasses more idealising representations of language alternation, followed by contemporary approaches that allow a more open point of view by focussing in greater detail and from different perspectives on the social and contextual in language use. This is intended to constitute a comprehensive review of approaches for analysis, which will subsequently (chapter 7) be applied to the data collected for this research.

2.6.1 The use of multiple language(s) and language alternation

In this section I outline some fundamental ideas and approaches underlying the use of multiple ‘codes’ within conversations. The use of more than ‘one language’ in conversational interactions is dealt with from very different views, however the vast majority of publications assume clear categorisations of languages and only reflect the view of the researcher in analysis, omitting for example (social) contexts, linguistic repertoires and backgrounds of the speakers. The following discussion will begin with rather closed approaches that follow strict rules in analysis of data, moving toward more open ones that accept more variation and are therefore more central for this research.

One of these approaches is represented by the frequently cited sociolinguist Myers-Scotton (1993, 1998, 2004, 2006, 2007 among many others). Her studies on code switching hinge on social motivations of bilingualism, with a broad focus on the speaker and a fixed role she attributes to different languages. She a) refers to bilingualism as a phenomenon in which a person speaks two languages (not mentioning if there are more in their repertoires); and b) states that each of these languages has its own distinct function. The languages emerging from their function are defined as “matrix language”, the language that contributes the structure and morphemes with grammatical relevance to an utterance; and “embedded language”, the language that contributes other morphemes or notion words (Myers-Scotton, 1998, 2004). In her later works she then argues that every speaker in a multilingual community associates the language they speak with particular social roles and chooses a particular language as a signal of his or her understanding of the situation. Myers-Scotton (2007) claims that there are various socio-psychological values associated with language, and that the bilingual speaker takes advantage of choosing a language that is appropriate to the existing situation. Her work serves as a good basis for an understanding of how multilingualism can function, even though it is founded upon a concept that was already indicated as problematic: the presumption that most bilingual speakers start their speaking years as monolinguals with

a L₁ and then later acquire a L₂. Even though she is considering “polyglots” (children who acquire two languages simultaneously and then possibly a third) to some extent, she does not illustrate situations where more than two languages are used, nor does she clarify how borders between languages are set concerning e.g. the speakers’ repertoires.

Other publications on multilingualism and code-switching describe the behaviour of people in particular settings of their lives, but also within the framework of clearly categorised languages (e.g. Poplack, 2004; Rahimi & Eftekhari, 2011). The authors thereby do not determine the general application of linguistic capability, give little or no background knowledge on the speakers themselves and rarely describe the social situation in which data was collected. In such publications, one also finds an inconsistency regarding terminology: for instance Poplack (1981) uses the term ‘code switching’ whereas Muysken (2003) uses ‘code mixing’ to describe a similar phenomenon; in other publications however these two terminologies are distinct, as for example Maschler (1998) clearly contrasts code switching and code mixing. However, this is mentioned only to clarify the problems with such approaches and will not be further discussed here since it does not have a direct relevance to this research project. For a closer look at the development of the concept of code switching/mixing in bi-/multilingual settings and the design and advancements of important theories and methods, I refer to Poplack (2004) and Nilep (2006) among others.

Another approach, representing a more open and flexible conceptualisation of language alternation, is outlined by Auer (1999). He presents three different prototypical concepts, which he calls code switching (CS), language mixing (LM) and fused lects (FL), yet the boundaries between CS - LM and LM – FL are ambiguous. Auer argues that these prototypes develop in conversation, starting from code switching until the language alternation possibly reaches a fused lect, and also provides a timeframe or precondition for this change within the use of language. The three concepts he uses are defined as follows: code switching is seen as the juxtaposed use of linguistic codes, consisting mainly of intersentential blocks and the contrast between them. He defines two different types of switches, (a) discourse-related switching, where aspects of the situation change the choice of language, and (b) participant-related switching, where the interlocutor influences the use of language. Language mixing is presented by Auer as closely related to code switching and is explained as a phenomenon where mixed speaking styles can emerge, depending on the significance of the chosen code for the participant (e.g. dialects) and recurrent patterns. Auer (1999) states that language mixing requires a higher competence of an individual’s bilingualism as the codes are integrated more tightly, with a high occurrence of complex intrasentential switching. The third prototype of fused lects

again differs from language mixing mainly in the grammatical structure; for example, a reduction of variation following from greater conventionalisation.

Green & Abutalebi (2013) investigate code switching from a similar but psycholinguistic perspective. They assign conversations to one of “three different recurrent patterns of conversational exchange” (2013, p. 517) that come with different processing demands. They discuss (a) a single-language context, where it is clear that one language is used; (b) a dual-language context, an environment in which two (or more) languages are used, but with a distinct aims in differentiation between interlocutors; and (c) a dense code-switching context characterised by routinely intrasentential code switching (Green, 2011; Green & Abutalebi, 2013). Exemplifying these concepts, a single language context can be distinguished in a situation where for example tradition or religion is practiced and only one language is deemed appropriate in this situation. A dual-language context could appear when person A speaks the same language as person B and they converse, but then person C, who speaks another language, enters the conversation. Person A, who speaks the language of persons B and C could then speak both languages in the same situation but switch to address the different interlocutors. Dense code-switching appears regularly in multilingual contexts comparable with Auer’s fused lects prototype (the above is likewise discussed e.g. in Schwieter (2016) and Lüpke (2016b)). Even though the work of Green & Abutalebi (2013) and Auer (1998) is considerably different from e.g. Myers-Scotton’s approach, parallels can be found and their theories are interlinked.

However, the above presented approaches tend to focus on the languages themselves rather than on the speakers’ use of them in a certain context. This contrasts with Busch’s work (2015), in which she speaks about “Spracherleben, the lived experience of language” (2015, p. 2) and places the focus of research upon individuals, who can reinvent themselves through language(s) in different situations of life (as already discussed in §2.5):

Under the condition of globalization, speakers participate in varying spaces of communication which may be arranged sequentially, in parallel, juxtapositionally, or in overlapping form. At different periods in their lives, at different moments of their day, or even simultaneously (with the help of digital means of communication, for example) speakers participate in several spaces that are socially and linguistically constituted in different ways. Each of these spaces has its own language regime – its own set of rules, orders of discourse, and language ideologies – in which linguistic resources are assessed differently. (Busch, 2015, p. 4)

Within interactional sociolinguistics, an interdisciplinary micro-analysis of situations is attributed more value, and it is not only languages but also the speakers' experiences and contexts that are incorporated in research and analysis. Relatively early in sociolinguistic research, Ferguson (1964) discussed situational types of the use of language in diglossia studies and presented the employment of a variety of forms depending on environment, settings, or interlocutors. Gumperz and Hymes (1964) aimed to establish a general theory for language and society, in which they used concepts like 'inference' and 'contextualisation' that are still relevant. The analysis of discourse and conversational processes increases in relevance, especially pertaining to the methods and concepts employed to describe language as an essential factor for social and cultural processes (Blom and Gumperz (1972), further discussed in Rampton (2017)), and terms like 'situational and metaphorical switching' were introduced for the use of more than one language (see also Gumperz (1982, 1995) and following their work e.g. Li Wei (1998)). Contextualisation and understanding become central, as speakers and interlocutors use verbal and non-verbal signs while relating the said (and the language(s)) to knowledge acquired through past experiences in order to maintain conversational involvement and follow certain aims (Gumperz 1992). As Rampton (2017) phrases it:

[...] context is an understanding of the social world activated in the midst of things, an understanding of the social world that is interactionally ratified or undermined from one moment to the next as the participants in an encounter respond to one another. (Rampton, 2017, p. 3)

With a broader acceptance of context and experiences as highly influential factors for the alternation of language(s), the phenomenon of extra-linguistic triggers (triggers that originate from personal knowledge) was discussed by several researchers from slightly different perspectives or more specifically adapted to their research focus and setting (Clyne 2003; Gumperz 1995; Juillard 2001b; Li Wei, Dewaele, and Housen 2002; J. Milroy and Milroy 1985). However, they can be understood as a kind of discourse strategy within conversation, with certain repetitive patterns (described by Gumperz (1995)), where the alternation of language(s) plays a significant role for conversational aims. Information can for example be highlighted, or as Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez describe it 'foreground[ed]', which "relies on the fact that words are more than just names for things. Words also carry a host of culturally specific associations, attitudes and values. These cultural values derive from the context in which words are usually used, and from the activities they are associated" (1972, p. 300). This applies not only to words within one language, but also to lexemes typologically originating from other languages.

In multilingual situations, speakers often select between linguistic alternants but might do so automatically rather than consciously in adapting to one's extra-linguistic knowledge that is characterised by experiences. Language(s) are used differently depending on the setting in which the speaker is located (religious, educational etc.), the situation they are in (official, emotional etc.) and the interlocutors they are facing (e.g. sharing common knowledge, experiences etc.) (Bailey, 2000; Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Ferguson, 1964) and even who they want to include or exclude in communicative events (De Beaugrande, 1997; Piller, 2012). However, as Levinson (1983) emphasises, due to the fact that inferences are presupposition based, what is said and how it is interpreted can diverge quite a lot. This observation pertains not only to contexts of globalisation but equally to small-scale research and the use of multiple language(s).

In the chapters below, the work of the above-mentioned authors was at some point pertinent for understanding and is positioned as representative of wider research on the use of more than one language. Certain approaches will be further discussed in relation to excerpts of the data collected for this research, focusing on the role of Wolof within the use of multiple language(s) in chapter 7. This will assist in paving the way for a discussion of languaging, which can be employed as a further relevant approach for analysis of participatory videography data in this research (see 7.3) yet combined with concepts that stipulate more definite patterns. In the following section, the establishment of languaging and related concepts in linguistic research are reviewed.

2.6.2 (Trans-)Languaging

In this subsection, I will provide some fundamental ideas underlying languaging, which is used as an umbrella for a newer orientation in sociolinguistic research. Within the approach of languaging to investigate multilingual repertoires, the noun 'languages' was adjusted to being used as a verb; a perspective that can also be found in anthropological research, where language and culture are closely related concepts (for a discussion and more information see e.g. Duranti (2003)). Yet, even though the use of language as a verb seems to be gaining in popularity nowadays, Joseph (2002) supports the notion that it was used far earlier than this recent work. According to him, 'to language' was already implemented back in the 17th century and is today even included as an entry in the Oxford English Dictionary (2010)¹⁵. While the term is better

¹⁵ For further information on how language as a verb developed in different disciplines over time, I refer to Joseph (2002) who is drawing on an extensive range of sources.

implemented in language and teacher education, Juffermans (2015) illustrates a significant analysis and discussion of language within sociolinguistic research and argues for the appropriateness of the verbalisation of the term. Similar to Juffermans, Makoni and Pennycook (2006) discuss the disinvention and reconstitution of language with strict borders; Jørgensen et al. (2011, p. 23) argue that “‘Languages’ are sociocultural abstractions which match real-life use of language poorly”. On these grounds we can argue that the approach opens up possibilities for analysing situations and conversations in a different, more open way, which helps to address the variety and boundlessness of real-life conversation. However, as Blackledge and Creese (2010a, p. 6) report, “[q]uestions about multilingual practices must always be situated in relation to major forms of social organisation”.

The concept of languaging as an analytic tool in sociolinguistic research was established to designate everyday communication while accepting all possible mixtures as natural and real, which makes everyday communication as unpredictable as human beings. I once again want to draw attention to the distinction between the use of a single language, monolingualism, multilingualism and ‘languaging’ in this research. The use of a single language signifies the use of one distinct clearly categorised language without mixing it with another distinct language. Monolingualism however stands in contrast to multilingualism, meaning that a speaker features one or more named language in their linguistic repertoire. Languaging does not comprise a counting of standardised languages within repertoires, societies or communication but includes a fluid mixture of them as well as styles, lectors, body language, gestures, signs, sounds etc. in every possible combination in their social environment.

The shift of perspective on the world as a multilingual place with highly diverse contexts entailed a closer examination of actual real life language use (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Toivanen & Saarikivi, 2016). As Blommaert and Rampton argue, superdiversity goes beyond the restrictions of standardisations and idealisations:

Rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups and communication. (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 4)

A sociolinguistic analysis in a context such as West Africa, with one of the highest levels of multiculturalism and multilingualism in the world, requires a tool such as languaging for the analysis to do justice to the superdiversity of the people and area. This

however means that the social in language(s) has to be in the foreground of analysis. There are various recent works that focus on the practice of multilingual conversations in interaction while considering influential historical, political, economic and social factors with a critical perspective, as e.g. Garcia (2007, 2009) and Blackledge and Creese (2010a) on multilingualism and superdiversity in urban contexts; Busch's (2015) focus on the individual with extensive attention to their personal experiences while establishing a novel methodological approach to deal with superdiverse situations; and Lüpke & Storch's (2013) small-scale approach focusing on African, and especially West African settings. This research contributes to an understanding of complex linguistic repertoires, the choice of language and lived experiences, which play a huge role in approaching and analysing a languaging situation in a superdiverse context. The consolidation of different sources and the considering of social realities are central.

The translanguaging approach, instead of considering utterances in real life conversations out of context, focuses on situation-specific social interactions and takes passive comprehension and even practices beyond speaking into account, as gestures, body language and writing can play a role in conversation. The researcher has to be aware that actions like a gesture to show a direction, or a facial expression to show one's understanding, disappointment or amusement etc. can influence a conversation on the same level as a verbalised utterance and are therefore included in this concept. Individuals and their reactions are equally important in a social interaction as language itself and shape the conversation. Therefore, on logical grounds there is no compelling reason to argue that something like clearly defined language exists in a natural conversation and languaging should be used for description. As a proof of this point, it might be convincingly argued that the social reality of every multilingual individual is very complex and thus our way of communicating does not bear comparison with a standardised language.

Joseph (2002) provided one of the earliest discussions of the neologism languaging in an educational context, which then was further developed, adapted and extended since the idealising approach to languages as entities could not be upheld in the view of many sociolinguistic researchers. Jørgensen (2008) and subsequently Jørgensen et al. (2011) use the term polylingual languaging or polylinguaging while claiming that certain features are socioculturally associated with languages, as values, and for instance meanings and speakers backgrounds play a role. Juffermans (2015) uses local languaging to situate language in a specific geographical area, with a specific history in the Gambia. Storch (2016) does not put limitations to languages but argues that languaging has to be seen as a postcolonial experience, in which certain ways of communication are perceived

as ‘better’ than others, and largely accords with Chow’s (2014) findings on the same matter. The term translinguaging is used by Canagarajah (2013) who focuses on global Englishes and translinguaging practices, while Garcia and Li Wei (2014) as well as Blackledge and Creese (2010a, 2010b) discuss translinguaging in school settings. Yet it is important to note that a geographical restriction is not applicable in this research, since people are highly mobile and as such the geographical location diminishes in value. Similarly, with the postcolonial experience it is difficult to clearly determine who is influenced by which phenomena from the colonial period and to what degree, and I aim to avoid generalisations for the group. Yet despite a varied emphasis in this research and discrepancies in the perception of certain approaches, there are areas of agreement in aiming to describe real life language use. Further on the term languaging will be used, in which the aforementioned publications are adapted to the needs of a study in the setting of the research, as primarily discussed in Goodchild and Weidl (2017).

This recent line of research has established that (trans-/poly-/local-) languaging constitutes the usual form of communication and is rather unexceptional. There are however patterns that can be analysed in languaging situations; but rather than assume that they are applicable to a group as a whole, here the individual is addressed in a small-scale investigation. Therefore, the researcher acquires as much information as possible about every speaker in the situation to be able to follow the conversation itself, the speakers, the context, the shared common knowledge with interlocutors and other possible social and linguistic influences.

2.7 (West) Africa and publications on multilingualism

Multilingualism is a generally recognised phenomenon in publications on Africa and linguistic researchers broadly agree to describe Africa as a multilingual space where several language(s) are (and have been for a long time) significant in social life. This chapter provides a guidance on publications and findings on multilingualism in Africa, with a particular focus on West Africa and especially Senegal. Whereas some of the scientific work on West African countries was already mentioned above, this chapter is dedicated to bringing them together and reviewing them within a geographical framework.

A number of scholars have taken issue with the use of more than one language in Africa with different foci and various results. “Multilingualism and Language Contact in West Africa: Towards a Holistic Perspective” edited by Lüpke (2010), featuring several

pioneering publications on West Africa, provides a far reaching discussion on multilingualism and language contact in various spheres including writing and education, illustrating the wide-ranging and multifaceted character of multilingualism. Trudell (2009) in her study on multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa clearly argues for the positive impact of the use of several languages on an individual level and describes multilingualism as identity-building and at the same time beneficial for global communication. Addressing multilingualism, but reminding the reader of the fluidity of (social) spaces and codes, Lüpke (2019) presents an remarkable study on languages in contact situations in West Africa. Furthermore, with a sociolinguistic approach to Senegal, Dreyfus and Juillard (2004), discuss multilingual language use in Dakar and the Casamance (mainly Ziguinchor), which is an essential publication for this research (see also Juillard, 1991, 2001b, 2001a, 2005). However, much of the debate over African multilingualism has revolved around language policies and language planning on a societal level, in which customised solutions to deal with a vast number of languages are sought, as for example Bamgbose (2000) on West Africa, Diop (1989), Sall (2010) and Trudell (2008) within Senegal.

Furthermore, a considerable amount of research in that context has focused on multilingualism and education as a number of scholars have contributed to the anthology “Multilingualism and Education in Africa: the State of the State of the Art” edited by Orwenjo et al. (2014) focussing on various African countries and levels of education. Addressing the ‘African context’ Wolff (2012) explores societal and individual multilingualism within a psychological, sociolinguistic and historical perspective. However, he is concerned with early child multilingualism and (monolingual) formal school education, presenting the result that an enforced monolingual situation is delimiting for children and advising a change towards adequate ‘mother-tongue’ education.

Research on multilingualism in Africa is broad as it covers a huge geographical area with numerous language(s), yet one can register a clear tendency for the vast majority of work to focus on urban centres of West Africa, predominantly dealing with widespread languages (of wider communication) with high numbers of speakers, often in contact with the language of the ex-colonial powers. This is visible in several publications on West Africa (Altmayer & Wolff, 2013; Bamgbose, 2000; Baum, 2009; L. C. Moore, 1999; Prah, 2010; Salhi, 2010) as well as within Senegal (see e.g. Lexander and López forthcoming; McLaughlin 2001, 2009a; Sall 2010; Versluys 2008). These studies present us with highly multilingual situations in urban areas that are described and analysed from various and occasionally eye-opening perspectives. The relevance of these studies should

by no means be disregarded, however an imbalance between results of urban and rural settings is traceable (Di Carlo, Good, and Ojong Diba, 2019). The findings of these studies can result in misguided assumptions regarding the predominance of urban language(s) and urban ways of communication which seem to be threatening smaller, mainly patrimonial or ancestral languages that are primarily used in small-scale rural settings. Research on urban multilingualism therefore nurtures debates surrounding language maintenance, shift, endangerment and death. Mous (2003) describes this phenomenon as a loss of linguistic diversity in Africa which he puts in direct conjunction with the contact of bigger, dominant languages, and describes languages with less than 50,000 speakers as to be 'on the verge of extinction' (2003, p. 157). Similar to his approach, Blench (2007) addresses language endangerment in the West African context but argues that languages with less than 3000 speakers are at high risk. According to Childs (2008) several languages within the Atlantic group of the Niger-Congo phylum, including languages spoken in Senegal like Wolof and Fulfulde, are decisive for extinction. These publications contain specific examples in which the discussion of language endangerment and language loss are appropriate and might further be relevant in other places and communities in Africa. Rural areas and small groups of speakers are highly under-researched and designating likely language loss due to their quantity of speakers is more an assumption than a fact (see e.g. Pierpaolo di Carlo and Good (2014) and Lüpke (2019) for a further discussion).

Furthermore, the recent publication of Mufwene (2017) discussing language vitality in Africa addresses the gaps within research on language endangerment and language loss as for example historical time depth in investigation and the consideration of ecological factors. In reaction to Mufwene's publication, Di Carlo and Good (2017) argue for a deeper analysis of specific situations, considering and incorporating local cultures, values and influential patterns to substantiate a discussion of language endangerment and loss. In line with the discussion, Lüpke (2017) points out the importance of referencing the fluidity of multilingualism and even individuals' identities in small-scale language ecologies where the use of language is adaptive to the context. Especially in West Africa, where the vast proportion of language(s) are under-described and rural areas have not yet achieved much attention, these recent perspectives on language vitality debates are essential to this research as well as useful for contextualising and rethinking views on language endangerment and loss.

2.7.1 African rural multilingualism

This subchapter provides an overview of some recent developments in the research of rural multilingualism in Africa, which only enjoys a little attention in linguistic publications up to date. However, several (socio)linguistic publications on this area are highly relevant due to the fact that they represent heterogeneity through the diversity and manifold richness of data. Below, some of the existing literature on rural multilingualism is further reviewed, however mainly focussing on West Africa¹⁶ due to its relevance for this study.

A small number of scholars have examined the role of multiple languages in African small-scale ecologies, as for example Schreiber's (2009) investigation of the micro change through language contact in a rural area on the borders of Mali and Burkina Faso, putting the individual speaker in centre of attention. Beyer (2010) investigated in the same area through the social network approach, with the main focus of identifying the relevant (social) factors for linguistic adjustment in rural multilingual communities. Building on their former findings, Beyer and Schreiber (2013) turned their attention to morphosyntactic outcomes through language contact in Burkina Faso. Furthermore, Moore (2004, 2008) provides us with her findings from case studies from the Mandara mountains in Cameroon. Within an ethnographic approach, she clearly refers to the importance of knowledge on rural linguistic situations to be able to understand how socialisations shape multilingual individuals. From a sociolinguistic perspective, Di Carlo (2015, 2016, 2018), as well as Di Carlo and Good (2014) conducted case studies in the Lower Fungom, a rural area in North West Cameroon, discussing local multilingualism supported by an in-depth ethnographic approach. A considerable amount of research that has focussed on rural multilingualism in the Casamance, Senegal was conducted by Lüpke (e.g. 2016a, 2016b, 2017). Furthermore Lüpke and Storch (2013) present data from Senegal and Nigeria, Cobbinah (2010) addresses multilingualism and language contact in Djibonker, while Carvajal and Weidl (2015) examine languaging in Djibonker, and Goodchild and Weidl (2018b) discuss fluid translanguaging practices in Djibonker and Essyl, both villages in the southern Casamance.

This rather brief section clearly shows the research on the field of rural African multilingualism has been restricted to only a few selective areas, whereas large areas are untouched, and a number of crucial questions must therefore remain unanswered. However, the recent and essential studies from Lüpke et al. (2019), comparing rural

¹⁶ For East Africa see e.g. O'Barr (1971) who worked in a rural village in Tanzania, and Wright (2001) focussing on literacy in rural area in Eritrea.

African with lowland South American multilingualism, and Di Carlo, Good, and Ojong Diba (2019), who have sought to draw upon case studies from African rural contexts, both refer to the fact that rural multilingualism is not a unitary phenomenon (see also Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; Lüpke, 2016a). Therefore, a description of rural areas needs to build up upon an in-depth ethnographic approach that includes individuals, local values and cultures(s) on the same level as the language(s) in the centre of the studies. These investigations in rural, non-Western settings where language ecologies differ substantially from urban centres in the same countries (or even areas), play an essential role in the better understanding of language(s) and societies as a whole.

2.7.2 Wolof and multilingualism in Senegal

This subchapter is concerned with (socio-)linguistic publications on Senegal, but especially those concerning Wolof and the Casamance, as the language(s) and area of interest. As briefly mentioned above (and further elaborated in chapter 3), the linguistic situation is rather complex in Senegal and a huge number of language(s) can be found with differing functions, hierarchies and power depending on the area of interest as well as the context (McLaughlin, 2008c; Shiohata, 2012). Numerous scholars have carried out empirical studies in urban centres, especially the capital Dakar (in Senegal), mainly focussing on the big languages represented. However, there are further investigations on more remote areas like the northern part of Senegal as well as the Casamance, which will be reviewed below.

Even though the literature on Senegal clearly has its roots in urban centres, there is a body of research on the linguistic situation of Senegal as a whole, describing the use of several languages as a part of everyday societal life, as for example Dumont (1982) published a book on French and African languages in Senegal, situating the colonial history and language in relation to local language ecologies. Sall (2010) focusses on societal multilingualism in connection to endangered languages and language policies that are employed. Furthermore Nunez and Léglise (2017) discuss multilingual practices in Senegal within an open approach. Referring to the superdiverse context and the high mobility of individuals, they discuss contact situations in various contexts that nourish the multilingual repertoires of individuals. Other publications further discuss the linguistic situation in Senegal, however their beliefs on the representation and dominance of languages in certain areas vary from each other, which is especially noticeable in the description of rural territories (Barry, 1987; Diallo, 2009; Fall, 2010; O'Brien, 1998 to

mention some). This stems partly from the scholars' scientific positioning but also indicates the insufficiency of linguistic research on rural areas.

Due to the fact that Wolof is the biggest and most widely spoken language in Senegal, major ongoing debates that address Wolof in urban centres have generated an impressive amount of research. It is however discussed in terms of different functions, for example as identity language and/or language of wider communication (also referred to as *Lingua Franca*) (see e.g. Bichler, 1996, 2003; McLaughlin, 2008c; Ndiaye, 2009; Swigart, 1994, 2000; Weidl, 2012 among others), in contact with other languages (see e.g. Köpp, 2002; Poplack & Meechan, 1995; Swigart, 2000), and especially through a focus on how urban varieties of Wolof seem to influence wider areas of the country (McLaughlin, 2008c; O'Brien, 1998; Shiohata, 2012). Studies on Wolof further extend across the borders of Senegal to the enclave of The Gambia, since it constitutes a widely used language in this small country (Haust, 1995; Juffermans, 2015; Juffermans & McGlynn, 2009). It is generally accepted wisdom that Wolof is widespread all over the country (and The Gambia) with a high degree of influence on most of the inhabitants, leaving only some remote areas less affected.

The literature on urban Wolof seems to be in general agreement on the fact that Wolof varieties, highly intermixed with French and other (mainly Senegalese) language(s), are dominant in urban centres. Urban Wolof, which describes a Wolof variety mixed with a high proportion of French, is often described as configuring an identity which is to a certain extent necessary for integration in urban centres and seems to constitute the only appropriate form of communication in many situations of urban life (Cissé, 2005; McLaughlin, 2001, 2008b, 2008a, 2009a; Nougier Voisin, 2002; Swigart, 1994, 2000). In this context, Swigart (1994) describes Urban Wolof as an 'indigenous language' that is adapted to the needs and complexities of social urban life, yet notes that it simultaneously loses its cultural affiliations in representing the urban way of life. McLaughlin (2008c) describes Wolof as a language that can occupy the role of a 'mother tongue' for speakers in Dakar, even if it diverges from the language of identity of their parent(s). Furthermore, urban Wolof is seen as an expression of modernity and mobility and opposes its speakers to 'the rural population', or even people who speak Wolof in a more unmixed form as *kaw-kaw* which was translated by O'Brien (1998, p. 31) as 'hick' (see also Diouf Ndiaye, 2013, p. 80). The prevalence of Wolof and Urban Wolof throughout the country further influences the writing systems, as Shiohata (2009, 2012) argues with reference to the linguistic landscape along the streets as well as the growing literacy production within Dakar in local language(s), mainly based on Wolof/urban Wolof. Furthermore, Lexander (2009, 2010b, 2010a) investigates written language in

new technologies (phone messages and e-mails) and presents interesting results of a newly mediated multilingualism in which not only French but also Senegalese languages are used intermixed in written private exchanges. Building on these findings, Deumert and Alexander (2013) and Alexander and López (forthcoming) discuss the expression of multilingualism in written texts in Africa and Senegal. In their findings, not only Wolof, but also other widespread languages (Pulaar, Sereer) are used, however the presence and public dominance of Wolof (or urban Wolof) in Senegal's cities is clearly visible. Furthermore, there is an intense contribution to the strengthening and power of Wolof through Islam, the religion with which over 90% of Senegal's population (at least partly) identifies. Wolof is designated to be one of the languages of Islam (after Arabic and besides French and other Senegalese languages) and performatively functions to carry 'Senegalese culture' to the masses (Behrman, 1968, 1970; S. Diop, 2003). In this context and through Islamic education, Wolof also found its expression in Wolof Ajami (or 'Wolofal') writing, as further discussed by S. Diop (2003) and Lüpke and Bao-Diop (2014).

However, against the background of the strong dominance of Wolof, which is supported by several (social) structures of public life, a phenomenon described in the literature as 'Wolofisation' has occurred. Wolofisation designates the quick and powerful spread of Wolof all over Senegal, in official and private sectors, enforcing a gradual assimilation (D'Alton, 1987; O'Brien, 1998) and possibly creating a non-ethnic Wolof identity for non-Wolof individuals who however use Wolof as their main language (Johnson 2005). McLaughlin stated in this context that "Wolofization thus poses an overt threat to other ethnic groups for whom linguistic acculturation entails ethnic acculturation" (1995, p. 154). As far back as two decades ago, O'Brien (1998) discussed the spread of Wolof as a socio-linguistic phenomenon influential far beyond the borders of urban centres, referring to the increased use of the language as 'shadow-politics of Wolofisation'. Mbaye (2012a) discusses the increasing popularity of Wolof among young speakers in Senegal and historical language contact situations that are influential on the situation today, while Mous (2003) even goes so far as to make Wolof responsible for language loss in Senegal. Furthermore, empirical evidence presented in Dreyfus and Juillard (2004) confirms the notion that Wolof is more widespread than before, as they state that it is even entering the official sphere where formerly only French was possible as a language of communication. This is further discussed in Juillard (1991) where she describes her observation of the increasing presence of Wolof in the Casamance, starting in the city of Ziguinchor but gradually spreading into rural areas. Discussing the sensitive issue of identity and language in Senegal, McLaughlin (1995) presents findings on a

response of the Haalpulaar?en and Sereer ethnic groupings to Wolofisation in the northern parts of Senegal, who structurally fight against it for fear of consequences like language and identity loss. Most of the research on Wolofisation clearly indicates a threat that Wolof poses to other local languages, which however interestingly stands in contrast to findings of Haust (1995). In her research she is concerned with the contact of Wolof, Mandinka and English in The Gambia and presents us with the interesting result that, even though Wolof seems to spread throughout the country gaining more and more speakers, it is not responsible for language loss and is rather used as an additional language that can be adapted in conversation.

A considerable body of research has revolved around Wolof (and multilingualism) in Senegal, however the urban centres of the country are the main focus and less attention has been paid to rural areas like the Casamance. Even though scholars like Juillard (1991, 2001b, 2005) and Lüpke (Lüpke 2016b, 2016a, 2017; Lüpke et al. forthcoming), Cobbinah (Cobbinah, 2010, 2013; Cobbinah et al., 2017), Watson (2014, 2018b, 2019), Goodchild (2016, 2018, 2019) and Goodchild and Weidl (2018b) among others present pioneering results in their research on multilingualism in the Casamance, the role of Wolof still needs to be further explored for a better understanding of the situation as a whole.

3 Senegal: a linguistic insight

Senegal, like all countries of West Africa, can be described as a highly multilingual and superdiverse space. Most people speak more than two languages on a daily basis and concepts like “mother tongue” (Bonfiglio, 2010) or “first/second language” have to be used with care (for a further discussion on these terms see §2.2 above). Senegal is a country of great cultural and linguistic diversity, bequeathed by its eventful history and political change. In the following subsections data is presented and considered in terms of its influence in promoting the multilingual situation as we can find it today.

Initially, statistical facts and a brief historical and political overview of Senegal are provided, focussing on events whose repercussions affect not only political and economic development but also the distribution of languages and language policies. The next section then discusses the present language policies within a highly multilingual situation. Subsequently, Senegalese languages that are present and play a role in this research will be introduced; a selection was necessary since a discussion of all languages in Senegal is not within the scope of this thesis (and is perhaps impossible).

3.1 Statistical facts and administration

Located on the western coast of Africa, today the Republic of Senegal (*République du Sénégal*) borders Guinea-Bissau in the south, Guinea in the south-east, Mali in the east, Mauritania in the north and the Atlantic Ocean in the west, where it shares maritime borders with the island nation of Cape Verde. In the southern part of Senegal, The Gambia (which is today recognised as separate nation state) is an enclave bounded by the Gambia river and a stretch of the coastline. Border demarcations as we find them today were hugely influenced by the former colonial powers who separated settlements that were culturally and linguistically homogeneous (but probably still multicultural/multilingual) based on their interest. Considering the local West African languages, this is still evident in the border regions of Senegal where political frontiers and cultural and linguistic frontiers are not the same. However, this is not the case for the former colonial languages that are institutionalised; Senegal shares French with Mauritania, Mali and Guinea, whereas Guinea-Bissau’s official language is Portuguese and The Gambia’s is English, creating an additional interesting linguistic constellation of European languages.

Map (03) Senegal



(retrieved from <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/senegal-map.htm> (2017))

According to the estimations of the United Nations World Population Prospects of 2017, Senegal has approximately 15,850,000 inhabitants, comprised of slightly more women than men; a rapidly growing population as the number was about 11,900,000 only 10 years before (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017). Following UNESCO statistics, in 2015 44% of the population were aged 0-14, which is a considerable proportion and a fact that influences the economy, politics, the educational system and social constellations (UNESCO - Institute of Statistics, 2015).

The capital of Senegal, Dakar, is located on a peninsula and has over a long period been a hotbed of intercultural exchange and multidiversity, particularly the island of Gorée, which exerted considerable influence on trading in West Africa and later the Atlantic slave trade. Today far over three million people are resident in Dakar and the suburbs around the capital city, whereas the next biggest cities contain fewer than half a million (Touba) and approximately 240,000 inhabitants (Thies). However, the mobility of people is high as many people move to Dakar temporarily to get an education, (find) work, live in a family household there to help out, be close to a hospital to get treatment or just to go on holidays during school break. Senegal has 14 regions (listed from the most highly populated, in descending order): Dakar, Thiès, Diourbel, Kaolack,

SaintLouis, Louga, Fatick, Kolda, Tambacounda, Kaffrine, Matam, Ziguinchor, Sédhiou, Kédougou - all of which are named after the regional capitals. These regions are further subdivided in ‘départements’ that are segmented into ‘arrondissements’, which have further subordinated local collectives that divide the *arrondissements* into ‘communes’ with local administrative functions (Beye et al., 2016; gouv.sn, 2017).

This research is based in the Casamance¹⁷, and the data was collected in the village of Djibonker/Jibëher which is part of the *Région de Ziguinchor, Département de Ziguinchor, Arrondissement de Nyassia and Commune du Enampore*.

Map (04) Regions of Senegal



(retrieved from www.senegal-online.com)

¹⁷ Casamance was the former name of the area, but it was initially separated into two (*région de Ziguinchor* and *Kolda*), and then three regions (adding *Sédhiou*). However, the term Casamance is still frequently used by Senegalese inhabitants and literature.

3.2 History and politics: influences on the linguistic situation

The contemporary area of Senegal underwent great economic, political and social change long before the colonial era. Ghanian, Malian and Songhai empires occupied the territory for centuries and generated migration flows that shaped the socio-cultural constellation of the country today. The Casamance, a collective term for the area south of The Gambia and north of Guinea-Bissau (encompassing the regions Ziguinchor, Sédhiou and Kolda), however, needs to be differentiated from the northern parts of Senegal. From the 15th century onwards the area referred to as the Upper Guinean Coast was affected by severe migration movement as well as trading networks that preceded the era of early globalisation and created societies with plentiful small-scale multilingualism. Many footprints of that time are traceable up to today, surviving in a multilingual situation that is further nurtured by its interesting geographic location (for a further discussion see Lüpke 2017, 2019). According to the few historical sources available, people immigrated to the area from the north and the east, including Wolof, Seerer and Fulani/Pulaar (see e.g. Clark & Phillips, 1994). The Wolof primarily settled in the northern area next to the Senegal River establishing the Jolof Empire in the middle of the 14th century. They ruled a large area from the present-day border of Mauritania to the north reaching the Gambia River in the south, resulting in 4 Wolof states. Resisting the expanding Mali Empire, the Wolof gained more and more power, while spreading their culture and language over bigger areas (Charles, 1977).

Later in the 15th century, Portuguese explorers reached the territory and founded the first commercial settlements in an area that is primarily described in the European literature as the Upper Guinea Coast (Kopytoff, 1989). Tailing the Portuguese, the Dutch established trading posts to export goods as well as slaves in the 16th century, followed by the French who discovered the area in the 17th century. In this time, the trading posts in present Senegal played, due to their beneficial geographical position, a huge role in the transfer of slaves from all over West Africa to Europe and the Americas. With the official end of slavery in 1815 some of them slowly vanished but left behind their infrastructures and settlements of workers and ex-slaves (Machinek, 2002). In this period different kinds of intercultural blending and exchange happened in the present area of Senegal, as summarised by Johnson:

The precolonial ethnic landscape was transformed, in a racial and socio-political sense, with the advent of European contacts. The European (Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch) presence between the period from 1444 to 1659¹⁸, contact with the French (1659-1817), and the comparatively fleeting interludes with the British in Saint-Louis (1758-1778, and 1809-1817) and Gorée (1759-1763, 1779-1783, 1800-1817) engendered a mixed racial population that emerged as a result of slaving, inter-racial marriage and concubinage. (N. K. Johnson, 2005, p. 142)

After years of battling over resources and slaves, the French regained the land from their British imperial rival in 1817 and strengthened existing bases in places like Gorée and Saint Louis. In this time, they promoted a “French civilisation” via an instructional system, establishing 4 communes while propagating the belief of superior and inferior races, cultures and languages. The communes in Gorée, Saint-Louis, Dakar and Rufisque further served as bases from which larger regions of West Africa were administrated. They also functioned as educational centres where the French educated the labour force according to their needs; here, Senegalese inhabitants were trained in French, apprenticed to different professions and taught how to adapt to French cultural standards (W. G. Johnson, 1985). While the British kept concentrating their colonial efforts around the Gambia River, France established a French West Africa with Senegal as one of the six colonies in the region. At the beginning of the 20th century the city Dakar, which was founded by the French in 1857, superseded Saint Louis and became the capital of French West Africa.

In 1872 the four communes gained the same legislative status as France, which made them resident to extraterritorial French citizens. However, this also meant that they were compelled to live according to French law, including being part of the French electoral system and fighting in the French army (M. Diouf, 1998). The colonial power imposed its language and culture on the residents in the four communes and promoted their superiority over the Senegalese citizens in the ‘hinterland’. It aimed to create Frenchmen/Frenchwomen in the 4 communes of Senegal in a movement they called ‘mission civilisatrice’ (civilising mission) (N. K. Johnson, 2005). They systematically constructed a cultural and linguistic nationalism, as Johnson (2005) describes: the “Francophones in the four communes sought to eradicate one’s traditional culture, mother tongue, and ethnic ties” (2005, p. 146). People from the outside could not easily gain the status of an extraterritorial French citizen. However, the preferable living conditions and

¹⁸ Note in original quotation: “*Maxime Petit in Les colonies françaises: petite encyclopedie coloniale* (Paris: *Librairie Larousse*, 1902), Vol. I p.562, notes that by 1626, Senegal was considered to be a true colony under the direction of *Compagnie Normande et du Rouen*.”

educational opportunities, as well as a possible escape from traditional cultural responsibilities (for instance the escape from rigid caste systems of certain ethnic groupings) encouraged many people to try to be part of one of the communes. This was possible either through marriage or by virtue of being born there. Therefore, a trend emerged whereby pregnant women would leave their villages to deliver their child in one of the communes. This automatically made the newborn a French citizen and guaranteed a certain standard of living. The mother remained a Senegalese citizen; however, in contrast to the father, she was allowed to stay in the commune with her child. These women promoted a multicultural and multilingual upbringing of the children: many of them continued to speak a Senegalese language at home and were unwilling to give up their ethnic identity. Even though the communes were supposed to be purely French, it was not feasible since people's life histories and experiences influenced their use of language(s). Furthermore, the Wolof especially had huge economic power and political influence as they traded 90% of the country's exports by value. Consequently, a steady contact between French and Wolof existed on an urban level and supported a mixture of them.

With the advancement of the French administrative organisation, the cultural and linguistic adaptation to France went hand in hand with religious assimilation to Catholicism, precluding polygamy. Yet the Wolof constantly strengthened their ethnic and linguistic power. Moreover, the political influence of Marabouts¹⁹ and other religious leaders played a key part in resistance to hybridisation with Catholic beliefs, empowering Islam through Wolof and vice versa. They supported the idea that for a member of the Mouride brotherhood²⁰ it is best to be Wolof, which was vastly influential and led to an ethnic vilification of those who could not adapt. This was possible since the vast majority of Senegalese citizens affiliated to the Mouride brotherhood already spoke Wolof as a language of wider communication and were able to culturally reorient (Behrman, 1970). This systematic strengthening of Wolof, which was very effective, is often described in literature as "Wolofisation", as mentioned above in §2.7.2 (see also e.g. Dreyfus and Juillard 2004; O'Brien 1998).

Recognising the importance of Koranic schools for the development of an ethnic and cultural identity, the French colonial powers aimed to replace the Koranic schools with

¹⁹ Religious leaders and cultural icons who are often also consulted to give advice and to heal/help with traditional medicine, talismans and charms.

²⁰ Mouride is the biggest Islamic brotherhood in Senegal, beside Tijaniyya, Qadiriyya and Layene. The general Muslim in Senegal is part of one of these brotherhoods who all have different religious interpretations, centers and leaders (see e.g. Mbacke, 2005).

their own Catholic schools. At the beginning of the 20th century they opened Catholic schools not only in the four communes but also in Ziguinchor in the Casamance (see §5.4.6 below). In these schools French was the only language that was allowed to be used, prohibiting all regional Senegalese languages, with the aim of creating a black French elite (N. K. Johnson, 2005; Weidl, 2012).

In 1960 French West Africa was dissolved and, on the 4th April 1960 Senegal, regained independence from France with Léopold Sédar Senghor as its first president. Senghor could be described as an interesting choice as he is neither Wolof, French, nor a Muslim. He identified as Seereer and Catholic, and was not fluent in Wolof²¹, which put him in a culturally and religiously distant position from the vast majority of Senegalese inhabitants (Machinek, 2002). Yet, even though he was not born in one of the four communes, he was predestined for leading the country in ‘a French way’, strengthening French as the language of the post-independence period and applying linguistic policies that should have worked against Wolofisation (also see the following §2.7.2). Senghor married a French woman as his second wife and had a close working relationship with Charles de Gaulle whom he was helping to draft the French constitution. Based on that, he presented a Senegalese constitution in 1963, which left the executive power in the hands of the president and a legislature that is only codified in French. In 1982 Senghor was nominated to the Académie Française as the first Black African in history (Cissé, 2005). In 1981 Abdou Diouf was elected as the new president of Senegal, followed by Abdoulaye Wade in 2000 and Macky Sall, the present president, in 2012. All of them had their own party manifesto and ideas to transform Senegal but maintained a close relationship to France, leaving French as a prerequisite to institutional employment (also see Cissé 2005; Clark and Phillips 1994; N. K. Johnson 2005).

3.2.1 The Casamance

This subchapter provides a brief political, historical and linguistic overview of the Casamance, which includes the *Région de Ziguinchor* in which Djibonker is located. The whole of the Casamance is characterised by a very different socio-cultural constellation - with diverse historical and political movements, changes of power, colonial interventions, missionary work and suppression - that distinguishes the region from the rest of Senegal.

²¹ In the early period of his presidency he took regular Wolof classes to be able to communicate in Wolof.

Interestingly, the Casamancaises describe themselves as having a very different set of values to the people living in the north of Senegal.

Today, the region is mainly inhabited by people identifying with Joola and Manding, with many smaller Joola/Manding subgroups, as well as smaller ethnic groups like Baïnouk, Arame, Bayot, Balante or Pulaar (for more detailed listing of languages and ethnic groups central to this research see §3.4). The area is administratively divided into the Region de Kolda, Sedhiou and Ziguinchor. However, the region of the Casamance can further be divided by their main ethnic settlements, which roughly correspond to a north-south distribution; Haute Casamance, mainly populated by Pulaar, Moyenne Casamance mainly populated by Manding and Balantes, and Basse Casamance mainly populated by Joola and Baïnouk (Machinek, 2002). Multiculturalism, invasions and frequent changes in the Casamance region throughout the last centuries led to a rebellion that disrupted the region until not long ago.

After the early era of globalisation that nurtured the area of the Upper Guinea Coast with different languages and cultures necessary for trading purposes (Lüpke forthcoming), in the early years of European settlement followed by colonisation in West Africa, the Portuguese gained a foothold in the area and were present for a long time. They founded a settlement in 1645 that established Ziguinchor as the contemporary capital of the region. From there they exported slaves and ivory to Europe while spreading the Portuguese language. It was not until 1827 that the French started to establish their bases along the Casamance River, with larger settlements on the island Karabane and military bases in Sedhiou. In a strategically important step, they brought along the Wolof, who were already working for the French colonial power as civil servants and representatives for the French trade and rule. Later the French further recruited Pulaar people in the Casamance area since they were already familiar with their language and culture through contacts in the north of Senegal. From these centres they began to conquer the land in stages; however, they met heavy resistance from the regional residents which they suppressed bloodily. People living along the river were forced to harvest peanuts for export, even though most of them were traditional rice farmers. Since rice was the basis of their existence, its suppression saw their quality of life decrease dramatically. Later the French expanded their exports to include wax, ivory, rice and slaves (Fall, 2010; Trincaz, 1981). The French considered the Portuguese in the area as their rivals and forced them to move further south to the area of present-day Guinea-Bissau. Portuguese, and a Portuguese based Kreol that was established through the mixture with local languages, remained in the area as languages of wider communication for a long period of time. However, these Portuguese incursions prior to French control of the area, as well as the

strong resistance of the inhabitants of Casamance, resulted in a different administrative structure (M. Evans, 2003).

Although it was in the French interest to spread their language as well as Catholicism through the area and to establish churches, the Wolof insisted on their cultural and administrative supremacy all over the country, including Islam as their religion (Pélissier, 1966; Trincaz, 1981). In the 19th century an Islamisation began as a counter-movement to Catholicisation, with Casamance as the last region that was Islamised in Senegal. Even though the Mandinka were in the area since the 13th century, domiciled in the Upper Guinean Coast during the establishment of huge trading networks in peaceful co-existence with people of other ethnic orientations, the situation changed in the 19th century with the outbreak of a Mandinka jihad that put Baïnouk as well as Joola settlements under pressure. More and more Mandinka entered the region in the north and settled north and west of the Casamance river, suppressing other settlements (Lüpke 2017; 2019).

However, the French also had their strategies and established a Catholic school in Ziguinchor at the beginning of the 20th century. This calmed the conflict with resisting Casamancaises; they were to believe that Ziguinchor could become a fifth commune of France and helped to empower Catholic belief in the area. Today the Casamance consists predominantly of Muslims but also a significant number of Christians. However, people also practice different local beliefs, often in addition to Christianity and Islam (Machinek, 2002; Nugent, 2007). After gaining independence from France a discontent arose among the Casamancaises largely due to their resistance to the unsuccessful features of the nation building process initiated by the first two presidents of Senegal. Senghor and Diouf attempted to create a more ethnically homogeneous country through the promotion of certain languages over others, which neglected many ethnic groups in the Casamance (Baum, 2009; Fall, 2010).

Growing frustrations were intensified by various political actions that led to social and economic grievances and marginalisation. The Senegalese government systematically suppressed people identifying with a Joola ethnic grouping by filling administrative posts in the Casamance with people from the north, using the argument that they were better suited. Besides the fact that these people further spread Wolof throughout the region, they were not acquainted with the local circumstances or problems and offered no/few solutions. Since the Casamance is the most profitable region in Senegal, the government as well as wealthy citizens from the north saw their chance to gain profit and exploited the land and people economically, dismissing grievances over

land ownership through racial discrimination. Furthermore, the people in the Casamance complained about underinvestment in the region (compared to the north) which led to underdevelopment, lack of infrastructure and fewer opportunities for education or employment (Fall, 2010; Marut, 2010).

However, the highly decentralised and egalitarian societies in the Casamance rejected the political hierarchy and central authority of the north and Africa's longest running civil conflict began. The separatist movement 'Movement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance' (MFDC) agitated for a regional independent state, but only a minority of inhabitants of the Casamance were in favour of this secession. MFDC however expressed their concerns and demonstrated for change, arguing for their regional particularism and historical autonomy for many years before the conflict first became violent in 1982, starting a bloody rebellion. Leading the rebellion was Abbé Augustin Diamacoune Senghor, a Catholic priest who had his own educational radio program disseminating political and economic facts in a Joola language. This ethnic propaganda made the Casamancaise aware of injustices, establishing a separatist movement. The two parties in conflict were the Senegalese government and the MFDC. Since the Senegalese Presidents repressed the calls for independence of the Casamance, the conflict became increasingly violent including mass killings, hundreds of arrests, armed attacks and violations of human rights including rape and torture. In 1992 the first ceasefire agreement was implemented; however, a part of the rebellion movement did not respect the agreement and incited further riots in which non-Joola northerners were deliberately singled out and killed. In the following year a second agreement was signed which again was not respected, with a further and increasingly violent escalation of the conflict ensuing from 1995 to 1998, including the placement of landmines by Casamainces women that killed many but further harmed the economy as fields and forest were made inaccessible (Fall, 2010; Marut, 2010; Nugent, 2007). After further fights in 2010 and 2011 a unilateral ceasefire was declared by the leader of MFDC ending the civil conflict that shattered the region from 1982 to 2014 (Zartman et al., 2016). The resulting consequences include between 3,500 and 5,000 dead, the displacement of over 60,000 people, damaged livelihoods and a general negative psychological effect on the Casamance population (M. Evans, 2009).

3.3 Multilingualism and present language policies

Multilingualism, the flexible use and mixing of languages, occurs in Senegal as is common throughout West Africa and many other parts of the world. However, it is unclear which language occupies which position for Senegal's inhabitants, since the official language French is used regularly by a very small proportion of the population, and the de facto majority language Wolof does not have a standardisation that is accessible to the nation or actively applied (see e.g. Dumont, 1982; Sall, 2010).

However, being a multilingual citizen in Senegal enhances the individual's social and communicative skills as language(s) are used differently in distinct situations of life, mix and enrich each other. Language policies that govern Senegal are controlled by the government, religious contexts, strong ethnic groups, languages of wider communication as well as numerous smaller identity languages that have extensive or regional importance. Due to this huge number of languages which occupy different but overlapping functions, it is common for a Senegalese to have at least two languages in their linguistic repertoire, yet most of them speak many more languages on a regular basis, which makes their distribution among the inhabitants difficult to quantify. The high-level individual and societal multilingualism, going hand in hand with multiculturalism, exposes its inhabitants to a hugely diverse range of possibilities in communication. Yet, language policies, historical events as well as attitudes and ideologies towards language(s) influence their use and representation in this heterogeneous environment (see also Nunez & Léglise, 2017).

Generally speaking the greater part of the population speaks Atlantic languages as their language of identity while many others identify with Mande languages, two language families belonging to the Niger-Congo language phylum. Yet, identification and exact positioning of speakers in this phylum and the genealogical relationships of languages within the families are a matter of considerable debate (see e.g. Childs (2004, 2010)). Other language families of which speakers are present in the country constitute only a very small percentage if they are considered as languages of identification. Yet the number increases drastically if they are counted as a language regularly used in certain spheres. Following the Ethnologue, 38 living languages are reported in Senegal (Lewis, Gary, & Fennig, 2015); however the numbers differ by source depending on how and in what manner the languages were counted and what is actually considered as a language (see discussion above in §2.1). The map below provides a general overview of the distribution of some named languages in Senegal, though one should treat this with a

degree of scepticism given the nature of named languages as changeable socio-political constructs.

Map (05) Some named languages of Senegal



(Lüpke & Storch, 2013, p. 15)

On the larger scale, multilingualism can be understood as a phenomenon where at least two languages coexist within one society in Senegal. On the individual level multilingualism denotes the fact that people are capable of speaking two or often many more languages and varieties of them. A multilingual Senegalese inhabitant may not be equally proficient in the various varieties, and may use them separately in different situations, or switch and mix among them, both consciously and unconsciously. This phenomenon appears constantly in the heterogeneous areas of Senegal, particularly in the Casamance where mutual influences and mixtures of linguistic varieties have a substantial presence. This pattern makes Senegal typical for West African societies in general, where multilingualism constitutes the socio-cultural norm (Lüpke, 2016a; Trudell, 2009).

Even though Wolof is only the language of identity for approximately just over 40% of the Senegalese population, it is estimated to be spoken by more than 90% on a regular basis. Therefore it represents the most widely spoken language in Senegal (McLaughlin,

2008c). However, besides Wolof, other bigger languages such as Sereer languages in the Sine-Saloume area, Pulaar languages in the area surrounding Saint Louis and Joola languages in the Casamance have more regional functions as languages of wider communication. Furthermore, languages with fewer speakers, which are often associated with a village or a geographical area, also play important roles in the communication of smaller regions (for a detailed listing of the languages represented in the research area see §3.4 below).

French, the language of the former colonial power, is the only official language in Senegal and is used as the only formal language in all institutional sectors, including the public educational system. Up to today, the country applies the French school system to educate their children and the Senegalese law dictates compulsory schooling to the age of 16²². However, the reality is very different, and many children drop out of school early or repeat classes over and over again until they reach a certain age. There seem to be widespread problems in the educational system, which I have experienced myself, as characterised by regular teacher strikes, excessive holidays, overcrowded classes and often under-qualified teachers. Furthermore, especially in rural areas, children are often taken out of school by their parents/caregivers to help with work or displaced by social events. These ‘educational breaks’ of the students can extend for days, weeks and sometimes even longer without having any considerable consequences for them from the school administration. Furthermore, Senegalese languages are not officially used in Senegalese schools (with the exception of a few private initiatives) which creates an especially problematic situation for smaller children whose parents do not use French at home. They are not taught French, but taught in French which often leads to frustrations and therefore low education levels (Naida, 2016; Weidl, 2012). It is estimated that only 15-20% of the population speaks (a Senegalese variety of) French (Bichler, 2003). This is an alarmingly low number considering that it is needed to operate in the official channels, find an official job and that the Senegalese constitution is only in French. McLaughlin (2008c) shows that standardised French is used in restricted contexts by only about 10% of the total population. This further results from the fact that even students who received French lessons might not use it anymore after leaving school and start to forget. However, what is not mentioned in Bichler and McLaughlin’s work is that a much greater number of Senegalese people formally or informally acquired a certain level of French (often mixed with other languages) that is useful and sufficient for their work and

²² www.gouv.sn

private lives. Arabic is widely used in Islamic education (written using Ajami²³), but also Senegalese languages. Arabic as well as the script is taught in Koranic schools that reach a large proportion of the Senegalese population. Yet many students are only able to recite, rather than communicate in Arabic or translate it, thus relying on the interpretations of their religious leaders (Lüpke & Bao-Diop, 2014; Ngom, 2010).

Some of the Senegalese languages received official status not long after independence, following Senghor's national exhortation to speak French but also maintain some of the bigger local languages as the languages of Senegal. Subsequently more and more languages reached the status of a national language but their official role in the country is not determined. Yet seven national languages do indeed have a standardised writing system that was developed in 1971 and some of them can be acquired in university courses (Sall, 2010). However, the acknowledgement of being a national language still does not change the visibility of these languages in the country nor does their elevated status affect Senegal's inhabitants in any way (Diallo, 2010; Naida, 2016).

The above-mentioned factors are significant in creating linguistic divisions, which in turn often delimit distinctions in social class. People of one of the higher classes are more likely to identify as francophone in official and Catholic contexts or with Arabic in religious ones, sometimes even describing other Senegalese languages in their repertoire as dialects or idioms, whereas people in lower classes might value Senegalese languages more. Nevertheless, many seem to value French more than other languages, even if they are not able to speak it. This perceived prestige, deriving from the former colonial power, as well as linguistic policies and the influence of the *Organisation de la Francophonie* continue to distinguish a Senegalese elite through French and education. It is still the language that enables class mobility in the official system and is therefore valued by many. Arabic is in close relation with Islam, the most widespread religion in Senegal and therefore has great importance in religious contexts. Yet the neglect of local languages in the official systems results in fewer opportunities for the majority of Senegalese as well as a class division that is also manifest in the distribution of property and prosperity, thus provoking dissatisfaction in the country (N. K. Johnson, 2005; McLaughlin, 2001; Ngom, 2003). Language policies in Senegal are still directed towards French, however some progress is evident as for example some of the national languages officially entered parliament in 2014²⁴ allowing parliamentarians to either speak Wolof, Joola, Malinké, Pulaar, Seereer, Soninke or French. Further, strengthening of some Senegalese languages

²³ For more information on Ajami in Senegal see Ngom (2010).

²⁴ See e.g. <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20141203-senegal-langues-nationales-font-leur-entree-parlement>

occurs particularly in television, radio shows and publicity where they play a significant role. The news are also presented in local languages and French, which gives a greater percentage of people a chance to comprehend it (Weidl, 2012).

However, the numerous ethnic groups in Senegal have different attitudes towards one another as well, resulting in smaller scale language policies. McLaughlin (1995) notes the ethnic strengthening of the Haalpulaar'en or Pulaar speaking Fulbe to counter Wolofisation especially in the northern parts of the country. Another interesting political influence on language and cultural attitudes are joking relationships²⁵ that often originate from stories and myths. For example, in the myth of Aguène and Diambogne, the two sisters go down a river in a pirogue which breaks down the middle during a storm. Both of them survive. Diambogne, stranded at the northern bank of the river, gives birth to the Sereer, while Aguène at the south becomes the mother of the Joola. This story has a huge influence in the joking relationship between Joola and Sereer that are 'proven' to have the same origin and leads to antiquated ideologies that, in this case, counteract conflict. What can be seen here is that even within societal multilingualism, picking certain named languages in public systems nourishes the construction and reproduction of social difference (De Jong, 2016). As a researcher, one must therefore adopt a critical perspective based on the use of standardised languages, mixed languages, attitudes and ideologies in conjunction with political, economic, cultural and religious interests.

3.4 Languages in the area and data

In the following section I will discuss the languages that are present in the area of interest as well as in the data collected, to provide a helpful orientation for an understanding of the following chapters. The description of the languages in this section follows typological approaches and presents a brief overview of the current state of knowledge concerning these languages. This subchapter is organised with regard to their relevance in this research, concentrating on Wolof as the most used language in Senegal, French as the only official language of the institutional sector, the languages of identity of the participants as well as others that appeared to be important at some point in this research. No claim is made to completeness since many more languages might be represented, they however do not play a direct role in this research and are neither mentioned in reports nor recorded. Following a typological classification, as mentioned

²⁵ Ritualised system of teasing or mocking, with reference to one's ethnic origin which, in the Senegalese setting, is often identifiable through one's last name.

before Senegalese languages belong to the Niger-Congo phylum and are either in the branch of the Atlantic languages or the Mande languages (for a detailed discussion see e.g. Sapir (1971) Childs (2004, 2010) and Creissels (2015)). However, there are also other languages including European languages around that either remained in the area after the colonial period (French, English, Portuguese), or are ever present through new technologies and radio, such as Arabic, which is influential in Senegal due to its relation to Islam, and probably others that move with its speakers.

However, for many of the languages there are ethonyms (terms that are designated to ethnic groups) and glossonyms (names give to a language by its speakers) traceable (Lüpke, 2017). The speakers use various other terms to describe languages (and interconnected cultural orientations) or group them in a different manner from what one finds in research and in politics. To demonstrate a very clear example, the terminologies used below to refer to “the French language” are expressed in different ways in my recordings in Senegalese settings:

- (1) Français
- (2) Tubab
- (3) Le petit nègre
- (4) Faranse
- (5) Français du Senegal etc.

Even though all of these examples might refer to a similar thing, namely some way of communicating that is based on the categorised classified language French (intermixed with others or not), the semantic intentions bound to the expressions differ enormously and indicate different implications. The example (1) is most likely to refer to a variety close to a standardised form and point to a certain elite (as long as the speaker uttering the term is to some extent aware of standard French); (2) to the language of white people (as Tubab is also used to refer to a white person) mostly referring to French (Dumont, 1996); (3) can be seen as an imposed pejorative term that was used during the colonial period to refer to the French spoken by West African soldiers working in the French colonial army, which is still used to a certain extent to refer to “not standard French” (Skirgård, 2013); (4) a phonetically adapted term that might indicate for example a mixture of Wolof with French; and (5) the variety of French in Senegal. A term with such a substantial semantic difference can be implemented to indicate what the speaker thinks about a certain situation, person or language used. I want to emphasise that all of these terms were expressed at some point during my research and can give an insight into the range of perspectives on languages. Due to this high complexity of terms used to name

languages, different local possibilities to refer to a certain language or a mixture of it will be mentioned in the following subchapters. However, these are often strongly interlinked with one's language of identity, status and acquisition planning, which have to be taken into account in these listings and only include terminologies that appeared in this research. Statistics on the number of speakers are not the focus since most of them are impartial estimations and hard to assess, and since personal identities and therefore identifications with 'one language' can be fluid and adapt as described in §2.3. Furthermore, it must be emphasised that none of these languages are used in an unmixed form in natural everyday conversations and the below discussions are only provided to give a general overview for orientation within the languages/language(s) mentioned throughout this research. Abbreviations for the language names are only given where it is necessary due to their appearance in the transcriptions.

3.4.1 Wolof (W)

As mentioned before, Wolof is the biggest language of identity within Senegal and used as such by about the half of the population (specifications differ from around 40% in Shiohata (2012), 42.7 in Diallo (2009), 43.7% in O'Brien (1998), 44 % (McLaughlin 2008c) and over 50% in Köpp (2002) to mention only a few sources²⁶). It is further the most widespread language in Senegal and is therefore spoken and understood by a vast proportion of the Senegalese population and serves as the language of wider communication in a broad area including the major cities of Senegal (Dakar, Thies, Kaoloack, St. Louis etc.; see also §2.7.2 where urban Wolof is discussed) (Weidl, 2012). Wolof is also used in the southern Casamance as a language of wider communication, influenced by the high mobility of the people in Senegal as well as historical factors which brought it to the area where it gets increasingly used. Following a terminological description, Wolof is a Niger-Congo language and part of the northern group of the West Atlantic languages (together with Pulaar and Sereer, Pozdniakov and Segerer (2019) however describe Wolof and Pulaar-Sereer as separate groups). Besides Senegal, Wolof is also used in the Gambia and has smaller groups of speakers in the bordering states Mauritania and Mali, as well as small settlements all over the world (Bichler, 1996; Ndiaye, 2009).

²⁶ This is further interesting since, if following the theory of Wolofisation discussed in §2.7.2, the number of Wolof speakers should increase, not decrease over the years (with Köpp (2002) breaking the ranks)

In 1971, Wolof was, together with some other languages, nominated as a national language of Senegal²⁷, which went hand in hand with the establishment of its orthography (see e.g. J.-L. Diouf, 2003) and is well documented. However, its official role is rather unclear, and it is still officially not used in the public sphere. Yet, compared to the other local Senegalese languages, Wolof is the most linguistically researched with several dictionaries (see e.g. J.-L. Diouf, 2003; Fal, Santos, Doneux, Diop-Fal, & Doneux, 1990) and grammars available (P. Diagne (1971), J.-L. Diouf (2009) Mbaye (2012b) among others, that were mentioned before in §2.7.2). Even though Wolof is still officially not used as a language of instruction or within the official sector, its use in the media is increasing drastically, being represented in TV and radio shows, the news and all different kinds of discussions, though more frequently in spoken rather than written form. However, as Lexander and López (forthcoming) as well as Shiohata (2012) have shown, it seems to gain popularity in private messaging as well as street signs in Senegal. In the area of interest, the participants mainly refer to the language as Wolof or Olof (both terms can be designated to any Wolof variety mixed with any other languages), however also ‘bana-bana’, referring to the Wolof variety they interpret street vendors as using, and ‘Johnny just come’ were also possible terms. ‘Johnny just come’ is a term that is used in The Gambia to refer to people who are not proficient in Wolof yet (‘because they just came to the city’), however it seems to be understood by certain individuals in Jibëeher as well (even though they might not speak English and do not live in a city) and is interpreted as broken Wolof.

3.4.2 Baïnouk Gubëeher (BG)

Baïnouk Gubëeher is an Atlantic language that is spoken by approximately 1,000 to 1,500 people residing in Jibëeher as one of their languages, using the noun class prefix ‘gu-’ to refer to the language and ‘ji-’ to refer to the place (Cobbinah, 2010, 2013). However, there might be a relatively high number of other individuals that identify (at least in certain contexts) as Ubëeher and also speak the language but have emigrated to other parts of the country or outside the county. Even though the participation in one of the village’s big (ceremonial) events attracts a large number of people showing an affiliation with the language and culture, it seems to be impossible to identify a number

²⁷ Today, every language that is sufficiently documented (including an orthography, short grammar etc.) can be submitted to receive the status of a national language of Senegal (Lüpke & Storch, 2013).

of Ñambëeher. Furthermore, people immigrating to the village might acquire the culture and language and even pass them on to their children (J. F. Sagna, 2017).

Within Jibëeher, many residents identify with the language Bāinounk Gubëeher, which is the patrimonial language of the village. The ethonym ‘Bāinounk’ is however not only used for the ethnic group in Jibëeher but is further shared between different Bāinounk villages in the Casamance and Guinea-Bissau (and might also be in The Gambia). These ethnic groups show a certain solidarity; Bāinounk languages are however not mutually intelligible. As briefly mentioned above, there are localist language ideologies that further tie languages to a territory (e.g. through a patrimonial deixis) which makes Bāinounk Gubëeher the language of Jibëeher (the same as for instance Bāinounk Guñaamolo which is the language of Ñaamon). Within Jibëeher, people either refer to the language as Bāinounk Gubëeher, or simply Bāinounk or Gubëeher (see also Lüpke, 2010, 2017).

3.4.3 French (F)

French was imported into the country within the colonial period and is to date the only official language in Senegal. It is used in all institutional sectors and although other languages are often used (intermixed) in verbal communication, French is the only accepted written language. Therefore, there are also several different varieties of French traceable; written French in official sectors, including written (and theoretically also spoken) French in the educational sector are oriented according the official French orthography and grammar (Bigon, 2008; Cissé, 2005; Naida, 2016). However, in private spheres, a relatively unmixed form of French is rarely found and was described as spoken only a little in the everyday lives of this study’s participants, where Senegalese varieties are predominant. However, the intermixture with French lexemes and phrases is high due to its distribution across the country (N. K. Johnson, 2005; Ndao, 2002). Even though ‘Français’ is the most used term to refer to the language, others can be used as well depending on the context, as exemplified above in §3.4.

3.4.4 Joola (J)

Joola languages (also often spelled Diola in a French orthography) comprise the largest cluster in the Atlantic group (belonging to the Bak group), form the most widespread identity languages in the Casamance and are further spoken in parts of The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. The vast majority of people in the area of interest speak at

least one of them and they further function as languages of wider communication. However, the term Joola is an ethnonym used for a huge variety of languages which have been categorised in various ways in the literature, with discrepancies in enumeration, classification and identification. Joola languages are closely related and are mutually intelligible to varying degrees, with an exceptional case of Bayot languages (including Arame) which will be further discussed in the subchapter below (see e.g. Sapir (1971), Barry (1987), Diédhiou (2002) and Watson (2018a)).

Some of them are mentioned in the data of this thesis, referred to by the participants as for example Joola Fogny, Joola Kurjireray, Joola Banjal, Joola Kaasa, Joola Buluf etc.; however, it was not the aim to categorise them since neither my transcribers nor myself could possibly provide distinctions. Joola Fogny (also spelled Joola Fonyi in the literature) can be described as the biggest Joola language of wider communication and is used in widespread areas of the Casamance; however it is most likely that it is, depending on the speaker, often highly intermixed with other (Joola) languages (Barry, 1987; Weiss, 1940). Within this research individuals repeatedly described the possibility of speaking (and identifying with) Joola Fogny without being able to comprehend other Joola languages, however not vice versa, which indicates its dominance as a language of wider communication. Joola Kujireray is a Joola language that is spoken in Brin (also called ‘Jirer’, hence the language name ‘Ku-jirer-ay’ with the noun class prefix ‘ku-’ used for languages and the suffix ‘-ay’ for associative nominalisation, meaning the ‘language of Jirer’) (Watson, 2014, 2018a). Within this research people further refer to the language as Joola Brin. Joola Banjal refers to the Joola language spoken in the kingdom of Mov Avvi which has several different glossonyms within the villages of the kingdom (Gùjjolaay Eegimaa, Gusilay, Gubanjalay among others) which further distinguish certain groups/areas of speakers (Goodchild 2018, 2019, S. Sagna 2008, 2010). Joola Kaasa²⁸ is a Joola language used to the west of Djibonker with several speakers who identify with the language in Darsalam, an adjoining village. Joola Buluf is a language spoken in the area of the village Affiniam and to the east of the village (Cobbinah, 2010). There are several more Joola languages; here only the ones significant later on in the thesis are listed as they are mentioned by the participants themselves and are therefore reported in this research (in chapter 5). Furthermore, in chapters 6 and 7 the decision was taken together with the transcribers and speakers to only mark Joola languages as ‘J’ to leave space for further interpretation and avoid misconceptions.

²⁸ In one instance (excerpt (60) below) Joola Kaasa is marked as ‘K’ by one of the transcribers who clearly identified it and is presented below as such due to its highly interesting use of language(s) in the example.

3.4.5 Other reported languages

The following languages, which were reported and partly used in the presented data of this thesis, will be briefly introduced. First of all, Njago needs to be mentioned here, since it reported to be an identity language of a main participant, however it is only very rarely used in short phrases within the data. However, the term Njago was not found in any publications and was only late in the research explained to be a Manjaku (MJ) language, which the transcribers used to determine the language in transcription. The Manjaku cluster is part of the Bak group, represented by only a limited number of speakers within Jibëeher, but more in the broader area and Guinea-Bissau (Pozdniakov et al., 2008). The origin of Njago is unclear to date (beyond reports presented in §6.2.4). However, within the household of interest, this is the most widely used term to refer to the language.

Bayot (BT) as well as Arame are typologically classified as a Joola language. Although the two languages seem, to a large extent, not to be mutually intelligible with Joola languages, they can however typologically be described as such. Arame is one of the three categorised Bayot languages (besides Kuhinge and Kugere) (Cobbinah, 2010; M. Diagne, 2009; Weiss, 1940). Yet the transcribers did not agree on this and insisted on designating Bayot and Arame for two reasons. First of all, of the socially important individuals that were regularly present in the household of interest, one identified as Bayot (which is also used in the neighbouring village Darsalam), and one regular guest is known to have an Arame identity. On the other hand, the transcribers themselves did not feel confident transcribing either of these languages. They even asked Bayot and/or Arame speakers for support in transcription/translation and therefore did not want to enforce a decision on a certain language.

Kriolu is a Portuguese based creole language used in the Casamance which is, following Cobbinah (2013), very close to the variety used as one of the major languages in Guinea-Bissau (Kihm, 1994). It was reported in speakers repertoires (often referred to as Kreol) however only observed but never recorded in the household of interest. Furthermore Balant (sometimes spelled as Balante), another language in the Bak cluster, was reported to be in one of the main participant's repertoires. Additionally, two of many Mande languages were reported and in very few instances also recorded; this was not surprising since Mandeng speakers are widespread in the Casamance, yet they seem to play a minimal role in the village. The other reported languages comprised Mandinka, which is locally often referred to as Sose even though some speakers mentioned that this

term can have a negative connotation and should therefore rather be described as an ethonym, and Soninke, which is also referred to as Sarahule and/or Sarakhole (Childs, 2010; Cissé, 2005; Drame, 2003; Pozdniakov et al., 2008). Arabic was further mentioned to be a language in some people's repertoires in the village as they attended Koranic school; however, Arabic terms are used by the vast majority of multilingual speakers since certain expressions are widespread throughout the country (S. Diop, 2003; Ngom, 2003).

Other speakers in Jibëeher mentioned English (E) as part of their linguistic repertoires, which is the official language of The Gambia, but can only be acquired in secondary education and is present on the radio, television etc., as with Spanish which is an optional language in many secondary schools in the Casamance (Cissé, 2005; Ngom, 2003).

All of the above discussed background is necessary for a better understanding of the social and linguistic situation in the area, and further leads to the introduction to the methodology of this research. The knowledge provided on Senegal and the Casamance is essential to be able to comprehend individuals' shared experiences and what influences people in their daily lives, as well as how and why certain decisions were made during this research.

4 Methodology

This section outlines the methodological approaches that were used to achieve results within the research project. Aiming to understand the role of Wolof as one of many language(s) in multilingual individuals' repertoires necessitates a consideration of the speakers' multilingual practices on the whole. The collection of data outside the household also supported background knowledge and an in-depth comprehension of the village's social environment, language(s) represented, widespread attitudes and ideologies, social networks structures, routines of daily lives and so on, to embed the individuals' data within the community and area. Therefore, one of the main objectives was to collect (socio)linguistic data within an ethnographic multi-method approach (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Rampton, 2007, 2009; Silverman, 1998). The data evolved through a combination of tools like participant observations, interactional interviews and participatory videography data. This chapter will not only show the requirement for such a choice of methods, but also give a first brief insight on what is needed to describe the complex social structures of the people living in the village itself. The data analysis tools are particularised, elaborating the Triangulation Method, which differentiates between the speakers', observers' and researchers' views while simultaneously demonstrating their mutual influence, a method that was compiled in collaboration with my colleague Samantha Goodchild (Goodchild & Weidl, 2016). To conclude this chapter, ethical issues as well as (cultural and linguistic) limitations I faced during this research are discussed.

4.1 Encountering Djibonker: location of fieldwork

As a part of the research project 'Crossroads' (see §1.2) I encountered Djibonker for the first time in December 2014, where Alexander Cobbinah²⁹ had already announced my arrival. Making first contacts was rather straightforward and my fieldwork begun with welcoming greetings. In total, I have spent approximately 12 months in the field to collect and analyse data, which were divided into a piloting field-trip and three following trips. The first visit to the field site was essential to find the right people and environment for my research, including a family's willingness to work with me, general approval in the village and consent to collect data; the three journeys after that served to integrate as well as possible in the family and village, to collect the data and work on analysis. On this account it was prudent not only to be in a context where individual and societal

²⁹ Alexander Cobbinah wrote his PhD on nominal classifications and verbal nouns in Baïnouk Gubëeher (Cobbinah, 2013) and was subsequently also a member of the Crossroads team.

multilingualism is omnipresent, but also to be in a sphere where it was possible to establish a close connection and mutual trust with the people working together. In the following subchapters my integration in the village as well as the field trips and data collection are further elaborated.

4.1.1 Initiating contacts

Arriving in Djibonker, I was introduced to families and observed the environment with help from Alexander Cobbinah, who was already familiar with the village and is well known by many of its inhabitants. In this time I made contact with two related families living in neighbouring households (for more details see in §6.1; as well as Map (13): D.54 and D.61), and was offered a room to live in one of them (D.61), where I stayed from the first field trip onwards. Eligibility criteria included the geographic location in the village (for instance, exclusion of peripheral locations), languages listed in first reports (exclusion of places where they did not list Wolof), sex and age (balanced women/men ratio, several generations present) and certain dynamicity in the household through exchange with other people and integration in the village life. Furthermore, I got to know the (future) transcribers of the Crossroads Project and was involved in their learning process of basic computer skills, ELAN and transcription orthography, while learning myself. This field trip was further essential to get an impression of the area disassociated from scientific publications, and to pilot sociolinguistic questionnaires with random participants to be able to evaluate if they work and fit with people's socialisation.

4.1.2 Fieldwork: focus and stages of investigation

After first experiences in the field, which resulted in some preliminary data and piloted approaches that needed adjustment, I prepared a trip to collect data for this research. The decision was made to go back to Jibëeher from the beginning of July to the end of August 2015. I chose this period since it is the time of the school holidays as well as the rainy season, and I anticipated the presence of all of the family members in the two households, as well as their extended family living in other places (reasons for this assumption are further elaborated in the §5.4). Although this was the case in one of the two households, in the other household it was not and people who I believed and was told were living there throughout most of the year never came. Facing this unexpected change of situation for my research, I shifted my focus fully to the other household since working in the house with only one elderly couple seemed to be a poor choice for this kind of

research as they do not engage in most of the village's social life due to reasons of reduced mobility, do not receive many visitors and mainly communicate among one another. I however kept living in their house since it is located close to the household in which I conducted the research but did not have a free room to sleep. Deciding to live in Jibëeher and participate as a family member with working responsibilities and not a renting guest, while only leaving the village from time to time to work in our field-base in Brin (see Map (11) and §5.4.8) or recharge my devices and backup data, was a first important step to fully integrate, get a deep insight in people's lives and engage with the language(s) spoken.

In this time, the main participants were reduced to be four individuals who met my criteria and the data collection started. In the first field trip, as in the others, I was regularly present in the household and began writing observations and taking field notes, sharing more detailed information about my research with the people from the village, introducing the main participants as well as their frequent guests to my equipment, running preliminary interviews and testing the effects of a form of data collection that is minimally influential on their linguistic behaviour.

After working on an evaluation and interpretation of these first findings at SOAS in London, I went back to Jibëeher for about five months in January 2016. During this time, the majority of the audio and video data was collected through different methods, as further described below, and transferred to the transcribers who began their work immediately. A major advantage of being in the field with the transcribers and speakers was that I had the possibility of discussing already transcribed files with different parties. This proved essential for my understanding and enabled a thorough analysis. For this reason, I decided to go back to the field in December 2016 to stay for about six months. This last field trip was intended to help answer open questions and fill in gaps while going through all of the important parts of the collected data with at least one transcriber, and, when their time allowed it, with the speakers themselves. The gradual development of methods in the field was an important tool to meet the goals of my research and will therefore be further elaborated below.

4.2 Methods of data collection

Within this sociolinguistic research a crucial goal was to focus on speakers' linguistic behaviour which is supported by conducting a detailed linguistic biography and ethnography. In order to establish an understanding of the multilingual use of language(s)

in the research setting, an insight into the lives of a mixed group of age, gender, class and status was necessary. As mentioned above, it was fundamental to go beyond working with the four main participants and further investigate the social structures of the village and (language-) policies of a wider geographical area to understand the bigger picture as discussed by for instance Jaffe (2014), Coupland (2013), Lüpke (2016a, 2016b) and Holmes & Meyerhoff (2003) among others.

The results of a broader investigation help to understand the level of awareness people possess concerning the language(s) they use and how ideologies and attitudes play a role in their perceptions. Below the methods employed are described, which are initially rather broad but then narrow down to focus on the main participants.

4.2.1 Participant observations

Following an integrational approach (Mubenga, 2010) with the aim of achieving a deeper insight into the use and functions of language(s) within social realities, it was necessary to share people's everyday life as much as possible. The establishment of mutual trust was a crucial step, which created the possibility of developing detailed ethnographies in relation to individual linguistic biographies of the speakers participating in the research, following Jaffe:

Ethnographic research on language almost always involves the collection of a wide variety of *types* and data: visual (photos, drawings) and audio-visual (video and audio recordings), texts of multiple types and in multiple media, interviews [...], and field notes documenting observations, conversations, and interactions. Underlying these diverse forms of data collection is the anthropological commitment to accumulating knowledge about habitual practices over time and in context. [Italics in original] (Jaffe, 2014, p. 214)

Participant observations were conducted from day one in the field until the end of data collection. The primary aim was to find out as much as possible about the people without creating an unpleasant or unnatural situation to achieve an insight. Therefore it was necessary to also include a critical perspective on my own behaviour and its influence on the situations to develop my own strategies (see e.g. Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013; Winchitz, 2010). As mentioned before, during the initial phase of fieldwork, I acquainted my research participants with the equipment, such as cameras, different microphones and how the data looks once it is transferred to my computer. People became accustomed to the devices which facilitated the recordings of their everyday conversations within the household later on (Heinrichsmeier, 2015; Jaffe,

2014). Additionally, I accompanied all of my four main participants for at least two days outside their household while going about their daily activities. In this time, not all the people we met were aware of my research; therefore, due to ethical reasons I did not record, but observe. This primarily aimed to increase my understanding of the accuracy of people's reported language use outside the household. This was crucial a step to gain further trust from the main participants and resulted in detailed private discussions between me and each of them.

To document relevant information on a day to day basis I mainly used handwritten field notes (Walford, 2009) as well as a phone to take pictures (in order to remember situations) and to record audio notes to myself, which I then organised in my field diaries. That was especially beneficial in the analysis of certain situations, since what may have been commonplace in Jibëeher subsequently appeared eye opening while working in a European setting. Through my presence in the household day after day I managed to establish an overview of visitors there and an understanding of the general frequency with which my main participants leave their residence to go somewhere else. They mainly interacted with people that constitute (at least at the time of the research) the main participants' social networks and communities of practice, which were further analysed for a deeper understanding of their importance for possible use of language(s) (Eckert, 2006; Marshall, 2004; Lesley Milroy & Gordon, 2003; Singer & Harris, 2016). People got used to me being in the household and sharing activities, which integrated me more in the community and made it easier for me to follow their conversations, at least in some of the situations (often depending on the way of using language(s)). During this time, I further complemented information on different topics through asking more informal questions without constraining the natural setting too much, and participants felt less pressured to answer.

This data, combined with different interactional interviews (as discussed in the following section §4.2.2) was essential for a linguistic ethnographic analysis, using a study of language(s) and social life as described by Creese (2010) and Heller (2008). Through this approach, I was able to provide a closer examination of local linguistic behaviour, embedded in the broader context of power, ideologies, history etc., and social structures. An understanding of the use and choice of language(s) then became even more apparent through detailed background information on the individuals. As mentioned before, this method of participant (or rather participating) observation was used throughout the entire time in the field.

4.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Throughout my research I mainly conducted two different kinds of interviews that were recorded: a relatively closed prepared questionnaire which helped me to establish metadata and provided structured basic information on the individuals taking part in the research, and more semi-structured narrative interviews with varying topics, depending on people's availability and my need of information, using video-based fieldwork (Goldman & McDermott, 2007; Lüpke, 2016a) to support analysis.

The metadata questionnaires³⁰ were conducted with all the people who appear in my recordings, concerning their origin, reported languages, occupation, activities, places lived, family status, etc., and served as a contextualising overview in the analysis of the data (Codó, 2008). The detail of these varied depending on the representation of the speaker in my data. However, there were certain drawbacks associated with my presence, as I found that some of my interlocutors tended to be influenced in their responses. To control for bias, the decision was made to train a research assistant (PLC_{m2} who is from Jibëeher, but also the two transcribers JS_{m3} and LM_{m4} for support outside the household) to carry out the same metadata interviews again, possibly in another language and at least several weeks apart. The interviews were conducted throughout my fieldwork in Senegal; PLC_{m2}'s support however was limited to the second and third field trip.

The semi-structured narrative interviews were primarily conducted with the four main participants but further served as a helpful tool to gain knowledge on the family and area's history, the village's development and activities, social structures and (socio)linguistic information like linguistic biographies and ethnographies (Di Carlo, 2018). To successfully analyse the social situation through background information on other people living in Djibonker and around, this needed to be extended. Whereas individual information on life experiences and linguistic repertoires was gathered from the main participants and the people in their close environment and social networks, the history of the village, its social structures and its (significant) linguistic aspects were further discussed with other residents to collate various viewpoints.

The investigation, which was developed through multiple interviews with the participants, was centred around reports of people's lives, places they have been living throughout their lifespan, their languages, their form of (linguistic-) identification in different contexts, cultures, families, with whom they use which languages, people who they mention were important earlier in their lives and the way they spoke to them, when

³⁰ The questionnaire can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

they came in contact with and started to acquire which languages in their linguistic repertoires, how often they use certain languages in which situations and so on. In an attempt to make each interviewee feel as comfortable as possible, people were asked when and where they would prefer to have a conversation with me, which in the majority of cases led them to invite me into their homes; none of them suggested to come to the research base in Brin, for instance. However, the interviews with the main participants were consciously conducted in the family household, since in this case great importance was attached to maintaining a similar context for each of them. Questionnaires were established during the progress of the research and my growing understanding of situations and answers were complemented via follow-up questions (Bourdieu, 1986; Codó, 2008; Edley & Litosseliti, 2010).

After detailed ethnographic and biographical information was collected, the focus was subsequently placed on a more in-depth linguistic investigation. Basing my questions on information I already received from each speaker, I was later able to direct them more specifically since my background knowledge on the area was sufficient to make claims about the language(s) that might be predominant. By asking the participants for a self-description of the languages they speak and spoke throughout their lives, their opinion on how much they like speaking the languages and which languages have a relevance in which context for them, I was able to construct a precise description of their life histories, ethnography and linguistic biography. As such, I discovered not only the reported languages in their repertoires and their preferred terminology, but also developed an understanding of individuals' attitudes and ideologies towards certain language(s) and culture(s) which might or might not be embedded in more widely disseminated concepts. Terms like 'proficiency' were consciously avoided since they triggered the individual to speak only about standardised, written European languages (French, Portuguese, English etc.) they might have acquired, or made them feel uncomfortable if they did not exactly know what was meant by this question.

Even though I followed an individually adjusted guiding questionnaire to structure the interviews, questions were open and a pleasant atmosphere for the interviewees and myself was created, which often ended in a more informal conversation (Lesley Milroy & Gordon, 2003). This created mutual confidence, enabled me to raise topics of interest by, for instance, bringing up my own experiences or even instigating reactions by giving a (slightly provocative) guiding statement. All of these interviews were audio and video recorded. Further, I took pictures of the environment in which the interviews were conducted to support field notes I made about the context in which the interview took place, eventual visitors and listeners and things that caught my attention, since they might

have triggered certain responses. Even though the interviews were mostly conducted with one person, within the social reality in the village one is hardly ever alone and sending away people listening or watching could create an unnatural situation. Interviews were therefore repeated over an extended period of time, since answers often differed on different days or in certain contexts with different people around. I was further aware that my (European) appearance, the background knowledge people had on my research, the fact that the interviews were based on Wolof, and possibly many more factors may have triggered certain responses. However this is considered and reflected on in analysis; the questions were asked in a way that enabled the participants to have the maximum freedom in their mode of response, in a way that felt normal for them (Garrett et al., 2003). All of the data is by default video recorded, since that provides the most substantial data for analysis. However, certain technical issues did sometimes preclude filming, so certain interviews lack the visual complement, which is considered in analysis.

4.2.3 Participatory videography data

In this section the collection of video data, within a participatory approach, is described. This method was a key component in collecting data on everyday interactions, which are indispensable to the goals of this research. All of this video and audio-recorded data is intended to capture as much of interactions, communications and their environment as possible. Files with weak audio or video quality were therefore not expedient and a high quality was aimed for to guarantee satisfying analysis and do justice to the speakers themselves:

(...) [video] recording allows for repeated and deferred observation, and for the data to be made available to support analytic claims. This is necessary in qualitative microanalysis, where the complexity and validity of the analysis rely on the detailed transcription of verbal and non-verbal behaviour. (Clemente, 2008, p. 178)

This approach has produced the greatest quantity of data for this research, in terms of the hours of data collected. Whereas the former chapter discussed video-based fieldwork as a source for analysis (Goldman & McDermott, 2007), in this method the camera is not directed at a person but records an area which is potentially used for everyday interactions. The unattended camera and microphones are therefore in fixed positions and are not moved or manipulated in the period of recording (DuFon, 2002; Jewitt, 2012). This method enables the collection of additional data, in which a daily routine is recorded without interrupting it through research-based questions. The aim was to record language

data that is, at least as a snapshot of the moment, as “normal” and unaffected by the research as possible.

After being present regularly in the household over a long period of time, the residents and I became more and more used to one another and naturally got to know each other on a personal level. All of the parties concerned, including myself, became accustomed to the presence of different recording devices, which I habitually brought with me even if they were not turned on. This further resulted in occasionally being asked to film the children or socially important events that the residents wanted to remember; this data is private and not included into the research³¹. Yet it helped to familiarise participants with the devices, which did not disrupt the social equilibrium any further.

To collect participating videography data, the devices were installed in the house to capture different perspectives on different days. However, all of the recordings took place in the area where the majority of social interactions happened during the day in the time I was there. This method of data collection allowed for particular attention to be paid to context and supplied further information on the ways in which conversations take place in this small-scale language ecology in a community-based setting, since not only communicative events but also changes of context, posture or pointing etc. could affect the use of language(s) (see e.g. Philips, 2004).

The set-up always included one to two cameras as well as multiple microphones facing in different directions in the outside common area, which the four main participants were trained in turning on and off. Additionally, before turning the devices on, the individuals present in the household were informed that the recordings were going to start. I reminded the people in the household that they must inform every guest that a recording is happening and can turn them off whenever they feel the necessity. I further assured all of the participants that every recording they don't want to be part of the analysis would be deleted without question.

The devices were switched on by me and were only paused when someone requested it or underage participants other than the children of the household were present. They recorded interactions, activities and conversations independent of the people attending. The recordings took place on different days during my field trips for between two and five hours, which resulted in raw data of about 80 hours. People lived their normal lives

³¹ This private data was shared with the people from Jibëeher either on their Smart Phones or on USB-sticks, which they often own even though they might not have regular access to electricity or a computer. However, such devices are used to play music on battery-powered speakers and data on the sticks is watched when they have the chance to on someone else's computer.

while the equipment was recording and hardly paid any attention to the cameras while working in the household, preparing food, nurturing their children, receiving visitors, talking to each other, etc. This also meant that I, not so much as a researcher but as a regular visitor and to a certain degree as a member of the household, was present at times and absent at others, depending on my normal activities in the village. Each recording was followed by a debrief session to discuss whether anyone experienced any difficulties due to the recording session. After then transferring and organising the collected data I gave all of the people in the recordings the possibility to watch the file again or point out if they wanted something deleted. Data that was intended for publication was further discussed with the speakers, giving them the opportunity to express their concerns at any point in time.

4.3 Organisation and evaluation process: workflow

The workflow combines shared approaches within the Crossroads team with further developments that are customised according to the needs of this research. Every participant recorded in the Crossroads area was given a unique participant identification (P-ID), which is assembled from the first letter of their first name, followed by the first letter of their second name (if available), and then a number if necessary. Therefore ‘NS2’, for example, would be Name Surname with a 2 meaning that at the time when we created their participant identification in the metadata corpus of the Crossroads Project, there was already a ‘NS’ and ‘NS1’ existing. To facilitate the overview and improve the readability of this thesis, additional information on the participants is provided in subscript next to the P-IDs that are shared within the Crossroads Project³². These comprise either the letter ‘f’ (female) or ‘m’ (male) and a number code that represents the age group of the participants in intervals of ~10 years (‘0’=0-9, ‘1’=10-19, ‘2’=20-29 etc.) corresponding to the individuals (approximate) age at first encounter; the four main participants are additionally marked in bold. Therefore, ‘NS1_f’ would mean that participant NS1 is female and in her 30s and ‘**NS1**_f’ would show that the person is a main participant. However, this only serves as an orientation guide for the reader since many participants do not know their actual date of birth and often no great importance is attached to age.

³² Since the individuals are very mobile and also the researchers of the Crossroads team did not limit their data collection to one geographical place, the same people may appear in the data of other team members. Furthermore, the shared P-IDs facilitate the orientation when consulting original data which is archived in the ‘Endangered Languages Archive’ of SOAS (see <https://www.soas.ac.uk/clar/>)

The data requiring transcriptions (interviews including language(s) that are not in my linguistic repertoire, as well as participatory videography data) was selected in Senegal and transferred to the administrator of the transcribers (JS_{m3}). In preparing the participatory videography files for transcriptions, an initial selection of data began. The first 10-15 minutes of each recording were deleted, regardless of its content, which reflects the average time the participants (including myself) took to stop paying attention to the devices' presence. The files were then, as mentioned above, cut into smaller chunks and the parts in which either no one is conversing, or the sound quality was insufficient (for instance when the participants moved far away from the microphones) were deleted. In this step I also deleted scenes if that was desired by any of the individuals for whatever reason.

Having cut the files as such, they were then transferred to JS_{m3} with additional printed tables for a better organisation and notes if there was information to share about the files. One of the transcribers (see §4.4.2.1 for more information on the transcribers) received the file and started the transcriptions. All of the transcribers are from the area of investigation, are highly multilingual in language(s) represented in the recordings and familiar with living amongst the socio-cultural diversity. In addition to these background requirements, they were also trained in multilingual transcription techniques in 'ELAN - Linguistic Annotator³⁴' to make the multilingual data better accessible. However, since there are no widely used writing conventions for most of the Senegalese languages, the transcribers instead used an orthography which is based on a letter-sound correlation. Their job was to segment the speech into intonation units, transcribe the conversations in the original language(s), then translate this into French and determine the speaker as well their interpretation of the languages used:

³⁴ <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>

Figure (04) ELAN (DJI260316MWa_cut01)

No	Type1 : Phrases	Type2 : Note	Type3 : Note	Type4 : Note
3	c'est réel hogini uwit buenka ça peut apermettre bukor	c'est réel ce qui pourra permettre à la société		gb fr
	JSP_Transcription-txt-kuj	JPS_Translation-gls-fr	JPS_Participant-note-fr	JPS_Language-note
4	des choses rentables	des choses rentables	jean pierre	fr
5	angu me rik iworumkum	c'est moi je le fait tomber		gb
	JS11_Transcription-txt-kuj	JS11_Translation-gls-fr	JS11_Participant-note-fr	JS11_Language-note
6	honi unane ahanguli jamaŋ mes abenefisie na mais c'est pas le cas	ce que tout le monde peut bénéficier		gb fr
	PS_Transcription-txt-kuj	IPS_Translation-gls-fr	IPS_Participant-note-fr	PS_Language-note
7	bo ko jotule nga new togangum	si tu ne le joints pas tu viens l'asseoir	papis	w
	ORIGINAL LANGUAGE	FRENCH TRANSLATION	SPEAKERS NAME	LANGUAGE(S) USED
8				

After the transcription process, the data was returned to me with an ELAN file in which I then exchanged the names that were determined by the transcribers with the Crossroads participant identification and updated the Arbil session on this file. In the next step I went over all of the ELAN files to detect essential sections for my research, which I then discussed with at least one of the transcribers to be sure to understand its contents. If possible, I additionally discussed the excerpts with the speakers in the files. The extracted data of interest was organised in the following format:

##	P-ID _x	→	<i>Transcription in original languages</i>		Abbr.Langu age
			interlo cutor		
			<i>Researchers view in the case of Wolof (mixed with other languages)</i>		
			“Text translated into English”		
			(DJI270717MW_cut01: 00:00-00:00, ELAN: 1-1)		

Which could look as following:

01	MW _{f2}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>nanga deff, nakka journe bi</i>	W
			<i>Nan nga def, nakka journée bi</i>	F, W
			“How are you, how is your day”	

(DJI2707MW_cut01: 00:02-00:04, ELAN: 5-5)

Subsequently, when referring to a certain ‘line’ I will use ‘L##’, for instance L07 to refer to the seventh line. The ‘→’ signs stands for ‘addressing’ either a participant or a group of people (e.g. women, workers, children, all etc.). On the right-hand side, the

languages are marked by abbreviations (see abbreviations at the beginning of the thesis); the segmentation of the phrases follows the transcribers' edits in ELAN. Each excerpt is quoted with the file name, time code and the ELAN lines to make it easy to retrieve.

Additionally, for the Wolof-based phrases, I added an extra line to the transcription according to my interpretation, which is bright blue. This indicates that the observers' (the transcribers') and the researchers' viewpoints can diverge to some extent (see §4.4 for a discussion on the speakers' observers' and researchers' report). Since the focus of this research is placed on Wolof in its multilingual environment, this will show the difference in interpretation between myself, as a trained linguist, and the transcribers from the area, which can then be put in relation to the speakers' opinions. Here I have to mention that I employed the standardised writing system of Wolof (and e.g. French) and stuck to an analysis based on a strict classification and naming of languages. However, this is in no way to correct the transcribers but rather to show how the perception differs within a social reality and a strict linguistic analysis. This approach involved marking words which could be seen as originating from another named language, but might not be determined as other languages by the speakers or observers. Even though the strict classification of languages was criticised before, this will provide a possibility to combine structuralist and post-structuralist views in analysis. What is shown here is that the social reality of languages in use diverges from, for instance, linguistic typology and classifications. At the same time, sticking to strict rules in my transcriptions helped me to establish a controlled system to overcome some of the many hindrances to analysis. Due to the fact that I do not have sufficient experience in most of the other languages, this was only applied to Wolof based conversations (in a mixture with other language(s)), which is expedient for the purpose of this research. It is not the aim to analyse the other languages, but rather Wolof in the lived environment of social interactions. However, deeper investigations focusing on other languages can be conducted in future research.

In the following section the Triangulation Method will give a further insight into how the data was analysed after the processes of data collection, organisation and transcription were concluded.

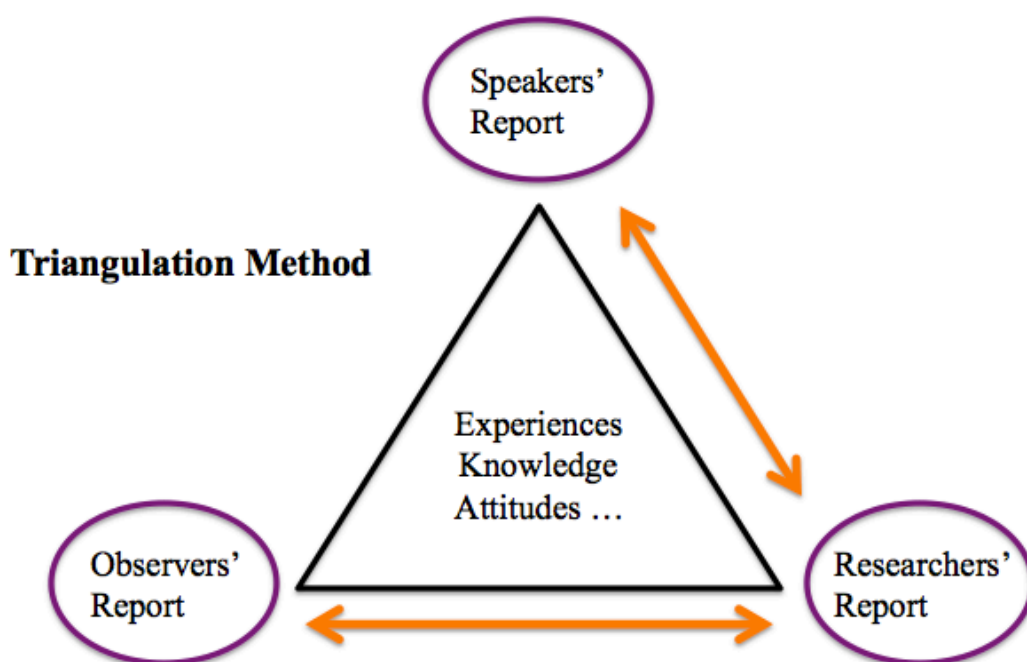
4.4 Analysis - Triangulation Method

In an attempt to establish a method that makes it feasible to combine the analyses of the different types of data collected in this research, but also includes different frames of reference, the Triangulation Methods approach (Almashy, 2016; Litosseliti, 2010) was

adapted to the above discussed framework. This specific example of the approach was designed in cooperation with Samantha Goodchild (see Goodchild and Weidl (2016)), a colleague and member of the Crossroads Project working in Essyl, a neighbouring village of Djibonker. With this design we fulfil the need to combine different emphases on the data and approach it through different viewpoints in analysis. On the basis of various experiences in data collection and analysis, the Triangulation Method presented here was established out of a combination of existing methods from interdisciplinary approaches. However applicable in different disciplines to analyse various kind of data, it is here described as a tool for managing the sociolinguistic data set with a multi-method approach that is needed for an expedient analysis of the data.

As the name suggests, the method is based on the concept of a triangle, in which a person or group of people who might have a different view on the data occupy each of the corners which will be discussed in detail below. Yet at the same time they might influence each other and share common knowledge and experiences.

Figure (05) Triangulation Method



In the top corner, the speakers' report is represented, meaning an analysis of the speakers' self-perception of language use and the languages employed in the data. The observers' report occupying the left corner delineates how outside parties, for instance a transcriber or research assistant, assess the data and linguistic situation. The right section

represents the researcher's report, which stands, in this case, for my own linguistic analysis, including discussions with research fellows, and the presentation of the data. Representing factors that influence all three parties in this kind of analysis, the middle of the triangle speaks for individual experiences, linguistic and cultural knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, worldview, religious orientation and so on. These can be shared to a considerable extent between the individuals in each corner or may diverge widely. Yet they influence the perceptions of situations and data for all of the people involved and should therefore be represented in the analysis. This approach further necessitates extended background knowledge and metadata on all of the people involved; however this is indispensable to demonstrate the variety of the conceptualisation of language(s) and the language(s) in use of the parties represented in the corners of the triangle and examine possible variables in the analysis of the data. Here it is important to note that one individual can occupy more than one position on the triangle at the same time. In the case of this research I was sometimes in the position of a speaker while being involved in multilingual conversations, an observer while doing transcriptions and translations, and a researcher in the analysis (see also Goodchild and Weidl (2018a)).

Furthermore, mutual influences have to be considered as the researcher clearly influences both the speakers and the observers and vice versa, but the observers and the speakers are not in direct contact during the process of analysis (see arrows of mutual influence of the different parties that can be found in the graphic above (Figure (05))). This impact on their perception of situations has to be identified and considered as far as possible. Subsequently, each of the three angles will be further elaborated separately, as well as demonstrating basic concepts that are followed in the analysis to show the steps by which the data is processed before a final analysis. I will also discuss the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972), which is not to be mitigated through this approach but rather accepted as inevitable yet critically reflected upon in the analysis.

4.4.1 The speakers' report

On the top of the triangle, the speakers' report represents the speakers' perceptions of their languages in use and their linguistic repertoires. This information is primarily collected through different types of interviews³⁵ and the interviewee does not necessarily require any kind of (linguistic) expertise. Speakers in this research were on the one hand

³⁵ Some of the information originates from more informal conversations or was randomly discussed in the participatory videography data.

asked to answer different sociolinguistic questions concerning their daily lives, past and future prospects and on the other hand to discuss previously collected data (e.g. participatory videography data) to investigate their perspectives on its content. In these settings, the researcher should ideally not impose any (standardised) concepts of languages or cultures through the way of questioning. The languages that are named by the speakers are very close to the definition of language(s) discussed through the prototype theory (§2.1.3) and are understood as such, divergent from other views and influenced by experiences.

All of this data is analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Receiving this kind of information from the speakers proved a useful tool to find out more about the participants' perceptions of the language(s) used, in comparison with the observers' or with my perspective as a researcher. In this process their perceptions of the linguistic situations were not evaluated, and their views fully respected. Yet this triggered deeper explanations on the languages that were used which enabled me to understand certain socio-cultural factors affecting linguistic behaviour as well as attitudes and ideologies towards named languages (Edley & Litosseliti, 2010; Lanza, 2008). A distinction between the analyses of the observer(s) and researcher(s) was noticed, particularly in the way speakers' make references to languages; it was heavily influenced by their own experiences, education, attitudes and even the context of the conversation, all of which play a role in self-representation, whereas the observers' and researchers' perception is more trained.

One example therefore is that people with a higher level of education more frequently refer to standardised named languages and fail to mention smaller non-standardised ones. Furthermore, it was often the case that the interlocutors had a huge influence on the speakers' representation of language(s). The targeted individuals' description of languages used within their household varied substantially, including or excluding certain language(s) and changing the terminology depending on which people were present and listening to the interviews. This is however natural, therefore the context in which the data was collected is considered in analysis. The participants in this study further tended to report their linguistic repertoire differently to me than they did to a research assistant from the area (e.g. PLC_{m2}, who is presented below in §6.3) and probably would do to a member of their family. Due to my appearance as a European woman, I was initially often identified as French or at least French-speaking (and not Wolof-speaking or any other local language speaking). In further associating me with a university or the educational sector, people automatically assume a connection to France since Senegal's public education has a strong relation to the French system. On the one hand, this resulted in people reporting that they do not speak French, which they often seemed to feel ill-at-

ease with. These interviewees then tried to justify their self-reported lack of French by stating that they had not had the chance to go to school or to formally learn it, or claim that they have forgotten French, even though justifications were never required in this research. However, in many cases I have heard those speakers, and even recorded them, speaking French without obstacles (see e.g. **LOG_B** §7.1.4). On the other hand, it was also possible for the self-representation to head in a different direction, as for example participants tried to force speaking French with me (which also happened less frequently with other European languages, but rarely with a Senegalese language), even though I kept asking my questions in Wolof, which gave me the impression that they wanted to prove their proficiency to me (see e.g. **JPS_{m4}** §6.2.3). Through long discussions with different people from the village (but not the direct participants of the research) it turned out that this was provoked by my mere appearance and probably their experiences with Westerners and the French. However, after getting closer to the people, this obviously changed to a certain extent.

Furthermore, multilingual speakers were less likely to identify with Wolof when conversing with me in Wolof. This was later identified as originating from the fact that I speak a northern variety of Wolof, and the general assumption is that the Wolof from the north of Senegal is ‘purer’ than the Wolof in the south. Even though generalisations are impossible and interpretations of situations have to be made for each person in each context, this influence is broadly evident. However, incorporating the view of the speakers themselves on the linguistic situation while shifting the focus away from the researcher’s perspective was essential to ensure an in-depth analysis and open up new ways of approaching data.

4.4.2 The observers’ report

The observers’ report in this case concerns the transcribers of the Crossroads Project, a research assistant, or other researchers with special expertise who were consulted. The observers are central to the research and apply their own linguistic and cultural knowledge on the data collected.

All of them needed to be provided with background information and certain training to fulfil the needs of the research. As such, they are placed in between the speakers' and the researchers' report. To exchange perspectives and analysis with other researchers was essential in the development of the investigation and had a great impact on my own thinking process. Various people on the Crossroads team have different language(s) of the area in their repertoires, which played a mutually supporting role. Furthermore, the

research assistants had a decision-making position, since they had to for example analyse the situation and adjust their way of posing questions; a process over which I did not have any direct influence. After data collection, the data was processed (see §4.3 for details on the workflow) and handed to one of the transcribers on the Crossroads team. Therefore, knowing the transcribers, as well as their linguistic biographies, ethnographic backgrounds and self-reported linguistic repertoires is important since their viewpoints, attitudes and ideologies are strongly represented in their work and need to be analysed. Due to their huge influence on the research as a whole, this will be presented in detail in the section below. However, considering the wider process of this research, describing them as ‘only transcribers’ may not be doing justice to the full scope their role since they also assisted in various other matters and had a strong advisory and educational impact on me, which have to be mentioned.

4.4.2.1 Local transcribers

The research design involved transcribers as well as research assistants from Djibonker analysing the majority of the data collected. All of them share similar language(s) with the people in the recordings and are likely to have background knowledge on the speakers. Within the Crossroads Project, five transcribers were trained and worked for approximately 20 hours per week in an office in our field base in Brin: DS_{2m4} (born in Essyl); ACB_{m2} (born in Brin); LS_{f3} (born in Djibonker); JS_{m3} (born in Essyl but moved to Djibonker in his teens); and LM_{m4} (born in Djibonker). All of them lived in different places throughout their lives but are now resident in the area of investigation. They have extensive linguistic repertoires and are integrated into the social and local activities of their villages. All of them also received formal public education and are able to write in French; however, using ‘the standard French orthography’ was never a condition.

LM_{m4} and JS_{m3} (like PLC_{m2}) were my research assistants in various situations; they therefore needed to understand the purposes of the research and were trained in using the equipment to support sociolinguistic interviews. Including these assistants in the research was necessary since I do not have the exact same language(s) and sociolects in my linguistic repertoire and do not share a full cultural knowledge with the speakers.

Not all of the transcribers had previous computer training (which was necessary), yet all of them quickly established a high level in handling the deployed programs for transcriptions of different training sessions. The transcribers were likely to know all the people in the video files in person and have background information on them. Even

though each of them was usually allocated a specific file, they all worked in the same office building at the same time and advised each other. In the case of this research, LS_{m3} , JS_{m3} and LM_{m4} were in charge of the transcriptions, since they are familiar with the language(s) in the data collected. Influenced by LM_{m4} 's previous work with Alexander Cobbinah and the development of my research in the different fieldtrips, it transpired that LM_{m4} is one of the main participants of the research and at the same time working as a transcriber. Given this situation, I paid careful attention to ensuring that he did not transcribe participatory videography data in which he is present as a speaker. In the other cases this was not perceived as an obstacle and even enhanced the accuracy and quality of social interpretations of data collected in his household, although it must be acknowledged that these constitute his personal views. Furthermore, the other two transcribers often required his assistance since he is familiar with the voices in their household and was able to identify them in cases that were unclear.

The transcribers were trained to transcribe exactly what they hear and not what they think to understand in the recordings. Many of the languages encountered in the area are not fully described and are mixed at a high pace which makes transcriptions of certain situations impossible for people who did not grow up in the same geographic area. Yet, the transcribers are influenced by different factors in this process, as a neutral view on data is impossible and their experiences in a village with closely connected people are often decisive. This also sometimes led to the result that transcribers would assign certain languages to phrases based on their perception of the speaker and situation rather than the language itself. Figure (06) below shows an example where the lexeme 'leegi' from Wolof was interpreted as Joola. The lexeme 'leegi' could be analysed as an established loan in Joola languages, which the transcriber however opposed. He described his choice to use Joola to name the language as due to the fact that the person was already basing her speech on a Joola language in this particular context, and he identifies the speaker with Joola most. However, in different situations 'leegi' is interpreted (also for the same speaker) as Wolof. In Figure (07) an example is shown where the French part of the sentence was not taken into account (transcribed as 'esk' in the field for the original language and as 'es que' in the French translation standing for 'est ce-que') and marked as Wolof. However, in different contexts, 'est ce-que' was often marked as French.

Figure (06) DJI130216MW_cut02

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
10	leegi	maintenant	h	J

Figure (07) DJI130216MW_cut08

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
44	esk demu dakar	es que il n'est pas parti a dakar	laurent manga	W

Furthermore, there was a tendency to mark names, interjections and terms that are perceived as belonging to certain (non-local) language(s), which was felt to be the right choice for the transcribers in that particular moment. This is often influenced by the assumption of language the communication is based on, how the speaker is identified and also the way how the lexeme was pronounced (e.g. expressing a lexeme in a very French way was more likely to be described as French than if it was adapted to the phonetic system of a local language). This judgement is highly interesting and is built into the analysis.

Figure (08) DJI170217MWb_cut01

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
70	lu	Luis André	Jean cena	Gb

Figure (09) DJI170217MWb_cut01

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
11	ferdinand	ferdinand	Laurent	Fr

Figure (10) DJI130216MW_cut02

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
6	aaayii	aayii	o	W

Figure (11) DJI090516MW_cut01

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
125	alala la alaa alala	Alala la alaa alala	b	Fr
126	aa alibanba alibanba	Aa alibanba alibanba	b	Fr

Figure (12) DJI260316MWa_cut05

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
38	ŋga hamne mafia mungi si biir	tu sais mafia soit parmi eux	kh	ang w

In other situations, the transcribers corrected the content into “more grammatically correct” sentences. In the example below, what I actually said was ‘waaw, pour for baax na’, which was corrected to a clearer Wolof phrase:

Figure (13) DJI100815MW_cut01

ELAN Line	Original language	French translation	Speakers name	Language(s) used
23	wawú pur foratú nonú baxana	oui pour ramaser comme c’est bon	mia	W

What is visible here is that within the transcriptions there are different viewpoints that do not always coincide, and statistical interpretations are impossible. To prevent accidental misinterpretations but also to ensure an optimum quality of transcriptions, another transcriber would ideally check the files, however, this was not always possible due to the time required. As a last step in the cooperation with the transcribers, JS_{m3}, LS_{f3} or LM_{m4} and I went through the parts of the recordings deemed interesting for the research. To integrate even more viewpoints, I picked a transcriber who had not worked on the file beforehand. These sessions were important for understanding the social setting as well as the French translations since in this context the mere translation was often not enough to follow conversations. Even though I had to trust the transcribers in the translations of many of the language(s), an oral discussion of certain social interactions made them transparent for me. The factors affecting the transcribers’ data analysis are in some cases hard to determine; however, through deep investigation of their social

backgrounds and linguistic biography many facts became evident and were included in the analysis in the chapters below.

4.4.3 The researchers' report

The final point of the triangle to describe is the researchers' report, which is dedicated to the people in charge of the research. In the case of this particular research project, I am the sole researcher, although connected to the Crossroads Project. All the researchers involved in it share the common goal of achieving a deeper insight into the multilingual situation of the Crossroads area and we mutually support each other in our research. The researcher has a huge impact on the speakers, by organising and conducting the research in a certain way, and the observers, by training and teaching them the goals of the research in a monitored execution. However, in a research setting such as the present one, I have less experience, cultural and social background knowledge, and have a rather different multilingual linguistic repertoire relative to the speakers and observers. However, I am thoroughly trained in (socio)linguistic theory, methods and analysis, and have dealt with publications on the area as well as related works on cultures, languages, history, language policies etc. in Senegal and around. I am additionally responsible for setting out the aims and organisation of this research, and for carrying out the analysis. Therefore, my role has to be integrated in the analysis since my presence provoked a change of context, my questions and set-up had an effect on the interview situations, and my own use of language(s) influenced the participants' use of their repertoires.

Within the recordings I predominantly use Wolof as a basis language, which is always mixed to a certain extent, but could be labelled as the 'named language' in which the research was conducted. I did however adapt to the highly multilingual context by intermixing more in different contexts myself. Especially while living in Djibonker and being present in the house most of the day, while either conducting my research, helping with work or just passing time there, I was an influential factor on participants' daily lives. This also meant that the people know me in different roles, which are displayed as critically in the analysis as it was possible.

4.4.3.1 The researcher

Considerable research attention needs to be paid to the influence that I, MW_{f2} (*1989) had on participants (the speakers as well as the observers) due to my appearance as a white, European woman (see also §4.5), my experiences and work in the northern parts

of Senegal as well as my linguistic repertoire. Therefore, I want to introduce myself, as well as my background and relation to the participants of this research in this section. I was born and grew up in Weiz, a town in Styria, Austria, in an environment that was mainly Steirisch speaking, a lower Austrian dialect of standard German. In school I formally acquired standard German and was soon introduced to English. I furthermore acquired Italian during secondary school and started to come into contact with French and Spanish during my years at University in Vienna. Through studying African studies as my main course at University in Vienna (next to linguistics and anthropology) I formally acquired Bambara, Maasina Fulfulde and some Wolof, and began to travel to West African countries every year. In 2009/2010 I decided to spend a year in Senegal, where I started to deepen my contact with Wolof while working at the German Department of the *Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar*. This was followed by many (research) trips to Senegal, in which I improved my Wolof and French. After starting as a PhD student in the Crossroads Project I made contact with the people of the household in 2015, when I was looking for participants for my research and moved, as described above, in with the neighbouring family not long after. In the household of interest, I primarily played the role of an outsider who wanted to attend and participate in events, while asking questions that might have been unusual for some of the people there. However, I quickly started to integrate into the social system and took my part in the division of labour while acquiring some Baïnouk Gubëeher.

I became a member of the family and was, during my fieldtrips, one of the most frequent visitors in the household, and present at least at some point during all of the recordings. The initially professional relationship with the participants soon developed into a friendship out of mutual interest. We keep in contact up to today and I visit and call them regularly. Beside personal enrichment, this entailed many advantages for this research since working together was perceived as interesting and even a pleasure for all of the people involved and therefore facilitated a seamless, enjoyable collection and analysis of data.

4.5 Ethical concerns, limitations and drawbacks

This research is a case study of one extended family and their linguistic behaviour and evolution, which can lead from a macro level to a micro level. The study cannot be seen as a general linguistic behavioural study in Senegal since it would require further lengthy longitudinal studies to get a better insight into the use of linguistic repertoires in the country as a whole. Furthermore, it would not be viable to capture all the kinds of

variation in communication and context that are possible. This issue will be covered but with the knowledge that unchanging 'regular linguistic behaviour' does not exist. Fundamental ethical issues are fully covered by the framework developed by the Crossroads team that jointly brought awareness about our work and the collection of linguistic data to the research participants. In my personal research it is significant that all people involved participate absolutely voluntarily and understand my intentions and the purpose of my work. Therefore, I obtained informed consent from all participants, which was oral and video-recorded. The decision to record consent was made due to the fact that some of the participants are not literate and this enabled me to treat all of them the same way. The residents of the household allowed me to set up cameras and microphones in their living space, which they knew would be turned on continuously on different days to record them. People from outside the household also agreed to being filmed when meeting their neighbours, and I ensured that they were informed of the fact that the cameras and microphones were running. If I had the feeling people did not understand the aim of the research, further conversations were necessary. The children of the main participants were informed about the on-going research in a way they could comprehend and consent to film them was given by their caretakers. Individuals who were underage and not part of the household in which the research was conducted were excluded. Furthermore, transcriptions were discussed with the main participants, which verified that they agree with data I wanted to publish. We further jointly decided to use the full names of the four main participants for this research and they fully agreed to release all of the details provided in this thesis. We however further decided on using participant codes for their children, as most of them are under-age and could not have been asked themselves, as well as other guests in the household, to protect their privacy.

Regarding the observer's paradox, one crucial factor to be considered is that I am a female researcher from Europe who speaks Wolof fluently, which influenced the way people behave in front of me and interact with me. This is mentioned as a fact that I am aware of and I will incorporate it in my analyses and understanding of circumstances. Furthermore, the work with local research assistants and colleagues with a different social and linguistic profile helped to observe how responses could change when, e.g. a male interviewer uses a Joola language. My research is conducted with the best intentions and will provide a first closer insight into multilingual repertoires and the use of Wolof in individuals' lives in a family in Jibëeher. Establishing my results will thus lead to further investigations on multilingualism in Senegal.

5 The research setting

This chapter contributes an overview of the research setting as well as social, economic and political institutions with a special focus on the role of Wolof. This background knowledge lays the foundation for comprehending the everyday lives of the inhabitants of Djibonker/Jibëeher with their high levels of multilingualism and multiculturalism. However, the number of languages and mixtures of them traceable as the main language(s) of the institutions and organisations in the village increases even further when focusing on individuals and their personal repertoires. Patterns in the use of multiple language(s) within the village and its surroundings are discussed to provide the foundation for the next section, in which the focus is placed on the main participants of this study, who are resident there and participate in the village structures.

For reasons of comprehensibility, the terms Jibëeher and Djibonker are subsequently used to clearly distinguish between contexts. Jibëeher, BG with the prefix 'ji-' to express locality, is used to refer to the traditional Bâinounk Gubëeher village, and Djibonker, which is the officially registered name of the village, is used to refer to the administrative area and includes further districts (for a detailed discussion see §5.1). It is of great importance to understand that the frontiers of Jibëeher and Djibonker differ in political, economic and administrative terms. However, the exchange and interaction between inhabitants of some of the adjacent districts and villages is fluid and constant. Furthermore, the complexities of people's everyday lives within their economic, political, social and local realities and obligations are presented.

Therefore, I describe not only the current economic and political situation, but also the development of Jibëeher's (and subsequently Djibonker's) culture(s) and language(s). The main part of the data in this section was collected through observations and conversations with local individuals and were further supplemented by various interviews with administrative officials and inhabitants who could advise on local traditions. Further information was gained from the rather rare publications of former studies in the village as e.g. Cobbinah (2010, 2013), Diatta, Gueye, & Akpo (2013), Sagna (2017), Carvajal & Weidl (2015) Goodchild & Weidl (2018b) and investigations in the surrounding areas as e.g. Dreyfus & Juillard (2004), Watson (2014), Goodchild (2016, 2018), Krajcik (forthcoming) Cobbinah et al. (2017), Lüpke and Storch (2013), Lüpke (2016a, 2017; 2019) among others.

People organise their lives around the organisations, institutions and social structures discussed below, which reciprocally develop in alignment with the needs of the inhabitants. Whereas the former chapter dealt with the country as a whole and the region's

history, the following discussion will be narrowed down to patterns of language use and influences determining the choice and use of language(s) in particular domains, with the focus on analysing the role of Wolof in the different sites. I therefore want to reiterate that in the description of particular situations, the terms for named and categorised languages are used as e.g. Wolof, Gubëeher, French etc.; however, languages are unlikely to ever be used unmixed and their borders are fluid for their multilingual speakers. What is shown is rather that they constitute the main part of the conversations following the prototype theory of language(s) (see §2.1.3). Due to the fact that many different language(s) and culture(s) are present and actively lived in the village and area, a general introduction of the reported languages of the inhabitants will be provided.

Thereafter, certain locations, local organisations and shared activities will be discussed to show the inhabitants' collective participation in social structures which are either public or are accessible through cultural integration (see §5.4). The individuals in focus however are by no means a monolithic group and can adapt their identities as fluidly as their language use. The social interactions demonstrate this flexibility in the use of language(s) as well as attitudes and ideologies towards them, which can change rapidly depending on the context, interlocutors or topic. However, speakers in general seem to follow certain tendencies of language use that were established through their social interactions and the conscious or unconscious agreements they reached. Providing an understanding of the dynamics in the village will further lead to a better comprehension of the socio-cultural environment in which the main participants of the research take part. Yet established patterns can be developed or broken at any time and as such my research and observations only pertain to a specific timeframe.

Further, the observation of and participation in some local (cultural) events in Jibëeher are described in brief since they play a prominent role in the inhabitants' lives and also change their status and rights in the village. However, some of this cultural heritage is not open to the public and has strict restrictions for outsiders. Given this limitation especially to some of the ceremonial events, they are described through information gathered in numerous interviews and informal conversations with the inhabitants (§5.5). Observations on the language(s) in use during all of these events will be discussed at the end of the section, in order to establish an overview of patterns of use in the different domains. Finally, this section concludes with an overview of the reported distribution of language(s) in use in each household, with a focus on Wolof and the acknowledgment that this represents people's attitudes towards certain language(s) rather than their actual language use.

5.1 Jibëeher/Djibonker

The village of Djibonker is located in the administrative region of Ziguinchor (whose capital is also called Ziguinchor or in Baïnounk Gubëeher ‘Gubabo’ - a local toponym regularly used in the village and by the people speaking Baïnounk Gubëeher) and corresponds to the region of Lower Casamance (see §3.2.1). The vast majority of people in Jibëeher identify (at least partly) as Baïnounk, further specify as Ñambëeher (BG dependants of Jibëeher with the plural prefix ‘ñam-’ to express humanity; BG SG. ‘Ubëeher’), and master Baïnounk Gubëeher (with the prefix ‘gu-’ to mark the language) as one of the language(s) in their linguistic repertoires. The village has about 1000-1500 inhabitants who are resident throughout the year. This is an estimation made by Cobbinah (2013) for Djibonker but his calculation seems not to include the three additional administrative quarters of the village, which would augment the number drastically (further elaborations at the beginning of this chapter). Therefore, the estimation presented corresponds to the inhabitants of the traditional village of Jibëeher rather than the administrative area of Djibonker (as the terms are used in this research). However, it is consistent with the information gathered in the household interviews which add up to approximately the same number of residents. However, many people who live outside the village but have their relatives in Jibëeher identify as Ñambëeher, having moved due to reasons of work, education, marriage, etc. so an estimation of the exact number of Ñambëeher is not possible. Even the number of residents in Jibëeher changes tremendously depending on, for instance, the season or the occurrence of local, cultural and religious events. During the rainy season in particular, which normally falls between June and October in the Casamance, many more people move temporarily to the village. This happens on the one hand because manpower is needed to work on the fields and cultivate crops or to help in the households while others are out working. On the other hand, people living somewhere else visit during public or school holidays, which makes it possible for them to see their families. Furthermore, families who live further away from the area and are not able to visit regularly send their children to Jibëeher during the summer months for example for them to make contact with their patrimonial identity and/or paternal (and sometimes maternal) origin and with Gubëeher, or simply to help out in the months where an increasing number of hands are needed to cook, wash, look after the younger children, cultivate etc. (Cobbinah, 2010; J. F. Sagna, 2017).

The region of Ziguinchor, where Djibonker is located, borders the Gambia in the north and Guinea-Bissau in the south. In the east the region of Kolda is adjacent and the western

part borders the Atlantic Ocean, which constitutes a fascinating geography with regard to the country's history, as mentioned in §3.2. In Baïnounk Gubëher, the traditional village is called Jibëher (as mentioned before) but was registered as Djibonker under the law of the French colonial rule.

Map (06) Région de Ziguinchor



(<http://www.au-senegal.com/>: 20.09.2016; mod. Weidl 2017)

Djibonker is located in the southern part of the region of Ziguinchor, about 13 kilometres southwest of its capital. It also belongs to the 'Département de Ziguinchor' and is part of the 'Arrondissement de Nyassia' and the 'Communauté rurale d'Enampore'. Four villages surround Djibonker. Brin (with BG toponym 'Jirer') is directly adjacent in the northern part of Djibonker and could not easily be discerned by a stranger as a separate village without the aid of street signs. Within a context of high multiculturalism and multilingualism, Brin's patrimonial language is Joola Kujireray (JK), which is part of the linguistic repertoire of most of the residents there and plays an active role in the village. From a cultural and linguistic point of view, the two villages can be described as distinct, however, inhabitants share a long history and still interact on a daily basis, which makes borders more fluid. The people from Brin generally have a greater influence on people

from Jibëeher than the other three surrounding villages and vice-versa. However, this influence differs on an individual level.

Badiatte, the closest village to the west of Djibonker, is located in the kingdom of Mov Avvi (JB *'land of the king'*; BG *'Eriin'*). The patrimonial identity of the village is described as Joola Banjal which is used with high frequency in conversations. However, the distinction between Joola languages (within Mov Avvi but also further parts of the Casamance) is rather complex, as indicated in §3.4.4. In the south Jibëeher abuts Darsalam, a village that is culturally very diverse and does not represent one patrimonial identity bound to its locality. One area of the village (which is called *'Robot'* in BG) was formerly part of the village or settlement of Jibëeher but was divided by the French colonial authorities who separated villages by geographical location rather than cultural orientation³⁶. As it is visible on the map below, the frontier between the villages was drawn due to the course of a branch of the Casamance River.

Map (07) Adjacent villages to Djibonker



(Google earth view; mod. Weidl 2018)

Therefore, the village Darsalam cannot be described as having only one patrimonial language, and multilingual speakers name Bayot, Joola Kaasa and Bāinounk Gubëeher as possible identifying languages of the village and part of their identities. In the south-west Djibonker borders Medina, a village where Joola Fogny and Pulaar are widespread.

³⁶ Knowledge is based on reports from residents of Jibëeher and Darsalam since there were no official documents found on the separation of the villages.

Interestingly, one of the three quarters of the village of Medina is under the administrative section of Djibonker, which will be further discussed below. The majority of inhabitants of Jibëeher, Brin, Badiatte and Darsalam regularly practice an ancestral worship and belief alongside or in conjunction with Catholicism or Islam.

The regional road R20, running 70km from Cap Skirring on the Atlantic Coast to Ziguinchor, geographically separates the village of Jibëeher. Cutting through the village, this road has great importance for its growth and development. The existence of the street influences people's mobility and therefore social exchanges and use of language(s). The R20 provides the inhabitants of Jibëeher with easy access to (public) transport³⁷ and simplifies trips to the region's capital, as well as other places such as Nyassia and Ossouye, which are of great political importance in the region. Passers-by have a substantial economic impact, especially for the households close to the street, and as the only connection between Cap Skirring and Ziguinchor, it is highly frequented by local standards. Cap Skirring, which was originally a fishing village, is nowadays a well-equipped tourist destination. It possesses its own international airport which is the only one in Senegal aside from Léopold Sedhar Senghor in Dakar. The airport in Cap Skirring operates mainly during the tourist season with direct connections to for instance Europe. In addition to being a tourist attraction, it is also a commercial hub for people from all over the world as well as for Senegalese people³⁸. However, its international popularity declined due to the fear of Ebola and the temporarily introduced visa requirement in Senegal (approximately mid 2015 until mid 2016), and it is only slowly being regained.

Consequently, the R20 is not merely a good transport link, but also contributes fundamentally to the multicultural diversity on the street and among the households adjacent to it (see §5.6, where the languages reported in the households are discussed). This derives from independent travellers as well as traders, commuters etc. who frequently stop in the village to visit the shops, trade, see relatives or friends etc. and naturally enables people from the wider region to easily access Djibonker and vice versa. Furthermore, the electricity and water pipes lead along the street, which makes it possible to connect for those living nearby. This again affords various developmental advantages for people possessing land next to the R20, such as being able to continue work after nightfall, the possession of a refrigerator, television and other electronic devices, watering

³⁷ A place in a public car or on a motorbike from the village to e.g. Ziguinchor costs about 500FCFA. However, since there are no fixed times for public transport, one has to wait on the street until a car or motorbike passes by, and the chances of getting a free lift from a private vehicle are likely.

³⁸ See e.g. <http://www.cap-skirring.voyage/>.

gardens without the workload of going to the well and so on. The availability of electricity in these households attracts people from other more remote places (to charge their phones or torches, for example), making them particularly frequented as places of social gathering. Although almost everyone in Djibonker possesses at least one phone, a tendency to a higher use of smart phones, tablets and laptops was observed in the houses with electricity. Since it is neither complicated nor very expensive to acquire an Internet connection (through a SIM-Card) this connects the owners of devices to different and immediate sources of knowledge and therefore influences their perception of the world as well as linguistic repertoires.

5.2 Administrative organisation today

Nowadays, one ‘chef de village³⁹’ has the function of the administrative leader of Djibonker. An Ubëeher, Prospere Coly, was chosen by a committee of local stakeholders in 2002 to take on this role. The village’s internal criteria were to find a man who clearly identifies as Ubëeher, has the required administrative expertise and cultural knowledge to lead a village and is also willing to take on the great responsibility. The socio-cultural structures in Jibëeher largely determine the choice of a man, since women could have a more culturally mixed background or marry outside the village within another culture (see §5.2.1). However, a woman who conforms to the criteria is still more likely to be chosen to lead the village than a man without the necessary local cultural and linguistic background and knowledge. The chef’s tenure has no official restrictions and can either be terminated by an expression of dissatisfaction from residents of Djibonker, or by his own choice to resign. This position is primarily administrative, though the *chef de village* also plays a highly significant role in organising the village depending on its needs, informing the inhabitants of events, and fulfils traditional and religious obligations (J. F. Sagna, 2017).

Even though Jibëeher was perceived as one village, at the beginning of the 19th century it was separated into two administrative sectors with two different *chefs de village*. This separation plays an important role in the assignment of subordinate administrative functions and references to history in people’s conversations up to today. Yet, long before the formal separation, the village was divided into two ‘halol⁴⁰’ (BG PL.;

³⁹ See http://www.servicepublic.gouv.sn/index.php/demarche_administrative/demarche/1/680/4/13 for more information on the official requirements of a *chef de village*.

⁴⁰ Frequently used terms with connotations that might not be clear for every reader are further explained and summarised in the appendix.

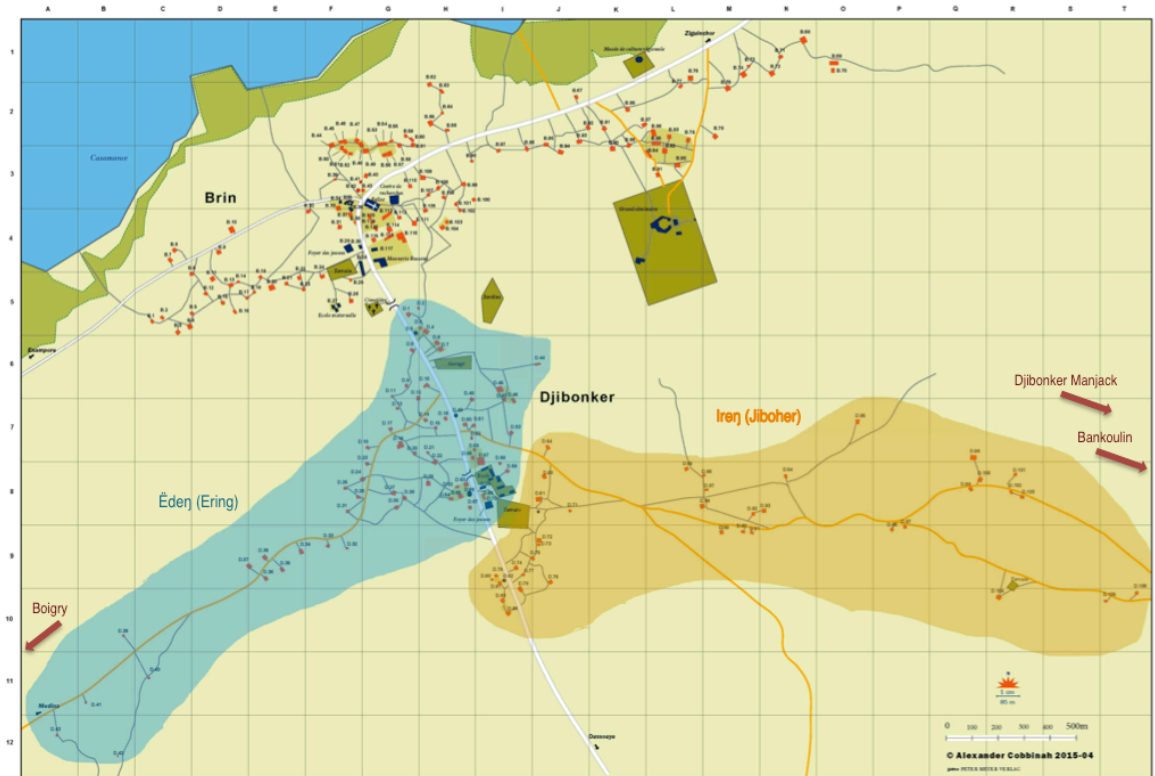
‘gulol’ BG SG. which can be interpreted as district or ‘grand-quartier’), which are called Ędeŋ and Ireŋ in the village. As mentioned before when explaining the terms Djibonker and Jibēher, the administrative terms used in the village(s) often diverge - therefore the registered terms for the two *halol* are Ereng or Ering, which correspond to Ędeŋ, and Jiboher, which corresponds to Ireŋ.

Under the French colonial rule, all the villages in the Casamance (as well as wider regions of West Africa) had to be registered and a representative for each village was chosen. Therefore, an Ubēher called Silobil became the first formal *chef de village* of Djibonker, a subordinate of the ‘Chef de Canton d’Enampore’, Pierre Bassene. As head of the village, he had the functions of representing the village, giving advice in the case of crises or problems, applying the rules and laws of the colonial power and collecting dues from each household in the village to deliver it to the French administrative assistants. Silobil was a resident of Ireŋ and according to the oral history in Djibonker, a strong, mean and brutal character⁴¹. Whenever a household was not able to pay their dues for the month, he would visit and violate people from the family without respect for anyone. If there was still money missing to pay the French collectors their monthly duty, Silobil would send them to Ędeŋ (and never to Ireŋ) to take hold of cattle, food or other possessions to make up for it. His actions provoked turmoil and an uneven distribution of possessions between the two *halol* of the village which made the people from Ędeŋ feel unfairly treated.

Then, with the return of man called Fuga to the village, who went to serve in the French Army in the Second World War, things started to change. He recognised that the leadership of the village did not work and proposed a separation of Jibēher (and subsequently Djibonker) into two parts to escape Silobil’s rule. They coordinated a re-election with the *Chef de Canton d’Enampore* (today ‘Chef de Communauté rurale d’Enampore’) including all the people of the village who had to raise their hands to express their vote. Fuga won the election for Ędeŋ and Silobil continued as chef of Ireŋ, separating the village into two administrative sectors and further creating a divergence of certain local events.

⁴¹ Information retrieved from various informal conversations with Silobil’s descendants who still live in the Gulol of Ireŋ.

Map (08) Ędeņ (Ereņ) and Ireņ (Jiboher)



(Cobbinah 2015; mod. Weidl 2017⁴²)

This structure was maintained until 2002, when the people of the village decided to reintroduce one *chef de village* since all of the disputes were long settled. Since then, Prosperé Coly is the only head of Ędeņ and Ireņ.

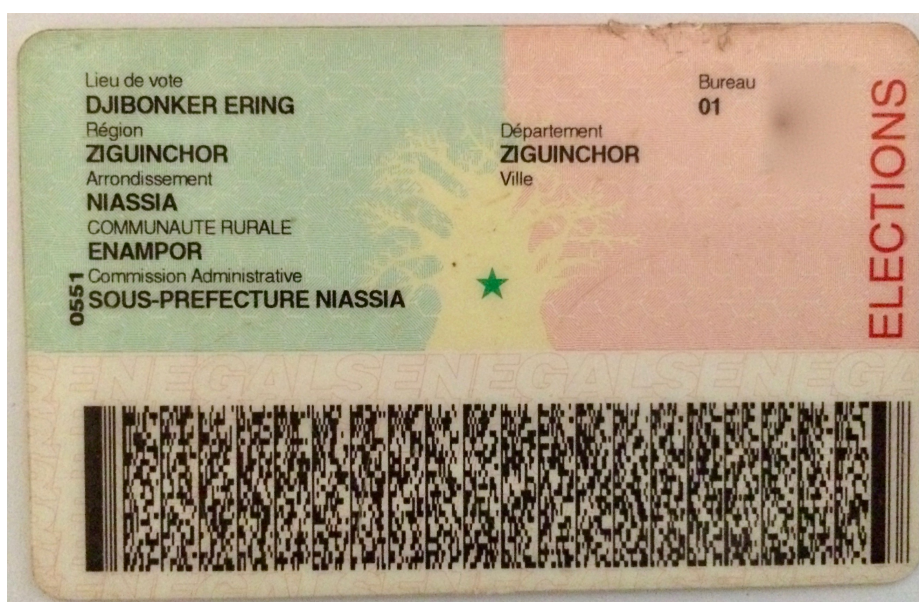
Within Ędeņ and Ireņ, as seen on the map above, the majority of people describe the culture and language of Baĭnounk Gubēher as part of their identity. Even though there is one *chef de village*, to date the *halol* have separate officials to regulate administrative and traditional duties (J. F. Sagna, 2017). Here it has to be noted that all of the officials within the two *halol*, who vary in number depending on the topic of their discussions and decisions that have to be made, are proficient in communicating in Gubēher; however, most of them are also able to communicate in French, Wolof and at least one Joola language. Following my observations of official meetings of administrative members of Ędeņ, Gubēher is definitely prevailing. However, while discussing official organisational, legal or financial matters, it is common to intermix more French since all

⁴² Information retrieved from DJI010217JSMW and verified in informal conversations with inhabitants of Jibēher.

the paperwork, as well as the written communication with higher-level administrative units, are only accepted in the official institutional language of the country.

However, there are three more official ‘quartiers’ of Djibonker, where people neither identify with the language Gubëeher, nor with the culture of the Ñambëeher⁴³. These areas are not included on the map of Cobbinah (2015) and were added to it with arrows of direction. Their official names are Boigry, which is part of the administrative section of Èdeṅ, Djibonker Manjaku and Bankoulin which are part of the administrative section of Ireṅ. To date, people’s birth certificates and Senegalese ‘carte d’identification nationale’ (identification card) distinguish Djibonker Ereng/Ering⁴⁴ (BG ‘Èdeṅ’; including Boigry) and Djibonker Jiboher (BG ‘Ireṅ’; including Djibonker Manjack and Bankoulin), to specify origin or place of residence⁴⁵.

Figure (14) Carte d’Identification Nationale



(Source: Resident of Jibëeher, private information blurred)

These three additional ‘quartiers’ to the traditional village of Jibëeher share a similar history, even though the inhabitants now living in these areas originate from different places, mainly in Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. The ancestors of the people living in the

⁴³ So far only two cases have been observed where an Ubëeher woman married into one of these additional three areas of Djibonker.

⁴⁴ The writing conventions differ.

⁴⁵ Observations made in Brin on the 16 and 17 February 2017 where people had the chance to renew their ID cards (which normally cost 10.000FCFA) for free and encourage them to request it. The card is officially obligatory for every Senegalese inhabitant, however in reality many people, especially in rural areas, are not able to receive them due to the fact that their birth certificates were lost (or never issued). However, only this card gives them the right to vote, and allows them to travel legally to e.g. Guinea-Bissau and Gambia.

areas had to leave their homes due to economic or political crises and were forced to ask for land to resettle. Like many other villages in this area, the Ñambëeher allowed a certain number of refugees to use their property and build houses on their land. However, since they didn't share the same culture, the newcomers were geographically isolated by being placed at a distance from the village of Jibëeher. To the east of Jibëeher, two settlements were established: Djibonker Manjack, which is mainly inhabited by people (partly) identifying as Njago from Guinea-Bissau, and Bankoulin, mainly inhabited by residents (partly) identifying with Joola Fogy. To the west the settlement of Jibëeher Boigri is located, which is identified as culturally and linguistically more mixed. The first settlers to arrive were described as presenting their identity to be Joola Fogy, who later themselves gave land to people (partly) identifying with Mandinka and Pulaar. They quickly grew in number until the group separated from the administrative area of Djibonker and established their own village of Medina, whose permanent residents are today greater in number than the inhabitants of Jibëeher. However, since the land belonged to the Ñambëeher, Boigry, one of Medina's three quarters, is officially a part of Djibonker. These areas do not have a huge influence on the culture and language of the Ñambëeher as a whole, since contact and intermixture is low (compared to Brin, for instance), but might influence certain individuals especially in the border region⁴⁶. The people living in these three quarters of Djibonker bear their own local identities and language(s) and do not attempt to integrate or make close contact with the cultural orientation or language of Baïnouk Gubëeher and vice versa.

However, some official decisions have to be made collaboratively. One observation was made during a meeting concerning the separation of available money from the government to develop Èdeŋ⁴⁷, which includes the area of Boigry. Its attendants were Prospere Coly (who has to be present or represented at all the meetings of the *gulol*), administrative officials of Èdeŋ and two representatives of Boigry. Within Jibëeher, meetings are, as mentioned above, generally held in Gubëeher. However, since the two people from Boigry do not share a similar linguistic repertoire with the attendants from Jibëeher and are not proficient in Gubëeher, my estimation was that they would provide a translator for them, because they were outnumbered, and the administrative positions are held by Ñambëeher. But what actually happened was that another language(s) of communication was agreed on within the meeting. This decision was made without

⁴⁶ This was e.g. observed in Duuru, where some of the families decided to send their children to school in Medina since it is closer than the school in Djibonker.

⁴⁷ Observations made on the 23/08/2016 at the Foyer de Djibonker where the meeting was held.

hesitation and the Ñambëeher agreed to base the meeting on Joola Fogny, the language the two representatives from Boigry identified with. During the meeting everybody followed this convention as far as possible and Gubëeher was avoided so as not to exclude anybody. However, some of the Ñambëeher seemed to struggle to find the right words in Joola Fogny (since they have other Joola languages in their repertoires which they use more regularly) and Wolof therefore supported their multilingual conversations. Further, as observed in different official events, as soon as the conversation shifted to focusing on official paperwork, French was introduced and increased within multilingual languages use. This pattern of choosing languages to base conversations in within certain domains was observed frequently and it will be further described throughout this section.

It is also important to be aware of the fact that most of the people residing in Jibëeher (and many in Brin) know each other and possess some background information about their interlocutors. This could for example be a relationship to one of their relatives, knowledge of their affiliation to a *bilid*, their upbringing, education or professional training, who they are married to, basic information about their repertoire, their degree of integration in the traditional life and education etc., and their choice of language(s) can be adapted to this information. Therefore, if a person from outside Jibëeher arrives in the village, they can easily be identified as such and are generally addressed in Wolof (if they do not greet in different language(s) first), since greetings and short communications when passing each other are a social obligation in order to be polite.

Within Jibëeher, there are further demarcations of smaller areas within the *halol* that are called ‘ilid’ and play an important traditional role. They confine traditional families geographically; their establishment and functions will be further discussed below.

5.2.1 ‘Bilid/Ilid’

Bilid (BG SG.) or *ilid* (BG PL.) function as a designation for a group of houses, or in one case just one house, and its inhabitants. Today there are 19 *ilid* traceable in the village of which some are further separated through names the inhabitants associate with certain places. However, this only helps for geographical orientation, functioning like an address, but has neither an administrative nor a traditional function and is therefore not further discussed here. However, the distinction between a house name and a *bilid* sometimes seems to be subject to interpretation depending on the source of the information, even though ultimately all the informants’ questioned for this section agreed on the separation as shown below. The decision was made to show the maximum number of *ilid* traceable in Djibonker, due to the joint decision to respect all the interpretations.

Map (09) Ilid of Jibëeher



(Cobbinah 2015; mod. Weidl 2017⁴⁸)

1	Duuru (not visible)	11	Biij
2	Eskut	12	Edimbilan
3	Kajor	13	Bureer
4	Jalaŋ	14	Ebori
5	Jaanjalat	15	Jibëeher
6	Ajufay	16	Alaŋ
7	Ñampiñam	17	Ajeen
8	Benken	18	Kalandiin
9	Benor	19	Kanampar
10	Agoj		

The *ilid* originate from the first settler in the area who founded the village and whose houses were given names. These names either stem from the head of the household or the name of a ‘sirun’ (BG SG.; ‘murun’ BG PL.), which can be described as an ancestral shrine, a place for ceremonies and communication with different spirits and ancestors. The *ilid* are traditionally significant and their size change and adapt over time, as explained below.

As is common in the Casamance and in wider regions of Senegal (Lüpke & Storch, 2013), exogamous marriage is practiced in Jibëeher. This means that the female descendants marry into the household of their husbands to live with them and their family. The male descendants stay in the household of their father and are (if available) given

⁴⁸ Information retrieved from DJI010217JSMW, the ‘house data’, and verified in formal and informal conversations with inhabitants of Jibëeher.

land to build their own house, which then bears the same name as their male ancestors' house, equating with the name of the *bilid*. This tradition is maintained up to the present and the *ilid* grow and change depending on their residents.

However, their function in the community of Jibëeher (but also in the wider areas of, for example, the villages of Mov Avvi, in Brin and Darsalam; especially within Joola cultures) is rather complex and concerns the whole family, ritual ceremonies, possibilities of engagement, communication with ancestors, family knowledge etc. Primarily *ilid* function to regulate marriage, but their meaning then varies throughout the lives of the spouses. It is strictly prohibited to marry a person belonging to one's own *bilid*, even though some of them might host many residents who are very far removed or even unrelated by blood. Therefore, it is clear that the wives moving into the household of the men originate from a different *bilid*.

Secondarily, *ilid* attribute roles to certain members of the family. If, for instance, a woman marries into the household of her husband and they have children themselves, these children play an important role in the *bilid* where the mother was born. This role, which is called *ujebun* (BG SG.) or *ñanjebun* (BG PL.), can be directly translated as 'to be/to serve as a slave' but has to be used with care since it is not in the least comparable to slavery but rather has an organisational function. Since this is a custom in the wider region shared with certain Joola groupings (JK: *ësëbul*, JF: *asampul*), in multilingual conversations the noun 'jaam' or the verb 'jaamu' originating from Wolof are used frequently. Interestingly, A.-B. Diop (1985) describes a very similar social structure within Wolof families, who are however designate only the paternal cousin as *jaam*. However, as described in Munro & Gaye (1997, p. 73), 'jaam' has various meanings:

“**jaam** slave (one who may be bought and sold), prisoner of war; slave (one born into a slave caste); dishonorable person (of any caste); cousin who calls one's father *nijaay* (i.e., father's sister's child or father's female cousin's child “slave” relative); human being (i.e., slave of God)”

J.-L. Diouf (2003, 153) translates the noun as slave, religious believer or child of the paternal aunt, and further interprets the verbalised form of 'jaamu' as to work for someone as a slave, or to adore someone, whereas the translation by Munro & Gaye is “to help with a ceremony knowing one will be rewarded (of a “slave” relative)” (1997, p. 73), which gets closest to the traditional meaning in Jibëeher and the surrounding area⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ This is further discussed similarly in Durkheim and Mauss (1963) and Radcliffe-Brown (1940) in connection with joking relationships in other (West African) societies.

Being a member of the community means at the same time being an *ujebun* in the *bilid* one's mother belongs to, or, if the *bilid* is extensive and heavily populated, in the household of the mother's father. That does not necessary mean that one's mother was born or grew up in this *bilid*; every child automatically belongs to the *bilid* of their biological father and further automatically assumes his cultural identity.

Ñanjebun particularly play a role as workers if they participate in the traditional events of the *bilid*, which they are supposed, but not obliged, to do. Men's function is to kill the animals, butcher and distribute the meat and serve drinks at the events, whereas the women cook, distribute the plates and keep the space clean. This tradition seems to be followed without resistance and the inhabitants of Jibëeher are aware of their roles in the events organised. Besides the obligation to work at events, being an *ujebun* gives them the right to take whatever they want in the *bilid* of the mother (e.g. chicken, fruit or vegetables for their garden, wood, rice etc.) and the residents of the *bilid* are not allowed to interfere⁵⁰. However, this right is generally performed with great respect and deliberation. If an *ujebun* has children, they assume the position of an 'ubooten' (BG SG.; ñambooten BG PL.) and their children that of 'ubootlanken' (BG SG.; ñambootlanken BG PL.), meaning one who assists the *ujebun* or even takes on the role completely (if the *ujebun* is old, sick, pregnant or not present). They are therefore also allowed to take property from the *bilid* of origin of their maternal grandmother or great-grandmother.

Although this plays a significant role for people who marry within the village, it is especially interesting in intercultural marriages. This traditional system ensures that the descendants of a mother know her *bilid* and furnishes them with the responsibility to attend any traditional events taking place there. This not only regulates the division of labour, but also at the same time automatically brings the descendants into direct contact with the culture and language of the mother, which therefore promotes multiculturalism and multilingualism. If a woman without the tradition of *ilid* marries into the village of Jibëeher, the *ilid* initially do not have any meaning for them (but can do, if they decide or are chosen to adopt the culture of their husband through a certain ritual). If they then give birth to a child whose father is Baïnounk, the child will be Baïnounk as well and part of the father's *bilid* but will not have the role of an *ujebun* anywhere. Only their children will have a *bilid* of origin and the role of an *ujebun* in the *bilid* of their mother, again as

⁵⁰ A.-B. Diop (1985, p. 60) described being a *jaam* rather similar within Wolof households, mentioning that “*jaam* est l'inférieur, il est désigné du terme significatif de *jaam* (« esclave ») et doit acconlir des travaux, pour le compte de l'autre, lors de cérémonies ou de corconstances particulières. Le cousin matrilatéral doit, au contraire, faire des cadeaux obligatoires ; il est le supérieur, le « maître » (sang)” (italic in original).

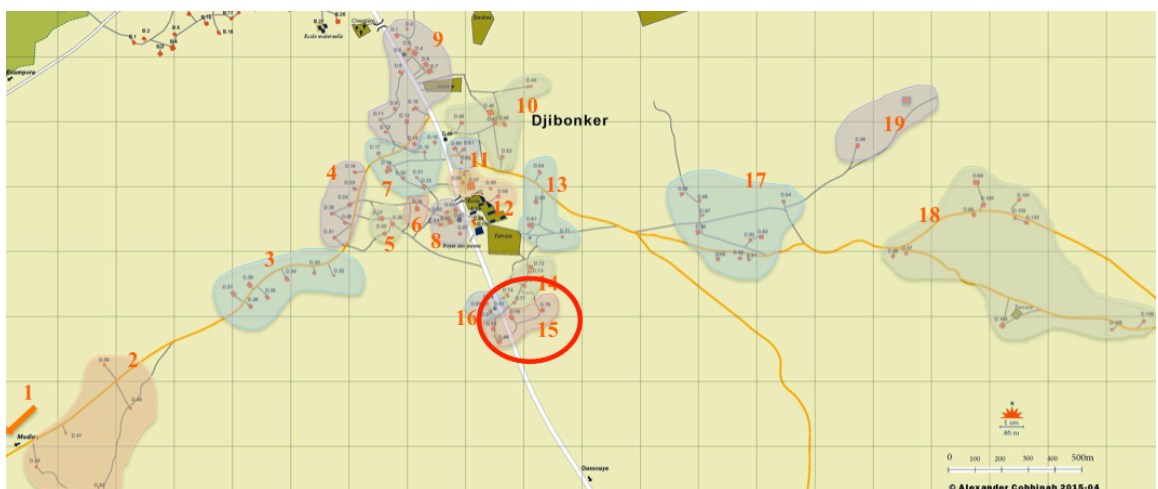
long as they follow the tradition. Therefore, a full traditional integration into the culture can happen with the third generation.

5.3 Oral history of the settlement of Jibëeher and Brin

Following the geographical, political and economic introduction to the Jibëeher region, based on academic and political publications and interviews with local stakeholders, this subchapter focusses on the oral history of the establishment of Jibëeher and is almost exclusively based on interviews and more informal discussions within the village. Here it should be mentioned that, despite the unforeseen congruence within the oral history collected, public perceptions and the restoration of historical facts could deviate in the description of other individuals (e.g. people from surrounding villages with a more external view), since personal experiences and opinions were observed as highly influential.

The settlement of the first Ñambëeher and the development of the village play a major role in today's social reality and the local traditions and events of the inhabitants of Jibëeher. According to the villagers' oral histories, the settlement was founded by five families who arrived successively. They developed in the areas today officially responding to Djibonker, Brin and Darsalam (see Map (07)). Even though the exact order in which the families arrived is unclear, the Sagna family is believed to be responsible for the foundation of the first *bilid* of Jibëeher, which is still of great importance during local activities that accompany the Ñambëeher from birth until after their death (J. F. Sagna, 2017).

Map (10) The first bilid: Jibëeher



(Cobbinah 2015; mod. Weidl 2017)

Subsequent families bearing the names Biagui, Coly, Diatta and Manga arrived⁵¹. Following the social structure of automatically adopting their paternal identity, every Ubëeher from Jibëeher has one of these names, which is clearly evident up to today and restricts the emergence of different surnames⁵² (at least within the traditional marriage structure). Yet the origin of these families is somewhat unclear as it is only described as ‘the south’ or ‘the direction of GuineaBissau’ but could not be further elaborated. Furthermore, the reason for their resettlement could not be specified, nor whether all of the families actually emigrated from the same place. The choice of the land was justified due to the economic potential of the area, in which the Ñambëeher had access to resources to serve their basic needs. Jointly with the settlement, each of the families established their *karik*, which serves as a kind of family shrine important for traditional ceremonies and communication with ancestors. Each of these *karik* bears the name of the *bilid* to which it is affiliated. It is furthermore meaningful for different entrances to their sacred forests and therefore the distribution of traditional power in the village. For a further brief discussion of local (ceremonial) activities see section §5.5.

According to the oral history, the families grew and strengthened their economic power until an additional workforce was needed. The Ñambëeher were in an economically privileged position and decided to domicile workers (mainly representing Joola identities) close to their village. It was reported by some elder Ñambëeher that these people were ‘slaves of war’ as internal slavery has been widespread in this area (Baum, 1999). Yet their working conditions are unclear, and people seem not to be fond of talking about this topic. Over the years these novel ‘settlers’ grew in number and developed a separate village, which is the present village of Brin. The independence from Jibëeher is by no means described as peaceful, as complex stories of intrigues and assassinations were reported that raged over the area for many years.

However, due to the power relationship, inter-cultural marriage with the people from Brin was initially prohibited and later disdained, their children were not supposed to play with each other and the language Gubëher was not shared with them. Some Ñambëeher however acquired Joola Kujireray and used it as a language of wider communication, in addition to Joola Fogy, Kreol and later Wolof (for a discussion on how the languages of wider communication changed in the area, see §3.2). This was declared by the Ñambëeher

⁵¹ The notations of the surnames differ, as they could also be realised in an orthography for Senegalese languages, which would resemble Saña, Biagy, Koly, Jatta and Maña, or a mixture of both ways of spelling.

⁵² When women get traditionally married, their surname does not change. Yet, due to official reasons, civil marriages are increasing and some of the women decide to take a double name.

as a further indication of their power, absorbing the language of the inferior culture while maintaining the Joola's distance from their own⁵³.

Even though the social reality has changed, this former power balance is visible up to today, especially in a comparison of the linguistic repertoires of elderly Ñambëeher and Ñamjirer (people of Brin) as well as people's attitudes towards the languages. Yet these rivalries are not apparent in contemporary daily lives and inter-cultural marriages were observed. Brin's people and economic power continue to play a great developmental role for Djibonker that influences the inhabitants' social interactions and will therefore be further discussed in the subchapter below (see also Cobbinah et al. (2017) Watson (2014, 2018) and Baum (1999)).

5.3.1 The importance of Brin for Djibonker

Brin is directly adjacent to Djibonker, as shown in earlier maps (see e.g. Map (07)). Today social networks and communities of practice are manifold for many inhabitants of Jibëeher and Brin and official borders are primarily justified by political organisation or traditional events. Due to Brin's favourable geographic location, lying at the crossroads to the Mov Avvi, Catholic missionaries built their bases there and subsequently opened the first Catholic primary school and a mission, which raised the social and economic level of development of Brin. Subsequently, a church and a Catholic hospital ward were built for inhabitants of Brin and Djibonker and occupied by priests, nuns and worshippers from the region and abroad (for a more detailed discussion of the influence of the public school system and the Catholic church, see below in §5.4.6 and §5.5.2).

After the establishment of these Catholic institutions, Brin was further strengthened through Robert Sagna (*1939), a 'Brinois' who gained political power and brought positive reinforcement to the village. He served as Secretary of State from 1978 to 1983, and then got elected as Minister in different areas (Tourism; Information for the Senegambia Confederation; Communication; Equipment, Transport and the Sea; Agriculture) from 1987 to 2000 under the presidency of Léopold Sédar Senghor and Abdou Diouf. At the same time, he was the Mayor of Ziguinchor for 25 years (1984-2009). As a part of the 'Takku Defaraat Senegal' (W 'coalition to rebuilt Senegal') alliance he was a candidate for presidency within the socialist party in 2007⁵⁴ (De Jong,

⁵³ The information is based on several interviews with elder inhabitants practicing traditional functions of the Jibëeher.

⁵⁴ With his election motto 'Démocratie-Solidarité' he gained 2.58% of the votes and lost in the first electoral round to Abdoulaye Wade (<http://africanelections.tripod.com/sn.html>).

2002, 2007). Through this national political success, he had the opportunity to invest in and develop Brin, his village of origin. This is particularly evident when comparing Brin's resources with that of other villages nearby (e.g. Djibonker), as they profited from an early connection to the national power grid, as well as being the site of a water reservoir, a military base (which was closed in 2013) and various smaller projects that were either financed through his political party or by him privately. However, it is not only beneficial to the inhabitants of Brin, but also provides favourable conditions for some inhabitants of Jibëeher who live close to Brin and profit from facilities like the water pipelines coming from Brin and facilitated connection to electricity. Furthermore, the close location of the church and local health clinic are crucial motivations for people of Jibëeher to visit Brin. This regular exchange (that will be further exemplified in the sections below, see §5.4) contributed to a decline of cultural rivalry, which was (for myself) not noticeable in everyday life, however it still left its traces in the linguistic repertoires of the people, using Wolof as one of the basic language(s) of communication with each other.

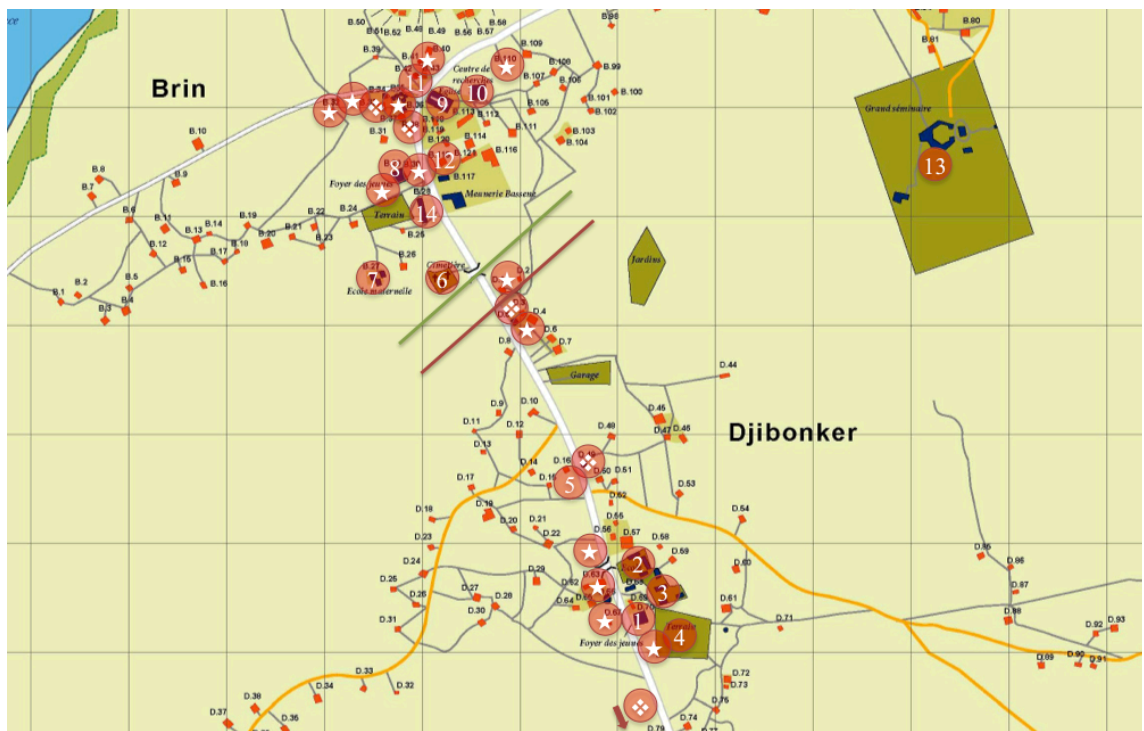
5.4 Public spaces of social network structures

The following section outlines socially important institutions and venues of gathering in both Jibëeher and Brin since the two villages are close and social ties surpass the villages' frontiers. The role of Wolof in everyday social life is investigated and described in the multilingual small-scale language ecology present. The below listed public spaces are significant to most inhabitants of Jibëeher, play an active role for the participants of my research and were observed during this research. Interestingly, the public places of social networks seem to have established their own rules of multilingual language use which are shaped by (frequent) attendants and are further elaborated in the subchapters below. Individuals are in regular contact and exchange following their shared interests and needs. Therefore, the groupings constitute different social structures in which people share common knowledge and influence each other and each other's language use through their experiences and linguistic repertoires.

The public spaces and common shared activities further show the close relationship and the cooperation between the villages and villagers, where being multilingual and possessing certain knowledge in different language(s) of the area are a necessity to be fully integrated. Residents of Jibëeher are obliged to leave the village for certain activities and needs and are by no means isolated, which is elaborated further below. On the following map, the most frequent meeting points and landmarks of Jibëeher and Brin are listed as points of reference and will be further discussed in subchapters focussing on the

observed and reported language use to establish an understanding of people’s social interactions in their everyday lives.

Map (11) Public spaces of social network structures



(Cobbinah 2015; mod. Weidl 2017)

- 1 Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker
 - 2 Primary school
 - 3 Secondary school (CEM)
 - 4 Terrain de CEM
 - 5 Market Djibonker (not in use yet)
 - 6 Cemetery
 - 7 Préscolaire de Brin
 - 8 Foyer des Jeunes de Brin
 - 9 Catholic Church
 - 10 Centre Linguistique Laurent Sagna (CLLS)
 - 11 Market Brin
 - 12 Poste de Sante Saint-Luc de Brin
 - 13 Grand Séminaire Saint Jean-Marie Vianney
 - 14 Centre de recherche et de formation en gestion non violente des conflits
- ★ Bar
- ❖ Boutique

The two parallel lines on Map (11) represent the border between the villages that was drawn by the administrative stakeholders of Senegal (in red) and the frontier the two villages agreed long before a formal registration (in green), which is the frontier in the lived realities of the inhabitants. This again demonstrates the difficulty of drawing borders since interpretation may depend on various influential factors. The map shows the proximity and density of institutions and places of social gathering, centred along the main road connecting the villages. It will further serve as an orientation in the two villages when different social spaces are described in the subsections below and corresponds to the augmented use of Wolof along the street as discussed in §5.6.

5.4.1 Regular village meetings

Throughout the year various meetings and reunions are organised within the village, depending on current activities, needs and official or traditional obligations. The organisers can either be private parties, political and economic stakeholders or the *chef de village*, and the places of the meetings vary (e.g. the Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker, (Map (11): 1), one of the schools (Map (11): 2, 3) or a bar/private household). However, the meetings can be distinguished as those organised by the whole administrative sector of Djibonker, by the two *halol* Èdeŋ and Ireŋ, as well as whether they are locally/culturally/privately motivated.

Meetings that concern the whole village of Djibonker need to be convened by the *chef de village* and are used to distribute important information and to discuss current topics. In these meetings everyone who lives in Djibonker (including Boigry, Djibonker Manjack and Bankoulin) is invited to attend and the language(s) used are adapted to the actual participants⁵⁵. Meetings that were observed concerned for instance the organisation of upcoming elections and supervision of ballot boxes in Djibonker, the distribution of water and electricity in the village and the organisation of maintenance work on the road. In the (possible) case that these meetings are only attended by Ñambëeher, Gubëeher is the most commonly used language of communication; however, only one participant who is not proficient in Bâinounk Gubëeher could change the language use of all participants as Wolof or any Joola language are accepted as well. French however is excluded as a language of wider communication in these situations, since it would exclude many of the

⁵⁵ The number of participants depends heavily on the season of the year and topics discussed.

participants, but is nonetheless used for official paperwork if necessary (and sometimes in discussions surrounding it), which is written in French only.

Various training sessions are also organised. For instance, a political event in which the whole village was given a basic overview of the Senegalese constitutional referendum of March 2016 and the right to vote, as well as a health event providing information on malaria and distributing mosquito nets were observed. Within these meetings, French and Wolof were predominant as the language(s) of presentation and teaching. This was in order to reach the widest possible group based on two languages, since attendees did not all originate from the region but travelled from further afield and did not have local languages like Gubëeher or even a Joola language in their repertoires. Smaller local languages/language(s) were still present but introduced in informal conversations among the participants familiar with them. The contents of such discussions were at times repeated for participants who might not have fully understood or used strategically in discussions that they did not want to share with the whole group or the presenters.

Reunions that are organised within an *halol* are respectively smaller and concern internal political and economic interests. They are organised by officials of Èdenj or Irej either in the ‘Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker’ (Map (11): 1) or the household of a representative. Depending on the topic of discussion, their meetings can be restricted or open to all inhabitants of the *gulol*. However, the *chef de village* is expected to attend, even though he is not necessarily the one organising the meetings. Observed examples include several meetings that are held annually to draw up a budget for the *Communauté rurale d’Enampore*, in which the participants estimate the funding required for various development projects on an official document. Interestingly, this is an official claim form that still has to be done separately in each *gulol* but is signed by the *chef de village*. The improvements applied for every year range from a new wall in the school to a well, educational needs, health care, and event funding. Financial aid like this is then subject to the adjudications of the Senegalese government, as the document is forwarded to the responsible officials of the ‘Orientation du Budget de la Commune d’Enampore’ who then decide by a vote whether to supply the areas with the requested amount of money. Since it is essential to maintain and restructure the village and at the same time improve people’s lives, the involvement and opinion of the inhabitants of the *gulol* is anticipated, yet not compulsory. What was observed in these meetings is that the language(s) of the presentation from inhabitants of one of the *halol* expressing their requests and concerns is mostly the one they personally feel most comfortable with in this situation (which was expressing information based on Bâïnounk Gubëeher for many individuals). However, it varies depending on the speakers’ experiences and relationships to other attendees; for

instance, a speaker was observed who based his discourse on Wolof once and Joola Fogy on another occasion to express the same concern to a different audience as a strategic adjustment. Yet, as observed in other meetings and reunions, when official paperwork needs to be discussed French becomes more dominant since a clear standardised French is needed to fill in the forms, take the minutes and write a cover letter as a requirement for this claim.

Furthermore, there are meetings organised within Jibëeher to integrate Ñambëeher, or to plan traditional events and ceremonies. Individuals whose father is not an Ubëeher are generally excluded (with certain exceptions for a few people), even though it might be possible in certain meetings for spouses or fostered children of an Ubëeher to participate. However, due to this restricted access I have not the chance to participate in or observe many of these events. My main recourse was then to ask the participants, who reported that an unmixed Bāinounk Gubëeher is used. Apprehending and respecting that this choice is associated with preserving a prestige for the culture and tradition within these events, I asked further questions, especially regarding Ñambëeher who did not grow up in the village or with the language and seem unable to speak/comprehend Gubëeher. In response to this more specific query, the people interviewed changed their initial statements and reported that multilingual conversations are also frequent. Nevertheless, it seems to be clear that the ceremonial duties and the main information of these meetings have to be delivered in Gubëeher. Ñambëeher who are not able to follow this completely are reported to be taken aside for explanation; language(s) used therefore vary depending on the interlocutors' linguistic repertoires.

Private and independently organised meetings and reunions can concern the organisation or social structures within a *bilid*, a closer family, task force or group of friends. Participating in them in my daily life in Jibëeher, I observed that within these small encounters people do not follow any patterns of language use that can be described. Patterns only become visible through a closer look at people's individual experiences, common knowledge and aims pursued, as analysed for the main participants below (see §6.2).

5.4.2 Village grain bank

The residents of the village of Djibonker, in cooperation with the inhabitants of an additional village called Mama Tooro, founded a grain bank with the name 'Banque Céréalière Villageoise de Djibonker'. Having observed this institution since shortly after its inauguration, I have noted that it constitutes an interesting linguistic constellation of

speakers. The encounters related to the grain bank will be discussed in detail to provide an example that shows people's mobility, mutual assistance, exchange with other organisations and villages and the language use it involves. 'Grain Banks' or 'Food Banks' are a widespread form of aid for people in need all over the world, often administered by Non-Governmental Organisations. The development in Djibonker started with the interest of the international organisation 'Programme Alimentaire Mondial' (PAM) and the national organisation 'Agence National de Conseil Agricole et Rural' (ANCAR)⁵⁶ which took root in the area in 2014/15.

In Senegal, PAM and ANCAR cooperate in order to help people overcome seasonal bottlenecks caused by insufficient precipitation, problems with the germination of seeds etc., through the supply of cheap grain and crops. In the area of research, they started a program for the inhabitants of villages that were affected by the Casamance crises (see §3.2.1), focussing on the distribution of rice. They therefore went to Bankoulin and Djibonker Manjack in 2014. However, even though Jibëeher and Boigry were not directly affected by the civil war, all of the areas belong to the administrative space of Djibonker and it was a political decision to include these villages in their project. To institute the grain bank, the organisations planned the establishment of a local office to manage businesses (which was however never realised), and negotiations with the inhabitants began. Their target was to supply people in need with as much rice as necessary to nourish their families, which they could then pay back later in the year when the bottlenecks were over. Refunds had either to be paid with money or replacement crops. Several meetings were organised in which officials of the areas negotiated with the organisations. However, one of PAM and ANCAR's conditions was to impose categories on all the households in the village ranging from very poor to wealthy in 4 steps. After the expression of these requirements, the *chef de village* convened a reunion on the village level to take a decision on future cooperation with the organisations. This meeting featured heated debates and ultimately the inhabitants could not agree to a categorisation of people based on their possessions and income⁵⁷. Nonetheless, the decision was taken to cooperate with PAM and ANCAR to a certain degree while maintaining the management of the program under the authority of local representatives of Djibonker. From the beginning of the project,

⁵⁶ For further information on PAM (with its English synonym World Food Program - WFP) see <https://fr.wfp.org/> for the French version or <http://www1.wfp.org/> for the English version. For information on ANCAR see <http://www.ancar.sn/>

⁵⁷ It was e.g. an issue that some people whose cultural contributions to the village are highly valued would have been categorised as 'very poor' and others who do not play a significant cultural role as 'wealthy'. Furthermore it is possible that the wealth of families changes quickly, or varies in the different seasons, which makes an examination impossible.

they included Mama Tooro, an independent village north of Djibonker, which was also affected by the Casamance crises. Due to Brin's prosperous history (see above §5.3.1), its inhabitants could not be included in the project.

Djibonker and Mama Tooro reorganised the plans of the grain bank to their needs and established the *Banque Céréalrière Villageoise de Djibonker* in 2015. They invested in price-reduced rice directly from non-governmental organisations and the Senegalese government, then resold it at a small profit. In 2015 they bought 5 tons of untreated rice to keep the price as low as possible. They then brought it to Enampore (a village in Mov Avvi) to get it pounded and transferred to 25 kilo bags⁵⁸. Due to the close relationship between Brin and Djibonker, a small warehouse for the rice was rented in Brin since they had space available to store it. Every household categorised as 'in need' by the villagers is allowed to buy 2 bags of rice each year. The rice was sold through those responsible in Djibonker and any profit generated is then reinvested into the development of the village (e.g. to rent machines plough the rice fields or to buy food again). All of the workers in the grain bank are volunteers.

The linguistically interesting observation of this organisation is that the multilingual conversations varied with each stage of the development of the Grain Bank of Djibonker and also adapted to the change of scene. My observation of the organisation started in June 2015 when initial negotiations with the villagers were still ongoing. These were nearly exclusively based on French since the representatives from the organisations, as outsiders to the village, were trained to present their aims and goals in French (this is also influenced by their international organisational structure). However, the discussions on what should be decided within the village of Djibonker took place in various language(s) depending on the interlocutors, but French was much less frequent and the use of Gubëeher and Wolof increased. The negotiations to rent the warehouse in Brin were based on Joola Kujireray while the debate over pounding rice in Enampore was reportedly based on Joola Banjal, and people who were proficient in these languages were chosen to negotiate. Within the progress of developing the grain bank the language(s) that formed the basis of formal discussion changed to Wolof for meetings held in Djibonker. For a meeting in 2016, the attendees were representatives from Djibonker, Boigry, Bankoulin and Mama Tooro; therefore, the use of Baïnounk Gubëeher as basis language for communication was impractical. My prediction was that a Joola language would be used since the members of Boigry and Bankoulin identify to a large part as Joola Fogny and a

⁵⁸ In 2015 they were able to sell one bag of rice (25kg) for 8.000FCFA (~£10.50) from the grain bank whereas a bag of 25 kilos at the market costs at least 14.000FCFA (~£18.50).

structurally similar change of the basis language of communication to Joola was observed before. But that was not the case. Due to the attendance of a woman from Mama Tooro who identified in this setting as Pulaar (but reported knowledge in different Joola languages), the joint language to base their discussions on was chosen to be Wolof. This felt like a spontaneous decision that happened without discussion and was accepted by all the participants. However, it shows again how the attendance of only one individual can change the whole multilingual use of language(s).

5.4.3 Market and the crossroads

At the time of the research, there was one daily market (Map (11): 11) for the villages of Brin and Jibëeher; others take place in Boigry and Bankoulin which are rather far and therefore impractical for nearly all of the inhabitants of Jibëeher (except people residing in Duuru, see Map (09)). The market is located at the crossroads to the Mov Avvi (see also below §5.4.9) and is organised locally, offering basic ingredients for daily dishes like fish, vegetables and spices, depending on what is available that day. All of the vendors originate from either Jibëeher or Brin. Many people congregate in this public space, which is regularly served by women selling breakfast as well as a range of transport options including motorised taxi bikes called Jakarta, and cars heading to/from Ziguinchor, Cap Skirring or Mov Avvi. Furthermore, the only two shops of Brin, a palm wine stall, and a ‘campement’ with some rooms and a bar, are located at the crossroads.

This small area can be described as a hotbed of multilingualism; people from many different regions and villages regularly gather and exchange in a wide variety of language(s). Even though Wolof is present and a possible language, it was however observed that it is used less frequently than in comparable public spaces in Jibëeher, and that Joola languages dominate as basis language of communication. This can be partially attributed to the fact that many of the people in Brin partly identify with Joola Kujireray, while most inhabitants of the adjacent villages (except Jibëeher) possibly identify with a Joola language as well and thus Joola languages can function as a language(s) of wider communication in the wider area. Furthermore, some people from Brin evince a persistent refusal to use any language other than Joola unless strictly necessary. Yet if an Ubëeher is purchasing from or communicating with someone from Jibëeher, the probability that it is based on Gubëeher increases; similarly, people from the Mov Avvi often base their conversations on Joola Banjäl (or another Joola associated to the area of Mov Avvi), people from Brin on Joola Kujireray etc. However, in some instances Wolof is still used since people do not always have another shared language in their repertoire in which they

feel confident conversing and as a language associated with trade the situational context can trigger its use.

Since the needs of Jibëeher change and the request for an independent market was expressed in one of the village meetings, the inhabitants decided to investigate the construction of their own market (Map (11): 5)) which has been built but has not started its service yet (July 2018).

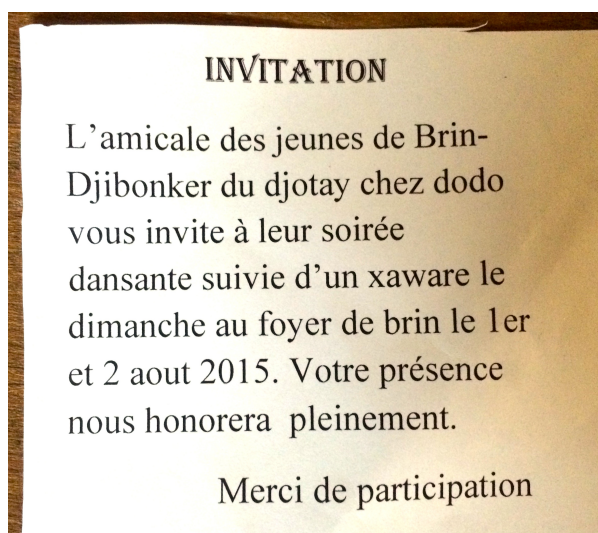
5.4.4 Jeunesse de Djibonker

The *Jeunesse de Djibonker* is a society of (temporary) residents of Jibëeher (not Djibonker) that organises events among themselves and for the public, ranging from training sessions to sporting events and social gatherings. The members constitute a mutually supportive community, offering each other assistance in their daily lives as well as contributing money, goods or labour to help in cases of illness, traditional events, financial problems etc. They further take on communal work like cleaning the streets, woodwork maintenance for public places, maintaining wells or helping out in the schools, and are always represented in village meetings. To be part of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* one has to be at least 18 years old, though there is no upper age limit. In January 2016 they had approximately 50 official members (a number that was fairly stable until the end of research) who were currently present in Jibëeher; however, this number swells during the holidays and the rainy season when more people live in the village.

As for other *Jeunesse* organisations in the Casamance, their ‘Foyer’ is the place of gathering and plays a huge role as their source of income. Most of the villages in the southern Casamance have their own *Foyers*, which can also be rented by people who are not part of the *Jeunesse*. In Djibonker, their training and social events are either organised at the *Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker* (Map (11): 1) or the *Foyer des Jeunes de Brin* (Map (11): 8) and their sporting events at the ‘Terrain de Djibonker’ (which is part of the CEM; Map (11): 3). The first *Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker* was built in the area of the current primary school and was a traditionally built mud building that helped the *Jeunesse* to gain more social and financial power in the village. However, at some point they decided that a new one was needed, and the *Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker* was built by the members in cooperation with the village, the commune and a private organisation. It is comprised of a large hall which is equipped with chairs and tables, a bar, a warehouse and an outside area. However, since the *Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker* did not have electricity until 2011, it was common to organise events in the *Foyer des Jeunes de Brin*, which had electricity and spared the rent of a generator. Even today the Foyer in Djibonker is not as

well equipped as the Foyer in Brin (they possess speakers, a mixing console, a television and fans - much of which would need to be rented by the Foyer of Djibonker) and since the members of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* and the *Jeunesse de Brin* maintain a close relationship, some of the public events are still organised in Brin. Furthermore, the societies regularly collaborate to jointly stage larger events, an example of which can be seen in the photograph of an invitation below.

Figure (15) Invitation to a *soirée* and *xawaare* (18.07.2015)



Throughout the year the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* organise *xawaare* (W 'get together'), which can be described as social gatherings that begin in the morning (most of them on Sundays or Catholic holidays after church) and last until the early evening, *matinée* (F 'morning') which are dance events principally for children and youth that start in the early evening and stop not long after midnight, and *soirée* (F 'evening, night') which are dance evenings that start around midnight and last until the early hours. Whereas the events called *matinée* and *soirée* feature DJs who play international music and a small selection of drinks and snacks, a *xawaare* is an event for the whole family where traditional music is played, dances are organised, and a variety of Senegalese plates are provided. To be able to enter these events, an entrance fee has to be paid, and every member of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* is expected to attend and help if needed. However, if a member does not attend without good reason, they have to pay double the amount of the entrance price afterwards, since these events are (besides small support from the *Communauté rural d'Enampore*) an important source of revenue. The profit generated by events is then reinvested to improve the Foyer, parts of the village or solve internal needs.

The members of the institution of the villages in the southern Casamance are further grouped by their *arrondissements* (F 'district, area, region'); therefore, Djibonker is part of the 'Regroupement des jeunes de l' Arrondissement de Nyassia' (RJAN). Each year

they organise a gathering in another village, where all the members of the local organisation of the *arrondissement* are invited to spend about 5 days together camping. Depending on the organising village, their interests and capabilities, various activities such as sports, games, theatre, dance events and shared meals are offered, with the aims of getting to know each other, exchanging ideas and developing new (intercultural) friendships.

Within the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* there are two subgroups. One of them is the ‘Section Féminin de Djibonker’, a branch which comprises all the female members of the society, and the ‘Nawetaan de Djibonker’, which is the subgroup responsible for organising the sporting events and social gatherings during the rainy season. The women of the *Section Féminin de Djibonker* are a part of a bigger society called ‘Regroupement de Femmes d’Espace de Commune de Enampore’ (REFES) who meet in Ziguinchor at least once a year to discuss their achievements, problems and needs with the other groups of women within in the region. The women of Djibonker hold their regular meetings on a Sunday every second month at the *Foyer des Jeunes de Djibonker*. There they discuss their projects and upcoming events while cooking lunch and spending their day together. The *Section Féminin* has a strong cohesion and the members have set themselves tasks to help women and their families in distress and to organise educational events, especially concerning health care and child education⁵⁹.

The subgroup of the *Nawetaan* is a seasonal society that mainly organises events during the rainy season and in which everyone who is a member of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* can take part. This social structure is widespread in Senegal; they exchange with other villages for the purpose of organising sporting events as well as a *xawaare* and *soirée* after them. While the *Nawetaan* of other villages regularly organise ‘bère’ (W ‘wrestling match’), athletics and football, the village of Djibonker currently only takes part in the football matches. For these sporting competitions the whole of Senegal is organised in zones whose teams have to compete against each other, and the winning team of each zone has the chance to rise up a level in the national league. If there are games played in Djibonker, it is common to invite the other teams’ footballers and supporters to a *soirée* after the game and to stay the night, accommodated in the houses of the members of Djibonker’s football team.

⁵⁹ Informal conversations with the women of the Section Féminin and attendance of two meetings on the 06.03.2016 and 05.03.2017

The activities of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* and their subgroupings are extensive and can adapt rapidly depending their members' interests. Even though a large part of the core members and main organisers are either Ñambëeher or married to an Ubëeher, everybody who lives even temporarily in Djibonker can be a member of the society. Therefore, their origins, experiences and linguistic repertoires vary widely and a tendency to communicate in Wolof was witnessed on many occasions in formal and informal events. Even though written language practices tend to be based on French (as can be observed in Figure (15)), if it is fused with another language, it is usually with Wolof rather than Gubëeher or Joola language(s). In the example of the invitation to a *xawaare* and *soirée* from the amity of Brin-Djibonker the author of the message presented in Figure (15) used the expression *djotay chez dodo*, a mixture of Wolof and French to refer to 'the home of Dodo' where the *Jeunes* spend their time together (*jotaay* W 'spend some time') adapted to the standard French orthography. The mixture of French and Wolof in a written form has been observed and documented on many occasions all over Senegal, while Djibonker's other languages seem not to be written in public spheres (see e.g. Deumert and Lexander (2013), Lexander (2010a) and Shiohata (2012) as well as the discussion in §5.4.1).

Furthermore, in Wolof dominated parts of northern Senegal, a *xawaare* describes an animated event with Griots (traditional communicator and praise singer) and traditional guitarists (J.-L. Diouf, 2003, p. 283). Even though the name of these events was adapted, its meaning changed and the presence of (active) griots has never been observed at one of them. *Nawetaan* is also a Wolof term which was translated by Munro & Gaye (1997, p. 125) as the description of a person who works during the rainy season or the work that gets done during the rainy season, but was later further interpreted by J.-L. Diouf (2003, p. 238) as sporting encounters in the rainy season. The use of these terms could originate from the fact that they are widespread throughout the country and are understood by most of the population, but also shows that a certain proximity to Wolof is accepted, whereas in other villages⁶⁰ the tendency to use other Senegalese languages was observed.

As a spoken language within the *Jeunesse in Djibonker*, Wolof constitutes the dominant language in their reunions and other meetings. However, this can change either on a smaller scale or an individual level depending on the origin of visitors they receive. I observed that visitors from a Joola village (where Joola constitutes the main basis language in many conversations, as e.g. in the Mov Avvi) tend to be addressed by the

⁶⁰ Observations made in different Joola villages of the Mov Avvi and also described by Samantha Goodchild (2018) for the village of Essil.

members of Djibonker in a Joola language, whereas people with another or mixed identity are addressed in Wolof⁶¹. In all of these situations Gubëeher is only used for informal conversations between inhabitants of Jibëeher who have the language in their linguistic repertoires.

5.4.5 Seasonal organisations

Due to Djibonker's location in the forest and the land most of its inhabitants own, many regional crops are cultivated and harvested alongside the practice of logging for different purposes. Depending on the season of the year, people work together in organised groups to share the workload and establish small businesses. Most of the local fruit, which are a source of income for many villagers, are ripe in the dry season and are either harvested on people's grounds (oranges, mandarins, mangos, cashew apples and nuts etc.) or grown in the forest where they are found and picked (saba fruit, landolphia fruit, baobab fruit). Everybody who is available and in suitable physical condition helps to gather the crops (including children), which are then resold in small quantities either to village-based shops, or via someone else in their family. However, it is also possible to sell the crops to itinerant traders (in Jibëeher these people mainly identify with Pulaar identities) who generally pay a higher price. In this case the traders, who are mostly not from the region and often come only in the season to stock up on huge quantities, play a major role in determining the market price through the process of their negotiations. Those in the village who have the space and financial means to do so stock up similarly and either resell in large quantities to merchants in Ziguinchor or send them to other family members in Dakar. Through each of these actions the price of the crops burgeons. These regional organisations have a huge impact for the family upkeep of many in Jibëeher, though they also necessitate multiple exchanges with people from the outside of the village. As in other situations, the basic language of communication within the village is Baïnounk Gubëeher. However, the more people from the village intermix with people from the outside, the more Wolof is introduced, which is used for trade in most situations (even though the numbers are often used in French).

In the rainy season the work that needs to be done shifts to the fields, principally the cultivation of different kinds of rice, peanuts, potatoes, sweet potatoes and manioc. During this time every hand is needed and relatives who live all over the country come

⁶¹ Observations made at different football events as well as at an exchange where the members of the Jeunesse de Kobiten (Ziguinchor) came to visit for a weekend in the rainy season 2015.

to help out. These crops are largely used for personal nutrition or are commissioned by merchants. During this time in particular there is an enormous shift of language use throughout the village and the use of Wolof increases exponentially. Relatives visiting from outside Jibëher are often not used to or proficient enough in speaking Gubëher and therefore other language(s) need to be applied. Although many may share a Joola language in their linguistic repertoire, these are neglected in favour of Wolof due to the fact that Joola languages are often only partially mutually intelligible. However, it should not be forgotten that language contact situations are reciprocal and the people visiting also profit by improving their knowledge in Baïnouk Gubëher.

5.4.6 Public education

The Senegalese law dictates free compulsory education for all children from 6 to 16 years⁶². Children from Djibonker currently have the opportunity to attend local public education up to the BEPC exam, which is taken at age 15. However, not all of the children attend school and, as in other rural areas, there is a high dropout rate at early ages. The completion of public school was observed to be directly correlated to the degree of support the pupils receive from their parents and family, and since only small minority of individuals in the village are literate there is a lack of assistance and motivation.

The public education institutions that are easily within reach are the ‘Préscolaire de Brin’ (Preschool of Brin, Map (11): 7), the ‘Ecole Elementaire Djicouck Sagna’ (Primary school, Map (11): 2) and the ‘Cours Elementaire Moyen (CEM) de Djibonker’ (Secondary School, 1st cycle, Map (11): 3). For a better orientation in the public-school system the students have to follow, an overview is provided below.

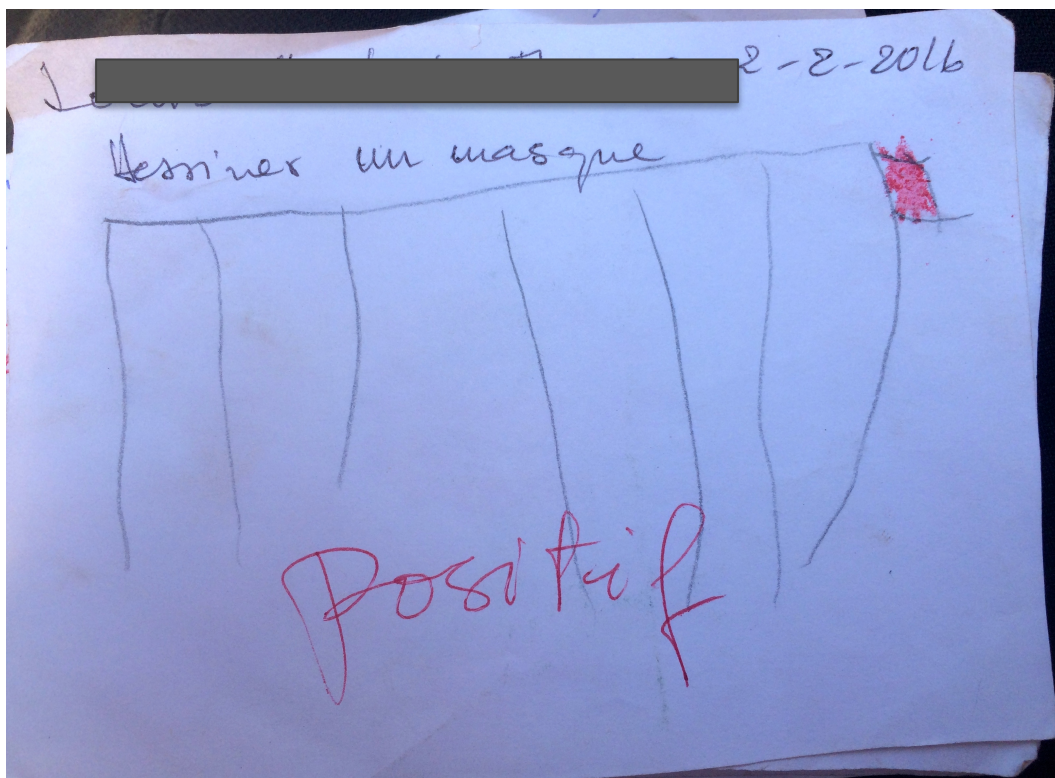
⁶² For more details see <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/senegal-loi2004.htm>

Figure (16) General overview of the official school system

		Year	Approx. Age
Secondary school	2 nd cycle (Cours Secondaire)	T1e (Terminale) BAC exam	18
		1re	17
		2nde	16
	1 st cycle (CEM)	3e: BEPC exam	15
		4e	14
		5e	13
		6e	12
Primary school	CM2: cours moyen 2 - CEPE exam		11
	CM1: cours moyen 1		10
	CE2: cours élémentaire 2		9
	CE1: cours élémentaire 1		8
	CP: (CP2) Cours d'enseignement primaire		7
	CI: (CP1) Cours D'Initiation		6
Preschool			3-6

The *Préscolaire de Brin* is an institution in which caretakers can enrol children between three and six years to be supervised and come in contact with formal learning and classroom settings from Monday to Friday. Since this constitutes the primary controlled setting in which children from different villages and families are in regular contact outside their family households, the preschool was observed several times. At the time of the research it had three classrooms each with an estimated 40 students, separated by age group. This created a colourful linguistic environment in which children with different linguistic backgrounds meet and interact. Whereas the children's repertoires are mainly based on Baïnounk Gubëeher and Joola Kujireray (with some of them already speaking Wolof, another Joola language or some French in instances where they have lived outside the village or use these languages regularly in their households) four of the five instructors employed at the time of the research did not originate from the area and commuted from Ziguinchor. They did not have either of the two local identity languages in their linguistic repertoires and have rather different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Furthermore, it became clear in our discussions and my observations that they possess only minimal knowledge about languages and cultural orientations in the village. The lack of shared common knowledge can be seen in the example below of homework that was given by a teacher to the students:

Figure (17) Homework - Préscolaire de Brin (04.02.2016)



In this homework exercise, LAM_{m0} (the main participant's son) was asked to design a mosque. He is however only three years old, has never left the village except for going to the hospital in Ziguinchor and is therefore unlikely to be able to envision a mosque, which demonstrates the different realities of the teacher and student. Following the official governmental curriculum, the instructors are supposed to address the children in French to bring them in close contact with the official language. Yet they frequently use Wolof as a basis language of instruction since for most of them this is the only language that is, at least to some extent, shared with the children. This results in the fact that even the students who were not in earlier contact with Wolof acquire it as the shared language for most communications in their classroom.

The first primary school that was established in the area was Catholic and built in Brin. However, with the establishment of a primary school in Djibonker (Map (11): 2), the building in Brin was repurposed as a Catholic college (6eme to CM2) and subsequently, following the establishment of the CEM in Djibonker, turned over to a private organisation that occasionally uses the building for seminars and workshops (Map (11): 14). Today this organisation has little direct influence on the people from Brin and Djibonker since the events organised there mainly concern people from outside the villages.

Figure (18) Centre de Recherche



The elementary school and the secondary school are situated next to each other in Djibonker, though separated by walls. The teachers in the schools come from all over the country since the government allocates them, while the students live in either Djibonker, Brin or Darsalam.

Figure (19) Ecole Elementaire: Djicouck Sagna, Village de Djibonker



In these public schools French is the most commonly used language for communications in the classroom. However, the language of wider communication between groups of students was observed to be mainly based on Wolof, unless students from the same village communicate with each other, in which case it is highly likely that other local language(s) are used. Next to the schools, a sports site with a football pitch was established by the government (Map (11): 04) and is used by both schools as well as by the villagers for sports events. In the rainy season particularly, this is a hotbed for interactions since there are regular football matches and training sessions with many visitors and supporters.

Figure (20) Espace Sportif du CEM de Djibomker [sic!]



As in all the schools in Senegal, the primary and secondary schools in Djibonker use French as the only official language of communication, with some obligatory English lessons and Spanish as a subject of choice. Even though it seems that the vast majority of students start school at the primary level (although not necessarily at the age of 6), many of them need to repeat classes and drop out early. Furthermore, the school year is often disrupted by strikes and irregular course times, which, combined with missing or unfeasible educational support from the parents, tends to result in some of the students being close to illiterate even after a couple of years of education and many of them stop reading/writing or using standard French from the day they leave education. If the students pass the BEPC exam, they are permitted to enter the 2nd cycle of the secondary school, for which they have to leave the village. This represents another obstacle for many students and their parents since they either have to find a place to live close to a secondary school or come up with the money for daily transport. Furthermore, people calculate the value of the loss of a nearly adult worker in the household who will then, after finishing the BAC exam, still not have a secure job. For these reasons many students from Djibonker stop schooling after the BEPC exam and either stay in the village to work or leave to begin an apprenticeship.

5.4.7 Health institutions

To receive basic medical care, people from the area can visit the ‘Poste de Sante Saint-Luc de Brin’ (Map (11): 12), which serves as a clinic, offers maternity care and was at the time of research staffed by two to three nurses and a laboratory doctor. The medical institution was established by the Catholic mission, but it is now a private institution that is supported by the government. It is well equipped for simple treatments and emergencies, yet for more serious complaints people have to travel to Ziguinchor for treatment.

Figure (21) Poste de Sante Saint-Luc de Brin



Within the dispensary many language(s) are represented. Whereas the nurses mainly communicate in Baïnouk Gubëeher, a Joola language, Wolof and French, the doctor does not originate from the area and uses mainly French, Kreol and Wolof. However, the main language was observed as Wolof highly intermixed with French, which demonstrates the influence of having received their education and training based on these languages. The use of them is also supported by the governmental actions that integrate Wolof as a local language for educational purposes and awareness campaigns in the health sector, as can be observed in the image below showing an awareness campaign for which Wolof and French is used.

Figure (22) Multilingual poster at the health centre in Brin



5.4.8 Centre Linguistic Laurent Sagna (CLLS - Brin)

The *Centre Linguistique Laurent Sagna* (CLLS) (see Map (11): 10) was created as a working space and field base for the members of the Crossroads Project (introduced in §1.2), who are based in either Senegal or the United Kingdom but originate from different countries. The centre has multiple purposes: a linguistic research centre, living space, office, meeting space, etc. As a member of the Crossroads team, I have observed it since the start of my fieldwork for the project in 2014, and therefore present my perspective of the language use as a member of it who established a strong community of practice. All of the members interacted regularly from the beginning of the project and share an interest in investigating the multilingual situation in the area, as well as of meeting the goals of project to the best of our abilities. The group consists of approximately 15 people (who were rarely all in the same place at the same time) as well as regular visitors at the centre. The necessary exchanges in the linguistic centre occur during gatherings in the field base in Brin or via media like email, WhatsApp, phone etc. There is a certain regularity to the activity in the centre, since the five Senegalese transcribers come to the CLLS for at least 20 hours a week (each) to work on linguistic data that is collected and provided by the researchers who also have their working space in the centre. The researchers are not

present in the CLLS quite as regularly; nevertheless, communication between many of the members of the CoP occurs regularly via internet and telephone.

The people involved have very different linguistic repertoires containing languages such as Joola Kujireray, Baïnouk Gubëeher, English, Wolof, French, Joola Banjal and German, to cite a few named ones that are used frequently. All of the participants are highly multilingual but might be more proficient or confident conversing in one way or another depending on the context. The interactions started on a project-related basis, including handling transcriptions, organising and analysing data, but further developed over time as it became evident that many common interests are shared. Members started to participate in each other's lives as an enriching experience while working and organising joint events as a group in and outside the CLLS. Through this regular contact, following the same interests, a natural mixture of the use of our language(s) appeared. We developed a strong sense of cohesion, knowing exactly how to handle situations in the group. However, the choice of basis languages or mixture of languages for certain topics developed according to clear functions, while also depending on who addresses whom, and an awareness for our language use developed. Therefore French, English, Wolof, Joola Kujireray and Gubëeher are established as working languages and are used (intermixed) adjusted to the social situation. The discussion of interviews and data widens the spectrum of languages used but is still constrained to a certain set of language(s); whereas greetings in the morning, coffee breaks or having dinner together seem to abolish restrictions. However, when conversing in the group or with members of the group we certainly fall into our own established ways of communicating, choosing commonly evolved patterns for certain topics. Additionally, all of us are expanding our linguistic repertoires, which might also influence the way we apply our linguistic repertoires outside the group.

5.4.9 Shops and bars

Jibëeher and Brin have five small shops which are equipped with basic food supplies, and several bars, some of which are open seasonally (see Map (11)). The shops (locally often called F 'boutiques') are highly frequented since people tend not to store their food but rather buy it when they need it. The bars can be separated into those that sell soft drinks and fabricated alcoholic drinks, and those that sell *dixenju* (BG 'fermented cashew apple juice') and palm wine, which are mainly available in certain seasons. The former is a place of gathering for people particularly on the weekends after Catholic gatherings (e.g. masses, funerals) and meetings. Despite maintaining a regular group of customers

throughout the year, the bars clearly receive the majority of their income during the season in which people have disposable income available from harvesting seasonal crops. The more traditional bars or *dixenju* and palm wine stalls are frequented depending on the quantity and quality of drinks available. Beverages there are acquired from local private producers and sold on, sometimes in large quantities, to individuals. The consummation and pouring of palm wine have a high cultural value in Jibëeher. People regularly meet in these public spaces of social interaction, however there is no discernible pattern of language use since all of the people interacting are multilingual and language(s) are adapted to common knowledge, interlocutors, topic, contexts and social situations.

5.5 Local, traditional and religious activities

As mentioned, people in Jibëeher and around tend to live in extended families with strong ties even to wider family that are highly important in their social reality. This becomes visible during numerous local and religious activities that are held throughout the year which many individuals travel far to be a part of due to their social relevance, and for reasons of cultural integration. Such events create linguistically interesting situations, such as the intermixing of people who have spent most of their lives in Jibëeher with people of other backgrounds who can nonetheless partly identify as Ubëeher.

In the discussion below, activities that stand in connection to the local belief systems of the Ñambëeher and Catholic and Islamic celebrations are treated separately, since the former is a locally established custom, and the latter are brought in from the outside and to a certain extent imposed upon the population or their ancestors. However, generally the Ñambëeher follow the local beliefs and additionally either Christianity or, in a few cases, Islam, with some exceptional cases in which individuals reported to only follow one of the above. The local traditions and beliefs were observed to be followed simultaneously with the world religions, even though they conflict at times. However, the people in Jibëeher use them in a similarly fluid manner to their multilingual repertoires and identify with them situationally depending on the context. Yet the linguistic situations created by switching between belief systems are fairly different and therefore of interest for this research since they call for multilingual individuals.

5.5.1 Local belief systems of the Ñambëeher

The Ñambëeher follow an ancestral belief system, meaning that they believe in the knowledge, might and importance of the spirits of their ancestors. They have different

ways to make contact with the deceased and communicate with them, please them or ask them for help. Furthermore, the belief includes certain places or shrines that are possessed by spirits. Remedies can heal or harm people and are further used to protect important places, as well as people reawakening from death (BG ‘ambiuro’) and spirits of the deceased possessing living people (BG ‘taalup’). Huge parts of this traditional knowledge are kept secret and only shared with people who are supposed to know about it and will therefore not be further engaged in this research. However, there are certain traditional structures that are not confidential as such but can only be witnessed or attended by outsiders with a social standing in the village. As such, I only share information that the participants of the research agreed to make accessible for the public. This is an essential source of knowledge for this sociolinguistic research since it shows the preservation of the language and culture Gubëher but also shows situations where a mixture and exchange with different cultures and language(s) is made. The aim here is not to conduct an ethnographic analysis but rather to show the inevitability of this mixture and therefore a certain degree of multilingualism. This will help to gain a basic understanding of the importance of traditional Ñambëher ceremonies and the meanings of *ilid*, *karik* and *murun* (BG SG. ‘sirun’ which is used for fetishes), which were introduced in §5.2.1.

To date, every Ubëher has to go through several ceremonies (which are however not static and might have changed drastically within the last 150 years, see e.g. Roche (2000)) during their life on earth and even after their death, which are celebrated in diverse but meaningful forms as described briefly below. The ceremonies that concern all of the Ñambëher in the village, and are closely aligned with social standing and respect, start with being born and cease with the full release of the deceased spirit to the ancestral world. The traditions performed can either be held at a family’s household, a family’s *sirun*, in different sacred forests depending on the family and the event, or in the *karik*, a place that holds the name of the *bilid* and is of special significance for the individual’s contact with traditional knowledge.

Ceremonial traditions start with the birth of the child, at which men are not allowed to be present. After childbirth, the mother stays in either a safe hut in the forest where the child was born, or nowadays in more central, specially established birth houses for seven days before the new-born is allowed to leave and be seen by its father (and other men). During this time, the woman is taught everything that is necessary to bring up a child and is consulted by the father’s mother and other older, more experienced mothers from the father’s matrilineal village. During these days no importance is placed on the use of Gubëher and the mother uses whichever language(s) she prefers. The paternal aunts will arrive on the seventh day to shave the baby’s head, welcome it into the household and

give it its name(s) (a ceremonial act called BG ‘buiñ’). Nowadays, these names are usually a combination of a Catholic first name, a traditional second (and sometimes third name), and the name of the father, corresponding to the family’s name. The ceremony itself is held (reportedly exclusively) in Gubëeher but since the mother and others attending can be from another background, informal conversations can be highly multilingual and the language(s) the mother speaks to her child and husband can also differ (J. F. Sagna, 2017).

Not long after, the newborn is brought to the *karik* of the father’s *bilid*, where they are introduced to the ancestors (BG ‘buhupun’), and depending on the family's internal tradition, also to the *murun*. At the *karik* the family pours *kuno* (‘palm wine’ which is important for many different ceremonies) on the ground to please the ‘ëum’ (‘family totem’ through which the ancestors communicate in this case) and present it to it and the ancestral spirits. Only after this ceremony does the child become part of the whole family, including the spiritual world, and therefore has access to its cultural knowledge. This ritual is described as strictly monolingual Gubëeher and can only be witnessed by male members of the family who attended ‘asiineñ’ (male pre-initiation), female Ñambëeher who had a child, or a woman from the outside who attended a ceremony that allows cultural integration into the family after exogamous marriage. The reasons cited for this are the physical strength and power that the ancestors hand over to the new-born, which could have a negative impact and even harm people from the outside, but also the protection of local knowledge.

There are a number of further ceremonies undergone by boys and girls while growing up and traditional knowledge is shared step by step, mainly in the secret forest. Most of them are attended by boys and girls at the same time; gender separation only comes along with entry into social adulthood⁶³. These other ceremonies will not be further elaborated here since they are rather complex and would exceed the scope of this research. Some of these activities are held regularly, while the implementation of others requires a certain number of individuals ready for the next step of this cultural integration.

On the basis of certain ceremonies, males can reach social adulthood through the initiation rite (BG ‘rëñkuub’), which is, depending on the number of male Ñambëeher ready for the ritual, only organised every 20 to 25 years (see also Cobbinah et al. (2017)). To be initiated, the men are accompanied by experienced Ñambëeher men and should

⁶³ This is called ‘social adulthood’ since it is not linked to the actual age of the individuals but rather to their social status that is determined through ceremonies attended and family status.

stay in the forest for about three months; their activities there are strictly confidential. In the last *rëḡkuub* which was organised by a regional federation in 2014, time spent in the forest could have been sharply reduced (at times to 3-4 days) depending on the individuals' availability, since the demands of modern life do not allow everybody to stay away from work for a long period. With *rëḡkuub* the men's ceremonial education is concluded, such that they can subsequently engage and marry traditionally (only men can marry, and women get married) if the family and ancestors of the woman agree. For Ñambëeher women, full cultural education and social adulthood is reached with the birth of their first child. Social adulthood not only changes the social status for the individuals in the village, but further enables them to take over certain activities during traditional ceremonies and lift prohibitions, as for instance corpses of non-family members can be viewed.

For a traditional funeral, the body is preserved with local remedies (BG 'biciir') and the following day a memorial service (BG 'biriib') is performed in different forms (depending on the age and social status of the person). In the local belief, the spirit of the dead stays in the *bilid* for exactly a year after death which corresponds to the grieving period for family and friends, in which they can say goodbye. After exactly a year a celebration is organised (BG 'goox') and a ceremony helps the spirit to move over to the parallel world of the ancestors where it (interestingly) goes to live with the spirits of the *bilid* of the mother. This is however only possible if social adulthood was already reached.

Further ritual ceremonies can be held in order to solve problems or to help people with health issues. The dependents of the *ilid* also have their own ceremonies to communicate with their ancestors at their *murun* but these are very intimate and personal practices and will therefore not be further elaborated here. The language use in the ceremonies depends substantially on the Ñambëeher and other people present, as well as their integration in the village. According to the interviews conducted, especially with elder people in the village, many of the traditional events have been adapted to changes in society, people's needs and capabilities. A proficiency in Bāinounk Gubëeher is not obligatory. Although there are certain activities where Bāinounk Gubëeher is the only feasible language (e.g. communication with the ancestors during ceremonies, disclosure of traditional knowledge), certain public rites can be performed or explained in different language(s) to reach a greater number of people and integrate guests from the outside. However, the younger generation in the village also indicated that it is possible to translate Gubëeher during intimate activities to Ñambëeher who do not speak it (well enough) in different language(s). Whereas the ceremonies are the same for all female Ñambëeher and male Ñambëeher independent of where they grew up, this inclusion of outsiders within the

ceremonies was previously rare. However, the performance of an integrational ritual was described as becoming more frequent, which allows community members from the outside, such as a fostered child or a wife (BG SG. ‘Ukooren’; BG PL. ‘Ñamkooren’), to take part. In order to do so, they do not have to be proficient in Gubëeher but are expected to put an effort into acquiring it. As is the case with many other social structures, this fuels a multilingual practice even during ceremonial actions since these people often communicate in their language(s) of identity or a language of wider communication.

However, cultural exchange is also visible in other cases. Especially interesting is that some of the ritual traditions are shared with certain close Joola cultural groupings (Joola Kujireray, Joola Banja, Bayot etc.). In the case that an Ubëeher misses a rare but highly significant ceremony (e.g. *rëŋkuub*) for a justifiable reason, they can attend the ceremony in certain different villages for the price of a negotiated domestic animal. The same applies for ceremonies that are held in Jibëeher and outsiders attending are no rarity. Their presence at these events increases the chances of a linguistic divergence from Gubëeher as the sole language of instruction, which often leads to the establishment of Wolof-speaking groups.

5.5.2 Christianity and Islam

In addition to the above local beliefs and ceremonial activities, the majority of Nambëeher and people living in the village follow Catholic beliefs and only one family identifies as an Islamic household. Similar to cultural identification, religion is automatically transmitted by the father. In situations where parents live separately and the child/children grow(s) up with their mother, the religious constellation of the family household could differ from their official religion. Although Jibëeher is represented by its residents as mainly Catholic, there are several people who are Muslims on paper and bear an Islamic name. In the interviews they are hardly ever counted as Muslims, which may be behaviourally determined (e.g. for many, growing up and integrating with the Ñambëeher involves the consummation of alcohol and pork or even going to church), but also reflects the reported attitude of many Ubëeher that follow Christianity, who prefer not to have another religion in their family.

As is visible on the map, there is neither a church nor a mosque in Djibonker. However, the church in Brin (see Map (11): 9) is within walking distance and equally frequented by people from Brin and Jibëeher. To go to a Mosque, the villagers either have to travel to Medina (see Map (07)) or commute to Ziguinchor and Islam has little direct influence on Jibëeher as a whole, especially compared to many other places in the

country. The church in turn organises regular local activities in addition to their almost daily masses. For the younger generations they hold Catholicism and bible classes. They also host a women's organisation called 'Association des femmes Catholiques' and support a group of scouts called CV-AV (F 'Coeur Vaillant - Âme Vaillante', brave heart - brave soul) who meet once a week to sing, study, play and strengthen their ties. The bible classes are led by one of the priests and mainly based on French and Joola Fogny, whereas the CV-AV is organised by the elder scouts and local languages (mainly Joola Kujireray and Baïnouk Gubëeher) are used heavily intermixed with Wolof.

For adults who want to convert to the Catholic belief, the church offers courses (twice a week) with the possible outcome of being baptised after a study period of about three years. The priests mainly use a Joola Fogny bible (from SIL) and a French bible but, depending on their own repertoires, translate into other language(s) for people in need. They reported, however, that they do not use Wolof since they strongly associate the language with Islam, and those present at the time of the research were not confident in communicating in Joola Kujireray or Baïnouk Gubëeher. The church additionally organises exchanges with other Catholic communities, as well as pilgrimages and local *xawaare* (see §5.4.4), and maintains close ties with the 'Grand Séminaire Saint Jean-Marie Vianney', located just off the main street (see Map (11): 13). Like the church, this seminary was built by Catholic missionaries and educates male children from Senegal, Gambia and Guinea-Bissau in Catholic beliefs (in French) for future roles as religious leaders. This is also the site of a cemetery for priests, including the Abbé Augustin Diamacoune Senghor (mentioned above in §3.2.1), who was the head of the 'Mouvement des forces démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC)' (Kalunzu, 2010, p. 15).

The people in Jibëeher vary widely in their proximity to either Catholicism or Islam. However, there are certain Catholic and Islamic festivities that are celebrated by seemingly all residents together, independent of their religion. Further events such as weddings, baptisms and funerals are celebrated according to individuals' local traditions, their official religious orientation or, in the majority of cases, a combination of both.

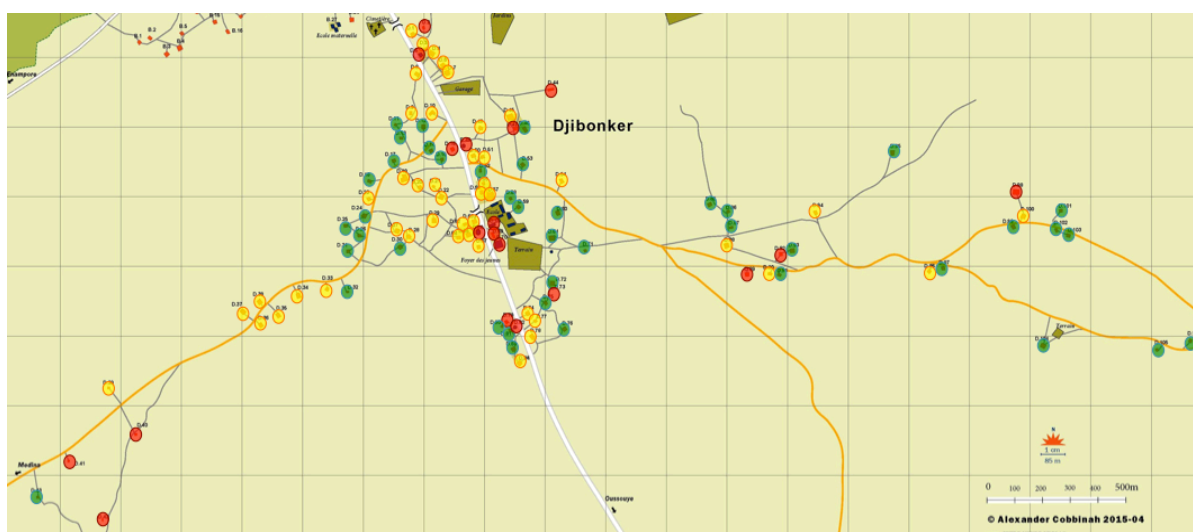
5.6 Reported use of Wolof in Jibëeher's households

After the presentation of the highly multilingual interactions of individuals within Jibëeher and Brin, in this subchapter I examine the reported use of Wolof within the households in Jibëeher in order to discuss the patterns of its distribution. The data presented originates from sociolinguistic interviews that were conducted by Alexander

Cobbinah (AC) and Jérémie Fahed Sagna (JS_{m3}) as part of the Crossroads Project from 2014 to the beginning of 2017 and were finalised by JS_{m3} and myself in 2017. The main questionnaire was semi-structured to encourage narrative responses, with the overarching aim of generating an overview of social structures as well as linguistic, cultural and religious distribution within every single household of the village. Therefore, one member of each inhabited household responded as a representative for their household members concerning their familial constellation, origin, cultural affiliation(s), religion(s) and language(s). Data on language use within each household was collected via a consistent method and is presented graphically on the map below.

This data shows the language attitudes and ideologies of the household representatives, who tended to hold the highest social status within the household, were almost exclusively part of the oldest generation present, and were represented relatively equally by men and women. The aim in analysis was to find out if the individuals independently mention the language Wolof as one of their common languages of communication in their household. This was a significant question for this research, since people tend to present Wolof as a language that is only used outside of the private sphere in Jibëeher on occasions when for instance people from outside the village are present. However, if the question had been formulated slightly differently, focussing for instance on the mastery of Wolof, the results would vary widely.

Map (12) Reported language use: Wolof



●	Reported use of Wolof (45 houses)
●	Wolof not used (42 houses)
●	Uninhabited (19 buildings)

The houses above are labelled in different colours depending on whether Wolof was mentioned as one possible language of communication among its inhabitants (as it was in 45 of them) or not (42 households). Note that this does not correspond to Wolof being in people's multilingual repertoires but reflects the use of it within people's homes. In every household, more than three languages of regular communication were reported and only two households (both occupied by refugees) did not include Baïnouk Gubëeher among them. As is visible above, the distribution of reported use of Wolof is concentrated along the street, surrounding the shops and bars, with only a few exceptions. One of them is a household in the middle of the map to the right of the street, where an elderly woman lives alone, mainly interacting with her age cohorts in Baïnouk Gubëeher and reports not speaking Wolof. The others are a group of three households to the south (situated on the land of the first Ñambëeher in the area), which have highly traditional functions and emphasise the preservation of local customs. Furthermore, the use of Wolof increases on the path to the west rather far from Jibëeher's centre, close to the village of Medina. The Ñambëeher in this area are dependent on Medina's infrastructure (e.g. market, shops, school) due to geographical proximity and therefore exchange regularly with its inhabitants. Furthermore, in exceptional cases, Wolof was reported in rather isolated households. On closer examination it transpired that all of these instances were

determined by someone who did not grow up with Baïnouk Gubëeher nor maintain close contact with the village: either a woman who immigrated due to exogamous marriage, a child who was fostered into the household, or someone from the family who grew up somewhere else and recently came to the village.

These findings are consistent with the previous results showing that the use of Wolof increases through mobility and exchange (Lüpke, 2016a; O'Brien, 1998). Only households with a lesser degree of intercultural exchange, usually due to their geographical location and/or a strong cultural affiliation, chose not to mention Wolof at all. Wolof is especially accepted at places close to the street, where people have greater mobility, the reception of (unannounced) guests and (long term) visitors is more frequent, and the infrastructure is advantageous. On the path to Medina, similar patterns are observable but on a smaller scale; the Ñambëeher living there are closer to another village than to the centre of Jibëeher and therefore to a certain extent depend on a regular cultural exchange. In these households hosting outsiders, the use of a language other than Gubëeher is easily explicable due to the fact that the visitors are not able to communicate in or comprehend Gubëeher. However, respondents made unsolicited attempts to justify their language choice, explaining that if the newcomers to the household are able to communicate in Baïnouk Gubëeher, Wolof will be excluded for daily conversations.

Overall, the analysis of the data provides support for the vitality of Wolof within the village of Jibëeher, even though in other interviews it is often neglected. In this kind of data, Wolof is reported as being a significant language for communication, which proves that it is a part of many individuals' daily interactions, even within their multilingual household.

5.7 Discussion of the use of language(s) within the research setting

Throughout this chapter, different institutional and social structures were discussed in an attempt to contextualise the use of language(s) within people's multilingual lives. This analysis of the relationship between society and language use obviously depicts the Jibëeher way of life as incommensurate with the notion of 'monolingual individuals'. Patterns in communicational strategies and more fixed settings in which certain languages dominate are visible and the use of Wolof can be described as following various patterns.

Mobility, strongly linked to accessible infrastructure, plays a major role since the encounter of people from different places with varied experiences triggers the use of a language of wider communication, like Wolof. The same is visible in social gatherings;

the more unrestricted they are for people without (strong) cultural and linguistic ties to Gubëeher, the greater the chance that Wolof is involved. Yet the actual language use is always highly dependent on the speakers themselves, the given situation, their competences, experiences and aims. As mentioned before, for instance, previous displacements relate to past experiences during which languages other than Baïnouk Gubëeher (in many situations Wolof) were used as their main language of communication. They further result in a weaker cultural affiliation with Gubëeher and a somewhat different worldview compared to people who have spent most of their lives in Jibëeher.

Due to the fact that Wolof is the most widespread language of wider communication in Senegal, it is therefore generally a language that is highly likely to be used. However, when used in Joola-dominated areas in the Casamance, further examinations are necessary. This is mentioned here due to observations that were made during field trips, but also since publications such as Barry (1987), Diédhiou (2002), Watson (2014) and Goodchild (2018) remark that in other (partly surrounding) Joola villages the use of Wolof is frowned upon by the majority of inhabitants (even though they might have it in their linguistic repertoires). This was assumed to be similar in Jibëeher, a Baïnouk Gubëeher dominated village, due to the shared history and experiences in the area but was not observed as such and Wolof is mentioned as being one of the languages used in daily conversations by more than half of the households. Within the village, the usual language used to address unknown people was observed to be Wolof (except if the person is obviously not from Senegal, then French was likely to be used). Furthermore, observations I have made in Joola (but also Wolof and Mandinka) villages in Senegal, namely a slight preference to use their language of identity accompanied by corrective actions towards the ‘unaccepted’ languages regardless of whether the said was understood, did not recur here as such. Most individuals in Jibëeher are tolerant towards outside languages and mixtures. The majority of the Ñambëeher residents in Jibëeher have at least one Joola language in their repertoires; however, the use of it is instigated by their interlocutor rather than by themselves. Yet this differs in traditional ceremonies, since some of them are shared with certain Joola cultures and therefore Joola is more likely to be used than Wolof.

The data provides convincing evidence of a strong cohesion among the Ñambëeher linked to their historical background, as they were at times far more influential in the area (see §5.2.1), but lost strength over time to various other cultural groupings including the Joola. They have a strong predilection for multilingualism and support the view that mastering many languages can only be beneficial. Concurrently, Ñambëeher are very

cautious about who they share their language and culture with and learners with varying cultural backgrounds are carefully chosen, which makes it necessary for them to be proficient in other languages to be able to communicate with people from the outside. In Jibëeher, a cultural system exists which preserves cultural practices and the language of identity and is readily adaptable to changes effected by developments and new social structures. Yet it makes sense to use Wolof over a Joola language in daily interactions with non-Ubëeher, since the adoption of Joola may risk an erosion of this identity through cultural convergence with the surrounding Joola.

6 The household and its inhabitants

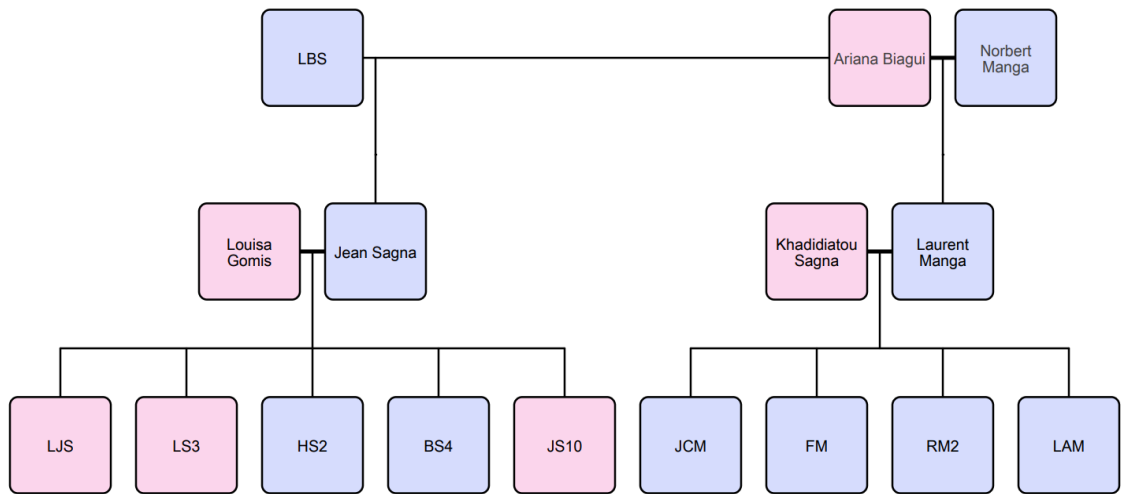
The social structure of the relatively small village of Djibonker/Jibëeher, as well as individuals' movement and the interchange of culture(s) and language(s) are highly complex. Since generalisation is impossible and the living conditions of the inhabitants change and (have to) adapt to new situations quickly, interpretation and analysis on a smaller scale is essential. In this section I will therefore concentrate on the four main participants and their linguistic repertoires as well as their family and social networks, who represent the focal group of this research.

Building on the knowledge shared about the village's political, economic and social structures so far, the focus now shifts to the people residing and regularly visiting the household of interest during the time of data collections while paying special attention to the role of Wolof. The following sections introduce the family composition in order to then discuss the main participants' self-reported life histories, ethnographies, linguistic repertoires, integration in the village structures and their attitudes and ideologies towards languages individually. Subsequently, I will briefly introduce the regular guests visiting the household, who are part of the main participants close social networks and communities of practice and due to their continual presence at the household also often part of the recordings. This information will provide further necessary background knowledge for an analysis of the multilingual data collected.

6.1 The family Manga/Sagna

In this section, the main participants and their families are described in more detail. For the main participants, their full names as well as their birthdate are used in this research. This was a major decision, which I made jointly with the residents in the household who gave full permission to do so. They fully agreed to release these details; we however further agreed on using participant codes for their children, as well as other guests in the household. During the time of data collection from 2014 to 2017, the living conditions and social structures in the household changed, as I will show in the discussion that follows. When starting the research, the following constellation of the family resident was recorded:

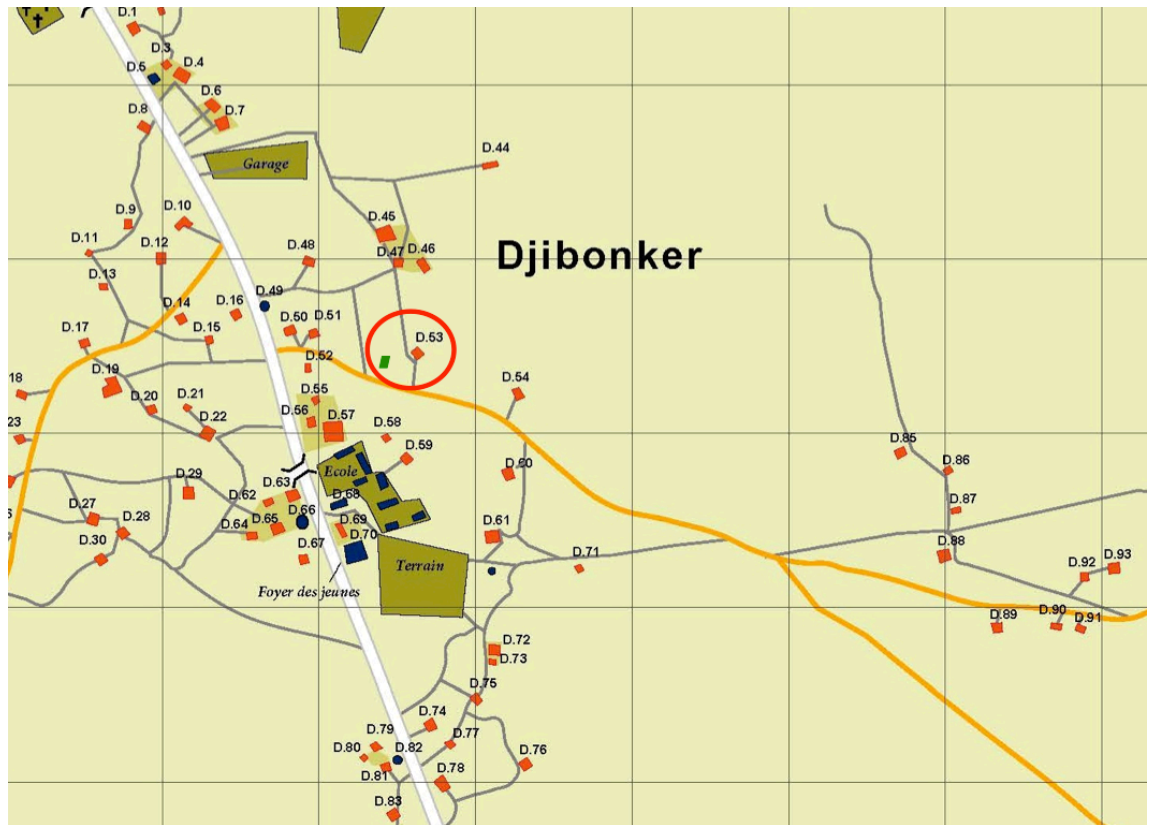
Figure (23) Family tree Manga & Sagna



(created on: www.familyecho.com, 08.01.2018)

The people resident in the household are here separated into two different trees. One family consists of Laurent Manga, Khadidiatou Sagna and their four kids (JCM_{m1} *2004, FM_{m0} *2007, RM2_{m0} *2009, LAM_{m0} *2011); the other family consists of Jean Pierre Sagna, Louisa Odil Gomis and their five children (LJS_{f1} *1999, LS3_{f1} *2001, HS2_{m1} *2005, BS4_{m0} *2011, JS10_{f0} *2013). Laurent Manga and Jean Pierre Sagna were both born in Jibëeher, identify as Ubëeher, and have the same mother but different fathers. The two half-brothers grew up together in the same household that they are (again) living in today (marked on the map below); both of them married women from outside the village.

Map (13) Location of the family household



(Alexander Cobbinah 2015, mod. Weidl 2017)

Laurent Manga is the son of the farmer Norbert Manga (†2004), an Ubëeher from the *bilid* of Ajeen (Map (09): 17) and Ariana Jitesia Biagui⁶⁴ (†2012), an Ubëeher from the *bilid* of Bureer (Map (09): 13). Following the cultural tradition of the area (as described in the §5.5) this means that Laurent’s house of origin (and therefore family house) would be in Ajeen. However, Norbert Manga’s father passed away when he was an infant, whereupon his mother decided to return to her *bilid* of origin, Bureer, to live with the children in the household she grew up in and receive support from her relatives there. Due to the early death of Norbert Manga’s father and the low number of male descendants in the household of his mother, the inhabitants of the *bilid* of Bureer adopted the boy. This established the possibility for Norbert to found his own family and build his own house there. Even though his ties to Ajeen were severed and he lost his traditional rights there, he was still able to marry a woman from Bureer, due to his paternal descent. He married Ariana Jitesia Biagui (who already had a son with LBS_{m8}, who is further introduced below) and had another three children together, two female and one male,

⁶⁴ Alexander Cobbinah started his research in the area before the death of Ariana Jitesia Biagui and had the chance to record her self-reported linguistic repertoire, which she described as speaking Baïnouk Gubëcher, Bayot Kuhinge, Bayot Kugere, Joola Bandial, Kreol and Joola Kujireray (Crossroads Metadata)

before they had Laurent. However, after giving birth to Laurent, the marriage of Ariana and Norbert wasn't going well, and Ariana moved back in with LBS_{m8}, with whom she had her firstborn son. She got pregnant again with Jean Pierre Sagna, but then returned to the household of Norbert (and also took Jean Pierre there), where she was living with Norbert until his death. At the time of this research, LBS_{m8} was still alive and part of the research as informant, he however never visited the household of interest during research.

When I first arrived at the house in 2014 while searching for a family to work with, introducing the intentions of my research and asking for people's agreement to cooperate, I found the residents living in the family household as pictured above. At this time, I decided to focus on the couples Laurent and Khadidiatou, as well as Jean Pierre and Louisa, as the main participants of the research. All of them indicated to be resident in the household, were obviously multilingual and responded positively to my intentions.

At this time, all of the main participants and their children were present in the village and all of the children attended either the *Préscolaire de Brin*, the *Ecole Primaire de Djibonker* or the *CEM* in Djibonker, depending on their age. Particularly at the beginning of the data collection, the family members represented themselves as speaking mainly Gubëeher and only occasionally mixing it with other languages in the household when necessary. Their multilingual repertoires were reported as mainly employed outside the village or the household or occasionally for conversations with visitors (including myself). Within their repertoires, they described Wolof primarily as a language that helps them to move around the country, to use for trade or to speak to people from the north. They further claimed that it was not a dominant language in the village setting; however, after spending more time in contact with the main participants, these assertions were partly refuted, as it can be seen in the descriptions of their self-reported linguistic repertoires below.

During the majority of time I spent in Jibëeher, Laurent was perceived as the head of the household (Map (13): D.53) since he is the oldest brother still living in the family house. However, at the beginning of the dry season in November 2015, Laurent started to build his own house about 15 meters away from the old family house (marked in green on Map (13)). During this time, in which data was collected, the living situation changed and TS1_{m6} moved into the household for about six months. TS1_{m6} works as a construction manager and led the construction of the traditional mud building of the family household. He originates from Nyassia, a village to the west, which made it impossible for him to

commute every day. Furthermore, two workers from Jibëeher, DS and PLC_{m2}⁶⁵, were hired and came to the building site almost every day and IPS_{m4} helped out regularly. During this time the linguistic situation changed drastically, due to the fact that neither TS1_{m6} nor IPS_{m4} report knowledge of Gubëeher.

During my first two field trips (initially over the Christmas holidays, the other in the rainy season) I assumed that the four main participants lived in the household throughout the year, which is also how they presented the situation. However, even though I was aware of Jean Pierre's work in Ziguinchor, I did not realise before the beginning of 2016 (when there were neither school holidays nor rainy season) that Jean Pierre stays overnight in Ziguinchor from Monday to Saturday every week during school time. He is therefore in a very different linguistic environment than the other family members.

Unfortunately, at the beginning of 2016 Khadidiatou's mother, who was resident in Ziguinchor, got sick, whereupon Khadidiatou decided to move back to Ziguinchor to help out at the family household. Throughout this time, she only returned to Djibonker for short visits until her mother passed away in July 2016, and she moved back in with her husband. Due to the fact that all of Laurent and Khadidiatou's children were in school in Djibonker/Brin, they remained with the other family members in Jibëeher. After Khadidiatou's return to Jibëeher the new house was ready to inhabit, and the couple moved in to their new place. However, their children, who were not yet used to being separated from the children of Jean Pierre and Louisa, refused to move and lingered in the old household for another four months before deciding to move into the newly built house as well. Even after moving, the women continue to prepare food together for all of the family members to eat at the old household, but the social status of the two men has changed. Laurent acquired a higher social status in the village due to the fact that he was able to build his own house for his family; however, this also means that Jean Pierre is living in the old household alone with his family now, which gives him a greater influence and decision-making power there.

Later in the rainy season of 2016, a new family member arrived at the household: AS20_{m1}, the grandson of Laurent's sister. Laurent's sister had a son with an Ubëeher (automatically giving him the Ubëeher identity) who then had a son himself (AS20_{m1}) with a woman who identifies as Bayot. However, AS20_{m1}'s parents separated, and he grew up with his mother in Ziguinchor speaking mainly Bayot, Wolof and some Joola (which could not be further specified). His father, who is an Ubëeher, lives in Dakar.

⁶⁵ PLC_{m2} was further one of my research assistants.

Therefore, AS20_{m1} was hardly ever in contact with his culture and language of paternal identity. In order to change that circumstance, his father decided to send his 12 year-old son to Jibëeher to live with the family of Laurent. There he is supposed to learn about his own culture and acquire Baïnouk Gubëeher, so that he will then be able to pass the knowledge on to his children. He began attending school in Djibonker and there is as yet no plan for him to return to one of his parents. AS20_{m1}'s presence has changed the linguistic situation in the household, and more Wolof seems to be spoken than before since it is in the shared repertoires of all the main participants. Laurent stated the following in 2017:

(01)

LM_{m4}: Pour ñu ñu gaawa comprendre, dama ko lakkal Olof. Pour ñu jangal ko, lee lee damay damay ko wax Baïnouk pour ma xool ndax mu ñgi commencer degg. Mais moroomam, commencer nañu ko lakkal Baïnouk. Boo lakkee leegi dey degg. Comme ñu - ki ku bes la, duñu ko jël vitesse, il faut ñu lakkal ko li ak Olof. Li, li lañu wax li. Comme ça mu mëna enregistrer.

To understand each other quick, I speak Wolof to him. So that we teach him, sometimes I speak Baïnouk to him to see if he starts to understand. But his age mates started to speak Baïnouk to him. If you speak, he can understand now. Like us, who is new, we are not going forward quickly, we have to speak to him that and Wolof. This is how we say that. So that he can remember.

(DJI160317MW: 21:11-21:44)

In September 2016 LJS_{f1}, the oldest daughter of Jean Pierre and Louisa, moved out of the household in Jibëeher to start secondary school in Ziguinchor. She moved to the household where her father lives during the week. After that, she hardly ever came back to visit the village and seems to have fundamentally relocated to the city.

The main participants understand and speak Wolof, however, they have encountered very different situations in their lives, shown in their linguistic biographies and trajectories, as discussed in the following section. Furthermore, Baïnouk Gubëeher, different Joola languages and some French are commonly used and a mixture of them is constantly present in this highly multilingual space. After a more detailed introduction of the main participants who form the focus of this study, regular visitors who are part of the social network of the main participants and were part of the recordings analysed in chapter 7 will be introduced since they often effect changes in the speakers' use of their linguistic repertoires.

6.2 The main participants

In this section, I present a detailed description of the main participants' (linguistic) biographies, self-reported linguistic repertoires and ethnographic background. As such, I decided to start the discussion with Laurent Manga, followed by Khadidiatou Sagna, and to then address his half-brother, Jean Pierre Sagna and his wife Louisa Odile Gomis. This arrangement, beginning with the oldest male, has been chosen to reflect the village's social custom whereby age is respected. It then made sense to discuss the spouses in conjunction with their partners, since they share a major part of their daily lives and experiences. However, since all of them are part of one household and share a strong connection, social networks and common knowledge, they are mutually influencing, and their individual biographies are to some extent overlapping. Following these descriptions, I present visitors in the household that are part of the main participants' social network and appear in my recordings.

The data used for this section has been collected through different kinds of semi-narrative sociolinguistic interviews conducted by myself and partly by other members of the Crossroads team as well as PLC_{m2}, a trained research assistant in this study. Furthermore, the description of the people was strengthened through observation (in which I took notes by hand or on my phone) and numerous conversations which were not strictly interviews but rather a chat between friends as we became closer. Additionally, in many instances there were visitors present in the household and certain interesting topics (for the research) emerged naturally, enabling me to observe the situations and gather information without posing more directed questions. Furthermore, it is a matter of fact that the main participants are not accustomed to answering questions focusing on details of their life history and use of languages in different situations. Since an interview setting felt constrained at certain points, on many occasions the information was transmitted differently, via a more open setting and in a more spontaneous manner. I am thankful to the people who accepted my participation in their daily lives and even let me become a member of their family and have written about their lives and linguistic repertoires to the best of my knowledge and intentions. However, every one of them has their own personality, and the extent to which they shared or withheld information was influenced by their attitudes, ideologies and contexts, which led to dissimilar depths of data.

6.2.1 Laurent Manga (LM_{M4})

Laurent Manga, who was briefly introduced in the previous section, was born in approximately 1974⁶⁶ as the son of two Ñambëeher. He was born in Jibëeher in the *gulol* of Irej (Jiboher) and the *bilid* of Bureer. Although he did not always live in the village, during the years he spent as a resident in Jibëeher he stayed in the residence of his father, a traditional mud-house which had to be rebuilt several times. At the time of his birth and while he was growing up, the family home was inhabited by his parents, his older half-brother, two sisters, and one older brother. His half-brother Jean Pierre was born after Laurent.

When Laurent was about seven years old, his father sent him to school in the *École privée catholique* in Brin, where he attended his first year of French primary school education. Yet after one year there, his father was no longer able to pay the required school fees and Laurent was obliged to change to the public primary school in Djibonker. Progressing as a student, he passed his final examinations in the CM2 when he was approximately fourteen and gained the CEPE certificate (see §5.4.6 for information on the educational system). He was inclined to continue, yet there was no secondary school established in the area (at the time) and financial constraints in the family did not allow him to continue his education in a different place. He therefore decided to follow his older siblings to Ziguinchor and learn a trade in the city, which was not associated with extra costs for the parents.

While Laurent was growing up in Djibonker, he reported speaking mainly Baïnouk Gubëeher in their household, but also acquired Joola Kujireray (which he sometimes refers to as ‘Brin’ or ‘Joola Brin’) through contact with inhabitants of Brin and during the one year he studied there. It is notable that his reports (like that of many other inhabitants of Jibëeher) shows a stronger tendency to adapt to Kujireray in an exchange with people from Brin than for Brin’s inhabitants to adapt to Gubëeher. This is evident in the following comment of Laurent:

⁶⁶ Since the actual date of birth fell into oblivion, we decided to use the year indicated on his Senegalese identity card. However, due to the fact that there is not only one date, he does not always calculate his age in the same way, which was only shared relatively late in research. His variation of age led to confusions on my side until far into the research. However, the birth date on the ID card would make LM_{M4} younger than JPS_{M4} who is described by everyone as his younger brother.

(02)

LM_{m4}: Brin xam nga jangoon naa fi. Fi boo ñēwee moom lañu lakk, bala ñu lakk ki Gubēeher, ñun dañu baayi Gubēeher di lakk Brin.

As you know, I was learning in Brin. When we went there that was what we were speaking, before using Gubēeher, we let Gubēeher be and speak 'Brin' instead.

(DJI160317MW: 07:27-07:39)

He reported that he was not used to speaking Wolof regularly as a child; however, he had a certain interest in learning it and picked up some before he went to Ziguinchor, where he further acquired it:

(03)

LM_{m4}: Olof eh, dañu daan, eh ki, moy topp ku ñu xamantaane joge nañu Dakar walla ki, ñu ñu jiitu daal ci ville. Bu ñu ñēwee, bu ñu lakk, ñun tamit ñu jeema commencer, lakk mu ñēw ndank ndank bala ñu dem Ziguinchor. Bu ñu demee Ziguinchor fi lañu xawaa tane di lakk Olof.

Wolof, eh, we really did, eh that, it is because we followed the people who we knew came from Dakar or the ones who lived in a city before us. When they came, when they spoke, we also tried to start speaking it. The language came slowly before we went to Ziguinchor. When we went to Ziguinchor, there we got better in speaking Wolof.

(DJI160317MW: 06:56-07:16)

In Ziguinchor, Laurent's parents arranged a place for him to stay in the district of Kandé with the extended family of his mother's sister in 1989. There he was trained, and later worked as a mechanic until the beginning of 2011, with a break of about a year in 1991/1992. During this time, he had to pause his apprenticeship and go back to Jibēeher due to a serious illness that was treated with traditional remedies in the house of his father. Most of the inhabitants of the Kandé household where he was accommodated for many years were from Banjal, a village in the Mov Avvi, since his aunt's husband was born there. Therefore, the use of Joola Banjal was most common in daily conversations. Laurent reported that he felt forced to acquire and use Joola Banjal, since it was the only accepted language in certain situations within the family and an important tool to meet his needs. He reported, however, that the younger members of the households especially would also use Wolof and Kreol in their conversations.

At the beginning of Laurent's training, the mechanic's studio in Santhiaba, where he received an apprenticeship, was owned by one of his cousins from Jibēeher. But not long after Laurent started to learn there, the cousin's business was running badly, and he had to sell the studio to a colleague. Laurent was kept as a trainee and learned from the new owner, who identified as Manjaku and grew up in Guinea-Bissau. He mainly spoke Kreol

to his apprentices and through him Laurent reported to have acquired Kreol in a short period of time. The other employees at his workplace had diverse backgrounds and the multilingualism during their communications was reported as high; additionally, with the clientele coming to get their cars, motorbikes or bicycles fixed, he made contact with even more language(s) and culture(s). When I asked him which languages he communicated in during his working hours in Santhiaba, he compared it to the multilingualism in a school:

(04)

LM_{m4}: Ci lakk yu bare, parce que boobu moom, ki, du benn nit mooy ñew, dafa mel ni ecole rekk, dox dajale.

In many different languages, because that, not only one person is coming, it is just like school, a coming and getting together.

(DJI160317MW: 05:56-05:05)

In 2002, when Laurent had completed his apprenticeship and been working at the mechanic's studio for a couple of years, he moved out of the household in Kandé. Together with his half-brother Jean Pierre they rented a place in the quartier of Grand Yoff in Ziguinchor. This was on the one hand due to their increasing success in their jobs which made it possible for them to afford their own place, and on the other hand because it ensured them greater privacy. Not long after moving to a new house, Laurent and Khadidiatou Sagna became engaged. She however continued living with her parents and extended family in the first years of their relationship, though they visited each other regularly. During this time, Laurent reports speaking Gubëeher to Jean Pierre at their place, but communicated mainly in Wolof or sometimes a Joola language (which he does not further specify) with Khadidiatou, since she did not have any knowledge of Gubëeher at that time. In 2004 their first son, JCM_{m1}, was born, followed by their second, FM_{m0}, in 2007. Initially they lived with Khadidiatou and her family in Ziguinchor. However, in 2008, Laurent decided to send JCM_{m1} to the *Préscolaire de Brin*, whereupon Khadidiatou moved into the household of Laurent's father with her two sons. Laurent however remained in Ziguinchor to work. Later in 2009 one of his older brothers finished building his own house in the quartier of Lyndiane in Ziguinchor, and the two half-brothers moved there to live with his family. Due to the fact that his brother's wife never learned to speak Gubëeher, despite being born and growing up in Brin (though this is the case for many people from Brin), they mainly speak Joola Kujireray mixed with Joola Fogny in the household. However, the brothers used to communicate in Gubëeher and a regular use of Wolof with guests and neighbours was common.

During the 25 years Laurent was living in Ziguinchor, he never lost his strong connection to Jibëeher and spent as much time as possible there. Due to his good relationship with his employer, he was able to spend every rainy season (approximately June until September) in Jibëeher. During this time especially, a lot of help is needed with the cultivation of rice and other crops that are an important source of staple food for the family in the village but further essential for local cultural and ritual practices, as he described. Besides the economic importance of this annual return to the village, it also enabled Laurent to be a part of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* and the *Nawetaan*, in which he was very active and even took up the position of *President d'Organisation* ('head of organisation') for six years. Moreover, the visits of his family and friends, and later his wife, were also regular during the dry season. He came to his father's house every weekend possible, and whenever he had spare time, attended ceremonial celebrations, regular village meetings and organised and attended *soirées* and *xawaare* and was a member and part time leader of a Gubëeher dance group. While he reported using mainly Gubëeher in the household of his father and during work with his relatives in the fields, his participation in the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* and the *Nawetaan* was as multilingual and multicultural as the associations themselves, described above.

Furthermore, he took time off his work in Ziguinchor and made sacrifices on the weekends to take on paid work in the *Grand Séminaire de Brin*, where he bred poultry or pork, and helped out in the gardens and elsewhere when needed. He also described a very different linguistic environment at work in the *Grand Séminaire*. Laurent explained that this was due to the fact that the students, priests and employees there came from all over Senegal and even Guinea-Bissau and Gambia. For the students there, the language of instruction is French, which everyone is obliged to have a certain proficiency in and is used more extensively than outside the *Séminaire*. However, in informal conversations the use of Wolof, different Joola languages and Kreol were reported to be very common. Laurent claimed that the use of Gubëeher is almost non-existent there since the Ñambëeher only represent a very small minority.

Laurent further reported that he only used French occasionally after leaving school, for official business, doctor appointments, or rarely in informal conversations. However, that changed in 2009, when he started a professional relationship with Alexander Cobbinah, who came to Jibëeher to do research. When they began working together, Laurent had to use French more often and it became one of the working language(s) used in their meetings. In 2011 Laurent's mother got sick and he spent more and more time in Djibonker to help care for her while only occasionally returning to Ziguinchor when urgently needed or in need of money. He helped out in the household in Jibëeher as much

as he could and subsequently, after the death of his mother in early 2012, decided to move back there, quitting his work in Ziguinchor and leaving his room at his brother's place. This was also necessary since only Odile and Khadidiatou were living in the family house and no adult Ubëeher was present.

Since 2012, he has not left the village again for any extended periods. This meant that he needed to organise his life differently and find new work to support his family. As such, he decided to stop being an active member of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* in order to have more free time to organise his businesses. He took on more work in the *Grand Séminaire* and traded in various sectors depending on the season and opportunities, e.g. production and disposal of charcoal in the area, collection and export of local crops to Dakar (in cooperation with his wife and with the help of family living there), and importing and reselling beverages from Guinea-Bissau. Furthermore, in 2014, he took a job as one of the transcribers in the *Centre Linguistic Laurent Sagna* (CLLS) where he has worked until December 2017 for at least 20 hours per week. This work involves the transcription of many multilingual conversations recorded in the area, which entails writing the local languages and determining their names. This necessitates a development of his (and other members') linguistic repertoires and is augmented by regular contact with the members of the CLLS, who are all highly multilingual themselves but originate from different villages. Laurent reported the need to use French as a working language with many of the European/American members and for the translations of his transcriptions, but also uses regional languages depending on the interlocutors, and frequently Wolof as the language of choice for addressing several people at the same time. However, besides during employment as a transcriber or as a research assistant, he hardly ever uses literacy actively, nor does he read newspapers or books. Since he moved back to Jibëeher he does not see his brothers and sisters regularly, except Jean Pierre. They only meet at local or Catholic gatherings and call each other at irregular intervals, depending on their needs.

In addition to the different languages in his repertoire that he acquired and possibly also partly forgot, he also gives differing reports on his languages depending on the context and common knowledge shared with the interlocutors. While traveling in areas where Gubëeher and even the Bâinounk culture and language(s) are fairly unknown, Laurent reported (and was also observed as) identifying as Joola, even though he would never do so in Jibëeher. By his own explanation, this gives unknown interlocutors, with whom he does not expect to speak Gubëeher, enough information to geographically locate him in the area and does not lead to further questions about Gubëeher. However, should

his interlocutors be familiar with the southern Casamance area, he provides more detailed information.

Furthermore, Laurent's reports varied in different contexts and also changed in the development of our personal relation, as can be seen in the two statements (05) from 2014 and (06) from 2017 below. In both of the settings the question was directed to the languages he uses at home and whether they appear juxtaposed or mixed with other languages:

(05)

LM_{m4}: Sama askan, ci Djibonker. Ñun daal ci Djibonker lakk Djibonker lañu lakk. Su de dañu jaxase, jaxase nañu, mais tuuti daal.

My paternal line is in Djibonker. We truly from Djibonker, we speak the language of Djibonker. If it appears that we are mixing, we mix, but really only a little bit.

(KAF271214MW: 03:25-03:39)

This example is an extract from the first interview I ever conducted with Laurent at the beginning of the research. At that point I did not know the family very well and had not started to interview other family members yet. Laurent was the only one of them who was familiar with an interview situation and therefore felt free to answer questions. Even though I was aware of the language and culture of Baïnouk Gubëeher before starting my research, at this point Laurent never referred to the language as such and kept his answers more general. He even used the official administrative term 'Djibonker'; however, once he understood that I had become more familiar with the culture and the language, he switched to the term Jibëeher or even referred to a certain *bilid* in our conversations. At the time (2014) I was satisfied with his answer, yet towards the end of my research this statement would have seemed incongruous to me and would be observed as marked. In 2017, having done intensive work with all of the members of the family, and developed a great deal of common knowledge and experience through working together, I asked the same questions again. He replied as follows, referring especially to Antoine as a reason for change in the household:

(06)

LM_{m4}: Ñun kay, Baïnounk moo gëna am doole foofu.

We, come on, at ours Baïnounk is the strongest language.

MW_{f2}: Mhm. Après lan?

Mhm. And after that?

LM_{m4}: Hm bon, après peut être Olof, comme Antoine mu ngi fi. Il faut ñu jël Olof di ko lakkal pour mu mëna comprendre. Lu mu gëna gaaw.

Hm ok, after that maybe Wolof, because Antoine (AS20_{m1}) is here. We have to use Wolof to talk to him, so he can understand. That is what is quicker.

(DJI160317MW: 22:14-22:26)

Later in the same interview we changed the topic, talking about the women in the house:

(07)

LM_{m4}: Eh Baïnounk moo gëna bare sama kër. Man sama kër moom, Baïnounk rekk.

Eh Baïnounk is most spoken in my household. Me, in my household, only Baïnounk.

MW_{f2}: Leegi jigeen tamit su ñu waxtaan, Baïnounk

Now also the women, when they speak, Baïnounk

LM_{m4}: Leegi Baïnounk meme parce que Khadi dey lakk Baïnounk leegi. Xanaa fu mu kale foofu lay lakkee ki, waaw. Moom bu yaggamtiee moom mu lakkee Joola. Waaw, bu yaggamtiee dey lakke ki. Odile moom, moom eh rote na Baïnounk de xanaa. Waaw, moom dafa ko lakk bu baax.

Now also Baïnounk, because even Khadi speaks Baïnounk now. Maybe when she gets stuck she is going to speak, that, yes. When she is in a hurry she speaks Joola. Yes, when she is in a hurry she speaks it. Odile, she eh fell into the Baïnounk, hasn't she. Yes, she speaks it very well.

(DJI160317MW: 23:01-23:30)

In these two situations he described the use of the languages in their household very differently. He has a very strong connection to his culture and language of identity, Baïnounk Gubëeher, which emerges throughout many interviews and more informal conversations. In examples (06) and (07) he uses the term Baïnounk to refer to the language, whereas in the interview at the beginning of our work he called it “the language of Djibonker”. Furthermore, he mainly refers to the language as Gubëeher when he speaks Baïnounk Gubëeher⁶⁷. During this interview both of us felt slightly disoriented since we had discussed all of the addressed topics many times and the questions I asked seemed to

⁶⁷ This is an interesting finding since he refers to other language(s) with their full name even if he does not speak them. I am however aware that there is no equivalent term for Baïnounk Gubëeher (Cobbinah, 2010; Lüpke, 2010)

be too simple. This can also be observed in example (06) where he uses the expression “come on” to express his confusion and perception that I should be aware of his answer to this question. Whereas examples (06) and (07) might have been confusing for Laurent due to the fact that my questions seemed quite simple, in the following example he might have expected me to have more background knowledge or to ask different questions, which is evident in the changes of designations during this short dialogue:

(08)

LM_{m4}: Papu Khadi fu mu coosaanu, foofu nga bëgga wax?

Khadi's dad, where he originates from, is that what you want to talk about?

MW_{f2}: Waaw

Yes

LM_{m4}: Ñoom Jagubel la.

They are Jagubel.

MW_{f2}: Lan?

What?

LM_{m4}: Jagubel

Jagubel

MW_{f2}: Waa fan la? Bi moy

Where are these people from? That is

LM_{m4}: Côtê Buluf, Buluf la.

The side of Buluf, it is Buluf.

MW_{f2}: A côté?

Next to?

LM_{m4}: Buluf, mooy Fogny.

Buluf, that is Fogny.

(DJI160317MW: 26:17-26:35)

In this conversation it is clear that Laurent was either of the opinion that I did not understand what he reported to me and therefore tried to simplify his answer by referring to bigger groupings of people or became tired of answering my questions and wanted to get through them as quick as possible, thus declining to discuss the distinctions between Djiagubel, Buluf and Fogny in depth. However, these kinds of interviews and conversations made me aware not only of Laurent's attitudes and ideologies towards the languages of the area, but also of the way he perceived my understanding of the situation.

Laurent made clear statements on the language use of his sister-in-law and wife, repeatedly reporting that Odile speaks very clear Gubëeher and that Khadi has now learned it too but occasionally needs to resort to Joola. Laurent never explicitly

commented on Jean Pierre's linguistic repertoire except to report that it is very similar to his own, since they share the same heritage and lived together for a long time. Asked about his children and his preferences concerning their linguistic repertoires, he answered the following:

(09)

LM_{m4}: Man sama preference, moy ñu degg sama lakk.

For me, my preference is that they speak my own language.

MW₁₂: Waaw, mais yow danga foog ne dañu soxla yeneen lakk tamit?

Yes, but do you think that they also need other languages?

LM_{m4}: Biensûr! Lakk mësul doy, il faut ñu jang lakk bu nekk.

Of course! Languages cannot be enough, they have to learn all the languages that are present.

MW₁₂: Mais am nga ay lakk boo préferer ak ay lakk boo ne bon

But do you have languages that you prefer and some languages where you say, ok

LM_{m4}: Man kay sama lakk bu gëna, bu ma gëna préferer Bainounk la.

I, come on, my language is better, what I prefer most is Bainounk.

MW₁₂: Après Bainounk?

After Bainounk?

LM_{m4}: Après Bainounk ñu jël Françe. Pour ñu mëna communiquer ak nit ñi ñepp. Après Français, Olof. Pour mëna, bu ñu egee Ziguinchor walla Dakar, ñu mëna lakk, mëna deggoo ak ñepp. Bala ñeneen yi ñi. Parce que fi, ñun fi, boo deggul Olof, hmm, dangay sonn. Ak ki, ban ki, ak ki, nakka, Olof hm. Fi Casamance, Joola, leele bon. Sose moom même boo ko deggul moom amuma benn problem. Olof, Joola, Français. Loolu moy solo de, loolu mu am solo fi.

After Bainounk let's take French. So that they can communicate with everyone. After French, Wolof. So that they, if they arrive in Ziguinchor or Dakar, that they can speak, that they can mutually understand with everyone. These before any other languages. Because here, we here, if you don't understand Wolof, hmm, you will be very tired. And that, which is, and that, how, Wolof, hm. Here in the Casamance, Joola, maybe ok. Sose, if you don't understand that, that is not a single problem. Wolof, Joola, French. They have more importance here.

(DJI160317MW: 28:21-29:34)

These statements on Laurent's wishes for the repertoire of his kids mirror his attitudes towards the languages reported. His strong connection to Gubëcher, which is the only language he refers to as 'my language', is always his priority, but he further states the importance of French as the language that might help to communicate around the world, Wolof as the language that can be used all over Senegal, and Joola as an important language in the Casamance.

Self-reported language repertoire of LM_{m4} (alphabetical order⁶⁸):

Bainounk Gubeeher
French
Joola Banjal
Joola Fogny
Joola Kaasa
Joola Kujireray
Kreol
Wolof

6.2.2 Khadidiatou Sagna (KS2_{f4})

During the interviews, conversations and observations that involved Khadidiatou Sagna, the shared information on her life history, biography and linguistic bibliography was significantly modified. I will faithfully report on the process and early errors in my understanding. Initially, I interpreted inconsistencies in her narration as indicative of an uncertainty regarding exactly where and when she grew up, until I recognised that parts of the information changed according to the degree of trust she developed in me. When I was close to finishing my data collection and terminated my interview sessions, Khadidiatou asked me to come to her house to give another interview, which can be seen as a turning point in our work together. Interestingly she picked a day and time when all of the other main participants were at an event in the village and she came back to the house to talk to me. In this conversation her story was fully reorganised and Khadidiatou added more information that was until then unavailable to me. Driven by attitudes towards certain languages and cultures within her surroundings, she primarily reported her biography and linguistic repertoire to please others, but later decided to clarify and explicitly asked me to incorporate the information in this thesis. Especially significant were the fact that she had three previously unmentioned children from two men before Laurent, and the addition of Sose (which she uses as interchangeable term with Mandinka), Joola Kaasa and Sarakhule to her linguistic repertoire.

Khadidiatou Sagna was born in Ziguinchor in 1974; she is however not aware of the day or month of her birth, which she repeatedly argued was irrelevant. While still an infant she was brought to a village north of Ziguinchor called Jagubel, where she lived

⁶⁸An alphabetical order was chosen for the self-reported linguistic repertoires to avoid a hierarchical representation of the languages.

for the first years of her life. She was born and brought up as a Muslim and irregularly attended a Koranic school, where she was in contact with Arabic and learned how to recite Suwar. When asked what she spoke there while growing up, she reported the following about a Joola language:

(10)

MW_{f2}: Ak foofu ci sa, ak sa mbokk foofu. Lan ngay lakk?

And there, with your family there. What are you speaking?

KS_{2f4}: Joola.

Joola.

MW_{f2}: Joola. Ban Joola la?

Joola. Which Joola is it?

KS_{2f4}: Bu ma lakk comme ci, ak xale yi.

Which I speak like in, with the children.

MW_{f2}: Aha kon Joola

Aha so Joola

KS_{2f4}: Joola Buluf

Joola Buluf

(DJI160216MWb: 01:00-01:11)

Her father, a mason who she identified as Joola, originates from Janjalaat (his village of paternal origin), but was brought into his mother's household in Jagubel at young age, where he later also brought up his own children for the first years of their lives. Khadidiatou reported, as already mentioned is extract (10) above, mainly growing up with a Joola language, but expressed that she never used her paternal Joola language actively:

(11)

MW_{f2}: Foofu ci village sa papa, ban lakk lañu lakk?

There in the village of your dad [Janjalaat], what language are they speaking there?

KS_{2f4}: Joola

Joola

MW_{f2}: Waaw, ban Joola la

Yes, what Joola is it?

KS_{2f4}: Man moom, Joola boobu, kiuma ko. Ak lu ñu ko waxee, degguma Joola boobu. Man Joola Fogny rekk laa degg. Kon xam nga dañu ñew ñu dëkk ci li nga xamee ay Fogny kese lañu dëkkoon foofu. Waaw moo tax Joola boobu moo ma gëna dëgg ni suñu bos bi.

I, this one, that Joola, I cannot do it. With what [words] they speak it, I cannot understand that Joola. I only understand Joola Fogny. So you know, we came and

lived where, you know, only Fogny were living there. Yes that is why this is the Joola I understand better than our own.

MW_{f2}: Ah ok. Yeen seen boss lu mu tudd?

Ah ok. And your own Joola, how is it called?

KS2_{f4}: Hm, deedeet man suma bos bi xamuma lu ñu ko waxee, mais Joola la daal. mhm waaw.

Hm, no our own, I do not know how they call it, but it is Joola for sure. Mhm yes.

MW_{f2}: Mhm ok. Mais leegi soo demee village foofu, danga comprendre lu ñu wax

Mhm ok. But now if you go to the village there, do you understand what they say

KS2_{f4}: Waaw bu ñu waxee dinaa xam lu ñu wax, mais xam nga pour lakk comme ñoom, lu ñu ko lakk, duma ko mën. waaw

Yes if they speak I will know what they say, but you know to speak like them, how they speak it, I will not be able to do it. Yes

MW_{f2}: Waaw mais boobu

Yes but that

KS2_{f4}: Mais Joola la yepp, yepp Joola la.

But it is all Joola, all is Joola.

(DJI250417MW: 02:54-03:38)

Her mother was born and grew up in Bafikañ, a Bayot area. She was raised as a Christian but decided to convert to Islam due to the relationship with Khadidiatou's father. KS2_{f4} initially identified her mother as Joola, then later as a Bayot⁶⁹ speaker and reported that they mainly spoke Joola (which she does not further specify) when they were together with family on the grounds that her father is not proficient in Bayot and could not have followed the conversations. Yet even though her mother did not use Bayot as the main language for their conversations, Khadidiatou acknowledges that she nonetheless learned to understand the language from a young age, despite being unaccustomed to speaking it.

In our conversations Khadidiatou tended to use the term 'Joola' to describe her Joola identity, but rarely used either the term Joola Buluf or Joola Fogny. Interestingly, when Laurent was asked about Khadidiatou's Joola, he responded that she speaks and is Jagubel (see (08) above): the village where she spent the first years of her life but is neither her village of origin following the widespread paternal cultural identification, nor a Joola identity that Khadidiatou reports belonging to. However, when asked about these disparities she explained that subtle differences might not be recognised from the outside, even by close family members. She does not intervene if someone calls her Jagubel yet would not use the term herself since it is not her father's origin.

⁶⁹ For KS2_{f4} the Joola she reports and Bayot clearly are two different languages.

In approximately 1986⁷⁰ Khadidiatou moved into the family household in Ziguinchor, and from that day on she only went back to the village for short visits to attend social or religious events that involve close relatives, but never brought her own children there. In the city, her linguistic environment changed drastically from using mainly Joola varieties to a highly multilingual constellation. Khadidiatou recalls the first intensive contact with Wolof when she arrived, even though she thinks that she picked up some Wolof words in her younger years. Yet it was reported that it was mainly spoken outside the household or with guests and friends and Wolof was acquired due to the need to converse. In our last interview, Khadidiatou described her linguistic situation in Ziguinchor:

(12)

MW₁₂: Ak yan lakk nga doon maggee foofu?

With which languages did you grow up there?

KS_{2f4}: Ak yan lakk. Sose, Joola, mais Joola moo gëna bare, ak Olof bi, bu ñu demee ak suñu moroom dañu lakk Joola, dañu lakk Olof, dañu lakk Sose.

With which languages. Sose, Joola, but Joola was more used, and the Olof, if we went with our equals [people of the same age], we speak Joola, we speak Olof, we speak Sose.

MW₁₂: Ak kan nga nga doon lakk Sose?

With whom did you, you speak Sose?

KS_{2f4}: Sose xanaa suñu dëkkandoor yi, Sose suñu dokkandoor yi ñoom lañu lakk Sose.

Sose, it was the people we lived with, Sose the people we lived with they speak Sose.

(DJI250517MW: 04:57-05:18)

Here, Sose was mentioned for the first time as being part of Khadidiatou's linguistic repertoire. Surprised by this information, I asked more detailed follow up questions, which provoked her to make a longer statement about her mother in which she additionally expresses her positive attitude towards multilingualism and establishes a connection between multilingualism and having work:

(13)

KS_{2f4}: Ndey, sama yaaye moom deggul Sose, deggul benn lakk. Moom lakkam Bayot, ak Joola jeex na. [claps] Deggul benn lakk. Sama pap moom tane na, degg na Sose, Kreol, Kreol tamit dafa ko lakk, yepp, parce que mom dafa doon ligey. Maçon lawoon. Ligey na ba dem ba ki, lu ñu ko waxaati, Abidjan.

Mother, my mum she did not understand Sose, she did not understand one language. She, her language is Bayot, and Joola that is all. [claps] She does not

⁷⁰ Even though this is the year Kahdidiatou repeatedly reported, reconstructing her biography it might have been a couple of years earlier since she has also mentioned that she went to school in Ziguinchor, which normally starts for children at the age of 6.

understand one language. My dad he is better, he understands Sose, Kreol, he also speaks Kreol, everything, because he was working. He was a mason. He worked until he went to there, how do they say it again, Abidjan.

MW_{f2}: Ah ok

Ah ok

KS2_{f4}: Waaw, man année bi ma judd, ci la ñibbisi après delluwaat.

Yes, I, the year when I was born, that was when he came home, then he went back.

(DJI250517MW: 06:02-06:31)

Khadidiatou attended school in Ziguinchor from 1985 for about two to three years and during this time she was in closer contact with French and written language. Since leaving school, she has not actively used any form of writing or reading yet seems to be able to recognise certain words⁷¹. However, she does not report French in her linguistic repertoire. After dropping out of school she started a job as housemaid with a family in Ziguinchor, where she also lived during the week. There she reported to speak only Wolof:

(14)

KS2_{f4}: Ah li ma doon ligey Olof lañu fay lakk, doo xam ban xeet lañu, mënoo xam ban xeet la parce que Olof lañu lakk. Mème ñu doon ay ay Joola walla ay Sose walla ay beneen xeet, ñoom Olof rekk lañu gëna lakk, kon noonu la.

Ah when I was working, we spoke Wolof there, you cannot know what ethnic group they are, you cannot know what ethnic group because they speak Wolof. Even if they are some, some Joola or some Sose or another ethnic group, they just spoke Wolof more, so that is it.

(DJI250517MW: 08:08-08:22)

Using her free time as an actress in a locally organised theatre, Khadidatou got to know Laurent on a trip to a performance in Dakar (on which he went with a group of people from Jibëcher as well). Establishing a relationship while Laurent was still working and living predominantly in Ziguinchor, they had their first two children who lived with Khadidatou in the household of her father. Although I believed that JCM_{m1} was her firstborn child for the whole duration of my research, she then, in our last interview, reported that she already had three children before JCM_{m1}: male twins with a man from Mlomp (a village to the west) identified as Joola Kaasa, and a daughter with a Gambian who she identified as Sarakhule. Both of these relationships were rather short, and the children were handed over to the families of the fathers at a young age. Her two firstborn sons grew up in Mlomp with their grandmother; Khadidiatou has regular contact with

⁷¹ This was for example observed when she called people with her phone where she was able to read the people's names. It is not clear if she created the entries in her phone herself or not.

them and also reports speaking Joola Kaasa to their family. Later the twins moved to Dakar to study. They call regularly and even visit from time to time. Her daughter was brought to The Gambia in her infancy and grew up in a Sarakhule family speaking Sarakhule, which Khadidiatou reported to understand. However, in conversations with her daughter and the family of her father they use Sarakhule, Wolof and other languages depending on shared repertoires and vocabulary available. She has not seen her in many years but is in phone contact with her. This information on her first three children was concealed from me for a long time and seems not to be widespread in the village either. However, Khadidiatou felt the desire to disclose her biography and wanted me to include the last version reported in this interview. When asked why she refused to share this information with me earlier, she used her right to refuse to answer.

As mentioned in the previous section, before having her third son with Laurent, Khadidiatou moved into his family household. When she arrived, Odile, Jean Pierre, their children and Laurent's parents were resident there. For that time, she reported her language use as following:

(15)

MW_{f2}: Yow soo ñëwoon fi, ban lakk nga doon lakk fi?

You when you came here, what language did you speak here?

KS2_{f4}: Damay lakk Joola, ma jang Baïnouk, noonu laay def [affirming click sound]

I speak Joola, I learn Baïnouk, that is what I do

MW_{f2}: Mhm. Leegi fi soo nekee fi ban Joola nga lakk

Mhm. So when you are here what Joola are you speaking

KS2_{f4}: Sama Joola bi ma degg laay lakk, waaw

I speak my Joola that I understand, yes.

MW_{f2}: Mhm, bi moy lan?

Mhm, and that is what?

KS2_{f4}: Mooy bi ma lakk ak xale yi rekk

That is just what I speak to the children

MW_{f2}: Leegi looy lakk fi ak xale yi, normalement?

So what do you speak here with the children normally?

KS2_{f4}: Damay damay lakk ak ñoom, dinaa lakk ak ñoom Joola, dinaa lakk ak ñoom Baïnounke, waaw. Damay lal fi, ma lal fi.

I, I speak with them, I speak with them Joola, I speak with them Baïnouk, yes. I touch here, I touch there.

MW_{f2}: Mhm, ak Odile?

Mhm, with Odile?

KS2_{f4}: Waaw, ak Odile tamit. Yeene say ñu lakk Olof bi, yeene say Joola bi, yeene say Baïnounke bi.

Yes, also with Odile. Sometimes we speak the Wolof, sometimes the Joola, sometimes the Baïnounke.

(DJI250517MW: 12:49-13:27)

In this excerpt, Khadidiatou completely neglected to determine a Joola variety (other than ‘her Joola’) even though I tried to insist with my questioning. Wolof was present as one of languages used from the time of arrival, yet she reported that she mainly spoke a Joola language with Laurent’s mother, since she was not used to conversations in Wolof. Changing her centre of life to Jibëeher, Khadidiatou reported that her - and her sons’ - acquisition of Gubëeher was especially important for her husband, as cultural and linguistic assimilation was a main cause for them to move. She has a strong awareness of the cultural value of Gubëeher in their household, which was especially evident in our early interviews:

(16)

MW_{f2}: Su yeen ñepp ngeen reer, ban ban lakk dangeen jël?

If all of you have dinner together, which which language do you choose?

KS2_{f4}: Hm Baïnounk, walla dañu lakk Joola, wala Olof bi

Hm, Baïnounk, or we speak Joola, or the Wolof

MW_{f2}: Lan moo gëna am doole, ban lakk

Which one is the strongest [most used], which language

KS2_{f4}: Ci daal, xanaa man kenn, mais Baïnounk bi moo gëna am doole fi. Xanaa man man ma change leegi tuuti. Waaw. Leegi Baïnounk moo gëna am doole.

Here really, maybe only me, but Baïnounk is stronger here. Maybe I I am changing a little bit now. Yes. Now Baïnounk has more strength here.

(DJI160216MWb: 09:43-10:07)

In excerpt (16) above it is perceptible that Khadidiatou claims that she is now adding to her linguistic repertoire, which reduces her use of languages other than Gubëeher and generally makes its use more frequent; however, this is an account she made hesitantly. In many earlier interviews Khadidiatou’s declared language use and intensity more or less aligned with Laurent’s reports, but their statements began to diverge more and more over time, with her claiming to use Gubëeher less actively as initially stated:

(17)

MW_{f2}: Ak Laurent tamit

With Laurent as well

KS2_{f4}: Ak Laurent tamit, yenna say ñu mëna lakk Olof mais Joola moo gëna bare, ak Olof bi moo gëna bare que Baïnounke bi. Baïnounke bi gaawul.

With Laurent as well, sometimes we can speak Olof but Joola is more frequent, and the Olof is more frequent than the Baïnounke. The Baïnounke is not used quickly.

MW_{f2}: Mhm

Mhm

KS2_{f4}: Waaw. Walla comme ni, xey na mu ñëw fekk ma ma wax ak samay morom, mu bëgga ma laaj dara, mu genn ko ci Baïnounke.

Yes. But like here, maybe if he comes and finds me with my equals, and he wants to ask me something, he gets it out in Baïnounke.

(DJI250517MW: 13:28-13:46)

As in other instances, she reports that a Joola language is used the most, followed by Wolof and some Gubëeher, and is even aware that Laurent especially addresses her in his language when she is in company. Coincidentally the information on Khadidiatou's linguistic repertoire was further extended via a visitor from Ñaamon who provoked a change in the linguistic situation through the use of Guñaamolo (the Baïnounk variety of his village), to which Khadidiatou was able to respond. During an interview I addressed this observation:

(18)

KS2_{f4}: Guñaamolo dama koy lakk mais bu njekki bi, bi ma nekkee xale

Guñaamolo I speak that, but at first, when I was a child

?: [woman greets, incomprehensible]

KS2_{f4}: ah?

ah?

?: [incomprehensible]

KS2_{f4}: Yoo. Bi ma nekkee xale, boobu deggoon naa ko damay, parce que dañu dundu ak ñun.

Thank you. When I was a child, I understood it, I, because they lived with us.

MW_{f2}: Fan?

Where?

KS2_{f4}: Foofu Ziguinchor. Dañu doon dundu ak ñun dama doon lakk bi. Waaw. Mais leegi moom dañu lakk, damay degg. Mais pour ma tontu leen ci boobu, duma ki, duma mën.

There in Ziguinchor. They lived with us, I spoke it. Yes. But now now when they speak I can understand. But to answer them in that [the language], I am not, I can't.

(DJI250517MW: 16:12-16:36)

After moving to Jibëeher, Khadidiatou did not leave the household for long periods, except for approximately four months in 2016 when her mother was suffering from severe illness and she decided to move back to the family household in Ziguinchor to help. Unfortunately, her mother passed away and Khadidiatou came back to her family in Jibëeher, where the linguistic situation had changed. Unexpectedly, **LM_{m4}** had to take over a lot more responsibility for their children, whom he generally addresses in Baïnouk Gubëeher, unlike **KS2_{f4}** who mostly uses Joola or Wolof for conversations. In this time, Joola seemed to vanish from the household for the most part, except when initiated by an outsider. However, after Khadidiatou's return to Jibëeher, the use of a Joola language increased drastically due to the fact that she used it as her main language for the four months of her absence, also felt most comfortable using it in the village and even revealed a certain lack of interest in speaking Gubëeher. Yet after some weeks the situation seemed to revert to the previous mix of languages including mainly Joola, Wolof and some Gubëeher in her daily conversations. However, she described this event as an important experience in which she became more aware of her own identity, which was influenced by our conversations in which I brought up the topics of identity and identity language(s) frequently.

During the time of the research Khadidiatou pursued many different tasks in the village, most of which she initiated after moving to Jibëeher. Her income from these goods contributes to the family household and is a source of capital. In collaboration with family members and, depending on the task, a group of four to six women from Jibëeher, she is active in the cultivation of rice and the production of salt. Furthermore, she collects cashew fruit, nuts and other regional fruit that grows on the family's land and is either sold locally or exported to family members in Dakar who serve as distributors. Even though the other women Khadidiatou regularly works with originate from the village, in their conversations they use a mixture of Gubëeher, Joola and Wolof. This results from the fact that Khadidiatou is not comfortable using Gubëeher but is regarded as a well-respected and valuable member of the group. Due to her reliability and hard work, these women express their respect through adjusting to her ethnic orientation and addressing her in a Joola language or Wolof, depending on their own linguistic repertoires. In

addition, Khadidiatou is an active member of the *section feminin* (see §5.4.4) of Jibëeher, attending their monthly meetings and co-organising the two annual *xawaare*, one in Jibëeher and one in Ziguinchor.

In 2016, many years after Khadidiatou ceased to actively practice Islam, she began the process of officially converting to Catholicism, with the aim of being baptised like her children with Laurent. When asked what motivated her decision she responded that heretic couples are not well regarded and further explained that conversion is not a problem since her mother did the same for her husband. The Catholic training she decided to attend lasts for a minimum of three years and takes place twice a week in the church of Brin. The courses are based on Joola Fogny, intermixed with some French. However, depending on the linguistic repertoire of the priests teaching the course, other languages are used. In July 2017 Khadidiatou found work at the Catholic missionary in Brin, where she washes and cleans from Monday till Friday, which influences her former routine⁷².

Khadidiatou made it clear that the Joola language she speaks in the household is the one that she uses most in her life, yet which Joola language she most closely identifies with remains unclear. In contrast to excerpt (11) where Khadidiatou said she only speaks Joola Fogny, she reported in a different interview (10) that she is Joola Buluf and in many other instances that she speaks the Joola she uses in the household everyday, whereas her husband identified her as Joola Jagubel. She additionally understands and uses Joola Kujireray or Joola Kaasa which she reported to speak (intermixed) for instance at the market in Brin or with the family of her sons. Khadidiatou reported that she is able to switch between the Joola varieties if necessary, and that for her, mixing them is common and the natural way of communication. In the household she further speaks Wolof regularly and uses Gubëeher if necessary and if she knows the right terms. Outside the household, or when receiving guests and phone calls, the use of her repertoire changes in adaption to the given situation, including languages like Sose and Sarakhule. In answer to the question of which languages are important to her and which she would like her children to speak, she asserts an apparently rather neutral position towards different languages:

⁷² Since the data collection was closed around that time, it was not possible to find out if and which influences this new social constellation has on her linguistic repertoire and use of her languages.

(19)

MW_{f2}: Leegi ci yow, ban lakk moo gën di am solo?

So for you, which language is more important?

KS2_{f4}: Ban lakk. Mais yepp am na solo.

Which language. But all of them are important.

MW_{f2}: Mhm

Mhm

KS2_{f4}: Mhm, lakk yi yepp am na solo. Mais xanaa boo ko deggul du am solo ci yow, mais boo ko deggee am na solo.

Mhm, all of the languages are important. But maybe if you do not understand it, it is not important for you, but if you understand it, it is important.

MW_{f2}: Ak pour sa xale yi, loo bëgg sa xale ñu lakk?

And for your children, what do you want your children to speak?

KS2_{f4}: Ah kay ñoom ñoo nekk, ñoom ñoo xam lan lañu bëgg. Comme ñu ngi jang dañuy xam ban lakk lañu bëgg, ñu jang ko walla ñu ki ko yepp. Ko lu mu doonee anglais bi espagnol bi yepp. Noom daal ñoom ñoo choisir. Lakk bu leen neexee, ñu ne man bi laa bëgg.

Ah come on they, they are, they know what they want. Because they are learning [in school] they will know what languages they want, they learn it or they 'ki' all of them. If it is the English, the Spanish, all. Really, they are the ones who choose. The language that they like, they can tell me, that is what I want.

(DJI250517MW: 16:50-17:25)

As in excerpt (13) before, Khadidiatou expresses her positive attitude towards her children having many languages in their linguistic repertoire, seems not to have any kind of ranking for languages and does not even place her language of identity, or the language of identity of one of her children's fathers, before others. She gives her children the sole decision on which languages they want to acquire, however interestingly only refers to European languages, which might be due to the colonial history of the country and the concomitant privileging of European over Senegalese languages.

Self-reported language repertoire of **KS2_{f4}** (alphabetical order):

Arabic
Bañounk Gubëeher
Bañounk Guñaamolo
Bayot
Joola Buluf
Joola Fogny
Joola Kaasa
Joola Kujireray
Sarakhule
Sose
Wolof

6.2.3 Jean Pierre Sagna (JPS_{m4})

During the data collection, Jean Pierre was very open in talking about his linguistic repertoire as well as his life history and experiences, which can for instance be observed in the manner and length of his answers to my questions. They reflect the linguistic situation very well, showing further attitudes and ideologies. However, the fact that Jean Pierre lives outside the household from Monday to Friday also shows in his perception of situations as, during the week, he has a different life from the other main participants and participates in a different social structure, which influences his use of language(s) and is displayed in his values.

Jean Pierre Sagna was born in 1972 and is the son of the Ubëeher LBS_{m8} and Ariana Jitesia Biagui[†] in the *gulol* of Èdeŋ and the *bilid* of Janjalaat (see Map (09)). At the time of his birth, Ariana Jitesia was separated from Norbert[†], who is Laurent's father, and was living in the household of her first husband, LBS_{m8}, with whom she had her firstborn son. Jean Pierre therefore lived approximately the first year of his life in the house of his biological father. After this time, Ariana Jitesia faced troubles with LBS_{m8} and she decided to go back to Norbert, together with Jean Pierre. At this time the extended family in Bureer as well as Norbert decided to accept the boy as a full family member in the household, where Jean Pierre resides to date when he is in Jibëeher.

Jean Pierre is the lastborn of his mother. He grew up with his sisters and brothers in their family household in Jibëeher. He attended French public education in the *École primaire de Djibonker* from 1980 to 1989, finished the CM2 and gained the CEPE

certificate. Further education was not possible, even though he wanted to continue, since his father did not earn enough money as a rice farmer, palm wine and palm nuts collector, to fund a higher education elsewhere. While growing up, Jean Pierre reports mainly having spoken Baïnouk Gubëeher at home, but made contact with Wolof, various Joola languages and even other languages (that are not further specified) through his friends, on the street and because of visitors.

After Jean Pierre left school, he decided to move to the north of Senegal, where his oldest brother, with whom he shares both parents, was based to serve in the military. At this time, his brother rented his own places, moving between different districts in Thies with his wife, children and extended family. Jean Pierre arrived there in 1990, began and later completed his training to be a motorbike mechanic.

When asked about Wolof in his repertoire, he refers to his time in Thies, probably since it is the biggest represented language there:

(20)

JPS_{m4}: Kan laa doon commencer lakk Olof. Bon, bi ma commencer lakk Olof kay moom ah mën naa la ne yagg na de. Depuis fi sax dama commencer lakk Olof. Avant ma joge fi, dem Thies. Mais sama Olof setuloon temps boobu. Waaw, mais bi, dem dem dem, noonu laa commencer lu ma dugg ci Olof ni.

When I started to speak Wolof. Good, when I started to speak Wolof, come on, that ah I can tell you is a long time ago. Even here [Jibëeher] I started to speak Wolof. Before I left from here to go to Thies. But my Wolof was not clean [correct] at that time. Yes, but that, go go go [traveling around], that is how I started to enter into Wolof like that.

(DJ1220317MW: 07:35-07:57)

When I further asked him which languages he used while living and working in Thies, he stated that Wolof was the most spoken in that time:

(21)

JPS_{m4}: Sama kër, sama kër Olof. Parce que sama jabar mag kooku Olof laa koy lakkal. Mais Joola, leele Joola dañu lakk Joola tamit. Waaw parce que moom degg na Joola. Leelee Olof, Joola. Mais man ak sama mag, Baïnouk lañu lakk. Comme comme, ak tamit doomam yi degguñu Baïnouk. Ñoom Joola lañu gëna degg, ak Olof. Ñoom loolu lañu lakk foofu. Mais bu de man ak sama mag, boobu Baïñuñouk rekk lañu lakk.

My house, my house Wolof. Because the wife of my older brother, I spoke Wolof to her. But Joola, sometimes Joola, we also speak Joola. Yes because she understands Joola. Sometimes Wolof, Joola. But with my older brother, we speak Baïnouk. Like like, and also, his children do not understand Baïnouk. They understand Joola better, and Wolof. That is what they speak there. But if it is me and my older brother, then we only speak Baïnouk.

(DJ1220317MW: 07:02-07:30)

He further reported that his education as a mechanic as well as the communication with his clients were for the most part in Wolof; he only used a Joola language occasionally when he was aware of the origin of his interlocutors. After four years in Thies, his brother got transferred to serve in Kaolack, another highly Wolof dominated Senegalese city north of The Gambia. Jean Pierre decided to move with him and his family and he began an additional training where he learned how to repair and customise cars. He describes his linguistic repertoire as static at this time due to the fact that he moved together with the people he used to live with in Thies. During the time he was working, he kept speaking Wolof regularly.

He completed this education within a year and new work opportunities opened up for him. Therefore, after only a year in Kaolack, he decided to go back to the Casamance in 1995, since he was sure to find work there and always had in mind the wish to return to his place of origin. Due to the fact that he found work in a mechanics' studio in Ziguinchor, he also moved into the family household in Kandé where Laurent was already living. Being close to the village facilitated visits there and Jean Pierre spent all of his free time, as well as the rainy seasons, in the household where his mother and stepfather were living; he never again stayed at the house of his biological father but visits him regularly. Jean Pierre also became an active member of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* and played football in the team of the *Nawetaan*. Shortly after he came back to the Casamance he even accepted a position in the organisational team of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* and was substantially involved in the planning and construction of the first *Foyer de Djibonker*. During this time, he reports that the local organisation even held some of their reunions in Ziguinchor at his brother's house, since many of the attending members were living there or nearby.

In 1997, while living and working in Ziguinchor, he got to know Louisa Odile; they became a couple and had their first daughter LJS_{f1} in 1999. However, LOG_{f3} and LJS_{f1} remained living in the family household of Louisa's father until 2002, when Jean Pierre reported that he decided to ask her family if she would be allowed to come to Djibonker. Louisa and their daughter then moved into the household of Norbert Manga to live with him and Jean Pierre's mother. Jean Pierre remained in Ziguinchor because of his work and moved into a new apartment with Laurent in the same year. When getting to know Louisa in their first years together, he stated that they only used Wolof to communicate:

(22)

JPS_{m4}: Bon bu njekk Olof. Bu njekk ah, Olof lañu daan rekk. Comme moom degguloon Baïnouk, man tamit dëgguma Njago, Olof lañu lakk.

Ok, at the beginning Wolof. At the beginning, ah we only fell into [communicated in] Wolof. Because she didn't understand Baïnouk, and I also didn't understand Njago. We spoke Wolof.

MW₁₂: Mais leegi baayi ngeen?

But now you stopped?

JPS_{m4}: Ah leegi kay moom, comme mu ñëw fi kay, yagg na fi, degg na Baïnouk, Baïnouk lañu lakk [laughs]

Ah now, come on she, when she came here, she spent a lot of time here, she understands Baïnouk, we speak Baïnouk [laughs]

(DJI260316MWb: 08:28-08:46)

In an informal follow-up conversation, I asked Jean Pierre why they spoke Wolof with each other and not a Joola language (knowing that both of them share Joola languages in their repertoires). He claimed that this was due to getting to know each other in Ziguinchor, where it is, in his opinion, more common to use Wolof, and further that he does not want much Joola to be spoken at his house. Yet, when Louisa came to the village, Jean Pierre reported that she spoke Joola before she started to comprehend Baïnouk, which stands in contrast to her own statements (see §6.2.4):

(23)

JPS_{m4}: Moom deggoon na Joola avant mu ñëw, waaw. Leegi bu mu ñewee fi, ak pa bi ak mere bi yepp Joola lañu doon lakk. Leegi lu mu yagg foofu, yagg yagg yagg yagg, mu commencer dugg ci Baïnouk. Leegi nak, leegi fu mu ne moom Baïnouk complet, waaw. Leegi moom degg na Baïnouk, Joola boobu kay sanni na ko bu yagg. [laughs] Leegi kay Baïnouk rekk.

She understood Joola before she came. Now when she came here [Jibëeher], with both the father and the mother, they spoke Joola. Then, when she was there longer, longer, longer, longer, she started to enter Baïnouk. Now however, where she is now, she has Baïnouk completed, yes. Now she understands Baïnouk, that Joola, come on, she threw it away a long time ago [laughs]. Now, come on, only Baïnouk.

(DJI220317MW: 10:09-10:34)

Interestingly, Jean Pierre speaks about Louisa ‘completing Baïnouk’ as it seems to be possible in his perception to learn a language to perfection and thus conclude the learning process. He then says that she has ‘thrown away’ Joola a long time ago, reflecting his attitude towards using a Joola language as language of communication within the household. When questioning Jean Pierre about the change of his linguistic repertoire through contact with Louisa, and especially about Njago (her language of identification which he reported to influence his life) he answered the following:

(24)

MW₁₂: Kon yow degg nga Njago?

So you understand Njago?

JPS_{m4}: Tuuti rekk [laughs] tuuti rekk. Moom Njago moom fexe na ma ba ne, mais tuuti tuuti, waaw. Bi daal boo waxee, mën naa degg quelques mots. Mais pour ma tontu, bi mooy problem.

Only a little bit, [laughs] only a little bit. This Njago, it influenced me as we say, but [I understand] only a little bit, a little bit, yes. It really, if you are speaking, I can understand some words. But for me to give an answer, that is the problem.

(DJI220417MW: 23:27-23:44)

Like Laurent, Jean Pierre lived in their apartment until the house of his older half-brother in Ziguinchor was finished in 2009. He moved and resides there to date. Jean Pierre and Louisa had another four children who were all born in Jibëeher and they got married within the local tradition, in the church and in the registry in 2010. Until 2011, Jean Pierre was able to organise his time flexibly around his clients and, in addition to the weekends, he spends the rainy season in the village to help in the fields. He further reduced his working time during the cashew harvesting season to help work and earn some extra money, and also took time off for local and Catholic celebrations. During this time of his life he describes a situationally adapted use of his linguistic repertoire in Kandé, the apartment he rented as well as at the household of their brother in Lindiane; however, he stated that in this time he used Wolof most while working.

Then, in 2011 Jean Pierre found a new job as a school bus driver for the Catholic private school ‘Marie Rivier’ in the district of Colobane in Ziguinchor, where he works to date. This meant a change in the flexibility of organising his life, since he is obliged to work every school day of the year. He is therefore restricted to coming to the village Saturday mornings till Monday mornings, following the official school holidays of Senegal. He reported that as a result he left the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* as an active member to be able to focus on his family and to have more time to take on responsibilities at the family household. However, during his time in Ziguinchor, he still takes on work as a mechanic in his free time or while he is waiting for the children to finish the school day. He also made clear many times that he is only living and working in Ziguinchor to be able to provide for his family but will move back to the village whenever the opportunity arises to find work there or afford commuting. During his work for the Catholic private school, he describes his language use as follows:

(25)

JPS_{m4}: Sama liggey bon, Français, parce que fêlé avec nos seures la, on nous exiger de parler Français. Man ak kooku, Français lañu lakk. Mais avec nous, mes mes collegues la, mes collegues chauffeur, ñun Olof lañu lakk. Waaw, bu ñu nekk entre nous ni, dañu lakk Olof. Avec nos patrons Français, waaw.

My work well, French, because there with our sisters [nuns] there, we are required to speak French. Me and them, we are speaking French. But with our, my my colleagues there, my driver colleagues, we are speaking Wolof. Yes, when we are among us, we are speaking Wolof. With our bosses French, yes.

MW_{f2}: Ak xale yi?

With the children?

JPS_{m4}: Ak xale yi oui, il faut paler aussi. Xale yi c'est forcé nous on parle Français avec les enfants. Ça c'est obligé, c'est normal. C'est un droit comme nous a [incomprehensible]

With the children yes, we need to speak as well. The children, it is forced that we speak French with the children. That is mandatory, it is normal. It is a right like we have [incomprehensible]

MW_{f2}: Aha, c'est un droit

Aha, it is a right

JPS_{m4}: Ah, ça c'est forcé. Avec les enfants il le faut que de parle Français. Parce que si tu parle Olof et qu'on te prend, on va [clicking sound]

Ah, that is forced. With the children, we need to speak French. Because if you speak Wolof and they catch you, we will [negating clicking sound]

MW_{f2}: Mhm

Mhm

JPS_{m4}: Tu auras une amende à payer. Parce que

You will have a fine to pay. Because

MW_{f2}: Mhm, lu tax dañu

Mhm, why are they

JPS_{m4}: C'est la loi, c'est leur loi. On nous a exigé de parler Français. C'est pour permettre aussi les enfants de bien parler Français. Parce que si tu viens à l'école et que tu ne parle pas Français c'est pas la peine. Il ne faut pas aller à l'école et parler Olof. C'est pas bon. Et puisque du apprendre le Français donc il faut parler le Français.

It is the law, it is their law. We are required to speak French. It is also to enable the children to speak good French. Because if you go to school and you do not speak French it is not worth the effort. You do not have to go to school and speak Wolof. This is not good. And because you learn French, you also need to speak French.

MW_{f2}: Leegi danga lakk Français ak sa xale yi tamit?

So do you speak French with your children as well?

JPS_{m4}: Oui, oui, souvent. Par tellement souvent bu ma leen di jangale.

Yes, yes, frequently. Not so frequently, when I am teaching them.

(DJI260316MWb: 09:26-10:52)

In a debriefing to this interview he further added that he did not use French often in the time between leaving school and starting this new job. Due to entering work in the private school and re-entering a formal French system, he uses French more frequently and became more accustomed to French conversations. Here it is further important to remark that at the time of the interview we were both aware that I have never observed Jean Pierre speaking French with his children, even though I had spent long periods in their family home. However, with my slightly provocative question at the end of the excerpt above, I might not have granted him any scope to react differently with his answer.

When asking Jean Pierre which languages he generally speaks, a question enabled by his great willingness to share information, he repeatedly responded with Baïnouk Gubëeher, Joola Buluf, Joola Fogny, Joola Kaasa, Joola Banjal (which he sometimes calls Joola Enampore), Joola Brin (synonymous with Joola Kujireray), Wolof, French, but also included some Njago (see (24)) and Bayot in different conversations as can be seen in (27) below, where he answers the question of which languages he uses his in daily life but then automatically falls into talking about his linguistic repertoire. When asking him where he learned all of the languages he knows, he stated:

(26)

MW₁₂: Leegi foo ko jangee?

So where have you learned it?

JPS_{m4}: Ah fi! Fi, bon, leelee dangay tomber, nga waxtaan ak ko xam ni foofu la joge, bu ñëwee, mën ngeen waxtaan, ndank ndank. Mais ñun fi moom, ki nga xam ni fi la juddoo, kooku moom, force nga degg lakk yooyu. Parce que leelee dangay dem cotê boobu, ay sortie walla leneen bu am foofu. Boo demee ba fe il faut nga lakk ak ñoom. Te Joola boobu lañu lakk. Parce que ñoom Joola boobu lañu la lakk, te danga obliger tamit nga lakkal leen, Joola boobu.

Ah here! Here, well, sometimes you are falling [starting to speak a language], you speak with someone you know where they come from, if they are coming, you can speak, slowly slowly. But we here, when you know he is born here, with this one, you are forced to speak this other language. Because sometimes you go to another side [travel somewhere else], going out or attending something else that is going on there. If you go all the way there, you need to speak with them. And they are speaking that Joola. And because they are speaking Joola, you are also obliged to address them in their Joola.

(DJI220417MW: 24:20-24:56)

(27)

JPS_{m4}: Bon je dirais que, presque tout les dialectes, parce que, ça depend. Comme ni ma nekke ak yow, yow degg nga Olof, ma degg Olof, ñu lakk Olof. Kenneen bu ñëwee, lakk bu ma lakkal, dinaa waxtaan ak moom. Muy Joola, muy Français, muy Olof. Bon Sereer rekk laa mënul, ak ah Kreol. Kreol moom dëgguma ko. Loolu moom, ku ñëw lakkal ma loolu ma ne loolu degguma. Ak Sose, Sose tamit, je ne parle même pas un mot.

Well, I would say that, almost all the dialects, because, it depends. Like when I am with you, you speak Wolof, I understand Wolof, we speak Wolof. If someone else comes, I will speak with them the language with which they address me. Is it Joola, is it French, is it Wolof. Well I only can't [speak] Sereer, and ah Kreol. This Kreol I don't understand it. This, if someone comes and addresses me in that, I tell him I do not understand. And Sose, also Sose, I do not even speak one word.

MW_{f2}: Bayot?

Bayot?

JPS_{m4}: Hm?

Hm?

MW_{f2}: Dangay lakk Bayot?

Do you speak Bayot?

JPS_{m4}: Bayot, Bayot un peu bon. Damay frôler quelques mots rekk. Waaw, boobu moom ayuma ci. Bayot ah? Eh bëgg naa ko nak, mais xam nga rekk. Et puis j'ai des cohabitants à Ziguinchor. Ñoom bu ñu ñëwee sax Bayot dañu may lakk. Mais qu'à même je me débrouille ak ñoom. Waaw, dañu waxtaan, après bu ma forse ñu ne ma, no no, du noonu lañu wax, ni lañu def. Ma ne ah, d'accord. Ni lañu wax, ni lañu wax. Noonu laa commencer lakk, tuuti nak, damay jang, waaw, damay jang. Mais qu'à même, boo waxee ni damay ko degg. Boo lakkee ni, ak Bayot, dama ko degg. Damay xam loo bëgga wax mais pour ma tontu la, loolu moo nekk sama problem.

Bayot, Bayot well a little bit. I only pick up some words. Yes, this one, I am not leading in it. Bayot ah? Eh how I like it, but you just know. And then I have some cohabitants in Ziguinchor. Even when they are coming, they speak Bayot to me. But somehow, I can manage with them. Yes, we are speaking, then if I force it they tell me, no no, this is not what we say, this is how we do it. I tell them ah, agreed. They are saying this, they are saying this. That is how I started to speak, a little bit, I am learning, yes, I am learning. But also, when you talk to me I can understand it. If you say this, in Bayot, I can understand it. I will know what you want to say but to answer you, that is what is my problem.

(DJI260316MWb: 12:02-13:17)

Here it was further notable that he starts his statement with a sentence completely worded in French and refers to the other languages as 'dialects'. Yet this is the only instance in which using the term in this way was recorded and it was also not apparent in our informal conversations. Therefore, as later confirmed in a conversation, the use of this term *dialects* within a French sentence derives from his experiences and habits in the

French Catholic private school in which Senegalese languages are still often referred to as *dialects* by some of his supervisors.

He further reported that one of his objectives is to learn English, because he thinks it could be important to converse with strangers, and Kreol, since this could open up new possibilities for him to work as a driver who travels internationally. According to his own statement proficiency in Kreol is necessary to find a place as a border-crossing driver able to go to Guinea-Bissau, a job change he strives for since it would allow him to plan his time more freely and spend more time in the village. However, at that point our conversation took an interesting turn as he started to compare the people from The Gambia with those in Guinea-Bissau:

(28)

JPS_{m4}: Mais Gambie tane na, ñoom dañu lakk Olof.

But The Gambia is better [than Guinea-Bissau], they are speaking Wolof.

MW_{f2}: Dañu lakk, waaw

They are speaking, yes

JPS_{m4}: Seen Olof moo setul mais. Xam nga seen Olof dañu melanger ak eh l'Anglais. Waaw, ñoom noonu la. Ñoom tane na, bon, bu ñu lakkee Olof dinga degg. Mais tandis que a l'autre cotê ñoom degguñu dara, ñoom Kreol rekk.

Their Wolof is not clean but. You know their Wolof, they mix it with eh English. Yes, they are doing that. They are better, well, if they speak Wolof you will understand. But whereas on the other side they don't understand anything, they only [understand] Kreol.

(DJI260316MWb: 16:46-17:06)

On the one hand he prefers The Gambia, or at least their language use, over Guinea-Bissau due to the fact that people speak Wolof, but on the other hand claims that their Wolof is not 'pure' because they mix it with English, even though he himself mixes his Wolof with French in exactly the same utterance (as he does frequently). This clearly shows that he accords his own use of Wolof a higher status than that of The Gambia.

Since Jean Pierre shows a rather strong attitude towards certain languages, we engaged in deeper discussion of his reported use of languages both in the village and outside, which led the discussion to his experience and perception of the borders of Baïnouk Gubëeher:

(29)

JPS_{m4}: Baïnouk, fi la yem. Suñu Baïnouk, fi la yeem Djibonker fi. Même ñu dekk fi Brin, ñu bare degguñu Baïnouk. Quelques'un, quelques'un, ñu degg Baïnouk ah, barewul. Mais ni ci desee moom, parce que autant bon waa Brin dañu doon saboteur. Ñun bu ñu lakkee suñu lakk ñu ne, [negating click sound] ni seen lakk bi doo xam, ungun ungun ungun ungun ungun ungun, leegi doo xam lan lañu doon wax. Leegi dañu doon saboter. Parce que bëgguñu ko degg. Ñu ne leen d'accord, toog leen foofu. Bi ngeen bëgg degg Baïnouk dinañu leen dax parce que lakk bi ngeen wax ni, doleen ko mēsa degg. Te ñun degg nañu seen Baïnouk, seen seen lakk. Ñun su ñu demee foofu dañu lakk ak ñoom normal. Ñoom tamit bu ñu ñewee fi ñu lakkal leen ak seen boss. Mais suñu boss, ñoom duñu ko mēna lakk. Waaw, fu nekke ni moom, ñu ko deggee bareul [negating click sound].

Baïnouk stops here. Our Baïnouk, it stops here in Djibonker. Even the ones who live in Brin, many of them do not understand Baïnouk. Some of them, some of them speak Baïnouk, ah, it is not a lot. But what is still missing [in their proficiency], because the people from Brin were some saboteurs as well. When we spoke our language they said, [negating clicking sound] you don't know how their language works, 'ungun ungun ungun ungun ungun ungun', so you are not going to know what they have been saying. So they have been sabotaging. Because they did not want to understand it. We told them ok, just stay there. If you want to understand Baïnouk we are going to chase you away because the language we are speaking here, you are not able to understand it. Because we understand their Baïnouk [mistakenly said 'Baïnouk'], their their language. We, if we go there we speak their language normal. Also, they, if they come here we speak theirs to them. But ours, they are not going to be able to speak it. Yes, where they are standing at the moment, who understands it are not many [negating click sound].

(DJ1220317MW: 25:02-25:55)

Within the time of collecting data, several participants expressed similar statements in and outside of Jibëcher. Although the reasons why people from outside the village do not easily acquire Baïnouk are arguable, this tendency was observed constantly. When following up and asking how he perceives the linguistic situation and use of languages in their own household, he then answered as follows:

(30)

JPS_{m4}: Ñun fi amul beneen lakk, xanaa gan, ko xam ni deggul Baïnouk, walla, ñu jëla jël Olof walla Joola. Mais bu de fi ci kër fi, no Baïnouk rekk, Baïnouk rekk. Waaw, foofu amul beneen lakk [negating click sound]

We here do not have another language, maybe guests, from who you know they do not speak Baïnouk, or, we are taking Wolof or Joola. But if it is here in the house, only Baïnouk, only Baïnouk. Yes there is no other language [negating click sound].

(DJ1220417MW: 20:00-20:16)

(31)

JPS_{m4}: Fi eh c'est rar. Parce que fi, Joola, bu ma lakkee Joola, xanaa jabar Laurent, jabar Laurent. Waaw kooku moom Joola laay lakk. Leegi la commencer di lakk Baïnounk tuuti tuuti, parce que deggagul Baïnounk. Mais moom Joola lay lakk, ou bien Olof. Waaw, ci ñaari yooyu. Mais Joola lañu gëna lakk, bu de dañu am waxtaan ni ak moom, Joola lañu gëna lakk wala Olof.

It is rare here. Because here, Joola, if I speak Joola, maybe Laurent's wife, Laurent's wife. Yes to her I speak Joola. She just starts to speak Baïnounk a little bit now, because she does not understand Baïnounk yet. But she does speak Joola, or Wolof. Yes, one of these two. But we speak more Joola, if we have a conversation with with her, we are speaking more Joola or Wolof.

MW₁₂: Ak Olof, danga ko utilisier fi?

And Wolof, do you use it here?

JPS_{m4}: Oui, de temps en temps. Mais bareul ah, bareul. Ak moom laay wax de, ak moom. Waaye comme kë moom deggagul Baïnounk, moo tax dañu ko lakkal noonu. Mais comme kë leegi mu ngi commencer degg Baïnounk, tuuti tuuti. Leegi fu ma ne ni moom bu demee bu degg Baïnounk moom, loolu yepp, kenn du ko lakk.

Yes, from time to time. But not a lot, ah, not a lot. With her I speak it, with her. But because she does not speak Baïnounk yet, that is why we speak it to her. But how she now starts to speak Baïnounk, a little bit. Now here I say that she, if she goes until she speaks Baïnounk, all of that [other languages], no one is going to speak them.

(DJI220317MW: 11:43-12:31)

Here, as in many other excerpts, Jean Pierre's attitude towards Baïnounk Gubëeher is clearly expressed. Starting with the statement that there is no other language in their household, he then corrects himself. This probably happened due to the fact that we discussed the topic more than once and jointly revised data that was collected in the household; therefore, we both were aware that other languages are present frequently and his statement seemed slightly conflicting. However, he then concludes with the prediction that there will only be Baïnounk spoken in the household as soon as Khadidiatou, Laurent's wife, is proficient enough.

Following up about the children and the Wolof in their linguistic repertoire, he gets confused by my question due to the fact that he is aware of the focus of my research and that I also used Wolof to speak to the children daily. Even though the question might have been observed as marked, in his answer, which slightly differs from his statement in (25), he reports the school and the teachers as a possible source for their proficiency in Wolof:

(32)

MW₁₂: Leegi sa xale yi ñepp dañu degg Olof?

Now all of your children understand Wolof?

JPS_{m4}: Waaw, ni ni kay moom, ñi ñepp dañu degg Olof. Boo la waxee ak Olof kay nu tontu la. Olof kay

Yes, that that come on, all of them are understanding Wolof. If you speak Wolof to them, come on, they answer you in Wolof. Wolof come on

MW₁₂: Fan lañu ko jangee?

Where did they learn it?

JPS_{m4}: Ah mais fi, dañu deglu ngay lu ñu waxee, mooy surtout bu ñu dem ecole tamit, leelee tamit, ak seen moroom yi dañu wax Olof. Waaw leelee ñu wax Français, waaw, ça depend. Xam nga seen maîtresse yi, bu ñew de, am na lu ñu expliquer, degguñu ak Français, ñu lakkal leen Olof comme ça ñu comprendre lu ñu bëgga wax. Waaw, loolu lañu wax pour ñu comprendre. Leelee ñu commencer di wax.

Ah but here, they are listening to the people what they say, it is also, especially also when they go to school, sometimes also, with their age mates they speak Wolof. Yes, sometimes they speak French, yes, it depends. You know their teachers, if it comes to it, that they have something that they explain and they do not understand it with French, they address them in Wolof, so that they can understand what they want to say. Yes, that is what they are saying for them to understand. Sometimes they start to speak [it].

(DJI220317MW: 13:21-14:00)

However, Jean Pierre clearly reports Baïnouk as the most important language for himself, but also expresses that he is proud of his French, which he reports to have improved in the last years:

(33)

JPS_{m4}: Ah bon d'abord sama lakk moo ma gëna neex, Baïnouk. Moom moo ma gëna neex. Bon après, c'est le Français. Parce que maintenant je parle Français. Et le Olof aussi, oui, ça me plait beaucoup parce que mën naa la ne moom laa gëna lakk sax. Parce que Ziguinchor, moom la, moom lay ëpp wax. Même sama kër muy ailleurs leelee dama koy lakk. Avec ma femme ku nekk Ziguinchor, mooy sama jabar mag bi, bon kooku Brin lañuy wax, waa Brin, Joola Brin lañuy wax. Boobu dey fekk ñun à deux quoi. Mais bu de ak ñeneen, Olof lañuy gëna lakk. Man sama lakk moo ma gëna neex. Waaw, le Baïnouk, moom moo ma gëna neex, waaw.

Ah well at first my language is the best for me, Baïnouk. It is the best for me. Well after that, it is French. Because now I speak French. And also Wolof, yes, I like it a lot because I can tell you, this is the language I speak even the most. Because Ziguinchor, it is there, there I speak it the most. Even in my house in addition, sometimes I speak it. With my wife who is in Ziguinchor, who is the wife of my older brother, well with her we speak Brin, people from Brin, we speak Joola Brin with them. If it happens that it is just us two. But if it is with others, we speak more Wolof. For me, my language is the best. Yes, Baïnouk, it is the best for me, yes.

(DJI260316MWb: 13:23-14:10)

Differing from what I expected through many conversations we had, he cites an interesting order of languages that he considers important for his children to learn:

(34)

JPS_{m4}: Ah mais sama boss! Sama lakk d'abord, bala ma lakk leneen, sama lakk d'abord. Man kay boobu laa gëna preferer. Parce que man, fu ma tollu moom, fu ma gisee samay morom rekk moom laay lakk. Mème Dakar ou fu ma dem, fu ma daje ak waa Djibonker rekk, Baïnouk laa koy lakk. Duma jël Olof sax! [negating click sound] Baïnouk laa koy lakkal. Leegi bu nara continuer ak Olof, dañu doora continuer ak Olof. Mais Baïnouk lañu njëkka commencer, waaw. Ku deggee Baïnouk moom, su ma ko gisee rekk, Baïnouk laa koy lakk. Loolu moom, man ni prefer que sama lakk moo moo gëna siiw sax.

Ah but my own one! My language first, before I speak another one, my language at first. Come on, this is what I prefer most. Because I, wherever I go to, where I just see my equals I speak it. Even in Dakar or wherever I go, where I meet people from Djibonker, I speak Baïnouk with them. I wont even take [use] Wolof! [negating click sound] I am addressing them in Baïnouk. Now if it has to continue in Wolof, we start to continue in Wolof. But we are at first beginning with Baïnouk, yes. We understand Baïnouk, if I only see them, I speak Baïnouk with them. This is, I would even like that my language is even more famous.

MW_{f2}: Ak après? Après Baïnouk?

And then? After Baïnouk?

JPS_{m4}: Bon, après Baïnouk, peut être le Joola, Baïnouk, après Joola, Joola bon, après maintenant yeneen yi Olof ou Français, ça depend. Mais en tout cas Baïnouk après Joola la. Parce que lañu ki ni. Baïnouk Joola, Baïnouk Joola, waaw.

Well, after Baïnouk maybe Joola, Baïnouk, then Joola, Joola well, after that now the others Wolof or French, it depends. But in any case it is Baïnouk and then Joola. Because of we 'ki' [use it] here. Baïnouk Joola, Baïnouk Joola, yes.

MW_{f2}: Mais ban Joola?

But which Joola?

JPS_{m4}: Joola, Joola bon. Le Joola c'est un peut different, parce que comme li ma la wax rekk, il y a plusieurs Joola. Il y a Joola Buluf, Joola Kaasa, Joola Banjal, Joola Brin, tout ça c'est Joola. Mais c'est un peut different.

Joola, Joola well. The Joola is a little bit different, because, like I just told you, there are several Joolas. There is Joola Buluf, Joola Kaasa, Joola Banjal, Joola Brin, all of that is Joola. But it is a bit different.

MW_{f2}: Mhm

Mhm

JPS_{m4}: Waaw. Mais loolu yepp, man mën naa ko lakk, man mën naa ko lakk.

Yes, but all of that, I can speak it, I can speak it.

MW_{f2}: Leegi pour sa doom, loo, lan moo gën di am solo?

So for your children, what do you, what is more important?

JPS_{m4}: Pour sama doom. Comme li ma la wax rekk, Baïnouk, ñoom kay il faut ñu commencer Baïnouk d'abord. Bu ñu xamee fi sama lakk original mooy Baiïnouk, boobu boo setee, ñu doora lakk yeneen lakk yi. Xam nga ku nekk, ku nekk ak ah sa ethnie. Ku nekk ak maanam fi fi nga judoo, fi nga magee, fi nga yaroo. Ak sa waajur yi, fu ñu maggee, fu ñu, moom loolu yepp mooy racine principale. Il faut nga commencer foofu, bala nga yeeg ci kanam. Mais doo mēna dem fēle, ba pare nga waccaat nga fekke sa boss. No no no [negating click sound]. Tu commencer sa boss. Ba pare nga yeeg, voila. Moo tax ñu commencer si Baïnouk, bala ñu dem si Joola, Olof, Français, dem ci kow. Même Anglais ou ça depend, voila.

For my children. Like I just told you, Baïnouk, they, come on, they have to start with Baïnouk at first. If they know my original language here is Baïnouk, if that is clear, they will start to speak the other languages. You know whoever exists, whoever exists has their ethnicity. Whoever exists has their importance where, where you are born, where you grow up, where you are brought up. And your parents, where they grew up, where they, all of that is the principle root. You have to start there, before you can go ahead. But you won't be able to go somewhere else, and then you come back and find your own [origin/language]. No no no [negating click sound]. You start with your own. If you are done, you go ahead, voila. This is why we start in Baïnouk, before we go to Joola, Wolof, French, we go to the top. Even English or it depends, voila.

(DJ1220317MW: 26:42-29:09)

Similar to (23) **JPS_{m4}** gives the impression that languages can and should be acquired until good mastery before others can be learned, and one can move forward, or as he calls it 'go ahead' or 'go to the top'. This however varies widely from how most of the individuals in the area acquire language(s) and rather refers to a system in which stacking languages on top of each other is possible. Additionally, he (as other main participants report as well) seems not to reflect a lot on possible mixtures of languages in this statement, though he clearly expresses a positive attitude towards Wolof.

Even though at some earlier point in the research I had the feeling Jean Pierre was more focused on distinguishing himself through his French, which was possibly influenced through his job and by my presence, this changed during our cooperation. He is clearly proud of being a proficient French speaker, however, and lists French as one of the last languages he wants his children to learn, even though this seems slightly out of touch with reality since all of his children were acquiring different languages simultaneously at the time of the interview.

Self-reported language repertoire of **JPS_{m4}** (alphabetical order):

Bainounk Gubëeher
Bayot
French
Joola Banjal / Joola Enampore
Joola Buluf
Joola Fogny
Joola Kaasa
Joola Brin
Njago
Wolof

6.2.4 Louisa Odile Gomis (LOG₃)

Louisa is a very open and curious character, however the presence of recording devices directed toward her effected a change in her personality. Even though she seemed like she felt at ease answering my questions, the equipment and interview shortened Louisa's responses significantly, as is visible in the transcriptions of the interviews compared to the more unconstrained situations where she speaks freely (see e.g. chapter 7 below). This chapter therefore refers to a lot of data that was collected without electronic equipment. She has never before been in direct contact with someone collecting data or asking detailed questions about her life and it sometimes felt unnatural to ask direct questions, therefore we were involved in more natural conversations where I also disclosed information on my private life.

Louisa Odile Gomis was born in 1980. The information she provided about her place of birth, the first years of her life, as well as the origin of her mother, differed during data collection. In one of our first interviews that was video recorded she stated the following:

(35)

MW₁₂: Fan, fan nga judd?

Where were you born?

LOG₁₃: Fan laa judd?

Where I was born?

MW₁₂: Mhm

Mhm

LOG₁₃: Man Guine Kobiana laa judd.

I was born in Guinea Kobiana

MW₁₂: Fan?

Where?

LOG₁₃: Guine Kobiana

Guinea Kobiana

MW₁₂: Guine Kobiana

Guinea Kobiana

LOG₁₃: Aha

Aha

MW₁₂: Guine Kobiana. Fan la?

Guinea Kobiana. Where is that?

LOG₁₃: Guine.

Guinea.

(DJI270116MW: 01:03-01:17)

Later in the interview, concerning the origin of her family, she said the following:

(36)

MW₁₂: Ak sa waajur, sa papa ak sa yaaye, fan lañu joge?

And your parents, your dad and your mother, where are they from?

LOG₁₃: Sama yaaye ak sama Papa

My mother and my father

MW₁₂: Mhm

Mhm

LOG₁₃: Sama papa Guinee la joge.

My dad is from Guinea.

MW₁₂: Mhm. Ak sa yaaye?

Mhm. And your mother?

LOG_B: Sama yaaye tamit Guinee la joge. Mhm, sama yaaye tamit Guinee la joge. Mais sama yaaye Joola la.

My mother also comes from Guinea. Mhm, my mother also comes from Guinea. But my mother is Joola.

MW_{F2}: Sa yaaye Joola la. Ak sa papa?

Your mother is Joola. And your father?

LOG_B: Sama papa Njago.

My father is Njago.

(DJI270116MW: 03:20-03-37)

Differing from the other main participants, her answers were always kept short, which resulted in me asking longer questions than receiving answers. In the first year and a half of the research she however iterated her life history as beginning in Kobiana (a village in Guinea-Bissau) many times. She further claimed that this is where she learned to speak Njago from her dad, who is reported to identify as Njago, and Joola from her mother, who also comes from Guinea-Bissau but is reported to identify as Joola (which was not further specified at that point). Later when she was six or seven years old she came to Ziguinchor with her whole family, where they lived in the district of Djabiir. Then, in an interview in 2017, which I conducted with the aim of following up on some information, she answered the following:

(37)

MW_{F2}: Yow ahm judd nga 1980, walla?

You ahm were born in 1980, isn't it?

LOG_B: Waaw

Yes

MW_{F2}: Fan lawoon exactement?

Where exactly was that?

LOG_B: Toubacouta.

Toubacouta.

MW_{F2}: Toubacouta. Ah Toubacouta nga judd?

Toubacouta. Ah you were born in Toubacouta?

LOG_B: Waaw

Yes

MW_{F2}: Toubacouta ci Senegal?

Toubacouta in Senegal?

LOG_B: Waaw

Yes

MW₁₂: Ah ok. Après sa yaaye foofu la nekkoon?

Ah ok. And then your mother was there?

LOG₁₃: Sama yaaye, Toubacouta waaw

My mother, Toubacouta yes

MW₁₂: Leegi, sa yaaye Toubacouta la joge?

So, your mother comes from Toubacouta?

LOG₁₃: Ndax foofu la joge?

If she comes from there?

MW₁₂: Mhm

Mhm

LOG₁₃: Waaw

Yes

MW₁₂: Ah ok. Kon sa yaaye Senegal la joge?

Ah ok. So, your mother is from Senegal?

LOG₁₃: Waaw.

Yes.

MW₁₂: Ak sa Pap?

And your dad?

LOG₁₃: Sama Papa Guinean la.

My dad is Guinean.

MW₁₂: Sa Pap Guinean la. Leegi foofu nga judd, après?

Your dad is Guinean. So you are born there, and then?

LOG₁₃: Toubacouta laa judd apres ma ñew fi Ziguinchor.

I am born in Toubacouta and then I came here to Ziguinchor.

MW₁₂: Après Toubacouta, directement ci Ziguinchor. Wala maggoon nga foofu tuuti?

After Toubacouta directly to Ziguinchor. Or did you grow up there for a bit?

LOG₁₃: Deedeet, Toubacouta tuuti rekk, comme, par rapport comme Henry rekk.

No, Toubacouta only a little bit, like only, compared with Henry.

MW₁₂: Henry ñaata at la am?

How old is Henry?

LOG₁₃: Henry neuf ans.

Henry, nine years

(DJI230317MW: 00:15-01:17)

In this interview I did not expect an answer that differed from former information I had collected, and this sudden change clearly surprised me, which is also visible in the way I continued asking my questions. After she retold her story, I then followed up later in the interview, when she stated the following:

(38)

MW₁₂: Mais ki man foogoon naa yow Kobiana nga joge, walla?

But that, I thought that you are coming from Kobiana, isn't it?

LOG₁₃: Waaw! Kobiana laa joge. Waaye judduma foofu.

Yes! I come from Kobiana. But I was not born there.

MW₁₂: Juddoo foofu.

You were not born there.

LOG₁₃: [negating click sound] Sama papa waa Kobiana la.

[negating] *My dad is from Kobiana.*

(DJI230317MW: 03:41-04:04)

Since Louisa must have felt my confusion, and I also did not want to irritate her with my questions about her personal history, I did not further follow up on that day. Later she came to me herself and clarified that she, as it is common in the area, identifies with the culture of her father and therefore originates from the village of her father, even though she was not born there. She is proud of her origin and patrimonial identity, as described in Lüpke (2016b), and the particularization of information might have been influenced by our relationship, which strengthened over time as her trust in me augmented. She later explained in an informal conversation that my questions at the beginning of the research even led her to follow up on her life history with her family members in Ziguinchor to get more information about her relatives, origin and the place she lived the first few years of her life. She then further explained that her mother comes from a Joola Fogny village called Djihunk, close to Guinea-Bissau and Toubacouta. She specified the Joola of her mother as “Joola côtè Guninee” (Joola from the Guinean side), and further explained that maternal grandfather originates from Guinea-Bissau and she therefore reported that her mother comes from there. However, she could not specify the year or her age when she came to Ziguinchor.

Arriving in the city, she lived in one household with her parents and older siblings, who arrived before her. There she reported that their language behaviour in the household did not change from when they were living in Toubacouta; with her father and her siblings she continued speaking mainly Njago but spoke Joola with her mother since she never learned to speak Njago. She further reported that she became proficient in Kreol which she learned from fellow lodgers. Later, when she was a little bit older, she also acquired Wolof from her siblings and neighbours and on the street. Even though her family is Catholic, in the household in Ziguinchor Louisa was in regular contact with Muslims,

which influenced her linguistic repertoire since she seems to use more Arabic metaphors and terms than the other Catholic family members in Jibëeher, and even more than **KS2_{f4}** who had an Islamic education.

Unfortunately, not long after they arrived in Ziguinchor, her father passed away which also motivated her younger siblings to move from the village to the city. However, when asked about her siblings she only states that many of them died; this question is clearly uncomfortable for her, and I therefore did not follow up. Louisa never had the chance to have any formal education, and therefore clearly states that she doesn't speak or understand any French (for a further discussion on that statement see §7.1.4) and reports herself as illiterate. This might further contribute to the fact that her answers concerning certain dates of events differ.

In Ziguinchor, as mentioned before, she met Jean Pierre and became pregnant with LJS_{f1} who was born in 1999 in the household of Louisa's father. Louisa and her daughter lived in the household for some time, but Louisa and LJS_{f1} also travelled to Kobia in Guinea-Bissau for a couple of months to get closer to the culture and origin of Louisa's father. Then, in the beginning of 2002, Louisa came to live with Jean Pierre's mother and stepfather in Djibonker, where they had another four children. They got traditionally married, but also had a ceremony in the church and went to the registry in Ziguinchor in 2010. Now that she has a husband and a family in Djibonker, she only goes to see her mother and relatives in Ziguinchor from time to time but calls regularly.

From the beginning of Louisa's arrival in Djibonker, she has integrated well, and very enthusiastically takes part in village activities. She plays an important role in the association of the *Jeunesse de Djibonker*, has a leading position in the *Section Feminine* and is a member of the church association *Association des femmes Catholiques*. In addition to being an active member in these associations, Louisa volunteers to cook for the children in the *École Primaire de Djibonker* every day of the week during school time and is therefore also in close contact with the village grain bank. In her free time in the afternoon, she prepares snacks like peanuts, fataya (fried snack) and other things, depending on what is available and sells them on the street next to the school to earn some money. She has furthermore organised a garden in the school area where she supervises the children growing vegetables, which are sold to the villagers. The money they earn there is then used to improve the lunches they can cook for the children. In the rainy season, and whenever there are school holidays, Louisa collects fruit in the forest to resell. During the first years of the relationship with Jean Pierre and also when Louisa arrived in the village, she reports speaking mostly Wolof:

(39)

LOG_B: Bi ma fi sooga ñew, Olof. Parce-que dëggumawoon seen lakk bi, waaw.

When I first arrived here, Wolof. Because I did not understand their language, yes.

(DJI270116MW: 06:28-06:33)

Asked about Jean Pierre's mother who did not speak a lot of Wolof, she replies that she communicated in Joola with her and that her use of Joola even increased with the arrival of Khadidiatou in 2014. When asked about the linguistic repertoire of LJS_{FI}, who grew up in the household of Louisa's father for the first two and a half years of her life, she reported as follows, while at the same time claiming not to use Njago in the household:

(40)

LOG_B: Bu mu nekkee xale, foofu, dafa doon lakk Njago mais leegi deggatul.

When she was a child, there, she did speak Njago but now she does not understand anymore.

MW_{F2}: Deggatul.

She does not understand anymore.

LOG_B: [negating click sound]

[negation]

MW_{F2}: Mais doo ko lakkal

But aren't you now speaking to her?

LOG_B: [laughs] Duma koy lakkal.

[laughs] *I don't speak it to her.*

MW_{F2}: Aha?

Aha?

LOG_B: Ñoom ñepp degguñu Njago.

All of them [children] do not understand Njago.

MW_{F2}: Lu tax?

Why?

LOG_B: Man maa leen du lakkal rekk.

I am the one who just doesn't speak it to them.

MW_{F2}: Lu tax doo leen lakk?

Why are you not speaking [it] to them?

LOG_B: Baïnounk bi moo gëna [claps] jël yepp. waaw, xam nga fi man kese maa koy lakk, waaw. Su ma ko day lakk man kese, moo tax ñoom degguñu dara

Baïnounk is the one [claps] that takes all here, yes, you know here I am the only one who speaks it, yes. If I speak it here I am alone, that is why they don't understand anything.

MW₁₂: Leegi su ñu demee ci sa mbokk, lan lañu lakk?

Now, if they go to your relatives, what are they speaking?

LOG₁₃: Olof.

Wolof.

MW₁₂: Olof.

Wolof.

LOG₁₃: Olof, ak sama yaaye Joola.

Wolof, with my mother Joola.

(DJI230317MW: 06:29-07:03)

Even though Louisa stated that she did use Wolof and Joola when she first arrived in Jibëeher, her linguistic repertoire changed quickly and she became proficient in Gubëeher:

(41)

MW₁₂: Kañ nga ko jangee?

When did you learn it?

LOG₁₃: Fan laa ko jangee?

Where I have learned it?

MW₁₂: Mhm

Mhm

LOG₁₃: Fi.

Here.

MW₁₂: Fi?

Here?

LOG₁₃: Fi laa ko jangee. Suñu lakk, suñu lakk dafa xawaa ñiiroo ak boss ñoom Laurent.

I have learned it here. Our language, our language is a little bit similar with the one of Laurent's people.

(DJI270116MW: 05:45-05:57)

Interestingly, here she claims that her language, Njago, and Gubëeher are similar, a statement I have not heard elsewhere. She also refers to the language Bāinounk Gubëeher as ‘boss ñoom Laurent’ which literally means ‘the one owned by them, Laurent’ instead of referring to it for instance as the language of her husband, which also shows that she perceives Laurent as the head of the household. She further reported that now in her daily life in the household she uses Gubëeher most to speak to her husband and her children. However, Wolof, Joola and mixtures of them are also still very present to communicate with guests, for instance, or with Khadidiatou:

(42)

LOG_B: Khadi ñu lakk Joola, Olof, Khadi moom, yepp lañu jaxase.

With Khadi we speak Joola, Wolof. Khadi, she, we are mixing everything.

MW_{F2}: Mhm, ba leegi

Mhm, up to today

LOG_B: Waaw, ba leegi. Moom Baïnoukam setagul. Baïnoukam setagul. Lele tamit dañu jaxase di lakk Baïnouk.

Yes up to today. She, her Baïnouk is not clear yet. Her Baïnouk is not clear. Sometimes we also mix and speak Baïnouk.

(DJI230317MW: 10:44-11:00)

Yet, when asking what Khadi uses to address others, she said the following:

(43)

LOG_B: Khadi ci boppom lele Joola walla Olof. Walla tamit lele su ma ko bégga sonnal dama ko lakkal Baïnouk. Waaye moom deggul bu baax.

Khadi herself, sometimes Joola or Wolof. But also, sometimes if I want to tire her I speak Baïnouk to her. But she does not understand it well.

(DJI230317MW: 12:44-12:52)

Volunteering at the school, she works with an Ubëeher woman with whom she speaks Gubëeher, yet she mainly uses Wolof to communicate with the children. According to her report this is due to the fact that she does not know all of the children, since they also come from outside the village, and does not know what languages they comprehend. Therefore, it is easier and quicker just to address them in Wolof because she assumes that all of them speak it. At the moment Odile uses Njago only occasionally when visiting her family or calling them, even though she says it is the language that is most important to her:

(44)

LOG_B: Ban lakk moo gëna neex, sama lakk.

Which language is most comfortable for me; my language.

MW_{F2}: Mhm. Njago? Bi moo gëna neex. Mais danga ko lakk leegi?

Mhm. Njago? This one is more comfortable. But are you speaking it now?

LOG_B: Ndax damay koy lakk? Dama ko lele lakk su ma eegee, su ma demee gis sama yaay.

If I speak it now? I speak it sometimes when I arrive, when I go to see my mum.

(DJI270116MW: 07:57-08:03)

She further reports using more Wolof than Joola in her ‘public life’ on the street, when moving around, or to work or meet with people from one of the associations she is part of. Asked in an informal conversation what she would prefer her children to acquire, she states that they are already proficient in Gubëeher but also speak Wolof and Joola fluently. For her it is therefore most important that they have the chance to learn French in school, so they will be able to find work.

Self-reported language repertoire of LOG_{F3} (alphabetical order):

Bainounk Gubëeher
Balante
Joola (?)
Joola Fogny
Kreol
Njago
Wolof

6.3 Main participants’ social networks

This section outlines some key information on the origins, biographies, self-reported linguistic repertoires and social roles of additional people who are in the main participants’ social networks. Even though various social networks and communities of practice were observed (as described in §5.4), many of them are confined to family members but some play a bigger role outside the household. The following section introduces individuals in the main participants’ networks who were present in the household throughout (certain periods of) data collection and are represented in excerpts that are used in this thesis. These visitors played a crucial role in the change of context and provoked an adaption of speakers’ linguistic repertoires to different situations. All of these visitors are adults and expressed their clear consent to be part of this research; due to ethical concerns, recordings containing underage visitors from outside the household were either interrupted or deleted in retrospect.

A person regularly present was IPS_{m4} (~*1975), who was born and grew up in Ziguinchor and recently moved to the area. His parents originate from Guinea-Bissau and as such he grew up with Arame and Kreol, which he still uses to communicate with most members of his family. Living in Ziguinchor, however, he soon came into contact with Wolof and also acquired some Joola Fogny and Sose through contact with his friends and acquaintances. IPS_{m4} had the chance to attend public education but reported that he

dropped out early. While studying there he formally acquired some French, which he still uses if needed. During his adult life he lived in various places in Senegal to carry out or seek work. He further reports speaking Bayot and other Joola varieties that are not further determined, which he acquired through contact with speakers of those languages. Then in 2015 he moved to Brin, where he was employed as the guardian at the CLLS and got to know **LM_{m4}**, who became his close friend and introduced him to his family. During my fieldtrips he was at the household several times per week, where he helped with work, discussed problems with the family or spent time chatting and preparing tea. Even though he is in regular contact with Baïnouk Gubëeher, he does not report speaking it nor has he been recorded using it.

During the time Laurent's new house was built, **TS1_{m6}**, **PLC_{m2}** and **DS6_{m2}** were present regularly. **TS1_{m6}** (*1951) is a mason from Nyassia who had already overseen the building of **LM_{m4}**'s father's house in Jibëeher. He identifies with Bayot and additionally reports speaking Joola Kaasa and French. Interestingly, when interviewed about his linguistic repertoire, he pointed out that he neither speaks nor understands Wolof, showing a strong sentiment against the language and culture. He was living with the family during the months in which the house was built and was perceived as a well-respected member of the household. **PLC_{m2}** (*1989) and **DS6_{m2}** (*1986), who were hired as labourers, both originate from Jibëeher and have lived there for most of their lives. They were resident in their families' homes during the building of the house but were supposed to come to work from Mondays to Saturdays. **PLC_{m2}**, who was mentioned previously as my research assistant during the fieldwork (§4.4.2) is the son of two Ñambëeher and reported to speak mostly Baïnouk Gubëeher in the village, but also reported Wolof, Joola Kujireray, Joola Kaasa and French in his repertoire. **DS6_{m2}** was born in Dakar as the son of an Ubëeher but moved to Jibëeher when he was only three years old. He has lived in the village most of his life but spent two years each in Oussouye and Ziguinchor to attend public education before returning. **DS6_{m2}** reported mainly speaking Baïnouk Gubëeher and Wolof in Jibëeher, but also reported Joola Kaasa, French and some Joola Kujireray in his repertoire. Even though **TS1_{m6}**, **PLC_{m2}** and **DS6_{m2}** were employees in the household, they were at the same time treated as friends. All of them continued to visit the family after finishing their employment.

JD5_{f4} (*1968), an Ubëeher who is well known in the village due to her daily business in the market in Brin where she sells her products, passes by regularly to greet the women in the household. She currently resides in Jibëeher but was living and working in Dakar for a long time. **JD5_{f4}** reports speaking Baïnouk Gubëeher, Wolof, French, Joola

Kujireray and Joola Fogy. Another visitor is AS50_{f4} (*unknown⁷³), who is also from the village and shares certain business activities with **KS2**_{f4}. She passes by from time to time to discuss work issues or spend time with the women. She reported Baïnouk Gubëeher, Wolof, Bayot, and a Joola language in her repertoire.

JS11_{m2} (*1987) is an Ubëeher who lives and works in Dakar but spends his vacation in the village. Every time he is in the area he visits the family and spends time there. He reported Baïnouk Gubëeher, Joola Kujireray, Joola Fogy, French and Wolof in his repertoire. Occasionally, on weekends, JG_{f3} (~*1984) passes by to meet her aunt, **LOG**_{f3}. JG_{f3} speaks mainly Joola Fogy and Njago, but also reported Wolof and French in her repertoire. When she was present, the women took a lot of time discussing their lives and problems together.

A guest who came to the household because of contacts with IPS_{m4} and myself is CDD_{m4} (*unknown; in his 40s) who is living in Ziguinchor at the moment. However, his father originates from Ñaamon and reported Baïnouk Guñaamolo, a Joola variety, Wolof and French in his repertoire. He is mentioned here since he brought up new topics in discussion which were then followed up in interviews with the main participants (see e.g. §6.2.2) and is further present in the data below. Furthermore, during my fieldtrips I was a regular guest in the household, as already mentioned in §6 and, besides conducting research, helped in the household, with cooking and the children or was there just to spend time with the family and other guests.

The above-presented participants are all, to varying extents, represented in the data discussed. It is anticipated that their linguistic repertoires go beyond the languages they have reported here; however, due to time constraints it was not possible to discuss their ethnographic details and linguistic repertoires in as much detail as with the main participants. Furthermore, and needless to say, there were many more visitors and guests in the household who are not mentioned here since they were either not part of the participatory videography data, or the decision was taken not to integrate excerpts when they were present, and they are therefore not presented here.

⁷³ During the collection on metadata she was asked for her year of birth, to which she could not, or was not willing to respond. She is however an adult woman probably in her late 40s.

6.4 Discussion of the chapter

Within this chapter, I have extensively discussed three elements that are crucial for the following chapter's data analysis: a detailed description of the family household, the main participants of the research including their children, and social network structures. These also demonstrate the particularly fluid and diverse linguistic repertoires evident among the participants. The reported languages are adapted to the main participants' lives, and their use expands and changes with experiences, living situations, other people with whom they are in contact, and further depend on the person asking, the relationship they want to establish with the person they are reporting to, other people present etc. The association between individuals, social and institutional structures, as well as their position in the village and within the family was clarified by focusing on their self-reported language use.

In these reports, participants share information on their lives and language(s), while adjusting the information to different factors as for instance proximity to the interviewer, trust, but also the social context and mood they were in. Since interview sessions were held parallel to constant observations in the household, debriefings provided an opportunity to address the issue of languages that were spoken but not mentioned in the repertoires of the main participants. Other languages were reported but never recorded, which however only means that there was no need for these languages during recording situations. Furthermore, people all over the area seem to adapt and (re-)construct their reports on linguistic repertoires, but also identities, depending on the context. It is, as mentioned before, a common cultural trait to take on the paternal identity. However, if it is somehow expedient in the conversation to mention one's mother's heritage or for instance a language/culture in which one lived for a certain time and feels proficient, a temporary adaption of identity and language(s) is a strategy used for integration and belonging (see discussion in the literature review §2.3 - §2.5).

All of the main participants' linguistic repertoires exceed three languages by far. The large number of languages individuals acquired, shaped by their experiences, relocations, educational and working experiences and so on seems exceptional for people socialised in a different society, yet it is absolutely common in the area to be highly multilingual and represents the norm. Their life situation demands a use of multiple language(s), provoking an active use of their linguistic repertoires in everyday life and leaving only some language(s) dormant for exceptional situations. Furthermore, their reports are shaped by their attitudes and ideologies towards certain languages.

Wolof is an active component in all of their linguistic repertoires which was to a certain extent explicit from the beginning of the research, since conversations on taking part in this research were held in Wolof and the interviews were based on it. However all of the main participants also report it as significant in their present lives, especially moving outside the village and with guests, but also for communicating with newcomers as **KS2_{f4}** is sometimes still perceived to be (unlike **LOG_{f3}** who seems to have fully adapted to Baïnouk Gubëeher by now), and AS20_{m1}. Their attitudes towards Wolof are neutral or even positive and they also wish for their children to acquire the language.

Even though personal experiences can vary widely (meaning that the linguistic repertoires remain distinct) certain observations can be generalised across the community. Besides the fact that all of the families are multilingual, and a high number of languages are present in their lives (independent of whether they are used actively or not), people in Jibëeher tend to experience high mobility in some way. Generally, they have either moved around themselves, similar to the main participants' life histories, or are in direct and daily contact with people (as for instance **LOG_{f3}** and **KS2_{f4}**) who have moved to the village from elsewhere. Overall, a very positive attitude is expressed towards multilingualism, which is described as opening up more opportunities; throughout the entire research project, no one expressed doubts that being able to speak more languages or learn them simultaneously and/or intermixed is problematic.

However, the values that are attributed to languages differ. A certain proficiency and interest in Baïnouk Gubëeher are a condition for membership of and active participation in village life. Furthermore, as already shown in §5.6, Wolof is reported as present in more than half of the households (mainly due to mobility and an influx of people who grew up outside the village) and is further used by speakers for instance on a trip to Ziguinchor or when people come to visit, as **JPS_{m4}** stresses in one of our interviews. A disparity of conceptualisation can be seen even when focussing on individuals as it is for instance common in certain contexts for people to describe linguistic repertoires. People are aware of their multilingualism, but at the same time sacrifice the rank of the Senegalese languages in favour of the prestigious language French and do not always experience the languages as equivalent (Garcia, 1992; Romaine, 1995), as is partly visible in the reports of the main participants.

Furthermore, Joola languages have significance in the area as identity languages but (for some) also as a language of wider communication (in addition to Wolof) and it is reported that some Joola and related communities (other than the Ñambëeher) assert not to use Wolof (similar to TS1_{m6}'s reports). 'Joola' is used as a general umbrella term in

the reports and ‘the Joola language’ is rarely specified. However, it is clear that Joola is not a preferred language of communication within the Gubëeher households, which is likely connected to their history with the Joolas and also with Brin (§5.3). French for example is often mentioned as a language that can lead to social advancement; others are described as being useful for travelling and working experiences (e.g. Kreol or English, as well as Wolof or French), and some have personal significance for the speakers. However, an attitude that seems to go even beyond the borders of Jibëeher is a rather negative opinion towards Sose or Mandinka, as indicated by the fact that **KS2_{f4}** concealed her proficiency in Sose for a long time. This again can be traced back to the region’s history, conflicts and occupations, which influenced personal disparagement towards the ethnic group (see §3.2.1).

As it seems to be usual to speak to one’s children in language(s) that one feel most comfortable conversing in, **LM_{m4}**, **JPS_{m4}** and **KS2_{f4}** mainly use their language of identity for such exchanges. Only **LOG_{f3}** decided not to pass on her identity language, since, as she explains, it does not bring any economic profit to them; a decision that is detached from the cultural knowledge they could miss without the language, which is attributable to **LOG_{f3}** herself never having lived in a Njago village and the language’s minimal role in the household or with her father in Ziguinchor. Within the family, the men have a strong tendency to hold others responsible for the fact that they use languages other than Gubëeher in the household, which is partly repeated by the women themselves. It is asserted that, as soon as everybody is proficient enough to speak Gubëeher, no other language would be used. However, due to the constant re-constellation of social structures and constant guests, it is doubtful that this state can ever be achieved.

In the reports it is further interesting to examine to what extent a metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness exists in the main participants’ descriptions. There is a general tendency that linguistic repertoires are more commonly under-reported than over-reported as they seem not to mention languages they can for instance understand, get by in, or in which they can correctly use certain context-dependent expressions. All of them are aware of the mixture of languages in their daily conversations, however they are not (or do not want to be) aware of the intensity and constancy with which the languages are mixed, which is highly influenced by their attitudes and ideologies and will be further discussed in detail in the following chapter.

7 Wolof in multilingual conversation

This section is dedicated to providing a qualitative analysis of the participatory videography data (see §4.2.3), drawing upon the background knowledge outlined in the previous chapters in order to set up an in-depth discussion (see a general discussion of all data in chapter 8). The focus here will be on Wolof, concentrating particularly on the role it plays in conversation and the parts of conversations for which it is employed.

The data presented is analysed from different perspectives, based on social and linguistic influences that affect the use of Wolof in manifold communicational events where it appears intermixed with other language(s). Therefore, this chapter is structured in three major subsections. The first presents each of the main participants' observed language(s) use separately, in line with research question two, but further relates it to research question three (see §1.3) to exemplify their daily verbal interactions and compare them to their reports (which were discussed in §6.2). In the second part, I will, in accord with the literature review, employ a structuralist point of view to demonstrate how such theory can be applied to the data collected. However, this initial discussion also demonstrates that a solely structuralist approach is insufficient to deal with the situational data in a research project such as this thesis. Therefore, in the third part I will follow up with a translanguaging approach from a post-structuralist perspective, which allows an open view on the multilingual data and the super-diverse context as well as a full integration of the speakers', the observers' and the researchers' view in a way it is impossible within a structuralist approach (see also Goodchild & Weidl, 2018b). In this thesis the combination of structuralist and post-structuralist approaches was chosen due to the fact that both of them seem to have limitations in the ways they can be applied for analysis and it is only through their combination that we can benefit most from an innovative insight into the data.

The discussion is supported by critical perspectives discussed in the literature review, including Auer (1998, 1999), Li Wei (1998), Jørgensen et al. (2011), Green and Abutalebi (2013) etc., who were partly significant for the understanding and analysis of situations in this research. However, special attention is paid to Gumperz (1992, 1995) recently discussed e.g. in Nilep (2006) and Rampton (2017)) to provide a systematic analysis of discourse and conversational processes in situations where several language(s) are used⁷⁴. The focus on the data is therefore mainly from the researcher's perspective: it demonstrates and identifies the patterns and discourse strategies of language use and

⁷⁴ Terminologies used are mainly derived from Gumperz (1982).

alternation operating in this multilingual context. Theories used in the sub-discipline of interactional sociolinguistics, such as inferencing and contextualisation (see e.g. Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz and Hymes (1964) as well as the discussion in §2.6) help to capture how long-term experiences of speakers influence their language(s), including relevant structures in contemporary social life. Attitudes and ideologies could either be spread over a broad area (e.g. certain language(s) or culture(s) are less valued and therefore used less frequently) or specific to the interaction with certain interlocutors (e.g. adapting to interlocutors' expectations in conversation to follow one's own aims) and are understood and conceptualised here as a production and reproduction of society. However, I am aware that this in no way stands for a fixed allocation of languages, as it can hardly be predicted how the multiple language(s) are used in the situation of the family since it might depend on factors that can never be fully transparent. All that can be analysed and presented here are behavioural patterns and tendencies that influence an 'alternation of language(s)' (at least from the researcher's view) within the context of relevant literature.

Many of the above-mentioned approaches mainly analyse bilingual situations in which standardised (European) languages are used (see §2.2); however here it needs to be kept in mind that many language(s) significant within this thesis are neither officially standardised nor acquired in an unmixed way by any of the participants. We further need to keep in mind that it is clearly the use of 'one single named language' that is the exception and is only possible in very particular contexts, and that the fluid and multilingual use of language(s) constitutes the norm. Therefore I will conclude this chapter with a post-structuralist view, presenting and analysing highly complex and fluid data within the translanguaging approach (Canagarajah, 2011; Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Li Wei, 2018). Thus, the approach of translanguaging is used to investigate multilingual repertoires without seeing languages as closed entities, while also considering the participants' backgrounds, linguistic repertoires, possible discourse strategies, social interactions, occurring patterns, common knowledge, and motivation for the choice of language(s). This not only exemplifies the complexity of the situation and contrasts a Western and nationalist point of view on languages with a more open approach, but it is also absolutely necessary to get closer to a full comprehension of the role of Wolof within this small-scale multilingual language(s) ecology.

7.1 Observed use of language(s)

Throughout this investigation reported linguistic repertoires and reported language use patterns were identified, as well as the participants' conceptions of them, via observations and recordings. In this section, I will discuss the relation between the main participants' reported language use within the household (see § 6.2) and the recorded language(s) during the data collection sessions.

Analysis and interpretations of conversational interactions are based on the participatory videography data, which was discussed with the speakers themselves, including a discussion of their reported language use as well as observations and background knowledge. However, it is not intended to establish verifications or falsifications of the participants' interpretation of their language use, but rather to construct a more inclusive portrait through the combination of viewpoints on the data (see §4.4 for a presentation of the Triangulation Method). The participants, as well as the observers are influenced by social structures and their own experiences, mirroring their view on communicational events in their descriptions of language(s) (see §2.1.3 on the prototype theory); the researcher's view however attempts to describe the language in order to integrate a different view. Following a discussion of the main participants' observed language use, various possible motivations that can possibly influence and motivate the choice and alternation of language(s) are discussed in detail.

7.1.1 LM_{m4}

The analysis of the observations of Laurent's actual language use in the household reveals a significant alignment with the languages he has reported in this context (see §6.2.1). Laurent primarily uses Baïnounk Gubëeher to communicate in his family household, yet a switch to other language(s) is not precluded in any observed situation other than teaching me how to speak his language. Whereas his Wolof is often highly intermixed with terms from other languages (with a high share of French), his way of speaking Gubëeher utilises considerably fewer of such "borrowings" as proven by observations and transcriptions. Yet, contrary to his claims and attitudes, in certain specific contexts he mixed Gubëeher and Wolof, as can be seen in the following example, where he asks LOG_{f3} about her and KS2_{f4}'s evening program:

(45)

01	LM_{m4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>hadëeha be jangu?</i>	BG BG W
			“are you going to the church?”	
			(DJI260316MWa_cut06: 00:01-00:03, ELAN: 1)	

In example (45) **LM_{m4}** intermixes the Wolof lexeme *jangu*, which is translated either as "Koranic school" or as a "Christian Catholic instruction" by Munro & Gaye (1997, p. 77), and could probably be interpreted as a term to describe religious education, which here refers to the church in Brin. However, since I knew that it is unusual for him to (consciously) mix Wolof and Gubëeher, we discussed this example and he asserted that *jangu* is also the Gubëeher word for church (which, if he perceives it like that, cannot be refuted). Nonetheless, in other recorded situations he invariably used the lexeme *eglise* [fr. 'church'] for the same purpose, which can be described as the less marked term to refer to church and can be traced back to the influence of the French missionaries in the area. Excerpt (45) above originates from a discussion in which the women of the household tell the men that they are going to go to the midnight-mass that day; however, the men are clearly not enthusiastic about that idea. The lexeme *eglise* was used earlier in the communication but was substituted by **LM_{m4}** in order to show his discouragement, which was understood as such by the interlocutors. In comparison to the above example stands the following, in which **LM_{m4}** and a neighbour (JS11_{m2}), who shares an Ubëeher identity and lived in the village for a very long time before moving to Dakar, discuss death. This topic, which is clearly related to the Catholic Church for them as they even speak about Jesus Christ, triggers their use of French instead of Baïnounk Gubëeher, which they normally use to communicate with each other:

(46)

01	LM_{m4}	→ JS11 _{m2}	<i>mais en ce moment là tu vas te croiser avec yesu kristu</i>	F
			“but in this moment you will come across Jesus Christ”	
02	JS11 _{m2}	→ LM_{m4}	<i>en direct</i>	F
			“directly!”	
			(DJI260316MWa_cut06: 00:15-00:10, ELAN: 08-09)	

Even though there was no doubt that the men were proficient in communicating in French this was an interesting example since **LM_{m4}** was recorded in many other conversations addressing JS11_{m2} in Gubëeher. In all of the recordings, he never initiated a conversation in French with the exception of making fun of people (see extract (47) below), or in situations in which French was the only shared or working language. Both men are able to freely communicate in French, and what is visible is that for them

Catholicism is connected to this language. However, for **LOG**_{f3} and **KS2**_{f4} the Catholic religion is instead associated with a Joola language (as they do not feel comfortable to speak French and most of the activities in the church in Brin are also performed in a Joola language, also see §5.5.2), whereas none of them associate it with Wolof.

The following extract (47) exemplifies how French terms are used by Laurent to make fun of **IPSm4** in a Wolof based conversation. Both of the men are on the building site where **LMm4** observes the work done by **IPSm4**, who had a reputation of being slightly slower than the others:

(47)

01	LMm4	→ IPSm4	<i>Papis</i> “Papis”	
02	IPSm4	→ LMm4	<i>fi ngay ñew yow ñewel rekk</i> “you are coming here, you just come”	W
03	LMm4	→ IPSm4	<i>ça y est?</i> “that is it?”	F
04	IPSm4	→ LMm4	<i>Waaw ça y est?</i> “yes that is it”	F, W
05	LMm4	→ IPSm4	<i>demal fale yow xajulo nga nema ça y est</i> <i>Demal fële yow xaajuloo nga ne ma ça y est</i> “go over there, you haven’t done half of it and you tell me that is it”	W F, W

(DJI260116MWa_cut03: 01:41-02:12, ELAN: 42-42)

Since the data presents convincing evidence that **LMm4** is absolutely confident and at ease conversing in Wolof with certain interlocutors, including **MWf2** and **IPSm4**, we discussed excerpt (47) focusing on his use of French. **LMm4** reported that he consciously chose French in this situation, as the expression would not have had the same connotation in any other language for him. This was substantiated by the fact that it made the situation amusing to the two speakers; they reported that the phrase is regularly used in school, as well as in the LCLS where both of them worked at that time.

In multilingual situations Laurent mainly chooses Wolof to address a group of people who have different linguistic backgrounds, as can be seen in the excerpt below. In this situation, again on the building site while constructing a wall, he addressed all the builders of his house with Wolof, even though this happened during a Joola based conversation:

(48)

05	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>aw ukatobo rek</i>	J J, W
			“just leave him alone”	
06	LM _{m4}	→ all	<i>ani wëlëk</i>	W
			“where is Wëlëk [name]”	
07	PLC _{m2}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>ayeni bajo bajo imu</i>	BG
			“he said he is going to celebrate”	

(DJI26016MWa_cut01: 00:23-00:35, ELAN: 12-15)

Even though in (48) using Joola could have had the same effect, since all of the speakers present are able to communicate in a Joola language and did so before LM_{m4} asked his question, he chose Wolof. Interestingly, PLC_{m2} was the one to respond and decided to use neither Wolof nor Joola but Gubëeher due to the cultural connection with LM_{m4} and the latter’s superior status as his employer. PLC_{m2} and LM_{m4} both described using their shared language of identity as an attempt to show mutual respect.

Yet, contrary to his reports, LM_{m4} uses less Gubëeher in his conversations with KS2_{f4}. Even though he mentioned that he only responds to her in a Joola language or Wolof if there is for instance time pressure, the data clearly showed that he sometimes even initiates conversations in Joola. The following excerpt was recorded next to the outside kitchen where LOG_{f3} and KS2_{f4} were preparing food and JG_{f3} (a guest at that day) and LM_{m4} were part of the conversations:

(49)

01	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>gejna ko gis de</i> <i>Geej naa ko gis de</i>	W
			“I haven’t seen him for a long time”	
02	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>Ee</i>	J
			“yes”	
03	LM _{m4}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>uwulom ubúús wai</i>	J J, W
			“give me a bag ‘man’ [lit. ‘person’]”	
04	LOG _{f3}	→ LM _{m4} KS2 _{f4}	<i>bubu ñas jahale inatam bumër wuró jixutoŋ nii</i> <i>amúkún neh</i>	BG
			“the pot [full of rice] that Jahale gave to me, didn't you see, the mice have finished it!”	

(DJI130216MW_cut08: 03:42-04:04, ELAN: 42-45)

The conversation in (49) was based on Wolof and Laurent was previously discussing a person’s abode with the three women. However, when he directly addressed KS2_{f4} and asked her to give him a bag, he chose a Joola language. In this situation the switch to Joola did not exclude any of the participants but could have been used to indicate a change of interlocutor. However, due to the fact that Gubëeher, for instance, could also have been used for the same purpose, this shows evidence that LM_{m4} used a language KS2_{f4} is fond

of speaking to reach his communicative goal. **LOG_{f3}** then immediately changes the conversation to Gubëeher, which was a strategy to exclude **JG_{f3}** and withhold information from her as she explained that it is not desirable for a guest to know that they had mice.

Overall in Laurent's reported linguistic repertoire there was a slight underrepresentation of languages, since he appears able to master further languages which he did not feel the need to mention as part of his linguistic repertoire. For instance, he was recorded reacting in Wolof to a Bayot conversation, which proves that he was able to follow the contents, and further used Sose himself in one recording to make a joke with **IPS_{m4}**. Although **LM_{m4}** is very aware of the languages that are generally used in the household, his representation of the frequency with which they are used in conversations with other main participants deviates from his reports. Through the recordings it is evident that he uses language(s) like Wolof and Joola more frequently than reported, and also initiates conversations in them with his wife. Yet in the exchanges with **LOG_{f3}** he was not observed using a Joola language as he either uses Gubëeher or in some cases Wolof, depending on the context. However, his conversations with **JPS_{m4}** were observed to be to a great extent Gubëeher based.

7.1.2 **KS2_{f4}**

Khadidiatou is very aware of the languages she uses in the household and even the frequency with which they are applied. However, she is further able to speak additional languages that she did not mention in her reports: these seem to be used only in outside contexts, in phone calls or affected by (infrequent) visitors and were thus observed rather than recorded. **KS2_{f4}**'s conversations are mainly based on her Joola language, however they are intermixed with Wolof and some Gubëeher, depending on the situation. Yet, unlike **LOG_{f3}**, her tendency is to stick to Joola if she is aware of sharing a Joola language with all other people present, even if the others choose to speak e.g. Wolof or Baïnouk Gubëeher.

The three women in excerpt (50) below meet on a regular basis and fluidly intermix Wolof and Joola language(s), as is visible in this conversation where they sat together to chat:

(50)

01	LOG_{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>yoon bi bërewúl sùúf</i> <i>yoon bi ah barewul suuf</i> “the path there does not have a lot of sand?”	W
02	JG _{f3}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>bërewul sùúf kai</i> <i>barewul suuf kay</i> “there is not a lot of sand, come on”	W
03	KS2_{f4}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>None</i> “she said”	W J
04	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>buñu dígúsie kote tonte</i> <i>Bu ñu duggusi còté tante</i> “when we came from Tante’s side”	W F, W
05	KS2_{f4}	→ all	<i>kujalo jaw kujaw kúriñúl taatu</i> “they came from over there”	J
06	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>daño ñëw be egsi moi kote atanas nee</i> <i>dañu ñëw ba egsi, mooy còté Atanas ni</i> “we came until we arrived, that is the side of Atanas there”	W

(DJI130216MW_cut01: 02:07-02:15, ELAN: 84-89)

As can be observed, Khadidiatou chooses to speak Joola (L05) even though the other two women present, **LOG_{f3}** and JG_{f3}, use Wolof as a basis language of communication; neither **KS2_{f4}** nor the other two speakers accommodate to one shared language for all of them. Discussing this excerpt, Khadidiatou explained that she uses this way of communicating frequently because it is possible for everybody to understand and it is the easiest way to express herself, yet she does not see the need for the others to use a Joola language as well. Further relevant is the fact that the transcriber was influenced by the rather long, relatively unmixed Wolof conversation and defined L03 as Wolof, which in the researcher’s view is actually a Joola language.

Similar to the conversation above, **KS2_{f4}** uses the same strategy to respond to Gubëcher conversations with **LOG_{f3}** and **LM_{m4}** as can be seen in excerpts (51) and (52), which show everyday conversations between the family of the household:

(51)

01	LOG_{f3}	→ all	<i>he uñonon sióó kanan uñonon uñifaan aca fedina inuñ</i> “he took your bucket, take the the cup ‘aca’ [interjection], where is Ferdinand”	BG
02		→ KS2_{f4}	<i>fedina inuñ fedina</i> “where is Ferdinand, Ferdinand!”	BG
03	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>ferdinand alakomun eñes mumel man akila anene to be inde katepakola</i> “Ferdinand left to get water for his construction”	J

(DJI130216MW_cut07: 04:52-05:06, ELAN: 94-96)

(52)

01	LM_{m4}	→ FM _{m0}	<i>ferdinand</i> "Ferdinand"	BG
02			<i>ubēsineṅ nah</i> "get that alone"	J
03	KS2_{f4}	→ FM _{m0}	<i>jipur taatu</i> "move over there"	J

(DJI170216MWb_cut01: 01:23-01:27, ELAN: 11-13)

After the reports of **KS2_{f4}** and **LM_{m4}**, it is especially surprising that she uses her Joola language freely next to **LM_{m4}** without being influenced by his Gubëeher. Discussing these two settings, Khadidiatou explained that in (51) she clearly understood **LOG_{f3}**'s question and that in this common situation she sticks to her language of identity. In the case of (52) she stated that it was more effective to use Joola to rebuke the children, since they are used to her speaking it and it would have been marked if she would have for instance repeated **LM_{m4}**'s phrase. However, there is evidence of a certain motivation to acquire more Gubëeher and **KS2_{f4}** is recorded either asking for certain words in Baïnouk or asking for explanations of Baïnouk lexemes in another language, as can be observed below:

(53)

01	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>yo inde buu kurege yo</i> "the other one, how do you call that again"	J
02	LOG_{f3}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>yo ajonb</i> "yes ajonb [sort of rice that is harvested in Jibëeher]"	BG, J
03	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>ee</i> "yes"	BG
04	LM_{m4}	→ KS2_{f4} LOG_{f3}	<i>ëróóg</i> "seeds"	BG
05	LOG_{f3}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>amon ëginin agúne naa fayañ fayañ</i> "that is the one that does 'fayaṅ fayaṅ' [local expression, here: rice that grows with bad yield]"	BG

(DJI120316MW_cut08: 04:44-04:52, ELAN: 59-63)

KS2_{f4} directs a question about the right expression for a certain lexeme in Gubëeher to **LOG_{f3}**. **LM_{m4}** interjects in Gubëeher (L04), after which **LOG_{f3}** decides to further explain the expression to **KS2_{f4}** in Gubëeher also using the interjectin *fayaṅ fayaṅ* (L05), which **KS2_{f4}** seems to comprehend. What can additionally be observed is **KS2_{f4}**'s perception of **LOG_{f3}**; it becomes clear that she sees her as an Ubëeher (or at least a very fluent speaker of the language) due to the fact that she asks an integrative question "how do you call that" and not "how do they call that". In discussion **KS2_{f4}** mentioned that she often asks for translations for terms that are culturally specific, since they are helpful tools during work and discussions with other villagers.

Furthermore, she is recorded using Gubëeher for short statements or inquiries that are often followed by a rather quick change of language. Since the following example (54) is rather complex, but clearly shows **KS2_{f4}**'s fluidity of language use, I will focus the analysis on **KS2_{f4}**'s linguistic behaviour. The situation shows **LOG_{f3}**, **KS2_{f4}**, **JPS_{m4}** and some of their children discussing how to share peanuts and what container to put them in:

(54)

01	LOG_{f3}	→ children	<i>ukaan dëdú</i> “put them there”	BG
02	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>emukenoruti</i> “this is not sorted out yet”	J
03		→ LAM_{m0}	<i>iseni ebol yay uye</i> “I gave you which bowl, the one over there”	J
04		→ children	<i>úwúlen úwúlen mun usenoom ebolai ebol yëkóon</i> “put it down, put it down and you give me the bowl, there is only one bowl”	J
05	JPS_{m4}	→ all	<i>orange orange legi</i> “orange orange at the moment”	F, W
06			<i>Orange</i> “orange”	
07			<i>dey deplane⁷⁵ ñiñi</i> “he does not fulfil his plans”	F, W
08	IPS_{m4}	→ JPS_{m4}	<i>orange mmoi lolú</i> <i>orange moom mooy loolu</i> “Orange that is what it means”	F, W
09	KS2_{f4}	→ children	<i>ulax údëëk unooh</i> “take it and sit down”	BG
10			<i>gunohuro [incomprehensible]</i> “if you do not [incomprehensible]”	BG
11		→ JPS_{m4}	<i>mu ne ko bilahi</i> “He told him, I swear to god”	W A, W
12		→ JCM_{m1}	<i>jean-sena uwulol wai</i> “Jean-cena give him some”	J

(DJI040217MW_cut07: 03:10-04:41, ELAN: 74-85)

In the conversation the children clearly do not do what the adults want from them, what is also expressed through *orange* by **JPS_{m4}**; by this he means orange as a critical state of the situation, whereas green would have been fine and red an escalation. Here, **KS2_{f4}** uses Joola to address **LOG_{f3}** and the children at first (L02-L04), but then chooses to reprimand the children in Baïnouk, turns to Jean Pierre who she addresses in Wolof, and switches back to Joola. This combination exemplifies her behaviour as discussed above. She stated that she feels absolutely confident addressing **LOG_{f3}** or the children in her Joola language and is also reasonably comfortable using Gubëeher with them as long

⁷⁵ The transcriber marked *deplane* as a French lexeme and explained it as “not to fulfill one’s plan” or “not following one’s plan”, however no dictionary entry was found; as such, it must be a form of Senegalese French.

as she is familiar with the right expressions. However, she reported that the presence of other Gubëeher speakers makes her aware of her mistakes and feel slightly uncomfortable. Therefore, instead of speaking Baïnouk Gubëeher, she chose Wolof to address **JPS_{m4}**, which they use frequently to communicate.

KS2_{f4} was additionally observed to use some French terms (although significantly fewer than the other main participants) due to the overall presence of the language in the country, and some Arabic expressions, which derive from her upbringing in a Muslim community and visiting a Koranic school. As already mentioned above, Khadidiatou is particularly aware of her actual language use within the household, and the reported frequencies match up closely with the recordings.

7.1.3 **JPS_{m4}**

During conversations and interviews Jean Pierre detailed the languages in his linguistic repertoire with great interest and attention to detail. Although he is the least present adult in the household and additionally a placid character (not talking much in public), all of his reported languages were observed at some point during data collection. It was clearly shown in the recordings that he uses more Gubëeher than any of the other participants in the household. It is the only language he uses fairly unmixed in communications with his wife and children, with the rare exception that somebody else who is not familiar with Gubëeher needs to be included in their conversations. However, as is clear from the excerpts above, the conversations in the household cannot be described as ‘Baïnouk only’ as **JPS_{m4}** (and also **LM_{m4}**) reported in interviews. As mentioned, a decisive aspect in determining whether **JPS_{m4}** would switch is the integration of people in conversations. In the case that either **IPS_{m4}** or myself were present and participating in conversations, Wolof was the most likely to be used by him as an appropriate language to integrate all of us, yet it is fluidly mixed with Gubëeher as can be seen in the conversation below:

(55)

01	JS11 _{m2}	→ JPS _{m4}	<i>après ayenem idëek bi umungan na</i> “she told me to go to the house of the other one”	BG
02	JPS _{m4}	→ JS11 _{m2}	<i>aah ubëer ka umungan li l'autre là</i> “ah the girl of the other one there”	BG BG, F
03	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>doom Emilie bi</i> “Emilie’s child”	W
04	JPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>Emilie fateonn na ko de</i> <i>Emilie fattewoon naa ko de</i> “Emilie I totally forgot her” (DJI260316MWa_cut01: 05:17-05:25, ELAN: 61-64)	W

In excerpt 0 IPS_{m4} was able to follow the context of the Guëeher based conversation through JPS_{m4}’s use of French *l'autre là* as well as his knowledge about the topic. IPS_{m4} reacted in Wolof and with IPS_{m4}’s interruption in the dialogue, the whole conversation switched to Wolof.

In the next example (56) my presence provoked a switch to Wolof, however the brothers continued their parallel dialogue in Gubëeher. There it is clearly visible how the choice of language(s) depends upon addressing different interlocutors and the immediate inclusion or exclusion of interlocutors. In this excerpt we were all sitting together in front of the house chatting, when LM_{m4} came back to ask me if I had already done the interview with JPS_{m4} since he knew about my plans for the day, while simultaneously discussing the progress of the building with his brother:

(56)

01	LM _{m4}	→ all	<i>mbaa pare ngen sen ligey</i> “are you ready with your work?”	
02	JPS _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4} JS11 _{m2}	<i>daf ma ne amul problème</i> <i>Dafa ma ne, dafa ma ne amul probeme</i> “He told me, he told me it is no problem”	W F, W
03	MW _{f2}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>no si loo nekk</i> “no, how are you doing”	W
04	MW _{f2}	→ all	<i>bon xana nu commencer leegi ni</i> “good maybe we can start now”	F, W
05			<i>dinaa ko def</i> “I will do it”	W
06	JPS _{m4}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>ah deño waxtan</i> <i>ah dañuy waxtaan</i> “ah are we going to speak”	W
07	MW _{f2}	→ JPS _{m4}	<i>du yagg</i> “it won’t take long”	W
08	JPS _{m4}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>Aca</i> “aca [let’s go]”	W
09	MW _{f2}	→ JPS _{m4}	<i>leegi?</i> “now?”	W
10	JPS _{m4}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>Waaw</i> “yes”	W

11	MW _{f2}	→ JPS _{m4}	<i>dinañu dem beneen cote</i> “we will go to another side”	F, W
12	JPS _{m4}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>on commence, amul problème</i> “we start, it is no problem”	W
13	JPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>aayaya umukuni?</i> “aayaya are you done?”	BG
14	LM _{m4}	→ JPS _{m4}	<i>ibohiguboh bare mukundi</i> “I am very tired but I am not done”	BG
15	JPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>beñuaraj kenej inung</i> “where are the buckets?”	BG
16			<i>go uteb halu guhan buduf</i> “you have to count how many you draw”	BG
17	IPS _{m4}	→ MW _{f2} JPS _{m4}	<i>man ngen puss nale rekk demlen</i> <i>mën ngeen pousse nële rekk, demleen</i> “you can just push it over there, go”	W F, W
18			<i>kamera bi man na</i> <i>kamera bi mën na</i> “the camera can”	W
19			<i>mun na taxaw ni, camera bi man na taxaw ni</i> <i>mën na taxaw ni, camera bi mën na taxaw ni</i> “it can stand here, the camera can stand here”	W

(DJI260316MW_cut02: 00:56-02:36, ELAN: 16-34)

Whereas in some situations JPS_{m4} was influenced to use a Joola language, in others he did not accommodate to Joola conversations. As mentioned before, Jean Pierre sticks rigorously to Baïnouk Gubëeher when having conversations with his wife and children. What is visible below is that even though all the other participants claim to treat all of the children the same, JPS_{m4} seems to make linguistic distinctions as he adapts to Joola to address the children of KS2_{f4} and LM_{m4} (57) but does not to speak it to his own (58):

(57)

01	KS2 _{f4}	→ children of KS2 _{f4} , LM _{m4}	<i>jitek jilañen kapana uuka bala jite bukanaku</i> “move over there before you are going to hit the people”	J
02	JPS _{m4}	→ children of KS2 _{f4} , LM _{m4}	<i>balon kanaan ee</i> “your ball ee”	J F, J

(DJI040217MW_cut08: 02:03-02:05, ELAN: 19-20)

(58)

01	KS2 _{f4}	→ children of LOG _{f3} , JPS _{m4}	<i>ee ñërúl</i> “ee bring it here”	J
02	JPS _{m4}	→ children of LOG _{f3} , JPS _{m4}	<i>uye xerex ye yok uwup naaj úfürót</i> “you will do that until it is free over there”	BG

(DJI040217MW_cut04: 04:48-04:53, ELAN: 66-67)

In both excerpts the aim of the conversation is to reprimand the children who were not behaving properly. However, in excerpt (58) JPS_{m4} addressed his own children, who were making a mess next to the house, in Baïnouk Gubëeher, whereas in (57) he addressed KS2_{f4} and LM_{m4}'s children in a Joola language. What is salient is that both of

his statements were provoked by **KS2_{f4}**, who called attention to the fact that the children are misbehaving. Yet **JPS_{m4}** does not adapt to **KS2_{f4}**'s use of language(s), he instead directs his choice of language to his direct interlocutors, the children.

In the next excerpt, I recorded a conversation about going to the church or staying at the house in a linguistic constellation that was reported to be unfeasible within household:

(59)

01	LM_{m4}	→ women	<i>ña kuñilaku kuje be poy elupay</i> “so it is the children who will take care of the house”	J
02	LOG_{f3}	→ men	<i>jat jat muyul</i> “today it is you!”	J
03	KS2_{f4}	→ men	<i>jat funakafu siet</i> “today is your day”	J
04	JPS_{m4}	→ women	<i>ña miyul minuit yanosan miyu jijaw woli jilako</i> “you are going to every midnight mess” (DJI260316MWa_cut05: 03:37-03:45, ELAN: 70-73)	J

In the above example (59), **LM_{m4}** started a discussion in Joola, clearly directed to the women, leading to a conversation in which all of the main participants chose a Joola language for conversation. This is likely to be instigated by the fact that **LM_{m4}** and **KS2_{f4}** are used to conversing in Joola with each other, however, what is rather surprising is that the other two main participants also fully adapted in this situation.

In the next excerpt (60) **JPS_{m4}** was addressed by **KS2_{f4}** in Joola, as she handed him palm wine, but he immediately switches to Kaasa:

(60)

01	KS2_{f4}	→ JPS_{m4}	<i>tanta nane iseni</i> “the aunt said to give it to you”	J J, W
02	JPS_{m4}	→ all	<i>bahitaabu!</i> “palm wine!”	K
03	JS11_{m2}	→ JPS_{m4}	<i>bahitaabu</i> “palm wine!”	K
04	JPS_{m4}	→ JS11_{m2}	<i>bubile?</i> “did it arrive?” (DJI260316aMW_cut05: 00:54-01:02, ELAN: 19-22)	K

Interested in that sudden switch, I discussed this excerpt with **JPS_{m4}** who explained that the palm wine came from someone who he clearly associates with Kaasa, and for that reason he decided to switch representatively to her (the aunt's) language. This was however one of the rare examples where one of the transcribers marked Joola Kaasa as 'Kaasa' and did not agree on using only Joola as an umbrella term. Jean Pierre was further observed to use English terms, however only in Wolof based utterances:

talking to the family members in Jibëeher, which was to be expected since Njago was her main language of communication during a significant part of her life.

Other interesting results concerned **LOG_{f3}**'s perception of her knowledge of French, which she stated is close to non-existent, and her actual use of it in conversations. As with many women in the area, she seems to follow a learnt behavioural pattern in claiming not to be able to speak French due to the fact she did not attend school (as discussed before in chapter 3 on the linguistic situation and language policies in Senegal and in §6.2.4 **LOG_{f3}**'s reported repertoire). Unlike **KS2_{f4}**, whose self-reported lack of French is actually manifest in practice (despite attending school), the recordings below contradict **LOG_{f3}**'s reports. These appear mostly in utterances encircled by Wolof; however also, albeit less frequently, by Joola language(s) and Baïnounk and were recorded in very different situations:

(62)

01	LOG_{f3}	<i>mu nibisi kai moom kay na ko forse mu ñibisi</i> <i>mu ñibbisi kay, moom kay na ko forcé mu ñibbisi</i> “He is going home, come on, he is forced to go home” (DJI130216MW_cut02: 00:33-00:35; ELAN: 24)	F, W
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(63)

01	JG _{f3}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>nga nema sa ne va pas comment sa ne va pas kai</i> <i>ci sa yaram sa sa ne va pas</i> <i>nga ne ma ça ne va pas comment ça ne va pas,</i> <i>kay ci sa yaram sax ça ne va pas</i> “you tell me that does not work, how does it not work, come on even in your body that does not work”	F, W
02	LOG_{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>waaw sa ne va pas</i> “yes that does not work” (DJI130216MW_cut07: 03:20-03:24, ELAN: 68-69)	F

LOG_{f3} frequently uses a lexeme from French in her sentences, as evident in, for example, (62) *forcé* ‘forced’, showing her knowledge of the meanings of the word and her capacity to build utterances in which they make sense. In other instances, **LOG_{f3}** repeats what was said in French beforehand, which can only happen if she was able to understand what was said, as for example in (63). In addition to the examples above, where it is evident that **LOG_{f3}** uses French lexemes and comprehends at least certain French utterances, in excerpt (64) she is the one retrieving a word from French. **LOG_{f3}** interjects *sapeur* standing for *sapeur pompier* ‘fireman’, after JG_{f3} uses ‘ki’ (an

interjection with the noun class prefix ‘k-’ in Wolof, indicating a person) in search of the word. In the excerpt (65) below, some utterances switch entirely to French.

(64)

01	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>ótó ki bi yeg si</i> “The oto of ‘ki’ arrived”	W
02	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>Sapeur</i> “fireman”	F
03	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>sapeur yeg si gendarme yeg si police yeg si</i> “fire brigade arrived, gendarme arrived, police arrived”	F, W

(DJI130216MW_cut02: 03:23-03:28; ELAN: 99-101)

(65)

01	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>ñun buñu ñibisie nónuí hale bi defna</i> <i>ñun bu ñu ñibbisiee noonu xale bi defna</i> “when they came home there, the child spent”	W
02			<i>un mois hopital</i> “one month in the hospital”	F
03	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>un mois encor</i> “another month”	F
04	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>un mois ferme</i> “one month locked up”	F
05	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>te ñuneon grawul</i> <i>te ñu newoon grawul</i> “but they said it is not serious”	W F, W

(DJI130216MW_cut02: 07:31-07:39; ELAN: 216-220)

The examples not only prove her passive understanding of French, but also show that she is able and willing to actively use it, at least in certain contexts where she sees it as necessary or feels confident. In excerpt (65) she additionally uses the lexeme *grawul* in her utterance in L05 (in similar application as in excerpt (66) below, L01), which from a researcher’s perspective originates from French, but seems to be a fully established “Wolof lexeme” in her repertoire and even after being questioned about the lexeme she does not establish a connection to French. For a further discussion on *grawul* see §2.1.3 as well as Nunez and Léglise (2017). LOG_{f3}’s use of French is topic and interlocutor related, yet she seems to forgo speaking it to (small) children or the other main participants of this research. However, what is unexpected is the underrepresentation of French in her repertoire even though she mentioned other languages like Kriolu or Balante, which she also does not speak ‘unmixed’ and uses in very similar ways to French, and with less frequency in the household. However, when asked about the French she uses in conversation she mentioned that she might have acquired it ‘unconsciously’, for example through listening to her husband’s use of it in the household.

As reported in the interviews, **LOG_{f3}** generally sticks to Baïnounk Gubëeher to address her own children and the children of **KS_{2f4}**. However, age and proficiency make her distinguish between the children and treat them differently. In both of the extracts presented below, **LOG_{f3}** is involved in a conversation based on Wolof, but still switched to Baïnounk Gubëeher to address her children:

(66)

01	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>mais se grawul dal</i> <i>mais c'est grawul daal</i> “but it is not really serious”	W F, W
02	LOG _{f3}	→ JS10 _{f0}	<i>ee ubëën mia adegó</i> “ee stop that Mia is going to hit you”	BG
03	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>kóku neko kon haral ma ñëw mune ko dedet se pas la pene</i> “that one told him so wait I come, he told him no, it is not worth it” (DJI130216MW_cut02: 04:13-04:18; ELAN: 120-122)	F, W

In example (66) she reprimands JS10_{f0}, her youngest daughter, who tries to play with the recording equipment (L02); since **LOG_{f3}** was already communicating based on Wolof (intermixed with French) and the children are multilingual, instructions could also have been given in Wolof. **LOG_{f3}**'s choice of Baïnounk however aims to establish a consciousness of the language and the connected culture (of paternal origin) to teach the younger ones. However, she additionally makes use of this switch as a powerful tool establishing intersubjective awareness that she uses to admonish them particularly and make herself heard. This linguistic behaviour was reported and observed many times. Interestingly during a similar situation presented in excerpt (67) she does not stick to this pattern when she addresses her second eldest daughter LS3_{f1} in L03 (clearly visible in the video file).

(67)

01	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>man la wax komasena wow</i> <i>Man laa wax commencer naa woow</i> “I am saying that I start to be dry [thin]”	W F, W
02	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>komasega wow</i> <i>Commencer nga lan, woow</i> “you start to be what, dry [thin]”	F, W
03		→ LS3 _{f1}	<i>mune komasena wow</i> <i>Mu ne commencer na woow</i> “She said she starts to be dry [thin]”	F, W
04	LS3 _{f1}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>yow biŋga danga pata</i> <i>Yow bi nga, danga pataa</i> “This is what you are, you are fat [joking]”	W

05	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>bilahi dama bígë sexi rek parsque pata arangéuma</i> <i>Bilahi dama bëgg sexi rekk, parce que pataa araangewuma</i> “I swear to god, I only want to be sexy, because being a fat person is not good for me” (DJI130216MW_cut08: 05:41-05:52, ELAN: 69-73)	J, W A, F, W
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After presenting this data to **LOG_{f3}** she explained this way of applying her linguistic repertoire as being due the fact that her older daughters are now grown up. They already speak Baïnouk Gubëeher fluently and are very aware of her paternal cultural heritage; for that reason, she is no longer careful about speaking only Gubëeher to them and does not perceive any problem in using Wolof with them. When communicating with **KS2_{f4}**, a mixture of Wolof, Joola and Gubëeher was observed throughout the conversations, even though **LOG_{f3}** tends to address **KS2_{f4}** in Wolof and some Joola, whereas **KS2_{f4}** tends to address **LOG_{f3}** in a Joola language (as shown in examples in §7.1.2 above).

When she is conversing with only **JPS_{m4}** and **LM_{m4}** and no other adults are around, she uses Baïnouk Gubëeher the most (see discussion in §7.1.3 above). However, in the case that other guests are around she sticks to Wolof if all of the visitors have Wolof in their linguistic repertoire (see also §7.2.2.1 below). Throughout the recording sessions, Wolof is used as a basis language primarily to communicate with a larger group of people. However, there were situations in which guests of the household who do not have Wolof in their repertoire were present (as e.g. TS1_{m6} reports not to, see §6.3), or guests who prefer not to speak it and avoid it. In the excerpt (68) **LOG_{f3}** adjusts to TS1_{m6}'s linguistic repertoire, a well-respected older guest in the household and a construction manager at the time of the recording. In the conversation they discuss the salary which **LM_{m4}** was responsible to pay to the workers and especially TS1_{m6}, who was the only one with a fixed pay. He however was waiting for the building to be finished to be able to go back home to his family, which caused **IPS_{m4}** to take up the topic:

(68)

01	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>ba pare ma tëdd nelaw ligey kër gi bu jexe buma ñowe mane laurent alors bokk dakal munëw</i> <i>Ba pare ma teddi ma nelaw, ligey ligey bu kër gi mu jeexee bu ma ñëw ma ne Laurent, aywa mbokk taxañ mu ñëw</i> “when it is done, I will go to lay down and sleep, the work at the house when it is done, when I come back I will tell Laurent, ‘aywa’ [interjection] my relative, pack it in so it can come [pay me]”	W
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02	LOG_{f3}	→ TS1 _{m6}	<i>añoli alob mo mante añoli mante ati</i> “this is your son who says that, is it your son or your brother”	J
03			<i>onol merci</i> “say thank you”	J
04	TS1 _{m6}	→ LOG_{f3} IPS _{m4}	<i>eeh mo kama merci</i> “ok I agree, thank you”	F, J J
05	LOG_{f3}	→ TS1 _{m6} IPS _{m4}	<i>onol albarka, kon mbaa indiauma kerin kon</i> <i>Onol albarka, kon mbaa indiwuma kəriñ kon</i> “say thank you, so I did not bring the coal then”	F, J A, J A, J, W
06	TS1 _{m6}	→ all	<i>emit ekan man ban</i> “may god make that we will finish it” (DJI260116MWa_cut03: 01:41-02:12, ELAN: 32-37)	J

If IPS_{m4} had addressed what was said in L01 to a younger worker at the building site, claiming to support them to get their payment, **LOG_{f3}** reported that she would not have switched to another language to enter their conversation. Yet the interlocutor’s age, social status and respect are more likely to influence an adjustment to their preferred languages. After watching the excerpt, **LOG_{f3}** reported that addressing him in Wolof could have been considered as rude to or making fun of either TS1_{m6} or IPS_{m4}. **LOG_{f3}** starts her comment in a more complex Joola construction with *merci* ‘thank you’ from French (and not e.g. from Wolof) in L03. Then in the utterance L05 she repeats herself addressing TS1_{m6} with *onol* ‘say to him’ in Joola Fogany and *albaraka* ‘thank you’ from Arabic, but then turns to address all those present again and switches back to Wolof *kon, kon mbaa indiwuma kəriñ kon* ‘so I did not bring the coals then’, which, however, was not labelled as Wolof from the observers’ view and was rather directed to IPS_{m4} who waited for the coals to prepare tea. Additionally, **LOG_{f3}** uses Arabic and English terms, which she can fit to the context by comprehending their meaning, but as with the other participants it is not clear if these lexemes or phrases are observed as deriving from languages other than, for instance Wolof, Joola or Bāinounk, by the speakers themselves. This can also be seen in (69) below, which shows a short excerpt of a conversation in which **LOG_{f3}** asks the group to give her some palm wine to taste:

(69)

01	LOG_{f3}	→all	<i>alhakúbêr unahamiuŋ</i> “in gods name, give me some”	A, BG
02			<i>bi de nayisina</i> <i>bi de nice na</i> “that is really nice” (DJI040217MW_cut06: 04:17-04:22, ELAN: 41-41)	W E, W

LOG_{f3}’s overall perspective of the linguistic situation in the household is intriguingly close to what was found in the participatory videography data, especially her use of

Baïnouk Gubëeher, which appears nearly exactly as reported. Furthermore, it was observed in the collected data that **LOG_{f3}** prefers Wolof to Joola languages in multilingual conversations where Wolof and Joola languages are present, as long as the social status of interlocutors does not directly affect her. This is a fact that she did not specifically point out in the interviews; however, going back to the interview data, there was no question targeted for such a response since its importance was not clear while doing fieldwork. Even though to date **LOG_{f3}** still claims not to speak French, she uses it in utterances she recognises as French and has explanations, which sometimes felt more like justifications, for why she used a certain lexeme and not a different one. Her interpretations and comments on situations are impressive, highly valid for analysis and little influenced by attitudes and ideologies towards the languages; indicative of the fact that she is the only one of the main participants who did not receive any formal education.

7.1.5 Language report and use of language(s)

There is a widespread awareness in sociolinguistic research that the speaker's report and their actual use of language(s) deviate, with the latter extending beyond an individual's consciousness (Di Carlo, 2016; Mertz & Yovel, 2003). As expected, deviation was found in the aggregation of the two different sets of data; this was a crucial and eye-opening step in the analysis and enabled a better understanding of the linguistic situation and its social setting.

The correlation between the reports and the use of language(s) shows an accuracy in certain descriptions of the main participants' self-perception, metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness, but a significant deviation in others. However, an analysis of reported repertoires and language(s) in conjunction with participatory videography data and discussions with the speakers themselves enabled a presentation of attitudes and ideologies towards languages within this research. These further proved strongly interlinked with cultural orientations and the groups they perceive language(s) and people as belonging to.

The data is coherent and consistent with the use of more than one language in conversations, situations to which speakers react, accommodate or deviate on a daily basis. This was similarly reported by all main participants, as they clearly expressed their awareness of the presence of many languages in the household. Generally speaking however, there is a tendency to base one's communications in either Gubëeher or Wolof, whereas conversations dominated by Joola languages are mainly provoked by **KS_{2f4}** and infrequent interlocutors who are not confident or willing to use either Gubëeher or Wolof.

Yet, even though none of the main participants identify culturally with Wolof, there is more Wolof present than reported. This represents their common attitude in perceiving Wolof as a language that is needed outside the family environment, without recognising that it is not only physical displacement which encourages its use. The outside comes into the household more often than they perceive, provoking the use of Wolof. Yet Wolof can be used in various situations and is an additional fully integrated language in their daily interaction (possible motivations for the alternation of language(s) are discussed in the following subchapter §7.2).

Depending on the degree to which the speakers were in contact with French, they intermix it more or less frequently; however, conversations in which French did not occur at all were hardly ever observed. Due to the heavy presence of French in the country, but also the high number of commonly used loanwords that are hard to omit, this is not an unusual behaviour at all and can be observed in rural areas as well (conflicting with many publications on West African urban areas, as discussed in more detail in chapter 8). An interesting finding was that in many situations in which French was used, expressions from other local languages could have been used to deliver the same content. Yet significant correlations were obtained between the languages of the terms and their semantics. For example, some of the concepts behind the terms used are bound to the Western systems imposed by the French colonial power. It is widespread throughout Senegal to express references to time, date and numbers in French, but also more common to refer to “imported” social structures (such as retirement, Western hospital, public school etc.) than to talk about more regional or traditional structures. In excerpt (64) for example, **LOG_{F3}** could have used a Wolof term, since they were already in a Wolof mode (e.g. *feykata safara* “the one who extinguishes fire”) or another term in a shared language with **JG_{F3}**. Bringing that up in a conversation with her, she explained that this would have somehow been marked. She explained that *feykata safara* could have been used in this context but would likely be understood as the description of a passer-by who extinguished a fire, rather than a person who is a professional fireman, which was indicated through using the French lexeme *sapeur*. Similarly, the French lexeme *école* ‘school’ is used frequently in conversations based on different Senegalese languages to refer to the public school; see for instance excerpts (04) and (32) in which **LM_{m4}** and **JPS_{m4}** both use it in a Wolof based conversation (which could however also have been other language(s)). The lexeme *daara* ‘school’, deriving from Arabic but designated as the loanword used in Wolof for ‘school’ by Diouf (2003, p. 98), would in the same context have indicated a Koranic school and therefore semantically differs. This however might vary by region due to different influences on the speakers. Exchanging a commonly used expression like

eglise ‘church’ with the term from another language can carry significant semantic information, as can be seen in example (45). Here, **LM_{m4}** uses the term *jangu* that he perceives as Gubëeher; however, when I expressed my confusion since I heard the term often used in Wolof conversations, he explained that it is the same in Gubëeher, Wolof and some Joola languages. **LM_{m4}** clarified that the origin of that word does not play a role; what is important is that the switch from using *eglise* to using *jangu* showed some kind of disrespect in this situation. However, it is doubtful that he would use a similar explanation for many other ‘Wolof lexemes’ in Baïnouk Gubëeher.

The results further yielded meaningful connections between language(s), local beliefs and religion. Whereas the men use French as the basis language that represents Catholic beliefs, the women employ Joola languages in church and use it for their prayers. All of the traditional Ñambëeher beliefs are however practiced and delivered in Gubëeher (as basis language), which was reported as marking a clear distinction between their ancestral beliefs and (in the case of this family) Catholicism but at the same time enables them to practice both simultaneously (for a further discussion see §5.5 above).

All of the main participants evince a strong metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness and are able to distinguish language(s) from each other but do so following the prototype theory rather than a clear classification with strict borders between languages. They can adapt their choice of language(s) to different situations, yet use a way of speaking that might be analysed as for example an ‘intense code-switching mode’ (following Green & Abutalebi, 2013) or ‘fused lects’ (following Auer, 1999) solely from the researcher’s perspective. As will be discussed throughout this chapter, this however only makes sense if short extracts are discussed, ignoring the reality that this is not code-switching but the only natural and accepted way of communication for the speakers in these situations as ‘the codes’ are not marked.

The general picture emerging from the analysis of the main participants’ data is that the women are more aware of the actual language use in the household. This was primarily interpreted as gender related, resulting from the social role of the women within the village who spend more time in the household caring for the family than the men, which simply results in a higher attentiveness regarding the area in which more time is spent. Another influential factor is that the women are not ideologically influenced by the language(s) of Djibonker in the same way the men are. It must further be considered that today within the area it is socially absolutely normal for a woman to move into a different environment through exogamous marriage. It does not hold true that the men are more invested in Baïnouk Gubëeher due to its identity-indexing functions, even though they

definitely report it more in conversations. Within the household, this can be seen with **LOG_{f3}**, who is as passionate as the men to pass on the language and cultural affiliations with Baïnouk Gubëeher, and **KS2_{f4}**, who is not as fluent in it but would never battle against the language or culture.

However, through discussions and shared processing of the information that was delivered in conversations, the data provides convincing evidence that there is still a strong association between their cultural affiliations and representations of themselves and others. Although the women clearly accept the culture and language of the Ñambëeher as the most socially significant in the household, they are aware that this does not mean that the language is used all of the time. **KS2_{f4}** is clearly aware that she uses Joola and Wolof the most and **LOG_{f3}** often adapts, which she is aware of as well. They further state that having guests could provoke any possible mixture of language(s) which they deal with in a context dependent way as they perceive to be appropriate; for instance, **LOG_{f3}** still sticks to Baïnouk Gubëeher in conversations with the smaller children, whereas **KS2_{f4}** does not. Yet in discussions with the men also present, they changed their way of representing the household and tended to report more Gubëeher to please their husbands. The men however rigorously repeated that Gubëeher often is the only language used by the members of the household and spoken most of the time, with the exception of when guests are present. To maintain this image in some situations I even perceived Gubëeher being used to show me that what they say is the reality. While there is no doubt that Gubëeher plays a major role in the household, the representation of the language is strongly interconnected with the cultural affiliation, identification and upbringing of the two men which they pass on to their wives and offspring.

Every one of the main participants has their own personality, which is represented in the examples shown. Overall, the data provides support for the validity of Wolof as a frequently used language in the household which can be triggered by many different factors. Additional data discussed below (as well as in the discussion in chapter 8) will support the above points since many more outside variables need to be included in the analysis of linguistically complex situations.

7.2 Contact phenomena: Wolof

In this section, discourse strategies and patterns for language alternation as well as their conversational functions are illustrated on the basis of participatory videography data that was collected in the household of interest. This part of the data discussion is

focused on Wolof and its functions in conversation while providing an analysis that fits into a rather structuralist framework. Presenting this kind of analysis here is intended on the one hand to answer the third research question ('When is Wolof used in multilingual conversations within the household of investigation? What factors influence switches into and out of Wolof?'), which was phrased at the beginning of the investigation and is worthy of answering but might not be asked in a similar way in subsequent investigations (see §1.3). This results from the fact that my own theoretical positioning developed during this research to become more and more post-structuralist, even though 'structure' still needs to be understood as something that is necessary and makes the illustration of the results of research tangible. On the other hand, then, it is used to present the reader with some patterns that can occur and 'triggers' that may provoke them, thus indicating broad tendencies rather than inflexible rules. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that §7.2 aims to describe Wolof as one language in its multilingual environment and excerpts are chosen according to this criterion. For more extensive excerpts of complex situations, where a structuralist approach would be unfeasible, see §7.3 where a more post-structuralist approach is applied in analysis. Due to the complexity of the linguistic situations, as well as the social and cultural context, the emphasis of analysis is on conversations between the main participants, their children or their social networks.

Expanding on research regarding languages and societies, such as for instance Ferguson (1964), Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1995) (further significant publications discussed in chapter 2), the data collected within this research is discussed as a means of extending findings in bilingualism, code switching and related fields that mainly focus on two standardised languages. In the following subchapters, strategies of language alternation are presented in situations where more than three languages are easily possible with several speakers present, which tend to be under-described in existing literature. Gumperz's metaphorical and discourse strategy approach discusses how speakers establish their conversation on the basis of their own and their interlocutors' abstract "understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood" (1982, 61). This holds not only for bi- or trilingual conversations, but also for language alternation in a highly multilingual context.

Possible discourse strategies that were observed in the data are presented in a comprehensible format through clear exemplifying excerpts to show possible triggers that tend to affect a certain way of using language(s) in this small-scale multilingual investigation with a focus on Wolof. I demonstrate the correlation between the social constellation(s), speakers present and the aims in conversation, which motivates the

multilingual speakers in the application of their repertoires. This will eventually allow for more detailed descriptions of the speakers' language use throughout this chapter, building toward a more complex and context-sensitive discussion of verbal social exchanges. The strategies that are discussed below are not easy to distinguish and several factors might be influential at the same time; those presented appear repeatedly in the data, although this does not mean that the speakers react in the same way in every situation. Even tendencies alone are worthy of discussion and I am aware of the fact that it is highly likely that more strategies are applied in their daily multilingual conversations. However, they are hard to grasp as for example practicality, ease, joking or provocations motivate the choice of language(s), but looking back at the recordings, the motivations of the participants are at times not entirely comprehensible since a full awareness of their past experiences and present intentions is impossible to establish. Such occurrences will be discussed for each case separately in the following subchapter (§7.3) in order to provide as much background information as possible supported by a different analytical approach.

7.2.1 Wolof 'monolingual' discourse

This section addresses the issue of a monolingual use of Wolof. As discussed in previous chapters, a mode in which only one language is used pertains to discourse pragmatic conventions (see §5.4 and §5.5) and is definitely the exception in this investigation where multilingual language use is the norm. The example below further shows a monolingual discourse as perceived by both the speakers and the observers, following a prototypical view on the language in the conversation (see also § 2.1.3 as well as *Waston (forthcoming) Cobbinah et al. (2017)*). However, even if the speakers emulate this mode, their actual speech is never entirely monolingual since many words can be conventionally associated with other languages from the researcher's point of view. The theoretical framework underpinning this analysis comprises for example *Green and Abutalebi's (2013) 'single language context'* as well as *Cobbinah et al's. (2017) 'contexte monolingue'* who hold a similar view and discussed related examples in their works (also discussed in §2.1).

This 'monolingual' discourse is used to illustrate an example in which the observers marked only one language in transcription for a relatively long verbal exchange, which was matched by the speakers' view of such situations and confirmed in debriefing sessions with them, but stands in contrast to the researcher's view, in which several languages are

traceable⁷⁶. With the data below, I seek to determine a ‘monolingual’ discourse from that view, to which I thereafter refer as “X is used as a basis language” or “the conversation is based on X”, denoting either the observers’, the speakers’ mode or both, while acknowledging the researcher’s awareness that, following typological rules, more than one language is used. Extract (70) presents an uninterrupted conversation between **LM_{m4}** and **IPS_{m4}**, who are working at the construction site while chatting:

(70)

01	LM_{m4} → IPS_{m4}	<i>mbot la ñu japp ni</i> <i>mboot lañu japp ni</i> “they got a frog”	W
02		<i>melintan yi rouge yi</i> <i>melentan yu rouge yi</i> “the red ants”	W F, W
03	IPS_{m4} → LM_{m4}	<i>yoyu ñoy lek niit</i> <i>Yooyu ñooy lekk, yooyu ñooy lekk nit</i> “these ones are eating humans”	W
04	LM_{m4} → IPS_{m4}	<i>Waaw</i> “yes”	W
05	IPS_{m4} → LM_{m4}	<i>non man xam na</i> “I know them”	W F, W
06		<i>bolen deme armel ni, cimitière il faut nga gis ko forse</i> <i>boo leen demee armel ni, cimitièr ni fu ñu gas ni, il faut nga gis ko foofu forcé</i> “if you go to the cemetery, the cemetery where you are digging, it is sure that you will see them, by force”	W F, W
07	LM_{m4} → IPS_{m4}	<i>Baaxuñu</i> “they are not good”	W
08	IPS_{m4} → LM_{m4}	<i>dagay gas gas be nga daje ak yax niit</i> <i>Parce que leeleee dangay gas gas gas ba nga daje ak yaxu nit</i> “because sometimes you are digging, digging, digging until you find the bones of a human”	W F, W
09		<i>gene yaxi yep, leele pa yi, deñuy jeki jeki neñu li moy niw mungi ni genn</i> <i>Genn yax yi yepp, leele pa yi dañu jekki jekki ñu ne xoolal li moy niw di genn</i> “get all of the bones out, these grandfathers, sometimes they are suddenly saying look, this is a corpse, it is coming out”	W

⁷⁶ There were also ‘monolingual’ discourses observed in the researcher’s view; however these are very short in the participatory videography data and hardly survive more than one conversational switch (this also neglects varieties, lects, styles etc. that are harder to grasp). However, it more frequently occurs in situations where certain language behaviour is more controlled, such as in the church, where certain prayers are prescribed, my research assistant asking prepared questions in interviews or in written (French) language use (also discussed in §5.4).

10			<i>caisse sa comme salamaleku</i> <i>caisse sax, comme Salamalekum</i> “even the coffin, like ‘hi there’”	W A, F, W
11	LM _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>Mhm?</i> “mhm?”	W
12	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>waawaw deñu grauw</i> <i>waaw dañu graaw de</i> “yes yes, they are serious”	W F, W
13	LM _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>ak caisse bu amul produit, bu ame produit duñu ñeme</i> “with the box [coffin] that don't have a product, the ones that have a product, they [ants] don't like it”	W F, W
14	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>bu amule produit ni xay salamalekum lañ koy def</i> <i>bu amule produit ni, hi salamalekum lañu koy def</i> “if it does not have the product, hi Salamalekum is what they are going to do with it”	W A, E, F, W
15			<i>deñuw coob caisse bi ñiñew fekk la fofu ñu coob la</i> <i>dañu job caisse bi ñu ñew fekk la foofu ñu job la</i> “they are going to eat the box [coffin] until they find you there, then they eat you”	W F, W
16	LM _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>kon ñun duñulen di coob ñom ñi coob ñu</i> <i>kon ñun duñu leen di job, ñoom ñu job ñun</i> “So we are not eating them, they are the ones eating us”	W E, W
17	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>bo degge melintan yu lekk nit moy yi la</i> <i>Waaw, boo deggee melentaan yu lekk nit rek yi la,</i> <i>bu xonq ni</i> “Yes, if you hear about the ants that eat humans there they are, the red ones” (DJI170216MWa_cut02: 02:44-03:41, ELAN: 35-51)	W

In this informal discussion about the behaviour of red ants, which the speakers detected while loosening sand to form mud bricks, PLC_{m2} was also present although he did not interact either verbally or through non-verbal communicational signs. Both of the speaking participants reported that their conversation was in Wolof without mentioning other languages, even after watching the recording. The transcriber also observed only Wolof in this case. Yet both speakers as well as the transcriber have proven their awareness of French and Arabic expressions in a Wolof mode and were highly likely to have been able to tag them in the example above if I had asked for it directly (e.g. “show me the French/Arabic terms” instead of “what language(s) do you observe/speak here”).

Furthermore, the context is highly interesting in this example. As discussed before and mentioned in scientific publications on multilingual areas, such a ‘monolingual’ discourse it often described to happen in ‘specified’ situations, where a determination to one language is socially clear (like French in school, Wolof for business on the market, Arabic in the mosque, etc.). However, in this situation, two friends are having a

conversation in a familiar place, with another person listening while discussing only one topic and base their conversation on Wolof. This seems to be one of the rare cases in which a rather long verbal exchange concerning only one topic was not interrupted by anything, creating a context where a ‘monolingual’ discourse is possible without being perceived as marked. That Wolof was used as a basis language happened due to the personal backgrounds of the two speakers, even though they share many more language(s) in their linguistic repertoires. Whereas other speakers (such as **LOG**_{f3} and **KS2**_{f4} in conversations with each other) would still have mixed for instance Wolof and Joola, **LM**_{m4} and **IPS**_{m4} personally prefer not to do so (for a further discussion on this issue, see chapter 8).

Considering the example from the researcher’s view, this however does not look ‘monolingual’ in any way. As can be seen in the blue language abbreviations, which were added by me in L02, L05, L06, L08, L10, L12, L13, L14, L15 and L16, all of these lines can be considered as incorporating an expression from a different named language, independent of the speakers’ and observers’ interpretations. Unsurprisingly, French is present in the excerpt as one can find *rouge* “red” in L02, *non* “no” in L05, *cimetière* “graveyard”, *il faut* “it must/it is sure”, *forcé* “forced” in L06, *parce que* “because” in L08 (even though it was not transcribed as such by the transcriber), *caisse* “box” in L13 and L15 and *produit* “product” in L13 and L14. Furthermore, French was observed in L12 from the researcher’s view, which should be discussed briefly. Whereas all of the other examples in this excerpt are pronounced close to standard French, *graaw* [gra:wu] “serious” somehow breaks ranks. It is a lexeme that was derived from the French adjective *grave* [gʁav] “serious” and has largely kept its semantics, but is frequently used in Wolof, seems not to be exchangeable with a lexeme with the same meaning in Wolof, and has not been identified as French by any of my participants during the research (see also §2.1.3). The lexemes *rouge* (L02) and *xonq* (L17) “red”, were both used from French and Wolof (although not by the same speaker), and *armel* and *cimetière* (L06) “graveyard” were used from Wolof and French even within one utterance.

An interesting additional finding can be observed in L14, where **IPS**_{m4} uses *xay salamalekum* (or *hi salamalekum*) to refer to how the ants “greet” a coffin or corpse when it is not treated with a product to repel them (meaning they are going to eat it). Obviously **IPS**_{m4} makes fun of the situation, imitating ants that are greeting the coffin. *Salamalekum*⁷⁷ is a transparent term that is not surprising to find since it is the most

⁷⁷ *Salamalekum* is used throughout Senegal as a variety of the Arabic greeting *As-salāmu ‘alaykum* “peace be upon you”.

widespread greeting in Senegal due to its high percentage of Muslim population (IPS_{m4} was raised as a Muslim; further details of his short biography in §6.3) and is used by almost everyone, independent of their religious orientation. However, ‘hi’ (transcribed as *xay*, the *x* referring to the IPA sound we asked the transcribers to use for velar fricatives in transcriptions of the local languages) is an interesting expression. Observations showed that the Senegalese people working for the Crossroads Project, as well as regular guests and the main participants of this research, began to adopt some English terms the English speakers regularly used; the greeting ‘hi’ was one of them. The general picture emerging in 2015 was that the people from the area used a high pitch ‘hi!’ to tease the English speakers since they reportedly found it ‘sounding funny’. In 2016 (when the extract (70) above was recorded) I was not aware of the fact that the term was still employed even if none of the England-based researchers were around, yet by 2017 it was established by members of the Crossroads team in Senegal as a normal way to greet each other. However, these findings are not generalisable and might not have developed in the same way for all the participants involved in this research.

In the corpus of this research, a ‘monolingual’ discourse such as the one described above, including one or more of the main participants of this research, was recorded in Wolof, Baïnouk Gubëeher or a Joola as the basic languages. Yet conversations based on a Joola are somewhat more problematic, since classifications and categorisations of the various Joola languages are not clearly identified in publications, nor are they easily distinguishable for speakers/observers due to their proximity and intermixture (discussed in some more detail in §3.4.4 on Joola languages). However, since classification is not the aim of this research, this example should rather demonstrate how manifold a conversation can be, even if it is described as a ‘monolingual’ discourse within certain views. Further on, intersentential use of lexemes that are categorised as belonging to another named language within a ‘monolingual’ discourse (as determined by the observers and/or speakers) will be marked on the right-hand side of the transcriptions in blue from the researcher’s view, but only pointed out if these mixtures have any influence on the linguistic situation or are important for analysis. In the following subchapters I will refer back to this (and other) examples in the course of the discussion to exemplify other phenomena that can be analysed and interpreted.

7.2.2 ‘Multilingual’ discourse strategies: Wolof

In the following section, I discuss discourse strategies that can be influential in multilingual conversations in this research. As already mentioned in §7.2, these are not seen as unrestricted phenomena but rather as tendencies of language use within multilingual conversations that can be grouped and described, which in no way means that they are always influential (in the same manner). This is an attempt to provide a certain structure in analysis, in which extra-linguistic triggers in contact-induced language alternation that were identified and observed in this research play a role, with the focus on Wolof. For this purpose, among other determinants, extensive background knowledge on everyday life in the village, worldviews, common knowledge of the speakers, participants’ experiences and linguistic repertoires is needed (Eckert, 2006; Gullberg, Indefrey, & Muysken, 2009; Salami, 1991; Vertovec, 2007). It should however be emphasised that the aim was not to create a paternalistic view on the data, omitting the speakers’ interpretation since multilingual speech is (mostly) unmarked for the speakers themselves.

Extra-linguistic and socio-demographic triggers have featured in research for a long time, within a structuralist view on language (see e.g. Clyne 2003; Gumperz 1995; Myers-Scotton 1993); however, these approaches and definitions have not been implemented or discussed in situations as multilingual as they are in this research. Not many studies of multilingual language use and the different roles of the language(s) have featured more than two languages in conversations, an extensive concentration on participants’ backgrounds, or the support of good quality video data and different views in analysis (see §2.2 on multilingualism and §2.7 on investigations in (West) Africa). In this research, it was salient that language alternation would have been interpreted differently without all of this information, wherefore I want to point to the high relevance of in-depth analysis.

The work of the aforementioned researchers, especially Gumperz's (1995) study (whose terminology is partly used in the following subchapters) of conversational functions, serves as a fundamental tool in the analysis of patterns in the participatory videography data in order to investigate the ‘triggers’ that can be responsible for alternations to other language(s), from a researcher’s view. These are presented in rather short excerpts of conversations to exemplify various possible strategies, which was necessary due to the fact that longer discussions are highly likely to represent different phenomena and influential parallel discussions at the same time and might be harder or impossible to grasp. However, within an integrative approach, the demonstration of such

patterns will further provide essential knowledge for comprehending the fluid translanguaging situations presented below. From a researcher's view, ample evidence exists to prove certain patterns, since the intermixture of language(s) sometimes seems to follow (socially explainable) structures yet some of them are easier to determine than others and some might not have been discovered at all.

7.2.2.1 Addressee specification

When working with multimedia data, especially in environments where highly multilingual conversations are the norm, the alternation from one language to another is often directly connected to its recipients, which Gumperz (1995) calls addressee specification. What will be described in this subchapter is the change from one language to another to indicate an addressee change, which was similarly described as the 'multiple language mode' by Cobbinah et al. (2017), which fits with several of the following subchapters, and by Green and Abutalebi (2013) as 'dual-language mode'. Even though these changes primarily seem to happen intersententially (within a conversation, not an utterance), Greens and Abutalebi's approach needs to be extended here. On the one hand interlocutors do not have one assigned language that they always address each other in (e.g. **LOG**_{f3} and **KS2**_{f4} who either use Wolof, Joola or Baïnouk to address each other) since the language that is used is also highly dependent on the surrounding context, topic etc. If there is more than one language shared with an addressee, the change from one language to another can therefore only be used to (re-)gain their attention. On the other hand, as discussed in §7.2.1, there is nearly never only one language used, but rather a mixture of several. Therefore, the distinction or definition of inter- and intrasentential switches becomes impossible to discern without establishing borders for a mixed language and creating a 'new defined entity' of language. This however does not prove to be expedient and is not the aim of this research.

Addressee specification (or addressee attention-seeking) can be based on various (social) factors; for example, some speakers in a conversation may commonly use shared language(s), address unknown people in language(s) that the speaker attributes to them, switch to show respect, play, make fun, adapt etc. through the choice of language(s). In the data collected, the above described forms of alternations appear more often in multilingual conversations with more than two interlocutors to initiate a change of the situation and direct it to a specific person, group or topic, which will be further discussed in §7.4 and chapter 8. Although this seems to be closely related to inclusion and exclusion (see below §7.2.2.2), it is here discussed separately due to the fact that the other people

present can often still comprehend what is communicated and do not miss out on any information, since it is not the aim to exclude someone.

If such a change of language(s) happens and more than the two individuals participating in the situation possess knowledge of the language to which it was alternated, it can influence their subsequent application of their linguistic repertoires. Excerpt (71) below illustrates this via a Wolof based communication featuring **LOG_{f3}**, **IPS_{m4}**, **TS1_{m6}**, **LM_{m4}** and **PLC_{m2}** that switches to a Joola language.

(71)

01	IPS _{m4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>yow yow zin bi rekk?</i> “for you only the moto is good?”	W
02	LOG_{f3}	→ all	<i>wuuy mune yow zin bi rekk</i> “wuuy he said for you only the moto is good”	W
03		→ TS1 _{m6}	<i>munda kama buma nuyoke</i> “Munda what is going on, are you tired”	J
04	TS1 _{m6}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>niyoke kabriŋ fukaray</i> “I am tired since the night”	J

(DJI260116MWa_cut03: 00:22-00:38, ELAN: 9-12)

The conversation prior to this excerpt was Wolof based, and even though TS1_{m6} claims not to speak or understand Wolof, he was shaking his head in agreement or disagreement after **LOG_{f3}** addressed the whole group in L02. However, after **LOG_{f3}**'s statement in L02, TS1_{m6} was yawning in a provocative reaction, which caused **LOG_{f3}** to address him directly in a Joola language. This happened because Joola is the language that they usually speak to each other, and even though they share more languages in their linguistic repertoire, this is the language with which **LOG_{f3}** can express the most respect towards her interlocutor, while at the same time making fun of him. However, if she had addressed him in Wolof to express the same content, she explained that it would have been very impolite, which she did not want to be. The whole conversation then switched to a Joola basis and continued for several exchanges, also integrating the other speakers present.

In the example (72) below, which was recorded on the same day, a switch from a Joola language to Wolof is visible:

(72)

01	TS1 _{m6}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>ati elupay ani jat ukan ma let ukan</i> “if the owner tells you not to do so, you won’t be able to do it”	J
02	LOG _{f3}	→ TS1 _{m6}	<i>eh let ukan let ukan</i> “eh you won't be able, you won't be able”	J
03		→ all	<i>yen kan mo fi wer portabulom wala dei charger</i> <i>Yeen kan moo fi weer portablam, walla dey charger</i> “Who is drying their phone here, or is it charging?”	W F, W
04	IPS _{m4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>waw dei charger</i> <i>Waaw dey charger noonu</i> “yes, it is charging like that”	W F, W

(DJ1260116a_cut02: 04:41-04:55, ELAN: 91-94)

What can be observed above is a strategy that is used constantly in conversations. A switch to a Wolof based conversation is used to denote that LOG_{f3} is now switching to a different topic, while addressing all who are present, rather than just one person (like she did with TS1_{m6} before), even though the communication could have continued in Joola since all of the attendees are able to comprehend and speak it. If she for example only wanted to address her family as a group, she would have used Baïnouk Gubëher as a basis language.

In the following example LOG_{f3} addresses her daughter in BG to make her greet JG_{f3}, who she refers to as *tanta* (L03, L06) in a conversation about JS10_{f0} recognising JG_{f3} or not:

(73)

01	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>mane ko hamula</i> <i>ma ne ko xamul la</i> “I told her, she does not know you”	W
02	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>faaleul liganteul ma sax mom</i> <i>faalewul ma ligantewul ma sax moom</i> “she didn't pay attention, she did not even care about me, she”	W
03	LOG _{f3}	→ JS10 _{f0}	<i>hmm fi úlódini tanta úlódini tanta</i> “hmm you greet your aunt, greet your aunt”	BG
04	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>dafa am jotom sa mane ko dafa am jotom sa</i> <i>dafa am jotom sax, ma ne ko dafa am jotom sax</i> “does she even have time for it, I say does she even have time for it”	W
05	JG _{f3}	→ women	<i>mane ko faleoma hana degóma</i> <i>ma ne ko falewoo ma, xana deggoo ma</i> “I told her: you don't care about me, or didn't you hear me”	W
06	LOG _{f3}	→ JS10 _{f0}	<i>jaki dúlódin tanta</i> “Jaki [nickname JS10 _{f0}] don't you greet the aunt”	BG BG, F

(DJ1130216MW_cut03: 07:10-07:29, ELAN: 136-141)

It is notable here that although all of the individuals present are able to comprehend all of the content in Wolof, **LOG**_{f3} chose to speak Gubëeher to her daughter. This strategy however was not used to exclude **JG**_{f3} (she never reported to speak Bاینounk Gubëeher but seems to comprehend in this situation through the context), rather than to clearly address her younger daughter, as she always does in Bاینounk Gubëeher.

Example (74) presents a situation where **LOG**_{f3}, **KS2**_{f4}, **JG**_{f3} and myself were present, discussing our program for the day. The importance of video data has to be emphasised again, as the following extract could have been interpreted as one conversation without the video file:

(74)

01	MW _{f2}	→ all	<i>dañu dohantu be ci paa bi ñëwat</i> <i>dañu doxantu ba ci pa bi di ñëwaat</i> “we go for a walk to the dad and come back”	W
02	JG _{f3}	→ phone	<i>bu jikane</i> “what are you doing?”	J
03	LOG _{f3}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>ah waw waw dakor waw</i> <i>ah waaw, waaw, d'accord, waaw</i> "ah yes yes, agreed yes"	W W, F
04	JG _{f3}	→ phone	<i>wa dukobe bete kan</i> “what are you waiting for to do?”	J
05	LOG _{f3}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>dañu dem ci paa bi, si ñom mama</i> “they are going to the dad, to them, mama” (DJI130216MW_cut03: 01:30-01:38, ELAN: 27-31)	W

JG_{f3} is communicating on her phone using a Joola language, differing from their basis language of communication Wolof, which would be impossible to comprehend without a video file since she could be interpreted as still being part of the conversation. This excerpt was chosen to present here since it shows how a phone call changes the language use of **JG**_{f3}, who was previously participating in the Wolof conversation. However, careful attention has to be paid in analysis since the transcriptions make it appear as though **JG**_{f3} is still part of the conversation.

In the excerpts above it is clearly visible how changing the recipient with a language change is possible and strategically used whether to determine single speakers or change addressees from a group to an individual/smaller group or vice versa. It was often observed that while Wolof was used as a basis language of conversation in a big and diverse group, another rather smaller language was used to directly address individuals.

7.2.2.2 Inclusion and exclusion

As briefly mentioned in the section §7.2.2.1 above, another pattern that was analysed as a possible trigger to switch to other language(s) within conversation is the intention to include or exclude individuals, a process in which a conscious decision is made on what information to share with whom. Within literature, the phenomenon however tends to be discussed with a focus on social inclusion or exclusion. Likewise, in the educational sector (see e.g. Piller (2012), De Beaugrande (1997) for a broader discussion), the term appears to demonstrate certain inequalities through language use. Even though the language alternation described here might appear to correspond with an exclusion from the social setting for certain participants, the power imbalance that is described in the literature mentioned above does not extend beyond the moment of exclusion and every speaker seems to be able to exclude others through the use of certain language(s).

This alternation can pursue two directions: a conversation that is based on smaller language(s) (or simply a language that is not understood by the group as a whole) could switch to more commonly shared language(s) in order to include other people, or a basic language of conversation that is shared between the interlocutors is changed by someone who wants to address only certain people and therefore switches into language(s) that excludes others. For this strategy to be efficient it requires at least some background knowledge of the interlocutors, which my main participants generally possessed. A switch to clearly exclude an individual can be seen in (75) below.

(75)

01	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>ah ñibbi</i> “ah going home”	W
02	JPS _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>ni ni ni</i> “just like that”	W
03	IPS _{m4}	→ JPS _{m4}	<i>waaw waaw</i> “yes yes”	W
04	JPS _{m4}	→ Bāinounk speakers	<i>eh udëek uñontom na gumbuss honom</i> “eh come and look at the bag he has”	BG

(DJI260316MW_cut06: 02:19-02:25, ELAN: 47-50)

In example (75) IPS_{m4} is getting up to leave the household and go home with a rather solid plastic bag in his hand, clearly visible on the video file. These bags are valuable goods in the village since they are reusable; the other people present (JPS_{m4}, LOG_{f3}, KS2_{f4}) observed him holding this bag. In L04 JPS_{m4} switched to Bāinounk Gubëeher to address the women who were sitting a bit further away. Discussing this with JPS_{m4}, he explained that he recognised the bag and wanted to ask the women if one of them gave it to IPS_{m4}, and if not, accuse him of stealing it (as he explained in a discussion after viewing the video file together). Therefore, to avoid an unpleasant situation, he consciously

decided to use Gubëeher rather than Wolof (which is usually shared by the whole group) so that IPS_{m4} would not be able to understand what he is saying.

In the following examples (76) and (77) I am clearly excluded by the choice of language(s) of the women present:

(76)

01	LOG _{f3}	→ KS _{2f4}	<i>gerte la demoon indí gerte</i> “peanuts, I went to get peanuts”	W
02	MW _{f2}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>lii yëp gerte lë</i> <i>li yëpp gerte la</i> “all of that is peanuts?”	W
03	LOG _{f3}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>Waaw</i> “yes”	W
04	MW _{f2}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>du jeex</i> “it's not going to be finished”	W
05	JG _{f3}	→ KS _{2f4}	<i>kama kujaburuŋ ŋa kolul bay kúpúrúló</i> “where does our foreigner come from?”	J
06	LOG _{f3}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>dedeet tey dú jeex</i> “no it won't be finished today”	W
07	KS _{2f4}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>Uhuum</i> “uhuum?”	J
08	JG _{f3}	→ KS _{2f4}	<i>kujaa buruŋ ŋa kiya bay kúpúrúló</i> “your foreigner, where does she come from?”	J
09	LOG _{f3}	→ MW _{f2}	<i>dedeet du jeex ha ha ha</i> “no it won't be finished [laughs]”	W
10	KS _{2f4}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>ubuku kann kurokemu di lorant baba</i> “they are the people who work there with Laurent”	J
11			<i>moi akabana alakoyen mi di békót</i> “the one that was at Bakouts house”	J
12			<i>ëlúlúmawu ann alakoyene mi kaliken kasankena kolii</i> “the toubab [white person] who is at Bakouts house, the one Laurent teaches his language”	J

(DJI130216MW_cut01: 00:09-00:25, ELAN: 7-18)

(77)

01	LOG _{f3}	→ all	<i>dafa tanga</i> “It is hot”	W
02		→ MW _{f2}	<i>ëdúhúni ee?</i> “It is hot, ee?”	BG
03	MW _{f2}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>Ee</i> “yes”	BG
04	LOG _{f3}	→ all	<i>asankenom kuset wic nan ajalomi taate dibujomoray yo ko nasafom de</i> “she greeted me really clear today in the morning with - I came here! That is how she greeted me”	J
05			<i>úgúnaa nenol ee ucemi hóbún nenol ee</i> “I great you, I told her, yes. Did you sleep well? I told her yes!”	BG
06	KS _{2f4}	→ all	<i>aan kama umu ejólai</i> “so it starts to come”	J

07	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>umu akoyumum</i> “she is better than [pointing with her head]”	J
08	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>numko jange la dú daf ko janga bidë</i> <i>nu mu ko jangee la, du dafa ko jang mu bind</i> “it it how she learns it, isn't she learning through writing”	W
09	LOG _{f3}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>nga ne ko legi te nga mokal</i> <i>nga ne ko leegi de nga mokkal</i> “you tell her, soon you will be prepared” (DJI130216MW_cut03: 02:07-02:33, ELAN: 37-45)	W

In example (76) LOG_{f3} arrives at the house with a huge bag of peanuts on her head, whereupon I got up to help her take it off and entered the conversation of the women. Parallel to my conversation with LOG_{f3}, JG_{f3} uses a Joola language (even though they used Wolof before) to request more information about me in a language she assumes I do not understand. The same strategy was used in (77), where LOG_{f3} first addresses me in BG, aiding my integration in the conversation and in a Ñambëher social setting. She further consciously or unconsciously excluded JG_{f3} who does not speak Bاینounk Gubëher, but subliminally conveyed my integration in the community. LOG_{f3} then switches to Joola to talk about me while I am leaving the setting, knowing that I am not able to understand what she says. What is interesting here is that as soon as I was out of hearing range, they switched back to Wolof, which clearly shows that the Joola language was only used to exclude me from the discussion’s content. It was further observable that the participants of the research, including myself, had by this point lost awareness of the cameras. If they were still conscious of being filmed and audio recorded, they might have said things differently. However, in discussions after the recording sessions they agreed that I could use all of the data presented here.

Since this is a strategy that all of the participants (and probably most of the multilingual individuals in the world) use, people are very aware that someone else could switch to another language to exclude themselves:

(78)

01	IPS _{m4}	→ TS1 _{m6}	<i>paa animañ gabanebio</i> “paa do you want to go on [working]”	BT
02	TS1 _{m6}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>Mmmh</i> “mmmh”	BT
03	LM _{m4}	→ all	<i>bule ñu jow de</i> <i>buleen ñu jow de</i> “don't talk behind our backs”	W
04	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>kon de xam nga jow neexul</i> <i>kon de xam nga ni jow neexul</i> “so you know that talking behind ones back is not pleasant”	W
05	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>kon de mom xam na ni jow neexul</i> “so he actually knows that talking behind ones back is not pleasant”	W
06	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>yow ngay xam ni buñu togge fi ngun ngun rek</i> <i>Yow ngay xam nga bu ñu toogee fi ngun-ngun-ngun-ngun rekk</i> “you are, you know when we are sitting here, only ngun-ngun-ngun-ngun [interpreting them speaking BG]”	W
07	LM _{m4}	→ PLC _{m2}	<i>uhanat di ni ni</i> “put that here”	BG W
08	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>ba na</i> <i>baax na</i> “it is fine”	W

(DJI170216MWa_cut02: 00:01-00:26, ELAN: 01-08)

Even though in this excerpt no actual exclusion of participants happens and what can be seen is a change of language(s) influenced by recipients, LM_{m4} and IPS_{m4} felt excluded at two different points in conversation (L03, L08). Once IPS_{m4} uses Bayot to address the head of the building site, LM_{m4} immediately tells IPS_{m4} to stop talking behind their (people who do not understand Bayot) backs. This leads to a discussion in which IPS_{m4} even tells LM_{m4} that he speaks *ngun ngun* (IPS_{m4}'s disparaging interpretation of Gubëeher) all the time. LM_{m4} does not react to what IPS_{m4} says but rather designates a task to PLC_{m2}, whereupon IPS_{m4} feels attacked and responds with a cynical “it is fine”. As such, this pattern is not only constantly observable, but also used in a self-aware and strategic manner according to people's aims in conversation. However, since Wolof is such a widely spoken language in the household and village, it was not observed as being used to exclude individuals, but constantly to create inclusive situations.

7.2.2.3 Quotation and reported speech

Exploring Gumperz's (1995) notion of 'quotation and reported speech', in this section I show how recalling information and quoting a statement that was uttered in the past can provoke an alternation to a language that differs from what was used as a basis of conversation. This strategy was clearly explained by the main participants as being used to precisely deliver the information they want to share since translation into another language (or language(s)) could change the content and deliver the wrong meaning. However, this either requires that the interlocutors are also familiar with the language that is quoted, or additional translation to explain. The following example (79) shows how an utterance in reported speech in another language can be used without influencing the linguistic environment in which it is embedded, whereas in excerpt (80) such a quotation changes the language(s) used and the interlocutor accommodates (for a better understanding the quotes are here marked in **bold**).

(79)

01	LOG _{f3} → KS2 _{f4} JG _{f3}	<i>motax kerog idi bamel bomu ñěwe fii dima wax vinsan mo man bomu ñěwe tak</i> <i>moo tax keroog Idi Bamel boo mu ñěwee fi di ma wax Vinsan moom, man bu ma ñěwee tak</i> “that is why the last time when Idi Bamel came here to tell me Vincent, he is, just when he came here”	W
02		<i>mu ne ma jililik ewonki hek jiyolenut jisofi</i> “he told me we have tried to call you but we could not get through to you ” <i>sa ma hel ci mom dem, mer bi man dama yakar ne mer bi mo gañu</i>	J, W
03		<i>sama xel ci moom la dem, mère bi man dama yakaar ne mère bi moo gañu</i> “my mind went to him, the grandmother I was thinking of the grandmother who is the one who died”	W E, W

(DJI130216MW_cut04: 01:53-02:06, ELAN: 37-39)

(80)

01	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>Ban alexi</i> “which Alexi”	W
02	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>alexu njago mu jeki jeki mune nii mane</i> <i>dikufontalirin aan</i> <i>alexu njago, mu jeki jeki mu ne nii, ma ne</i> <i>dikufontalirin aan</i> “Alexi the Njago, suddenly he said that and I told him don't make fun of me , aan!”	MJ ⁷⁸ , W
03	LOG _{f3}	→ JG _{f3}	<i>aha ha ha</i> “[laughs]”	
04			<i>dikufontalirin kai</i> “ don't make fun of me , come on”	MJ
05			<i>Asafurlah</i> I ask Allah for forgiveness [used as expression for disapproval]	A

(DJI130216MW_cut01: 02:52-03:03, ELAN: 111-115)

In (79) L02 LOG_{f3} quotes a person who came to see her, which she introduces in Wolof *mu ne ma*, telling her that he has tried calling but could not get through. In this example, the quotation is integrated into a Wolof based conversation without effecting a change to another language.

Yet in excerpt (80) JG_{f3} is quoting herself using a Njago utterance (which was introduced with Wolof *ma ne* as in the prior example) which provokes LOG_{f3} to repeat and alternate to Njago (intermixed with Wolof) as well, a language she rarely uses in the household. It is even followed by an Arabic expression in L05 (transcribed as Arabic *asafurlah* derived from Arabic spelling of Astaghfiru Allah (Munro & Gaye, 1997, p. 8)) but is, in the perception of LOG_{f3} which she expressed in a debriefing, Njago as well. This expression is commonly used in the Arabic world and among Muslim societies in Senegal as an expression of disapproval. LOG_{f3} however links the expression more to her upbringing as Njago (that seems to have been influenced by the Islamic world) than with Arabic itself. These two examples were picked out of many since they exemplify the two different reactions in conversation that can happen due to quoting information in a different language. However, it is not possible to distinguish overarching rules determining when a quotation may trigger a switch to another language as a basis language of communication and when it does not.

⁷⁸ Interestingly, the transcriber marked MJ, the abbreviation for ‘Manjaku’ in this line, even though the speaker herself mentioned *Njago* as the language of the person addressed, which reflects the transcriber’s perception of the language’s name.

7.2.2.4 Reiteration

The strategy of reiteration was observed in the analysis of the data as a tool used by the speaker(s) for different purposes. It either places greater emphasis on an utterance or term, clarifies it or repeats the content in a slightly modified way. The latter was for example used when the speaker had the feeling that the addressee(s) did not fully comprehend, yet it seems not to be a difficulty of comprehension due to lack in the linguistic repertoire, but rather a repetition that amplified the importance of the utterance. However, reiteration also seems to happen without any transparent function. This was already present in excerpts presented above, for example in (70), where IPS_{m4} uses French and Wolof terms for ‘graveyard’ within the same utterance, or in (77) L01 and L02, where a reiteration happens that at the same time possesses an including/excluding function.

Whereas LM_{m4} and JPS_{m4} regularly use French reiteration, the women instead switch to other languages like Wolof, Joola or sometimes Gubëeher. In the first extract LOG_{f3} uses reiteration to seemingly make clear what she is talking about.

(81)

01	LOG_{f3}	→ $KS2_{f4}$	<i>hana jiliene bisab, kugesà kola kubanban</i> <i>xanaa julienne bisap, kugesà kola kubanban</i> “isn't it Julienne's hibiscus, her hibiscus is finished”	J J, W
			(DJI130216MW_cut04: 00:04-00:06, ELAN: 1)	

In (81) LOG_{f3} starts a phrase in Wolof using the lexeme *bisap* ‘hibiscus’ but then repeats the same word in a Joola language *kugesà*, even though using Wolof would have been sufficient for $KS2_{f4}$ and all of the participants present since it is a commonly used term which is generally understood (as mainly used for hibiscus on the market in Brin). In the following excerpt (82), LOG_{f3} is talking about me and repeats the same phrase based on two different language(s).

(82)

01	LOG _{f3}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>mia mba endeay elet ni ka-enregistrer</i> “did Mia say that her thing is recording at the moment?”	J
02	KS2 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>noone</i> “what did you say”	J
03	LOG _{f3}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>lumuy def ni dey enregistrer ni wala</i> <i>Lu muy def ni dey enregistrer ni walla lan la</i> “what is she doing, she is recording, or what is happening here?”	W E, W
04	KS2 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>mm aw ujamut yo jacquiline erege o banene ni kapana kola</i> “mhm didn't you hear when Jacqueline said that she has put it just next to her?” (DJI170216MWb_cut04: 02:36-02:48, ELAN: 36-39) ⁷⁹	J

In this excerpt (82) LOG_{f3}'s aim was to ensure that KS2_{f4} clearly understood what she tried to communicate. She initially posed her question in a Joola language (L01), which KS2_{f4} did not understand acoustically or simply missed through a lapse of concentration, leading her to ask LOG_{f3} in Joola what she was saying. This influenced LOG_{f3} to repeat her sentence in Wolof, only slightly adapting its content. Interestingly, in the discussion of this example the women explained to me that it was clearer to use Wolof to ask a question about my work, instead of repeating it again in Joola, since they associate me and the research with Wolof. Even though this is not always the case since they clearly use a Joola language to exclude me from information, in this situation the use of Wolof was a strategy to make clear what the question is about.

7.2.2.5 Topic and context

In the next subsection, conversational topics and contexts will be discussed as a driving force that can affect an alternation of language(s). This subchapter can, in a wider sense, be brought into connection with what Gumperz (1995) calls ‘personalization versus objectivization’, describing the personal proximity and distance to a topic/context in which the language(s) can be altered. However, due to the difficulties of finding out the momentary feelings and perceptions of the speakers during the recordings, patterns in conversational exchanges are instead described focusing on the context and topics used.

Even though this research is only concerned with one geographical space (the household), context can change frequently and rather unexpectedly through for instance

⁷⁹ A slightly longer scene, including this excerpt, was presented at the SYLWAL conference in Vienna, Austria in 2016.

new participants in conversations, or any kind of unexpected occurrences. Furthermore, as mentioned above (§5.5 French/Joola for topics surrounding the Catholic church, Gubëeher for traditional topics/events, (73) Bainounk to talk to the children, (82) Wolof to talk about this research or (72) generally with the group etc.), discussions concerning certain topics within certain contexts can show a pattern of using a language that is associated with it. However, as becomes clearer the more discourse phenomena are discussed, it is rather hard to distinguish what actually influenced the speakers to behave in a certain way since the process of thinking that takes place in the speakers' minds is impossible to follow and complex to question in discussion with them. Thus, topic and context will be discussed here in brief and subsequently referred to in the analysis of translanguaging data, in §7.3.

Changes of content and context often go hand in hand, yet the appearance of one or both of them is not necessarily a requirement for language alternation. This is mentioned here because in recorded situations the context often changes through someone passing by, greeting neighbours, the weather changing, sounds in the forest or on the street and so on, which exerts an immediate influence on the conversation the people in the household were having at that time. Greetings for example could, by chance, be in the same language in which a conversation is held, or not, which might trigger a switch to the language(s) of the greeter(s). This could further provoke a discussion about the people passing by, which could be continued in the language in which the greetings happened. However, this is only a hypothetical example, since salutations are regularly highly multilingual. Therefore, it is possible that with the change of context and/or the content of conversation the language(s) also alter.

In example (83) a sudden change of topic in the women's conversation is introduced by **LOG_{f3}**, which leads to a change of language(s) used.

(83)

01	KS2_{f4}	→ all	<i>jone santi crin ñaa si kajen kajen inde uyu ma nan firëri</i>		J
			“you said that the squirrels are ruining everything there like it would be a game”		
02	LOG_{f3}	→ all	<i>kukajen waa</i>		J
			“they are who ruined it”		
03	KS2_{f4}	→ all	<i>Kuyelaku</i>		J
			“the kuyelaku [regional fruit]”		
04	LOG_{f3}	→ all	<i>ureg kon pan siban</i>		J
			“they are going to finish it”		
05	KS2_{f4}	→ all	<i>siban ñagaba</i>		J
			“they are going to finish it ten times”		

06	LOG_{f3}	→ all	<i>an amusut ari, dafa coupe</i>	J, W F, J, W
			“nobody is ever going to eat them, did he hang up”	
07	LOG_{f3}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>lan dai feyeku ni</i>	W
			“what is she paying it like that”	
08	JG_{f3}	→ all	<i>mune borom jakarita man hauma man púr man jakarita bi sinsan la</i> <i>ma ne boroom jakarta man xamuma man, pour man jakarta bi cinq cent la</i>	F, W
			“I told the owner of the Jakarta [motor bike taxi], I don’t know, I thought Jakarta costs 500”	
09	KS2_{f4}	→ all	<i>he sinsan la de dú míl fran de sinsan la</i> “he [interjection] it is 500, it is not 1000 francs, it is 500”	F, W
(DJI130216MW_cut03: 05:25-05:50, ELAN: 97-105)				

As **LOG_{f3}** suddenly changes the topic (L06) from talking about squirrels eating fruit, there is an accompanying shift from a Joola language (*an amusut ari* “nobody is ever going to eat them”) to Wolof, which from the researcher’s and observers’ perspectives is intermixed with French (*dafa coupe* “did he hang up”); however this is not the case in the view of the speakers, who designated the phrase as Wolof only. This change of topic goes hand in hand with the change of language(s) and is accepted by the other speakers present, who accommodate to it.

7.2.2.6 Trigger words and phrases?

Next, the data was analysed with regard to ‘linguistic triggers’ that can introduce a switch to another language. In this context I want to discuss examples that demonstrate various kinds of triggering. The situations in which triggers accrue somewhat diverge from those addressed in literature. Linguistic triggers are described as a phenomenon in which trigger words or certain phrases originating from a certain language are responsible for cognitive code-switching, which then triggers the switch to another language (Clyne, 2003; Rahimi & Eftekhari, 2011). Clyne (2003) additionally discusses cognates as a cause for a switch, which at least at the beginning of the research seemed to be plausible, however in analysis such phenomena are elusive in this context. Even though the approach of triggering is respected (especially in other situations), it was only helpful to a limited extent in the analysis of the data. Yet, even from the researcher’s view, it is not clear when or if trigger words or phrases were decisive for an alternation of language(s) and therefore if they can even be described as ‘triggers’.

Furthermore, it is impossible to determine which expressions belong to what language for the speakers themselves, which however is a decisive criterion in this approach. This can be seen in examples presented above, in which the alternation of language(s)

sometimes influences the interlocutor(s) to adapt and sometimes not, in a rather random manner. For instance, in excerpts (71) and (72) **LOG_{f3}**'s alternation also influenced interlocutor(s) to adapt to the language(s) she has used whereas in (77) it only partially did so and in (82) not at all. Leading the discussion towards a more open approach on language(s), the following two examples show how the alternation of language(s) establishes in a process while communicating, and even though the reasons for the alternations are rather obscure when triangulating the data, they are nonetheless evident from a structuralist perspective.

Example (84) shows **KS2_{f4}** and **LOG_{f3}** conversing while preparing the family's lunch together and discussing how to cook the crabs.

(84)

01	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>Odile</i> "Odile"	
02	LOG_{f3}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>Naam</i> "yes"	W
03	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>aferai nakam</i> <i>affair bi naka mu?</i> "how is that thing?"	W F, W
04	LOG_{f3}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>affaire ban</i> <i>affair ban</i> "what thing?"	W F, W
05	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>ijahase dó</i> <i>ijaxase do</i> "I mix it over there"	J J, W
06	LOG_{f3}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>Sikubasu</i> "the crabs"	J
07	KS2_{f4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>Ee</i> "yes"	J
08			<i>ee ilaben so apar</i> "yes I will cook it apart"	J F, J

(DJI130216MW_cut09: 01:26-01:33, ELAN: 27-32)

In this excerpt, **KS2_{f4}** initiates a dialogue, directly addressing **LOG_{f3}** in Wolof intermixed with some French terms that were not observed as such by the observer. In L05 she uses the phrase *ijahase dó*, integrating the Wolof verb *jaxase* (spelling: researcher's view) into a Joola construction which was not marked as such by the transcriber, and would have an equivalent synonym in a Joola language that could have been used. From a researcher's view, this intermixture of Wolof into a Joola syntactical structure seems to have triggered **LOG_{f3}** to use a Joola language as well, which resulted in them continuing their conversation in Joola. However, why this alternation happened is rather unclear and might refer to the fluidity of the speakers' repertoires which do not recognise clear borders between languages.

In the following excerpt (83), the use of an Arabic expression - which, from the researcher's and observer's point of view constitutes an additional language, but might be perceived as Joola or any other language by the speakers - has 'triggered' an alternation.

(85)

03	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>ñun ñoi jítú</i> <i>ñun nooy jítu</i> “it is us who will go first”	W
04	LOG _{f3}	→ all	<i>mom dimag mom mowaron dem bala mulen ne</i> <i>yen ingen dem</i> <i>moom di mag moom moo waroon dem ni, bala mu</i> <i>leen ne yeena ngi dem</i> “he who is old he has to go before he tells them that they have to go”	W
05	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>ku wax loolu</i> “who says that”	W
06	JG _{f3}	→ all	<i>engelique, engel</i> “Engelique, Engel”	
07	LOG _{f3}	→ all	<i>alaha kúbarú</i> ⁸⁰ “God is big”	A
08	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>alahakúbarú waa kares kubujol inje ome man</i> <i>ilakowe</i> “God is big, why do you that, it is that his name that has killed her? I am still sitting here”	J A, J
09	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>aa kama buuma le kuñolol koku</i> “no why that, it is not like her children were here”	J
10	JG _{f3}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>kares kubujol akila akoyut</i> “is it that the name has killed her, that would be better”	J
11	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>hani ña abajuten añil ujujuk kone jar uyu</i> “even if she would not have children, you see that [using her name]” <i>aregerek jigítól pan alakobo pan akontan ma</i> <i>areg aan inje nene mate bukanom kugimom gím</i> <i>kam</i> “will show that you have not forgotten her, and where she is she will be happy. It means I am thinking of you and have not forgotten you”	J
12				J

(DJI130216MW_cut04: 03:21-03:44, ELAN: 75-84)

To be able to comprehend the content of this excerpt, more cultural knowledge is necessary. The discussion is about a ceremonial tradition to go to a shrine where close relatives pay their respects to the newly deceased. In L06 JG_{f3} uses the name of the person who died, which provoked LOG_{f3} to say *alaha kúbarú* [Arabic “god is big”], a way in

⁸⁰ This could also be described as something Gumperz (1995) denotes as a sentence filler; however, this seems to be reductive since many more (social) factors with strategic functions often play a role when *interjections* are in use.

which regional ‘Islamic cultures’ try to protect themselves from the spirit of the dead after using their name. **LOG_B**’s expression then triggered JG_B to react with strong criticism in a Joola language, emphasising her disbelief in the superstition of saying the name of someone deceased. In this excerpt, from a researcher’s view, the use of Arabic can be denoted as a triggering phrase that initiates the switch to another language. Yet the Arabic expression triggered an alternation to a Joola language, which might not be explicable without having a closer look at the social constellation as well as the participants’ backgrounds and thinking processes. As mentioned at several points throughout this thesis, Arabic expressions are widespread throughout Senegal and seem to be integrated loanwords in various language(s). However, as discussed in §5.5, Arabic is associated with Wolof (the local language used within Islam) more than Joola, which is instead used in a Catholic context. Therefore, the alternation from Wolof to a Joola language through an Arabic expression that serves as a trigger seems speculative.

These two examples demonstrate that it is difficult to identify when an expression is responsible for a switch and when it is not, as in (84) terms from French (L03, L04 and L08) were used but were fully integrated into the conversation and did not relate to a switch, whereas using Joola did. In excerpt (85) it appeared that the switch from language A to language B triggered language C to be used; a phenomenon that is not considered in literature on linguistic triggers since most of them deal with bilingual conversations. Moreover, the integration of terms from Arabic or Joola into a Wolof conversation do not necessarily trigger a switch every time, nor is there a certain category of lexeme that could be identified as responsible for switches. Therefore, using only linguistic triggers as an analytical tool would result in unstable and unclear results. This approach is integrated in the analysis of the fluid translanguaging excerpts discussed in §7.3, however only in close interrelation to the social situation and background information collected as well as observers’ and speakers’ views. This subchapter aims to present the complexity of conversational events that are sometimes not possible to analyse in a satisfactory way, and therefore leads to an analysis within fluid translanguaging, which allows the integration of a post-structuralist approach in analysis.

7.3 Fluid translanguaging

In this subchapter an in-depth qualitative analysis of fluid translanguaging practices is carried out. As revealed by the examples above, the dense and constant intermixture of language(s) and fluid adjustments of language(s) to the given (social) context makes it hard to determine borders between them, which is however indispensable in a structuralist view and would even require a redefinition of the languages present to make the approach feasible. However, in this research speakers constantly use fluid inter- and intrasentential language alternation, mix grammar and borrow lexemes as the common way of conversing without following strict rules to a point where the use of only one language would be perceived as marked. As mentioned earlier such practices often constitute the normal way of speaking for the individuals residing in the household (and beyond), and multilingual speech events are unmarked for the speakers themselves.

An extended analysis of fluid translanguaging practices is presented below (as discussed in the literature review §2.6), incorporating all of the above information (the linguistic situation in Senegal (chapter 3), the environment in which the main participants are living (chapter 5), their household (chapter 6) including their reported linguistic repertoire (starting from §6.2), their observed language use (§7.1) as well as contact phenomena with Wolof (§7.2). The following examples demonstrate the complexity of the ways in which individuals within the household in Jibëeher communicate while focussing on Wolof. The analysis requires thorough background knowledge on the speakers, situations and culture as well as the integration of speakers', observers' and researcher's views and the perception of paralinguistic signs in the video recordings. Within this approach it is not necessary to follow predetermined classifications of languages and descriptions or to create new ones that fit with the data. It enables a more open approach to languages in which the researcher's, observers' and speakers' views can be integrated in analysis. Fluid translanguaging allows the liberty to base the analysis on the actual linguistic situations, supported by contextual information, background knowledge and the voice of the speakers themselves.

7.3.1 Communication at the building site

This first extract was recorded during the builders' construction of the walls of **LM**_{m4} and **KS2**_{f4}'s new house in Bureer. The participants in this situation are **LM**_{m4} and **PLC**_{m2}, who carry the mud balls from behind the camera to the house (used similarly to bricks for traditional building sites in the area) and **TS1**_{m6} and **IPS**_{m4} who place them on the walls.

Figure (24) DJI26016Mwa_cut01



In this excerpt it is just before noon and all of the four speakers have been recorded working for approximately two hours, during which the conversation has ebbed and flowed. Even though all of them have at least a Joola language and some French in common, they do not converge on a ‘single language’ for communication.

(86)

01	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>ebajut gazoile</i> “[laughs] he does not have fuel”	F, J
02			<i>ebajut kana</i> “he does not have Kana [high-proof alcohol]”	J
03	TS1 _{m6}	→ all	<i>nakoŋe ebajut gazoile</i> “he is right, he does not have fuel”	J
04	IPS _{m4}	→ all	<i>aw ukatobo rek</i> “you, just leave him alone”	J J, W
05	LM _{m4}	→ all	<i>ani wëlëk</i> “where is Wëlëk [nickname for DS6 _{m2}]”	W
06	PLC _{m2}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>ayeni bajo bajo imu</i> “he said he is going to celebrate”	BG
07	LM _{m4}	→ PLC _{m2}	<i>Tajo</i> “tajo [other nickname for DS6 _{m2}]”	BG
08	PLC _{m2}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>Waaw</i> “yes”	BG W

(DJI26016Mwa_cut01: 00:15-00:39, ELAN: 10-17)

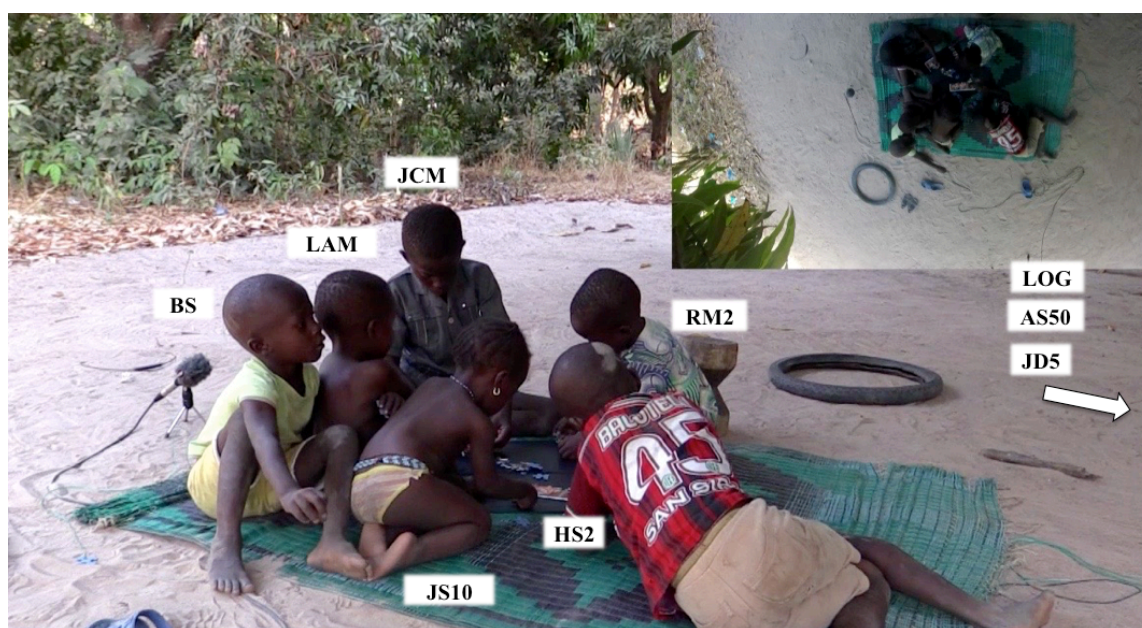
This discussion concerns DS2_{m4}, who was expected for work that day but did not show up. At the time of the extract, the workers seem to be giving up hope of his arrival. The discussion starts with IPS_{m4} making fun of DS2_{m4}, claiming he does not have *fuel* (identifying *kana*, an alcoholic drink, as his propellant) for work in a Joola language,

which provokes the others to laugh. **LM**_{m4}, who just arrived from getting a mud ball and observed the discussion, uses the Wolof expression *ani wëlëk* in L05. From the researcher's view, looking only at the transcribed data, this could have been triggered by the fact that **IPS**_{m4} finished his statement with *rekk*, a Wolof expression in L04, which was not marked as such by the observer (see discussion §7.2.2.6). This is however highly unlikely since *rekk* is used constantly and was not determined as a recurring trigger for language change. Through background information and a discussion with Laurent, it became clear why Wolof was used and not any other language that would have been understood as well. **LM**_{m4} clearly chose that way of communicating to indicate a widening of address toward the whole group (see §7.2.2.1), since the choice of another language may have been interpreted as more specifically isolating an individual who most closely identifies with it. The fact that **TS1**_{m6} reports that he does not speak any Wolof is known by all of the speakers present but also repeatedly ignored when addressing a group, which was also visible in excerpt (72). Additionally, **TS1**_{m6} does not originate from the village and does not live nearby, wherefore it was rather unrealistic that he would know where **DS2**_{m4} is. **LM**_{m4} further reported that by using Joola, he would have participated in the conversation and it would have been understood as making fun of **DS2**_{m4} as well, whereas with Gubëeher **PLC**_{m2} would have been directly addressed. In this case, Wolof, which is for **LM**_{m4} far enough removed from the participants' identities as well as applicable in the situational context as a language of wider communication, fulfils this specific conversational need. Only **PLC**_{m2}, who is a good friend of **DS2**_{m4}, is aware where he actually is and responds to **LM**_{m4} in Gubëeher (L06). This on the one hand excludes the others through the choice of language(s) (§ 7.2.2.2) and on the other hand treats **LM**_{m4} with respect and represents their shared cultural affiliation. **LM**_{m4} reacts by using a different nickname for **DS2**_{m4}, followed by an affirmation *waaw* (L08) by **PLC**_{m2}, which was again in Wolof although interpreted as BG by the observer who still perceived this situation to be in a Gubëeher mode. Why Wolof was used here again is impossible to determine from the researcher's view, since neither the speaker nor the observer were able to give a clarifying statement. In this example it is evident that different language(s) are used as valuable tools to serve one's conversational aims, particularly the strategy of changing recipient as well as adapting to a common shared language.

7.3.2 Conversations while leaving the household

In this subsection, an excerpt in which the speakers are not visible in the video recorded data was selected for analysis. Although a lack of visual data about the ongoing conversation is not generally the best starting point for analysis, this extract was integrated nonetheless due to the intermixing of Wolof and Gubëeher in conversation. This was further appropriate in this case since all of the speakers agreed to being participants in this research, their identities and conversational turns are clearly identifiable, and the researcher's, observers' and speakers' views correspond concerning presented transcriptions. The following figure shows the position of the unmanned camera, which was recording some of the children of the household doing a puzzle task; however, due to the mass of data collected these tasks were later excluded from this project's analysis. The women conversing stand not far apart on the right-hand side of the picture and were therefore recorded by the microphones.

Figure (25) DJI090516MW_cut02



In the conversation below, **LOG**_{f3} communicates with her two friends **JD5**_{f4} and **AS50**_{f4}. **LM**_{m4} and **JPS**_{m4} were also present (preparing tea a little further away) but were not integrated into the conversation. At the start of the discussion, the three women are preparing to leave the house to go to a *Messe Anniversaire* to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the death of an Unbëeher, yet **LOG**_{f3} is not ready because she is helping the men with their tea.

(87)

01	JD5 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>ee kai ñu dem</i> “ee come on, we go”	W
02	RM2 _{m0}	→ HS2 _{m1}	<i>aa aan ani agini agüne raaf</i> “no no it is him who is careless”	BG
03	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>silien yow danga yabaate ahn ci laaji gúrónj úwúlí</i> <i>umuxa not inonj silien</i> “Julienne, you are disrespectful ah, didn't you see that the priority is somewhere else?”	BG, W
04	HS2 _{m1}	→ RM2 _{m0}	<i>bare wúrmu inbesil</i> “But it is you, imbecil”	BG, F
05	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>jilien yow bēs buñu teela dem ikan fi uragof</i> “Julienne you, the day when we are going to go early, you are a character!”	BG, W
06	AS50 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>bi anri</i> “at Henry’s”	BG
07			<i>an bokk na si kanam</i> “she was with the first ones”	W
08	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>silien yow yangi soga dem nii</i> “Julienne you did you just start to go there”	W
09	JD5 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>Naam</i> “yes”	W
10			<i>lan lai def</i> “what am I doing?”	W
11	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>yow buñu fonto de</i> <i>yow bul ñu fonto de</i> “You stop teasing us!”	W
12	JD5 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>búdúl defar ataya ak le rek</i> <i>Budul defar attaya ak lait rekk</i> “Aren't you just making attaya [tea] with milk”	W F, W
13	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>silienj buñu fonto</i> <i>Julienne bul ñu fonto</i> “Julienne don't tease us”	W
14	AS50 _{f4}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>hahayee yow ya mom</i> <i>Hahayee yow yaa moom</i> “Hahayee you own that”	BG W
15	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>zilien buñu fonto haral be ma ñëw haral be ma ñëw</i> <i>Silein bul ñu fonto, xaraal ma ñëw, xaraal ba ma ñëw</i> “Julienne don't tease us, wait I am coming, wait until I come there”	W
16	JD5 _{f4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>ñëwël kai ñu dem ha ha</i> “Come here, come we go! [laughs]”	W
17	LOG _{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>gúúb bum iñonj silax kum anangu idohowo fifi</i> “Today I will use my hands to work for you”	BG
18			<i>Ucil</i> “You are laughing”	BG
19	JD5 _{f4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>laurent manga kasúmai lan lalen di defar búdúl ataya ak le</i> <i>Laurent Manga kasumay, lan la leen di defar, budul attaya ak lait</i> “Laurent Manga, hello, what are you doing there, isn't it attaya with milk?”	J, W F, J, W

20	LOG_{f3}	→ JD5 _{f4}	<i>Cie</i>	BG
			“how”	
21			<i>yow dūl demal mangi ñëw</i>	W
			“You dul [exclamation] go, I am coming”	
			(DJI090516MW_cut02: 04:55-05:46, ELAN: 73-94)	

In the following analysis, the focus is on the women arguing and joking; the parallel dialogue between two of the children (L02, L04) is only presented for the sake of completeness since the two conversations were not mutually influencing. It is important to know that the three speakers are very close friends and co-workers and, as mentioned before, JD5_{f4} and AG50 both originate from Jibëeher. JD5_{f4} opens the conversation by telling **LOG_{f3}** to come so they can leave, in Wolof. This switch from Gubëeher, which they were just using to communicate with the children, is surprising since the conversation takes place in a situation in which everyone (except **LOG_{f3}**) identifies as Ubëeher and there are no guests present. **LOG_{f3}** reacts in L03 and L05, in both cases commencing her phrases in Wolof and finishing them in Gubëeher (**Wolof** in bold): *silien yow danga yabaate ahn ci laaji gúrónj úwúli umuxa not inoñ silien* and *jilien yow bës buñu teela dem ikan fi uragof*. In both lines **LOG_{f3}** indicates that JD5_{f4} is the one who is generally late and should therefore not complain. In L06 and L07 AG50 contradicts **LOG_{f3}** and refers to a case where JD5_{f4} was one of the first present, beginning her phrase in BG and then switching to Wolof. The conversation goes on in Wolof; however, in L14 the utterance was interpreted as Gubëeher by the observer. In discussion with the transcribers who worked on this data, they were able to clearly identify the phrase as Wolof, however they claimed that AG50 presents a very strong Ubëeher identity (which was also my impression), which led them to interpret her as speaking Gubëeher. Even though **LOG_{f3}** is the speaker who is furthest from being an Ubëeher, she uses Gubëeher in this conversation the most, as can be seen again in L17 and L18. JD5_{f4} switches recipient and greets **LM_{m4}** (again making fun of their tea) by using Wolof and the greeting *kasumay*, which was interpreted by the observers as Joola but is commonly used in Gubëeher as well. The observer however mentioned that the pronunciation of *kasumay* induced him to classify it as a Joola language. By this point in the conversation **LOG_{f3}** is ready to leave, calling *cie* in BG and then telling JD5_{f4} that she is coming.

In this excerpt, the two languages Wolof and Gubëeher are used as basic languages that need to be understood to be able to follow the conversation, though they are intermixed with some French lexemes and a greeting interpreted (by the observer) as Joola. This data was surprising since none of the speakers interviewed reported that such a mixture of Wolof and Gubëeher (which was mainly initialised by **LOG_{f3}**) would be used or is even possible. Yet their conversation does not feel at all unusual or marked.

Wolof and Gubëeher are mixed in an intrasentential form, however the motivations for the switches are not identifiable from a researcher's perspective.

In a discussion with **LOG_{f3}**, I told her about the conversation I recorded before presenting them with the actual (in this case audio) file. She was initially surprised by my claim and strongly disputed that Wolof was fully integrated in their conversation. However, after listening to the recording, she agreed with the observers' and my analysis of the language use and began to discuss what provoked this use of Wolof, a language of wider communication, in an environment in which it would not be necessary at all. **LOG_{f3}** concluded that this was based on the fact that the conversation took place mainly between **JD5_{f4}** and herself. Due to her life experiences **JD5_{f4}** is (in addition to her identity of origin) identified by **LOG_{f3}** as a Wolof speaking urban dweller since she lived in Dakar for many years and works at the market in Brin where Wolof is commonly used (see §5.4.3). **JD5_{f4}**'s utterance in Wolof also provoked **LOG_{f3}** to use the same language; however, in contrast to **JD5_{f4}**, she repeatedly returns to Gubëeher, the language she usually bases her conversations on when only Ñambëeher are present. She further reported that when they meet outside of the household they are hardly ever alone, and thus Wolof, as the main language used in these circumstances, was also brought into the household. **LOG_{f3}** also suggested that if **AG50** had begun the conversation in Gubëeher, it would not have been as intermixed with Wolof. However, **JD5_{f4}**'s background, as well as their common knowledge and shared experiences, determined this way of using language(s), which seemingly was even stronger than the fact that they were surrounded by Ñambëeher and in direct conversation with **AG50**.

7.3.3 Discussing issues

The following example is a conversation that mainly features **KS2_{f4}**, **LM_{m4}** and **IPS_{m4}** speaking, yet **PLC_{m2}** and **TS1_{m6}** are also present at the time of the recording to listen and interfere briefly. Visible in the figure below are **PLS**, **LM_{m4}** and **TS1_{m6}** making mud bricks for the traditional building located in the back, while **IPS_{m4}** is preparing tea and **KS2_{f4}** arrives to speak to **LM_{m4}**.

Figure (26) DJI170216MWa_cut01



For this conversation in which different issues are addressed, multiple language(s) were used and a fluid languaging practice is visible in which various motivations for switches are represented from a researcher's view in only a short period of time.

(88)

01	KS2_{f4}	→ LM_{m4}	<i>laurent ujukom juk imus ingar fubote</i> “Laurent, did you see me taking a sack”	J
02	LM_{m4}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>eey fo nukane ñaa fubóm</i> “Yes and the other one you have left is for me”	J
03	KS2_{f4}	→ LM_{m4}	<i>eeee kob be yok írúp jaat nonom fubote fí ya nen de ñar</i> “ee [laughs] wait when I take it, you are going to tell later that I took your sack”	J
04	IPS_{m4}	→ LM_{m4}	<i>leegi lolu ngay kass</i> <i>Leegi looly ngay gas</i> “So that is what you dig now [joking]”	W
05	LM_{m4}	→ IPS_{m4}	<i>aw pop</i> “You also”	J
06	KS2_{f4}	→ LM_{m4}	<i>ujuk jaat ñar fubote nonom fubote fubēm ulañen</i> “If you see me taking a sack you always tell me to return it”	J
07	LM_{m4}	→ KS2_{f4}	<i>ña ufu fujow yokk fuket de bala ungar fuke</i> “They have to increase first before you can take another one”	J, W
08	IPS_{m4}	→ LM_{m4}	<i>nga dann sac saku sonakos</i> <i>danga doon sacc saaku sonakos</i> “Did you steal the ‘sonakos’ sack”	W
09	LM_{m4}	→ IPS_{m4}	<i>boy man nironala kuy saac</i> <i>Boy man niroo naa la kuy sacc</i> “Boy do I look like someone who steals to you”	W E, W

10	IPS _{m4}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>ham nga muso fi bey gerte nga nan</i> <i>Xam nga, mēsoo fi bey gerte nga ñaan</i> “You know, you haven’t cultivated peanuts here and you ask [beg for a sack]”	W
11	LM _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>gerte?</i> “Peanuts”	W
12			<i>yow man,man yow la</i> <i>yaa pour, man, man yow la</i> “You are, for you, I am like you”	W E, W
13	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>ginar bi la xam ni way dina def</i> <i>ginaar bi laa xamul ni waaye dina def</i> “I don’t know about the chicken but I will do it”	W
14	IPS _{m4}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>ban ginar?</i> “Which chicken?”	W
15	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>fufu la ko búgë dugël waye fokoi yeeg</i> <i>foofu laa ko bēgga duggal waaye fo mu yeeg</i> <i>duma mēna yeeg</i> “I wanted to put it in there but where it climbed up, I won’t be able to climb up there”	W
16	LM _{m4}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>danga koy door mu dem</i> “Hit it so it will go”	W
17	LM _{m4}	→ PLC _{m2}	<i>úmúkúni</i> “Are you finished”	BG
18	PLC _{m2}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>Újegedi</i> “stamping”	BG
19	TS1 _{m6}	→ LM _{m4}	<i>najuke asekol o ña muña o jibóóm</i> “It [chicken] saw your wife and now it dances”	J
20	LM _{m4}	→ TS1 _{m6}	<i>múnda ukat kasabote kujakut anine asaboterit</i> <i>mēmëk de</i> “Munda [nickname for TS1 _{m6}] stop the sabotage, men normally don't sabotage a lot”	J

(DJI170216MWa_cut01: 00:01-01:30, ELAN: 1-20)⁸¹

As was clear from former examples, the everyday reality for the speakers in the household is comprised of the fluid employment of the language(s) in their linguistic repertoires. At the beginning of this excerpt **KS2_{f4}** challenges her husband about a sack, which he disputes. She therefore uses her Joola language to which he also responds in Joola, a language use that was not reported by **LM_{m4}** as such in our conversations yet still does not seem to be marked. He however intermixes the lexeme *yokk* (originating from Wolof) in his Joola phrase in L07, which was also interpreted as such by the observer. Later, after viewing the excerpts, **LM_{m4}** reported that his use of Joola was due to the fact that he wanted to integrate TS1_{m6} and IPS_{m4} rather than hide information from them (as speaking Bainounk could have been understood by the others as hiding information), and was further triggered by his wife’s use of Joola, instead of Wolof. This dates back to their experience during the building of the house, when IPS_{m4} and TS1_{m6} regularly complained

⁸¹ This excerpt was published in Goodchild and Weidl (2018b), however the analysis was adapted to the in-depth background information that is provided in this thesis.

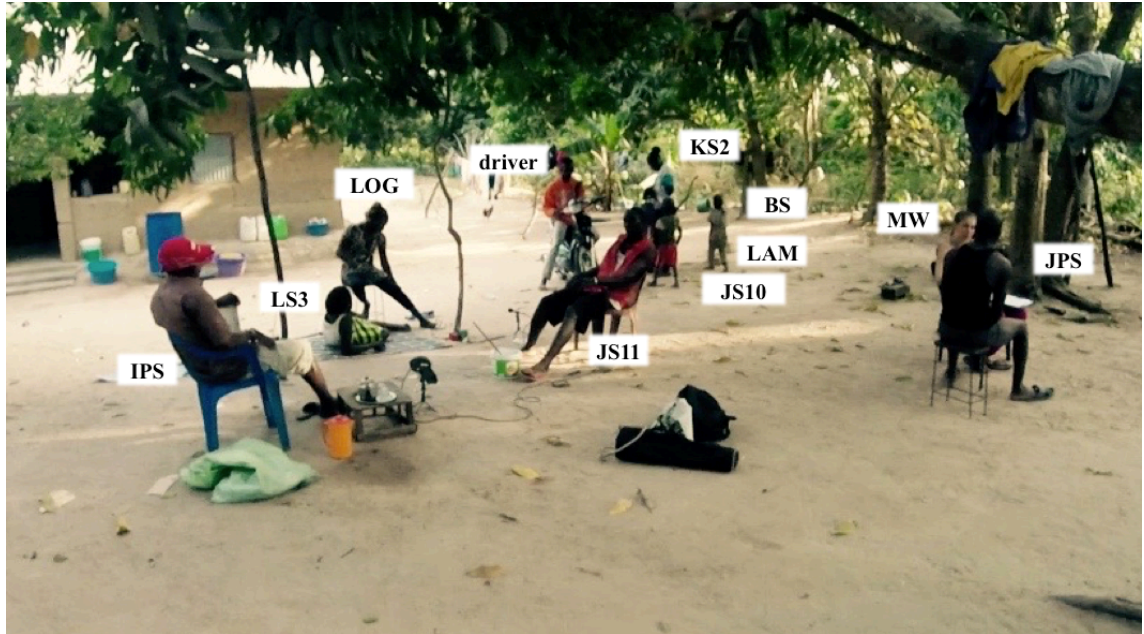
that the Gubëeher speakers were talking behind their backs, as shown in example (78) above.

IPS_{m4} interrupts their conversation, also slightly teasing LM_{m4} (L04), who reacts in Joola since he is already in a Joola mode; meanwhile, the discussion with KS_{2f4} goes on. IPS_{m4} clearly comprehends what KS_{2f4} and LM_{m4} are saying and contributes to their conversation about the sacks (L08); however, as often, he rigorously sticks to Wolof as the main language of his conversations. That further influences LM_{m4} (L09) who adapts to Wolof himself (see §7.2.2.6), and KS_{2f4} also switches to Wolof in L13. However, from the researcher's view her language alternation was determined by, simultaneously, the change of topic and recipient (see §7.2.2.1 and §7.2.2.5) whereas the alternation of LM_{m4} might rather have been effected by IPS_{m4}'s persistence in Wolof. KS_{2f4} primarily directed her utterances to only her husband, with whom she speaks mainly a Joola as a common language (independent of the language(s) he uses to respond); she then changes the topic and starts to speak about a chicken that sits on a tree, in a wider form of address, using Wolof (see §7.2.2.1). IPS_{m4} reacts to her statement in Wolof, and the conversation goes on until LM_{m4} asks PLC_{m2} directly about his progress in BG, their shared language of identity which they use most of the time to communicate (as was also visible in (78)). TS1_{m6}, who claims not to speak or understand any Wolof, interferes by referring back to KS_{2f4} and IPS_{m4}'s conversation about the chicken in Wolof, using Joola to address LM_{m4}. Since LM_{m4} and TS1_{m6} generally communicate in Joola as the common and preferred language in their repertoires, LM_{m4} falls back into a Joola mode and responds to TS1_{m6}'s claim (L20). As was reported, using Wolof to respond to and directly address TS1_{m6} could have been perceived as a lack of respect for his heritage, culture and linguistic affiliation, since it is very clear that he does not want to be brought in connection with Wolof.

7.3.4 Habitual setting in the household during the research

In the next instance of fluid languaging practice eleven individuals are present, which is common in the household of interest. This recording was taken on a Saturday afternoon, at which time people often visit family and friends, as JS11_{m2} and IPS_{m4} do.

Figure (27) DJI260316MWa_cut04



In the excerpt presented below, not all of the individuals present are integrated in discussions, as for example $LS3_{f1}$ (sitting on the mat on the floor) did not speak, nor did the driver on the motorbike who brought $KS2_{f4}$ home. Among the children ($BS4_{m0}$, LAM_{m0} and $JS10_{f0}$) that were present during this excerpt, $BS4_{m0}$ and LAM_{m0} were talked to yet did not respond. JPS_{m4} and I (MW_{f2}) are in an interview session on the right-hand side of the recording, yet the microphones that were used to collect participatory videography data were located in the centre of the larger circle of speakers. For the interview with JPS_{m4} a different camera and microphones were used (not pictured above); the recording however can be seen in Figure (28) below.

Figure (28) DJI260316MWb



The speakers mainly communicating with each other in this excerpt are **LOG_{f3}**, **JS11_{m2}**, **IPS_{m4}** and **KS2_{f4}**, who joined in L12.

(89)

01	LOG_{f3}	→ BS4 _{m0}	<i>Benjamin</i> “Benjamin”	BG
02			<i>uwuli uwuli ne uceŋgun huan</i> “you see, you see how you picked up that thing”	BG
03	JS11_{m2}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>xana laurent dafa dafa</i> “so Laurent is he, is he”	W
04	IPS_{m4}	→ JS11_{m2}	<i>litër bi xana dañu takk sa way?</i>	W
	LOG_{f3}		<i>litar bi, xanaa dañu takk sama waay?</i>	F, W
05	JS11_{m2}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>ah man lolu moma jaxal dafa dem pour dëkk ou bien</i> <i>ah man loolu moo ma jaaxal, dafa dem pour dëkk oubien</i>	W F, W
			“ah for me, that is what confuses me, did he go to live there or what?”	
06	LOG_{f3}	→ IPS _{m4} JS11_{m2}	<i>bena litër la dem jel,</i> <i>benn litre la dem jël de</i>	W F, W
			“he went to get one litre”	
07	IPS_{m4}	→ LOG_{f3}	<i>waaw</i> “yes”	W
08	LOG_{f3}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>moom deux livre la fa commande demb</i> <i>moom deux litar la fa commender demb</i> “he ordered two litres there yesterday”	W F, W

09	IPS _{m4}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>non non du fofu la dem</i> <i>ah non non du foofu la demoon</i> “ah no no, that is not where he went”	W F, W
10			<i>est ce que fofu la dem ci gaen bale</i> <i>est-ce que fêle la dem, ci gayam bële</i> “didn't he go over there, to his guy there”	W F, W
11			<i>demul je crois fale la dem</i> “he did not go, I think he went there”	F, W
12	KS2 _{f4}	→ FM _{m0}	<i>ferdinand ufommuna</i> “Ferdinand move [singular]”	BG
13	LOG _{f3}	→ children	<i>Ufommunaaj</i> “move [plural]”	BG
14	JS10 _{f0}	→ LOG _{f3}	<i>ma bañ</i> “I refuse”	W
15	LOG _{f3}	→ JS10 _{f0}	<i>ubën jihi ani udegëne</i> “leave the dog alone that you are hitting”	BG
16	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>Saaful</i> “I greet you”	J
17	IPS _{m4}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>Masume</i> “peace”	J
18	JS11 _{m2}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>Buuma</i> “how are you”	J
19	KS2 _{f4}	→ JS11 _{m2}	<i>Manji</i> “Manji [nickname of JS11 _{m2}]”	J
20	JS11 _{m2}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>alors Khadi</i> “so Khadi”	F
21		→ LAM _{m0}	<i>pitbul uweni davala guiñay ne</i> “Pitbut you said you are going to shave”	BG
22	LOG _{f3}	→ BS4 _{m0}	<i>eh eh uwokoro naa</i> “eh eh you are going to fall down there”	BG
23	KS2 _{f4}	→ all	<i>akan muñu ma ban?</i> “Who did that?”	J
24	IPS _{m4}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>laajal xale yi</i> “ask the children”	W
		→ children	<i>ukeejil kum</i> “so I ask them”	BG, J
25	IPS _{m4}	→ children	<i>bi moy davala uru</i> <i>ne ko bi mooy davala uru</i> “Tell her this is davala uru [a way to shave one’s head]”	W W
26			<i>neko bi moy uru</i> “tell her this is uru”	W
27	LOG _{f3}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>Khadi urëjhërë wa nurenkene</i> “Khadi you are going to crap, why are you laughing?”	BG, J
28	IPS _{m4}	→ LAM _{m0}	<i>lou ne ko bi moy puru</i> “Lou, tell her this is puru [a style to shave one’s hair]”	W
29	LOG _{f3}	→ KS2 _{f4}	<i>aha ukob aw usunore pan umanj imbecil</i> “aha wait until you are going to piss yourself, imbecile”	F, J
30	IPS _{m4}	→ LAM _{m0}	<i>ne ko bi moy davala puru</i> “tell her this is ‘davala puru’”	W

31	LOG_{f3}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>bi kay amul fen</i> “that come on, you can't have it anywhere else”	W
32		→ LAM _{m0}	<i>lou so iño</i> “Lou come I shave you” (DJI260316Mwa_cut04: 03:28-05:15, ELAN: 23-54) ⁸²	BG

The conversation in excerpt (89) starts with a very common scenario in which **LOG_{f3}** reprimands one of her younger children (**BS4_{m0}**) in Gubëeher, which she normally uses in such a case (see §7.2.2.1). Simultaneously, **JS11_{m2}** and **IPS_{m4}** are discussing where **LM_{m4}**, who has left to buy palm wine, has been for such a long time (from L03 to L11) and **LOG_{f3}** is clearly integrated in the conversation. The observer of this excerpt designated L03-L10 as Wolof, which represents the ‘monolingual’ discourse that was discussed in §7.2.1, and only marked a French utterance in L11 when **IPS_{m4}** said *demul je crois fale la dem*, where they identified *je crois* as French. This probably happened due to the fact that it is the first time in this discussion that a French grammatical structure was used, with earlier usages only borrowing French terms that are integrated into Wolof (*litre, pour, commander, non non, est-ce que* are all adapted to Wolof syntax); however, this is not decisive since in other cases the observers were partly able to distinguish single French lexemes integrated in the structure of other language(s), which are not borrowings for the speakers but rather the normal way to communicate.

In L12, **KS2_{f4}** arrives with a motorbike and reprimands her son, **FM_{m0}** in Baïnouk Gubëeher, telling him to move so the bike does not hit him. This is one of the few cases in which **KS2_{f4}** uses Baïnouk Gubëeher of her own accord; discussing this excerpt she explained that this is the way the children are reprimanded by all of the other adult speakers in the household most of the time and she is therefore influenced to use these phrases as well. In L13, **LOG_{f3}** reacts to **KS2_{f4}** and repeats the same Baïnouk Gubëeher expression in plural, which provokes her smallest daughter **JS10_{f0}** to respond *ma bañ* ‘I refuse’ in Wolof. This was rather surprising since **LOG_{f3}**’s children are used to speaking Baïnouk Gubëeher with their mother, however it indicates the high level of Wolof also present in their lives. **LOG_{f3}** however does not react to her daughter’s use of language and addresses her directly (L15) in BG, telling her to leave the dog alone. The arrival of a motorbike with **KS2_{f4}** on it in turn disrupts the conversation about the palm wine, as context and topics change with her presence. In accordance with her primary linguistic identification, **KS2_{f4}** chooses a Joola language to greet the group and the greeting continues with **JS11_{m2}** in Joola.

⁸² Some lines of this example were presented at the 20th International Congress of Linguistics in Cape Town, South Africa in June 2018.

Earlier in the day, when **KS2_{f4}** was not at home, the children were shaving her son **LAM_{m0}** in a funny way, which had already been the topic of several discussions that day. In L21 **JS11_{m2}** then somewhat provocatively addresses **LAM_{m0}** as a *pitbull* based on **Bainounk Gubëeher**, since he is aware that **KS2_{f4}** comprehends it but also that she has not yet been informed of what happened earlier in the household. In L22 **LOG_{f3}** turns and addresses **BS4_{m0}** in **Gubëeher**, though this is unrelated to the earlier conversation. **KS2_{f4}** reacts in L21, again using **Joola** as a language of wider communication to address the group as a whole and find out who is responsible. Although **IPS_{m4}** understands what she said, he rarely feels comfortable responding in **Joola** language(s) and tells her to ask the children in **Wolof**. **KS2_{f4}** reacts to his advice and addresses the children with *ukeenil kum* ‘so I ask them’ in a way that was interpreted by the transcribers as well as by **KS2_{f4}** as **Gubëeher** (*ukeenil*) and **Joola** (*kum*). The children however do not react, whereupon **IPS_{m4}** explains *bi moy davala uru* (L25 and following up in L26) which was later in L28 corrected as *davala puru*. This is an expression that is used for a certain haircut imitating a famous Senegalese wrestler, which makes **KS2_{f4}** laugh hard.

In L27 **LOG_{f3}** reacts to **KS2_{f4}**’s laughter, mixing **Bainounk Gubëeher** and a **Joola** language in one sentence, which could neither be interpreted by the researcher nor the observer, however the speaker herself reported that she had forgotten the equivalent expression in a **Joola** language. **IPS_{m4}** goes on provoking **KS2_{f4}**’s laughter in **Wolof**, and **LOG_{f3}** sticks to attacking **KS2_{f4}** with **Joola**, even using a French swearword to strengthen her expression. Although the sentences uttered by **LOG_{f3}** might appear very insulting to readers of this excerpt, they were reported as being made in jest and were not taken personally by **KS2_{f4}**. Considering the analysis of the speakers’ report, in which **LOG_{f3}** claims she did use the **Gubëeher** term *urëjhërë* (L27), her switches can clearly be interpreted as triggered by recipients, since she uses **Joola** to communicate with **KS2_{f4}**, **Wolof** with **IPS_{m4}** and rigorously sticks to **Gubëeher** in communications with the children, as again in L32. This shows that **LOG_{f3}** is very fluent in her language use and, in a situation like the one above where only very close friends and family are present, tends to stick to certain language(s) to address different participants. **KS2_{f4}**, in contrast often bases her language use on **Joola** and only chooses to speak **Wolof** and **Bainounk** occasionally.

7.3.5 Sunday discussions with guests

This last excerpt of fluid languaging practices represents a highly complex situation in which all of the main participants and guests were present in the household, as is

frequently the case on Sundays. While the women were roasting peanuts and putting them into little bags for **LOG_B** to sell to the children at the school where she volunteers, the others were chatting.

Figure (29) DJI040217MW_cut12



In the excerpt that was chosen from this recording session, two different topics are discussed: receiving palm wine from **CDD_{m4}** who arrived as a guest in the household with his motorbike, and **IPS_{m4}** looking for plastic bag he could use to bring some peanuts home. I was present during the whole conversation but did not interact, as with the children.

(90)

01	IPS_{m4}	→ all	<i>nakam manchala</i> <i>naka mu, machallah</i> “how is it, oh my god”	W A, W
02	JPS_{m4}	→ all	<i>bērena de</i> <i>bare na de</i> “it is a lot”	W
03	IPS_{m4}	→ all	<i>dama ñam</i> “I will try”	W
04		→ all	<i>ma wasen</i> “and I am pouring”	J J, W
05	JPS_{m4}	→ RM2_{m0}	<i>údëëk úníget kotoot katasa nañaan</i> “go and look for the small katasa [pot to serve palm wine] over there too”	BG
06	LM_{m4}	→ RM2_{m0}	<i>asiruun údëëk uñuñot a siruun katasa</i> “at the fetiche, go and pour a pot full at the fetish”	BG
07	CDD_{m4}	→ IPS_{m4}	<i>Piskó</i> “Pisko [nickname for IPS_{m4}]”	W
08	JPS_{m4}	→ all	<i>uñcay uñcay uñcay</i> “the fetiche the fetiche the fetiche”	MJ

09	CDD _{m4}	→ IPS _{m4}	<i>waxnala je suis en avanse denḡe</i> <i>was naa la je suis en avanse deḡḡ nga</i> “I told you that I have had an advance, did you hear”	F, W
10	IPS _{m4}	→ LAM _{m0}	<i>boy holal mbúús bële</i> <i>boy xoolal mbuus bële</i> “boy look at this bag over there”	W E, W
11	LM _{m4}	→ LAM _{m0}	<i>uñon úyínírem biḡeen a búsinkiló buḡoon</i> “you take it and you put it in the bag over there”	BG
12	LOG _{f3}	→ LAM _{m0}	<i>Neene</i> “I said”	J
13	KS2 _{f4}	→ LAM _{m0}	<i>Lúú</i> “Luu [nickname for LAM _{m0}]”	J
14		→	<i>ureḡe ñaa awu úkímóye ñaa</i> “it is you we are talking to and it is you who touches it”	J

(DJI040217MW_cut12: 02:14-02:59, ELAN: 49-62)

In L01 IPS_{m4} sees the container full of palm wine and asks, generally addressing the group, about its quality, followed by a thankful *machallah* (lit. ‘God has willed’) in Arabic. Using the preferred shared language with IPS_{m4}, JPS_{m4} responds to him based in Wolof, the only way they reported to communicate with each other. Yet in L04 IPS_{m4} uses the expression *ma wasen*, which is the combination of a personal pronoun *ma* from Wolof and *wasen* from a Joola language (but was marked as only Joola by the observer). This intrasentential switch is comprehensible through cultural semantics as there is no lexeme in Wolof that expresses pouring (typically alcoholic) drinks in a spiritual way, though this can be expressed by the single term *wasen* in a Joola language. Due to the fact that LM_{m4} and JPS_{m4} both comprehend Joola, this made them attentive to the absence of a pot in which wine can be served, and they address RM2_{m0} in Gubëeher, their shared language of identity, asking him to go find one. They are further using a culturally specific vocabulary, as they mention the family fetish⁸³ protecting their house and talk about *kutasa* the ‘pot to serve palm wine’, which are other lexemes that do not exist in Wolof as such. They could have been borrowed from another language, as they also exist in Joola languages due to similar significance in the cultural orientation of many Joola, but this is not a language of choice for the two brothers to address their children. Furthermore, there was no need to share the information communicated to LM_{m4}’s son with the guests.

In L08, as RM2_{m0} was pouring the palm wine in a traditional manner, JPS_{m4} called out *uñcay uñcay uñcay* which is marked as Manjacku. When asked why he was using this term and not the Bâinounk synonym, JPS_{m4} referred to his wife’s identity as Njago,

⁸³ A rather small installation close to the household, similar to a shrine, that is used as a possible mouthpiece for communication with ancestors. It is occupied by some kind of traditional strength and is therefore used as a remedy to protect the household.

wherefore he sometimes likes to use this term to refer to the fetish and present a deferential contact. This however did not influence the other speakers, and CDD_{m4} addresses IPS_{m4} with a Wolof and French mixed utterance, letting him know that he already drank palm wine in advance. IPS_{m4} however changes the topic while approaching the women preparing the peanuts and decides to ask LAM_{m0} to look for a bag so he can take some home, addressing him with the English term *boy*, which is often used for younger generation boys and girls. LM_{m4} interferes and gives his son clearer instructions in BG, at which point LOG_{f3} reacts by reiterating her earlier instruction that the boy give her the bag. Here LOG_{f3} uses a Joola language, which is followed by KS2_{f4} speaking in Joola as well. LOG_{f3} later reported that she decided to use Joola in this case since LAM_{m0} is KS2_{f4}'s son and is used to being addressed in a Joola language, and further stated that she would have used Gubëeher as a language of wider communication if she had addressed more residents from the household or her own younger children.

The findings in this excerpt reveal a high prevalence of influences of language choice in just a brief conversation within the household. Here it can be observed that, as usual, Wolof plays a role in conversation but is used (or not used) strategically by the main participants. The simple circumstance that a discussion was opened in Wolof by guests who are most comfortable communicating in Wolof as a shared language in this constellation is not sufficient for the main speakers to use it as well.

7.4 Discussion of the chapter

The language use of the highly multilingual main participants does not follow strict rules. Usage changes with the speakers for reasons of context, interlocutor(s), intentions and even ease or practicability. As discussed in §6.2, every individual has their own experiences, their own character, attitudes and ideologies and therefore strategies for language use that are adapted to the given situations. Applying and adapting different approaches that were discussed in §2.6 for the analysis of bi- and trilingual situations, this chapter proves that such approaches also hold for contexts with higher complexities, multiple language(s) and more speakers.

In the analysis of actual language use within the participatory videography data, Wolof is one of the tools that are constantly used in communication following different aims. However, the two language(s) of identification, Baïnounk Gubëeher and (a) Joola also play an important role, whereas Njago, LOG_{f3}'s identity language, is mostly left out (except in (80) and (90) marked as MJ 'Manjaku' by the transcriber). Furthermore,

various language(s), but especially Wolof, are often intermixed with French (and some English) lexemes, which is a highly conventionalised way of speaking Wolof for some of the main participants, whereas French in a more unmixed form is only used by certain speakers in situations that require it (see e.g. §7.1). Other language(s) that were mentioned before such as Bayot, Sose and Kreol are rarely used by the main participants within the household. However, it must not be forgotten that all of the above applies only to the timeframe in which the data was collected since for instance an additional resident in the household with a differentiated linguistic repertoire could change the fluid language use significantly in a short period of time.

Furthermore, habitual forms of language use were discovered (a) towards certain topics and situations and (b) towards certain aims and interlocutors: (a) refers to broader social and institutional structures, was exemplified in chapter 5 and will be taken up again in the general conclusion in the following chapter. However, (b) revealed some interesting patterns in the habitual use of language(s), particularly strategies that contribute to fluid languaging situations.

The data additionally shows more general discourse strategies that can be applied in an analysis beyond the main participants' language use and which exemplify patterns that hold across language(s) and situations as they are used regularly by speakers and fully understood in their context by interlocutors and listeners. Most of the publications mentioned in connection with interactional sociolinguistics are based on data of speakers who share a similar linguistic repertoire and resources (see §2.1 and §2.2); sometimes no information on their linguistic repertoire is provided for the reader, but conversational exchanges presented suggest that statements are mutually intelligible. However, in this research differences and similarities in the linguistic repertoires exist to various degrees and, depending on who and how many people are present, different strategies are applied, which enables possible discursive strategies that were discussed above. Language alternation is frequently used with the aim of engaging with interlocutors and the social context, an intention that is clearly supported through an adapted use of language(s) that are more effective for achieving one's conversational aim in a given situation, however this might happen absolutely unmarked by the multilingual speakers.

The background knowledge gained on the main participants and their environments, as well as the discourse strategies used in such multilingual settings, allows for the analysis of fluid languaging practices. Longer excerpts and an open approach such as languaging (as discussed in §7.3) are necessary for an accurate description and therefore analysis of the data collected. The language(s) are often perceived differently; however,

with the approach presented above it was possible to integrate the observers', speakers' and researcher's views. Observers were regularly influenced by their personal perception of the situation and their own socialisation, which is close to the main participants'. The speakers themselves are influenced by their social context and interactions, not always following a distinctive intention for the alternation of language(s) but usually providing some kind of explanation for their strategies in debriefings. Finally, the researcher intended to stick to linguistic classifications as far as possible. Thereby it became obvious that these views can correspond to or differ from each other without following decisive patterns or rules. However, none of them was given greater importance in analysis, as all of them are equally essential.

In longer communicational events (and even excerpts as presented in this study), serious difficulties would arise with generalisations on the basis of an isolated consideration of language, without further scrutinising the social setting and context. The speakers in this research choose not only one language but several, as in most of the situations above the content could equally have been expressed in one language instead of an intermixture. They build their conversations on the common ground of the existence of several language(s) in their linguistic repertoire(s) and use alternations strategically within their social context, while using multilingual speech as the unmarked norm.

8 Discussion: the role of Wolof

In this final chapter, a more detailed analysis is presented in order to deepen, unite and discuss findings. Wolof is put in the centre of examination and consideration, without however neglecting other language(s) and accepting their co-presence and intermixture as the norm in many contexts. In this research, a high degree of multilingualism was quickly proved on an individual and societal level, bringing a vast number of language(s) intermixed in constant direct contact. Even though the research took place in a rural area, the high mobility of the individuals as well as superdiversity play a huge role in the establishment of linguistic repertoires and influence not only those with mobile lifestyles, but also those who are more stationary yet nonetheless in contact with mobile people. Various different language(s) are required and used in this setting, with Wolof present much of the time. Its position however goes beyond being an ‘urban vernacular’ that is used in Senegal’s big cities, and to express modernity and mobility throughout the rest of the country (as e.g. discussed by McLaughlin, 2008c). It further plays a huge role in this rural setting and even within daily conversations in the household of interest, however intermixed with many other language(s) influenced by context and following the speakers’ aims in conversation.

The subsequent discussion is organised following the research questions (presented below as well as in §1.3 including sub-questions) and illustrates the common thread between the aims and focus of the research, the chapters and the analysis, with Wolof at the centre. Initially the larger scope of language acquisition, language within social and institutional organisations as well as different age groups, gender and social status is discussed (research question 1: ‘To what extent and why do multilingual people in the village of Djibonker use Wolof and how is it integrated in their everyday lives?’). Shifting the focus to the main participants, I then examine their metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness, self-reports of language use as well as ideologies and attitudes surrounding Wolof and other language(s) (research question 2: ‘How do the main participants observe and describe the use of Wolof within their own linguistic behaviour and that of others? How explicit is their metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness?’). Subsequently, findings from the recordings of actual everyday language use and possible patterns of discourse strategies are discussed in more depth (research question 3: ‘When is Wolof used in multilingual conversations within the household of investigation? What factors influence switches into and out of Wolof?’). This will finally lead to a conclusion and a synthesis of the results that draws on existing literature to contextualise them and

represents the complete and final discussion on the role of Wolof in the multilingual repertoires of individuals in chapter 9.

8.1 Wolof in multilingual daily lives

Jibëeher is a place that is typically identified with Baïnouk Gubëeher, the patrimonial language within the village (Cobbinah, 2013; Lüpke, 2016b); however, this is not the case for all of the residents. Identities are based on patrilineal descent meaning that many women who came into the village from another place through exogamous marriage, as well as descendants of Gubëeher women with an external father⁸⁴, base their identities on other cultural orientations. Yet this background to their identity is not exclusively decisive for their linguistic repertoire, even though the tendency is (at least in this area) that people are actually able to communicate in the language of their father's identity, which is socially supported by linguistic residencies, vacations and child fostering (see §2.5.1). Within the village several language(s) are widespread, including Baïnouk Gubëeher, Joola languages, Wolof, and French which are however hardly ever used unmixed. There are several more language(s) around which might even be used on a daily basis, yet their use depends on the contexts, speakers' linguistic repertoires, ethnographies and experiences. The data provides evidence that language(s) other than the ones mentioned above are generally less used in official settings, as was evident in the discussion of chapter 5, §5.7.

Generally speaking, children who grow up in Jibëeher are highly likely to acquire and regularly use Baïnouk Gubëeher in everyday life, which is also the language of several ceremonial and local (traditional) practices which were reported to be monolingual (for a discussion see §5.5.1). However, the acquisition of only one language is exceptional and not being multilingual would be a social obstacle in the long run. From the day of birth, the residents are confronted with a vast number of language(s). Besides Baïnouk Gubëeher this definitely includes a Joola language which is most likely Joola Kujireray due to the (local and social) proximity of Brin (see §5.3.1) or Joola Fogny, the Joola language that is used as a language of wider communication through wider areas of the Casamance, which makes contact with it probable. Furthermore, Joola Fogny and Joola Eegima are officially used in church settings due to the priest's use of it in the church in Brin (see §5.5.2), which brings the language(s) even closer to the (active) Catholic

⁸⁴ It was mentioned before that a child is always men's 'possession', however de facto the children still live, at least to a certain age, with the mothers.

residents of Jibëeher. French is present, as it is throughout the country, but primarily used highly intermixed with other language(s). A French ‘monolingual discourse’ is mainly found in school, where it is taught in a formal setting, in church and public media (however not as the only language).

Wolof is omnipresent in the village, as demonstrated in chapters 5, 6 and 7. As the de-facto most spoken language in Senegal it affects most of the people in the country. However, recently its use has burgeoned in the Casamance, supported by the systematic strengthening of Wolof as well as the deployment of Wolof-identifying employees by the French colonial power (see §3.3) and the increasing mobility of people. As discussed in §5.4, Wolof plays a role in nearly all public spaces, and is often fully integrated and not easily replaceable with another language(s) in conversation (§5.4, the village grain bank, the Jeunesse de Djibonker, the market and shops, public education etc.). Additionally, within the village, visitors, long or short-term guests, traders, fostered children etc. use the language, which augments its presence. Furthermore, mobile individuals often acquire Wolof through contact situations featuring circular and temporal migration or movement (see §6.2 where all of the participants report acquisition of Wolof through a relocation) and bring it along in their linguistic repertoires, which in turn can influence stable residents of Jibëeher.

These findings suggest that, for at least two to three generations, Wolof seems to influence practically everybody’s repertoire within Jibëeher before they reach adulthood, but often much earlier. The children of the household of interest are all already able to speak and understand Wolof (see for instance one example in excerpt (89) where one of the smallest children unsolicited responds in Wolof), which is of course influenced by the four adults in the household who use the language regularly at home. Concurrently, it is acquired as a side effect of the public education (see §5.4.6) which is highly influential and within which Wolof is regularly used as a tool to explain content but also as a language of the schoolyard. Within the household of interest, the use of Wolof also increased especially among the children with the fostering of AS20_{m1}, who came from the city and was perceived as possessing an urban and modern identity. The adoption of a new family member was however not an atypical experience but is widespread throughout the village (and area).

As anticipated from the beginning of the research, due to the few references to the use of Wolof in the southern Casamance in existing literature (see §2.7.2) the frequency of its use in Jibëeher is lower compared to northern parts of the country. However, even though Wolof is part of many of the residents’ linguistic repertoires, to my knowledge

fewer than 10 people (permanent traders, the teachers and 2 women who married into the villages) within Jibëeher and Brin mention Wolof as their ethnic orientation and identity language. It is further anticipated that the situation does not differ drastically in surrounding villages and that this is unlikely to change in the near future. Even though the use of Wolof within Jibëeher is higher the closer one's home is geographically located to the street (see §5.6), it also depends on the general diversity within the household. However, it is hard to imagine that many of the people who are children or youngsters now will not be able to communicate freely in Wolof at some point in their lives. This is a phenomenon that developed as such recently, as for example **JPS_{m4}**'s father does not speak any Wolof and **KS_{2f4}** and **LOG_{f3}** reported that they had to speak Joola when they arrived in the household because **LM_{m4}** and **JPS_{m4}**'s mother did not speak Wolof. Similarly, in the household where I lived, the oldest man did not speak much Wolof and felt uncomfortable using it. However, other individuals in their generation do, depending on their life experiences. The findings suggest that the increased use of Wolof among younger generations is linked to increased mobility and intercultural exchange, and the fact that compulsory education is taken more seriously, since it is mainly Wolof which is used in the schoolyard as well as by teachers from outside the village.

The use of Wolof however cannot be described as gender dependent, as it is equally distributed between men and women⁸⁵. This differs from O'Brien's (1998) findings, describing the substantial migration of young Joola women (probably including Baïnouk women who might identify as Joola in Dakar and sometimes seem to be lumped together in scientific publications) into domestic service in Dakar as one of the factors for an increased distribution of Wolof; this tendency was not encountered as such in this research (yet is mentioned in Goodchild (2018) for Essyl). McLaughlin (2001) further addresses a phenomenon in Dakar whereby people try to support a 'pure' or 'good' Wolof, which she describes as mainly used as such by the women. The men however seem to accept its intermixing with French, which represents their education, modernity and mobility. Within Jibëeher the situation is not comparable, as men and women mix language(s) depending on their repertoires and ethnographies rather than their gender and mixtures are generally accepted as long as they are comprehensible for the interlocutors and therefore lead to the desired result (with a possible exception of local ceremonial

⁸⁵ This analysis only holds for the present situation within Jibëeher. The comparison of linguistic repertoires of approximately 60+ participants from a range of generations lets me assume that in the past women might have had a closer contact with Wolof than men. A possible interpretation of this finding is that the men often worked on the fields and in the forest whereas the women were responsible for selling goods on the market, where Wolof was more widespread.

activities). A positive attitude towards multilingualism, supporting the acquisition of as many language(s) as possible seems to be a phenomenon within Jibëeher, and stands in contrast to some other villages (e.g. Goodchild (2018) and S. Sagna (2016) for a discussion on Essyl, where a societal monolingualism seems to be encouraged and supported by society).

Other than gender, social status is a possible influential factor for an adaptation of one's linguistic repertoire. Whereas social elevation at a more national level requires greater use of Wolof (and French, depending on the sector, as seen in the reports of JPS_{m4} §6), rural local social advancement seems to allow a stronger rejection of Wolof and strengthens positive attitudes towards the local language(s) in their repertoires. This interesting observation was made due to a comparison of individuals' linguistic repertoires, which exemplified that the omission of Wolof in reports was either from people who live in rather isolated and distant settings (and actually do not have much contact with Wolof) or are relatively mobile people but enjoy significant social power and status (see also Goodchild (2018), where she describes similar findings for the village of Essyl). The *chef du village* of Djibonker for example reports not to speak Wolof and uses, next to Baïnouk Gubëeher, French and Joola as language(s) of wider communication, similar to TS1_{m6} who is a respected constructor and rigidly represents his Bayot identity.

All of the findings provide strong evidence that Wolof is present in people's everyday lives in Jibëeher and either actively used or more passively received. Individuals who report not to speak or understand Wolof often seem to make their statements in conjunction with their attitudes and ideologies towards the language. A high degree of individual multilingualism and the vast number of language(s) present generate a diversity that is not comparable with many other places within Senegal. In the village, Wolof can appear in every kind of conversation yet, generally speaking, occupies certain sectors more than others. It is more likely to be used if someone from the outside needs to be included in conversation, as well as in institutions where we come across a high diversity of individuals (discussed in §5.1 and §5.4). Furthermore, it clearly increases in use the closer one moves towards the street and the spaces of social gathering, since there the multiculturalism seems to increase, people are more open, and the infrastructure allows for a readier exchange with people from the outside.

8.2 Main participants reported linguistic behaviour, attitudes and ideologies

In this section, I zoom in on the four main participants of this research to discuss their reported linguistic behaviour with a focus on the use of Wolof within speakers' daily

lives. Acknowledging Auer's (1984) criticism that using only self-reports seems to produce semantic analyses lacking in depth, this discussion incorporates the knowledge collected on the (linguistic) situation in Senegal, narrowing down to the area of interest, the household, the main participants' cultural and linguistic identifications, ethnographic data, their attitudes and ideologies - which made it possible to overcome the lack of context and depth. In a similar vein, Lüpke (2016b) reports that speakers can be highly influenced by their attitudes and ideologies, provoking misrepresentations of the frequency of (mixed) language use and the number of ('named') languages⁸⁶, thus creating mismatches between the reports and the data collected. However, in this research, it is precisely these 'mismatches' that have contributed enormously to a better understanding of the situation as a whole. For the purpose of in-depth analysis, I refer further back to different parts of this thesis, but mainly chapter 5 on the research setting, §6.2 on reported language use and §7.1 on observed use of language(s) to address the speakers' metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness.

First and foremost, it has to be mentioned here that the main participants attach little importance to the discussion of Wolof in their linguistic repertoires and regularly shift the focus to other languages, mainly influenced by their identities. In context, this however is a result in itself and provides an understanding of attitudes and ideologies that allows an analysis of the role of Wolof in their social context. All of the main participants reported several different named languages in their linguistic repertoires including one that they called their 'language of identity', or 'their own language' following their patrilineal descent but are aware of their multilingualism which they proudly present as indispensable and opening different avenues in life. Their general attitude towards language(s) and multilingualism is absolutely positive as was visible throughout §6.2, with personal preferences for some and a slight antipathy and prejudice towards others shown in widely differing characteristics.

Even though it was indicated that it is decisive for the research that all of the language(s) the participants speak, acquired or are/were in close contact with are significant, much information was only exposed through intensive questioning or after speakers were actually observed using the language(s). The results yielded different motivations behind these behavioural patterns. **KS2_{f4}** and **LOG_{f3}** for example do not incorporate French in their linguistic repertoires, even though **KS2_{f4}** went to a French-

⁸⁶ Even though a poststructuralist view on language(s) is widely represented in parts of this thesis, it is not expedient and indispensable to name languages or mixtures of them while discussing them in interview situations, see §2.1 for a discussion.

medium public school for some years and can comprehend and answer within French based conversation⁸⁷, and **LOG_{f3}** uses it regularly within a fluid communicative practice (see §7.1.4). Furthermore, **KS2_{f4}** decided to omit a huge part of her linguistic repertoire including Sose and Sarahule for a long time, which reflects shared attitudes and ideologies among many Ñambëeher, including the two men (**LM_{m4}** and **JPS_{m4}**) in the household. However, neither **KS2_{f4}** nor her immediate family seem to share the same experiences and attitudes and **KS2_{f4}** acquired Sose in a positive environment. **LOG_{f3}** also grew up within a social setting where these attitudes are not broadly shared; she completely abstains from judgement and presents a neutral attitude, as she has for all of the languages that were mentioned.

LM_{m4} and **JPS_{m4}**'s attitudes towards Mandinka/Sose (see a discussion on the language names in §3.4) was observed as the most negative towards a language within the village and can be attributed to a part of their shared history of conflict situations, specifically the Mandinka (see §3.2) suppression of Joola and Baïnouk settlements in the Casamance. This is also apparent in **LM_{m4}**'s declaration in (07) where he states that if his children are not going to speak Sose this will not be a problem, in contrast to example (09) where he suggests that one can never speak enough languages, before again mentioning that Sose is however not of importance. Representing similar views, **JPS_{m4}** reports in (27) that he does not even speak a single word of Sose, which he does not report for any other language and furthermore might not correspond to the reality. This further stands in contrast to the findings of Lüpke (2016a) from many Baïnouk Gujaher speakers in Agnack Grand, who use Mandinka as a fixed part of their linguistic repertoires.

Both of the men (**LM_{m4}** and **JPS_{m4}**) clearly state Baïnouk Gubëeher as the most used language within the household and **LM_{m4}** says in excerpt (07) that they only speak Gubëeher in the household these days due to the fact that **KS2_{f4}** has also acquired it by now, which is contradicted by **KS2_{f4}** in (17) where she reports that **LM_{m4}** and herself rarely communicate in Baïnouk Gubëeher. In (05) **LM_{m4}** further mentions that Baïnouk Gubëeher is hardly ever mixed and if so then only minimally (see as a counterexample excerpt (87)), in spite of his role as a transcriber who would likely be aware of the dense mixture of language(s). **JPS_{m4}** mentions in excerpt (30) that other languages are only used for guests and in (31) that nobody will speak a language other than Baïnouk Gubëeher again from the day **KS2_{f4}** is proficient enough in it. Even though it is unrealistic that a situation in which only Baïnouk Gubëeher is spoken in the household might ever arrive,

⁸⁷ She was observed addressing interlocutors and responding in French especially when I brought guests in the household who did not know any other Senegalese language.

their reports strongly reflect **LM_{m4}** and **JPS_{m4}**'s language attitudes and ideologies towards their patrimonial language and language of identity, which they rigorously place first in importance and usage. They do however recognise the change of linguistic situation with guests present (see e.g. (27)), and mention the fact that other languages are used in conversations within the family as well, as they both acknowledge **KS2_{f4}** as a possible influence to use other languages (e.g. **JPS_{m4}** in (31) and **LM_{m4}** in (07)).

In the assessment of other people's linguistic repertoires, it was primarily striking that Wolof and Joola language(s) were deemed as absolutely habitual and not further mentioned or discussed regarding proficiency. **LM_{m4}** reports **KS2_{f4}** and **LOG_{f3}**'s good proficiency in Baïnouk Gubëeher but notes that **KS2_{f4}** still sometimes uses a Joola language (when she is in a hurry) whereas **LOG_{f3}** has completely integrated. **JPS_{m4}** feels proud of **LOG_{f3}**'s proficiency in Baïnouk Gubëeher and mentions that **KS2_{f4}** has also started to speak it now, whereas **LOG_{f3}** observes a certain incompetency of **KS2_{f4}** in Baïnouk Gubëeher and mentions that she even uses the language to make fun of her. **KS2_{f4}** agrees with the men that **LOG_{f3}** is highly proficient in Baïnouk Gubëeher and reports not to feel confident speaking it herself. The brothers do not judge each other's linguistic repertoires and proficiencies at all, similar to the women who do not describe or criticise the men's linguistic repertoires since the social setting requires them to adapt to the environment and not the other way around.

Wolof is seen as an accepted and necessary component within all of the main participants' linguistic repertoires. All of them have been in contact with the language for a long time and even though they might have acquired some knowledge as children, they associate a high proficiency in Wolof with relocating to a city: **LM_{m4}** mentions in (03) that he acquired certain words from people who came to the village from Dakar and then got better at it when he moved to Ziguinchor; **KS2_{f4}** mentions in (12) that Wolof is one of the languages she spoke after the families moved to Ziguinchor; **JPS_{m4}** states in (20) that he started to speak Wolof in Djibonker but then became more proficient when he moved to Thies; **LOG_{f3}** mentioned in an informal discussion that she acquired Wolof with the help of her siblings and in conversations with neighbours in Ziguinchor. The data provides evidence that Wolof is one of the language(s) of wider communication in the area including Ziguinchor and is regularly used in various everyday situations. This finding further suggests that even speakers who are proficient and competent in several Joola languages acquire Wolof even though Joola additionally function as language of wider communication in the area due to the ethnic majority of the Joola communities (see e.g. Juillard (1991, 2001b)). Wolof seems to be an additional necessary language in the Casamance and does not replace but rather exists parallel to Joola varieties (and other

language(s)). However, the main participants not only report Wolof as one of the languages beneficial in cities or when trading and travelling but are further aware of its use in Jibëeher and the household and encounter it with a positive or neutral, but by no means negative, attitude. Depending on the context and formulation of questions during interviews and conversations it is mentioned as a language of communication within the household with guests and visitors, and even confirmed that the children already speak it (see e.g. excerpts (06) (15) (16) (17) (30) (31) (32) (39) (42) and (43)). These results vary from previous studies in the area (see e.g. Lüpke (2016b), S. Sagna (2016) and Childs (2004)), where Wolof is not equivalently neutrally received and therefore also not as strongly represented.

A positive attitude towards Wolof was further surprising in consideration of Behrman's publications (1968, 1970) which indicate that Wolof is the local Senegalese language used for Islam, and Juillard's (1991) work which mentions that many Wolof traders were responsible for a Wolofisation and Islamisation of residents in Ziguinchor that was not very well received by most of the residents in the area. This was primarily anticipated as having a negative influence on the speakers' attitudes and ideologies in this research as well, yet it was not mentioned as such in Jibëeher by the main participants. This finding was particularly interesting considering the main participants' Catholic religious orientation, which to a certain extent opposes them to other religions. However, they bring Mandinka/Sose in conjunction with Islamisation rather than Wolof, even though Wolof does not seem to be a conceivable language in official church settings in the area.

The main participants of the research reported communicating in Wolof with ease and feel competent in the production and comprehension of Wolof. However, they do not mention proficiency as such since high proficiency is considered concomitant with being able to communicate in a way that is expedient, and proficiencies as they are understood in Western societies (see §2.1) do not play a role here⁸⁸. However, for certain other languages they report good comprehension but face challenges in responding (see e.g. (18) where **KS2_{f4}** mentions her difficulties with Guñaamolo, as well as (24) and (27) in which **JPS_{m4}** makes similar claims regarding Njago and Bayot, respectively), which does not apply to Wolof and can be interpreted as referring to high proficiency. **JPS_{m4}** even mentions Wolof as a language that 'he really likes' and which might even be the language he uses most in his life (see excerpt (33)), which however can be attributed to the fact that

⁸⁸ With a possible exception of identity language(s) that should be used in a 'correct format' during ceremonial celebrations and activities.

he lives in Ziguinchor most of the week. In excerpt (28) **JPS_{m4}** further commented that The Gambia ‘is better than’ Guinea-Bissau due to their use of Wolof. He adds that Gambia’s speakers’ use of Wolof is not clean, since they mix it with English, which he does not report to be part of his repertoire. In introducing this comparison of the countries, he could however also have mentioned Joola languages, for example, as they are spoken in all three of the countries. Furthermore, this assertion was delivered in Wolof heavily mixed with French which suggests that he does not fully acknowledge this mixture as such.

A further indication for the speakers’ positive attitudes and ideologies towards Wolof (but also multilingualism in general) was the fact that they mentioned it as a language they want their children to (further) acquire, with only **KS2_{f4}** abstaining a definite answer and mentioning that her children can learn the languages they think are important for them (see (19)). Both **LM_{m4}** and **JPS_{m4}** clearly stated that Baïnouk Gubëeher is the most important language for their children to acquire. The next most important languages were declared by **LM_{m4}** as French, Wolof and Joola; **JPS_{m4}** uses an alternate arrangement, stating Joola, Wolof, French (and maybe even English) in that order (see (19) and (34)). This is mentioned here only to show which named languages might have greater importance for them, yet with the background knowledge that none of these language(s) are acquired as separate entities. **LOG_{f3}**, similarly to **KS2_{f4}**, does not directly respond to this question and wishes to recall that the children already speak Baïnouk Gubëeher, Wolof and Joola so for her it is most important that they acquire good French, which she associates with economic success.

8.3 Wolof in multilingual conversations

This section provides a discussion of findings on Wolof in multilingual conversations, combining more structuralist views (discussed in §7.2) and post-structuralist views (discussed in §7.3) which is essential for an analysis of the intertwined use of language(s) in this study and allows a greater integration of different views. Inspired by Gumperz’ (1995) approach, the assimilation of participants’ reports on the use of their language(s), as well as their interpretation of already recorded data, (as described in chapter 4 on methodology) was used as a tool for analysis and discussion. The aim was to ascertain when Wolof is used within conversations, what influences its use and if there are any kinds of discursive patterns that can be described. Explanations for the conscious and unconscious decisions speakers make in certain contexts are supported by video recorded

data, in-depth sociolinguistic analysis including detailed ethnolinguistic knowledge, and the integration of the background information presented above.

With a careful look at the participatory videography data there was further confirmation that the use of Wolof is frequent within the village and the household of interest. The language is included in all of the main participants' linguistic repertoires and is used in a context dependent manner. An essential point to mention is that the recorded language use of the multilingual individuals of this study is hardly ever in an 'unmixed' form from a researcher's view, which at points deviates from the speakers' and observers' views in which multilingualism is often used in an unmarked manner. This became clear in §7.3 which represents the fluidity of language use, as well as in §7.2.1 where a 'monolingual' discourse is discussed. At the beginning of this study it was primarily assumed that such a 'monolingual' discourse only happens in conversations where both of the interlocutors feel confident in only one shared language, which did not prove to be true. For example, the speech event in excerpt (70), including **LM**_{m4} and **IPS**_{m4}, shows that participants have various shared language(s) to pick from. They could have used a Joola, which might have been excluded since Joola languages are, following widespread attitudes in the village, not preferred in Ñambëeher households; or they might have used French, which would have been absolutely marked and instigated in connection with a very official topic or certain work areas (as **JPS**_{m4} describes that a 'monolingual' French discourse is necessary at his work in (25)). Due to the fact that **IPS**_{m4} is as unversed in Baïnouk Gubëeher (as the basis for conversation) as **LM**_{m4} is in Arame, Wolof as a basis language seems to be the only appropriate solution, which however could have been influenced and changed immediately by the slightest change in context. In contrast, in example (87) a situation was recorded in which confident Baïnouk Gubëeher speakers did not base their use of language on Gubëeher but rather fluidly intermixed them; even though this intermixture seems slightly odd if all the reports are considered, it represents the fluidity of language use.

This analysis of 'monolingual discourse' holds for Wolof but also for other language(s), which can be seen as highly intermixed from the researcher's view but for the speakers themselves represents the most natural form of communication. However, if there is a need for categorisation for the speakers (and the observers), as was demanded in certain circumstances during this research, individuals follow an approach deviating from the researcher's view but tending towards a post-structuralist view of language(s) while following their intuitional perception of the situation (see also §2.1.3 on the prototype theory). This is by no means an indicator of the speakers' (poor) proficiency. This further showed in the fact that if the participants are presented with phrases or

lexemes in one language from a structuralist view, they are highly likely to be able to name the language so that it corresponds with the researcher's views.

Following the prototype theory for description, all of the main participants have language(s) they use more frequently as a basic language of communication with residents in the household. These findings are presented below in a table focussing on the main participants and their children, though only on the conditions that language(s) are always to a certain extent intermixed and that the situation is not affected by guests or unusual events:

Figure (30) Basic language(s) use among the households residents

LM_{m4} →	KS2_{f4}	W, BG
	JPS_{m4}, LOG_{f3}, children	BG
KS2_{f4} →	LM_{m4}	J, W, BG
	LOG_{f3}	J, W
	JPS_{m4}	W, BG
	children	J
JPS_{m4} →	LOG_{f3}, LM_{m4}, children	BG
	KS2_{f4}	W
LOG_{f3} →	JPS_{m4}, LM_{m4}, children⁸⁹	BG
	KS2_{f4}	W, J

As is visible, the two men mainly stick to Bainouk Gubëeher, especially when they talk to each other or their children; when they address their wives however, they use different strategies. Whereas **JPS_{m4}** still uses Bainouk Gubëeher, **LM_{m4}** seems to use mainly Wolof to address **KS2_{f4}**, but also Gubëeher in certain situations. When **KS2_{f4}** addresses **LM_{m4}** or the children, she mainly uses a Joola language, to which they also respond in Joola. However, with **JPS_{m4}** it is slightly different, since he seems to have a negative attitude towards the use of Joola in the household and prefers Wolof over it. In conversations with **LOG_{f3}**, both **LOG_{f3}** and **KS2_{f4}** use Wolof and Joola (intermixed), even though **LOG_{f3}** tends to use more Wolof than **KS2_{f4}**. In communications with her husband or the children, **LOG_{f3}** rigorously sticks to Bainouk Gubëeher. Conversations

⁸⁹ **LOG_{f3}** however recently started to address her two older daughters in Wolof, if the conversational situation admits it and e.g. guests are present as well.

in which one of the main participants addresses others living in the household usually begin with this hierarchy but can then be further influenced by the context and interlocutor(s).

The results further yielded significant correlations between the context and the used language(s) with certain situations paving the way for the (intermixed) use of Wolof in conversations and others rather precluding it. Deviating from the reports of the speakers, in a fluid practice Wolof (as is the case for any other languages in their linguistic repertoires) can be intermixed with any other language (see e.g. (87) where Baïnouk Gubëeher and Wolof are highly intermixed). In general, it is also possible to describe a certain hierarchy of factors which affect the language use. Focussing on important contextual situations influencing the use of Wolof, it can be described as more likely to be used (intermixed) the more multilingual and multicultural people are present in conversation, since in these situations the multilingual language use also increases⁹⁰ (see e.g. (72), (75), (77), (86) and (88)). On a smaller level, there are furthermore certain interlocutors that instigate the use of Wolof more than others, for example **KS2_{f4}**, **IPS_{m4}**, myself (**MW_{f2}**) or certain other guests within the household (see e.g. (74) (76) (83)). This however does not mean that Wolof is the only possible language to use in such situations, but it does tend to be used more than others. It is also probable that more Wolof is used if the topic discussed concerns trading, the market/shopping or money (see e.g. (81), (83), (87) and (89)), which was also discussed as such in O'Brien (1998) and Behrman (1968). Furthermore, Wolof can be used to represent one's mobility and modernity, which is consistent with findings of studies regarding urban Wolof and urban identities in Senegal (see e.g. McLaughlin (2001, 2008c, 2009a) and Versluys (2008)). It is however difficult to identify in which situations the participants use Wolof due to this reason. However, the wish to express an urban and modern identity can be an influential reason for an increased use of Wolof when guests from urban centres visit, and the language is used as such a tool. Yet what differs from the publications on Senegalese urban centres is that the general multilingualism in the area of interest is higher on a broader individual and societal scale, which also makes a denser mixture of language(s) possible. Furthermore, these mixtures are to a great extent accepted among the speakers, which makes a description increasingly difficult from a researcher's perspective. On the contrary, Wolof is in general less (or not) used to represent a more local identity (see §2.3), if traditional and religious topics are

⁹⁰ This however depends on the origin and linguistic repertoires of the people, as the presence of many interlocutors originating from a country where Wolof does not play a role will not increase its use. Yet in the household an increasing number of people often equates to an increased number of Wolof speakers.

discussed, or if certain interlocutors are for any reason excluded from the content of the conversations, since it is generally assumed that the vast majority of people comprehend Wolof.

The data provides evidence for discourse strategies that are influential for the use of Wolof, as described in §7.2.2 where these findings are further discussed. However, as already mentioned throughout chapter 7, these are only directive from a researcher's view as the situations are highly complex and a single extract could be described from very different angles, which guides the discussion towards a translanguaging approach. Within an addressee specification the data revealed a tendency to use Wolof to address a group of people, seemingly unaffected by the presence of other shared language(s) in the whole group and, as long as they are in the minority, ignoring people who do not (report to) speak Wolof (as the main participants constantly did with TS1_{m6}, discussed in §7.2.2.1). Wolof is therefore also used as a language that includes people; a switch from any (but mostly more local smaller) language(s) to Wolof is marked and understood by all attendees as a form of integration (see §7.2.2.2 and §7.2.2.5). Due to its wide distribution as the biggest language of wider communication throughout the country, Wolof is a tool to address and greet strangers in the village. This represents an inclusive function since it is highly likely that Baïnouk Gubëeher speakers would be known and it cannot be assumed that stranger(s) speak Joola languages. Yet this needs further specification as for example people who are interpreted as being foreigners to the country would instead be addressed in French rather than Wolof, according to the linguistic identity that is assumed for them. Further, Wolof can be strategically used to refer to contexts in discussion which are based on the shared experiences of the speakers involved. Due to its high use within Senegal and the vast number of speakers Wolof has, it is also highly likely to be used for quotations, reported speech and reiterations; however this depends on the speaker's aim in conversation as well as the interlocutor's shared common knowledge, is further influenced by social context and topic, and might not be used to a greater or lesser extent than other language(s) (see §7.2.2.3, §7.2.2.4, and §7.2.2.5).

However, within the dense and fluid mixture of language(s) and the rapidly changing environment(s) and topic(s) it is virtually impossible to predict with absolute certainty when Wolof or other language(s) are used in which situation(s) and contexts. As mentioned above, analysing the examples is additionally highly complex since: (a) even in short excerpts, it is often the case that more than one discourse strategy could be applied from the researcher's view; and (b) the researcher's views on languages (and language(s)) differ substantially from the speakers' (and partly from the trained observers') views, which challenges the structuralist approach to languages within this research. As was

shown in many examples, but especially in the slightly longer excerpts in §7.3, the more background information and context is considered, the better we can comprehend the fluidity that is practiced in these typical daily communications. The borders between the languages become undeniably blurred and need to be described from different angles. What can however be determined from a researcher's, observers' and speakers' point of view is that within this vast number of highly intermixed language(s), Wolof is prominent in repertoires and discourses.

9 Conclusion: synthesis of results

Wolof can be described as an always possible part of language use in multilingual and fluid communicative practices in the small-scale language ecology of Jibëeher. The data provides evidence of the extent to which Wolof is used in a rural setting in Senegal, where no other investigations as such have yet been completed. The results of this thesis have shown that Wolof is used on a societal level within public spaces of gathering and social network structures, and on an individual level, with the main participants of the household in focus, who reported it as an active part of their linguistic repertoire and language use. This was furthermore observed and recorded during the research. Multilingualism is a fact of life in the non-Western setting of this rural area which shows a super-diverse discourse with increasing linguistic diversity. On both a societal and individual level, it is used in parallel to and intermixed with several other languages: the patrimonial language of the village, identity languages of individuals, the languages of the colonial rulers, other languages of wider communication and, depending on the context, languages only shared with a small number of speakers. The analysis comprises interesting findings which give an important insight into small-scale rural multilingualism but are however not generalisable beyond this study.

In the present multilingual context of Jibëeher, Wolof is accepted as a language that can be used without creating an unnatural, negatively marked situation, and basing one's conversation on Wolof often constitutes an expedient strategy for neutral conversations. The results yielded however distinguish Jibëeher and its residents from the findings of various former publications on multilingual situations in Senegal. On a local level, despite shared social characteristics, the findings stand in contrast to publications on nearby villages which seem not to accept and support the use of Wolof in the same way as many of the residents of Jibëeher do. As mentioned before, the linguistic situation in the village of Essyl (and probably also other villages in the kingdom of Mov Avvi and beyond) is described by S. Sanga (2016) as a monolingual society where the patrimonial language of the village is mainly used for inter-village communication. Goodchild (2018) and Goodchild and Weidl's (2018b) results within the same village diverge from S. Sanga as Goodchild has found a more multilingual situation. Even though she presents linguistic repertoires of speakers including Wolof, she describes it as little used and surrounded by negative attitudes and ideologies. One factor which might play a decisive role in establishing this difference between the villages could be relative isolation of Essyl. It would however also mean that other villages with a well-connected infrastructure and location close to an urban centre would accept and use Wolof in a similar way to the

residents of Jibëeher. This is however not the case as became clear in many discussions with speakers living in Brin, who, even though Wolof is a fixed part of their linguistic repertoires, might refuse to speak it within their households⁹¹. This finding was further confirmed by Rachel Watson⁹², who conducted research and lived in Brin for several years. Lüpke (2016a) has carried out intensive studies in the village of Agnack Grand east of Ziguinchor with the patrimonial language Bāinounk Gujaher, where the linguistic situation is again very different. She has found Wolof as a language that is present, however not spoken and used to an extent comparable to Jibëeher, and also describes Mandinka and Kreole as possible languages of (wider) communication within this Bāinounk settlement.

The work of de Jong (2016) is relevant as he discusses an official meeting of Joola and Sereer speakers in the Casamance, where they initially felt the need to agree on ‘one language’ for discussion. All of the attendees seemed to be able to communicate in Wolof, yet they rejected it since it was described as the language of the oppressor, due to the fact that it is the most spoken language in Senegal. French was further ruled out since some of the people were described as not competent enough to understand it. Finally, they agreed that everybody was permitted to use their preferred local language, excluding Wolof and French. In chapter 5, I outlined comparable situations in Djibonker where a small number of non-Gubëeher speakers influenced the choice of Joola as the basis for a conversation. However, in light of the findings within Jibëeher, one could argue that this is motivated by the speakers with Joola (or other than Gubëeher) identity rather than the Ñambëeher themselves. Within Jibëeher Wolof seems broadly accepted and is indispensable even in official meetings (e.g. the *Jeunesse de Djibonker* §5.4.4). From a broader perspective, the language situation in the area of interest is described in a way that is not applicable to Jibëeher, as Cissé (2005) describes ‘Joola’ as the language of wider communication (not specifying which Joola he refers to) followed by ‘Mandeng’ in the area of Ziguinchor, and Diallo (2009) highlights Pulaar as the dominant language in the Casamance, which he describes as also used as a second language by many people. These estimations might hold true for certain places in the Casamance, however not for the entire area and are simply non-applicable for the village of Jibëeher/Djibonker. This further refers to the lack of awareness of many (local) researchers on the actual linguistic situation in many places in the Casamance.

⁹¹ With the exception that a well-respected person who does not speak any Joola languages is present; however, in contrast to Jibëeher, people are constantly pointing out that one should acquire Joola Kujireray.

⁹² Private conversation with Rachel Watson in 2017.

However, though Wolof is an actively used language in the village, the results within Jibëeher differ to a great extent from findings in urban centres and the northern parts of Senegal, even standing in contrast to publications dealing with ‘Wolofisation’. Although it has been acknowledged that most of Africa has been and remains multilingual, the vast majority of research concentrates on urban settings (see e.g. Bamgbose, 2000; Blench, 2007; Childs, 2008; Mous, 2003; Trudell, 2009) while creating a widespread imaginary of endangered monolingual settings in rural areas. However, the results demonstrated that Jibëeher can on no level be described as monolingual and that there was further no indication for language loss, especially not of identity languages. Comparable results for Wolof were interestingly only found by Haust (1995) in The Gambia, who also proved that the acquisition of Wolof does not expel another language from the speakers’ linguistic repertoires but is rather used as an additional language. Similar to this finding, the general picture emerging within this research is that there seems to be a growing trend towards multilingualism.

Further results obtained by various scholars (see e.g. Heath, 1992; McLaughlin, 2001, 2009b; Shiohata, 2012; Trudell, 2009 among others) present an increased and intermixed use of the languages of ex-colonial powers as an urban phenomenon; this is however equally present in rural areas, as this research shows. Although in urban areas of Senegal a monolingual discourse in French might be initiated more often (due to the higher density of official institutions that often require French), as a contact phenomenon the intermixture with French is also distributed in rural areas, which is not recognised as such in the literature. Yet, the same also applies to Wolof, which is used in contexts (mixed with other language(s)) where other regional local language(s) could have been used. However, I found not only an intermixture of Wolof and French, which is often referred to as Urban Wolof (McLaughlin, 2008a; Swigart, 2000), but also a mixture of Wolof with others (and French with others), going far beyond the use of only two named languages within conversation.

Within Senegal, it is absolutely transparent why Wolof is acquired as a more widely spoken language in an economic sense that enables one’s mobility. Yet ‘Wolofisation’, the takeover of Wolof (language and culture) through gradual but constant assimilation which is often invoked as a threat to language ecologies in Senegal (Dreyfus & Juillard, 2004; N. K. Johnson, 2005; Juillard, 1991; McLaughlin, 1995, 2008c; O’Brien, 1998), can be discarded in Jibëeher. Wolofisation does not operate globally but is rather based on the situated needs of multilingual people without losing any of their ancestral or identity languages. Furthermore, Wolof does not threaten the minority language Baïnouk Gubëeher (though neither does French seem to be a threat in the village, nor

globalisation); rather, it is accepted as one of the language(s) that are expedient tools in certain situations and is accepted as a language of wider communication. However, within Jibëeher a personal identification with Wolof appears to be precluded. Ethnic identification with Baïnouk Gubëeher (or other identity markers) can be determined as a kind of separation of others that can be evinced in patterns of intimate behaviour but does not exclude Wolof as a language in conversation. Many individuals in Jibëeher are actually very keen on saving and protecting the language Baïnouk Gubëeher which makes it inviolable, however they do accept other languages in their repertoires and daily use as well. This adaptivity makes the local languages strong and protects against the loss of local languages (see also Mufwene (2017) and Lüpke (2017)).

Attitudes towards Wolof are rather indifferent, and although it contributes to personal achievements through increased mobility and communicational skills, it appears ineligible as a language of identity within the village. The general acquisition of Wolof by an Ubëeher further follows a clear strategy; due to the shared history with various Joola communities, the Ñambëeher are counteracting an assimilation with Joola, which makes Wolof a helpful tool (supported by national migration which increases the use of Wolof). Even though the vast majority of residents are able to use at least one Joola language, Wolof is perceived as providing an opportunity to communicate in a language other than Joola. At the same time, it is a way to protect Baïnouk Gubëeher, which they shield from the external world and would never impose on others who were not carefully selected. If Joola were used as the only or dominant language of wider communication, it would augment its power, which is counterproductive from the perspective of residents of a village that has Baïnouk Gubëeher as its patrimonial language. Yet the actual use of language(s) depends significantly on individual experiences, context and interlocutors as well as the aims of conversation within multilingual situations. There is however no cause to lose competencies through the intake of Wolof into linguistic repertoires as long as all of them are relevant in individuals' lives, leaving some dormant for special situations. The frequency and intermixture with other language(s) further depends on the speaker(s) and the situation but also the interpretation of the collected data, as is visible in the results of this research in which individuals adapt quickly to given contexts while moving fluidly between language(s) contained in their linguistic repertoires.

9.1 Summary of the thesis

In chapter 1, I provided a general introduction to Senegal and its linguistic environment as well as the Casamance, where this research took place. Building upon this brief background introduction, I discuss my research interest as well as the motivation to carry out this research. The chapter further includes a description of the ‘Crossroads Project’ within which this research was conducted, as well as outlining the aims and focus of this research and presenting the research questions.

Chapter 2 comprises a detailed literature review and theoretical framework concerning multilingualism, and begins with a general discussion of ‘language’ as a concept. Subsequently, different perspectives in the study of multilingualism are presented, leading to a discussion of the creation of people’s identities through language(s) and social environments. To deal with the use of language(s) in interactions I further review publications on social networks of communication and address how linguistic repertoires develop through social exchanges as well as mobility, shaping attitudes, ideologies and linguistic awareness. I then examine the use of multiple language(s) in conversational acts and discuss concepts within structuralist and post-structuralist views on languages as well as research conducted on Senegal and West Africa.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to providing a detailed linguistic insight into Senegal as a whole, since many of the predominant structures in the north also influence the Casamance in the south of the country, which is somewhat separated through the enclave of The Gambia. Providing the most important statistical facts and historical background information, I then concentrate on the Casamance and briefly introduce the languages that are represented and predominant in the data of this research.

Chapter 4 outlines the specific methods of data collection, including various types of observation and interviews which are described from first completing fieldwork in the area to investigate in the role of Wolof in the linguistic repertoires and language use of the participants. Furthermore, the triangulation of analysis is discussed, presenting the speakers’, observers’ and researcher’s report, since these were decisive in answering the questions of interest.

Chapter 5 provides background knowledge on the research setting, including the administrative and traditional organisation of the village and a brief introduction to the neighbouring villages. Since Jibëeher and Brin are geographically close and people move between the villages, public spaces of social network structures are discussed jointly. This

chapter concludes with data from interviews that were conducted in all of the households in Jibëcher and represents the reported use of Wolof in the private homes.

Chapter 6 zooms further in on the household of interest and introduces the main participants of this research as well as their family and regular guests. Therefore, data from observations, (informal) conversations and different kinds of interviews is used to describe the participants' linguistic biographies as well as their self-reported language use and linguistic repertoires.

In the confrontation of the reported and observed language use at the beginning of chapter 7, the main participants' self-constructions in their reports are evident, which deviate at times from contextualised practices in the recordings. Next, contact phenomena with Wolof are discussed from a rather structuralist view, presenting a Wolof 'monolingual' discourse as well as 'multilingual' discourse strategies which then leads to the discussion of fluid languaging via a presentation of excerpts that are analysed using a more open approach to language(s).

Chapter 8 is dedicated to a discussion of all of the findings throughout chapters 5, 6 and 7 and provides a final response to the research questions presented at the beginning of this thesis. Even though discussions are provided throughout this research, chapter 9 connects all of the findings of this research to identify the key motivating factors behind the use of Wolof and the role of Wolof within the use of language(s) and social context(s).

9.2 Future research

The main aim of this thesis was to examine the role of Wolof in the multilingual repertoires of speakers in the rural language ecology in Jibëcher, southern Casamance, Senegal. This thesis presents the first investigation of the role of Wolof as one of the many language(s) in a highly multilingual area and therefore opens up numerous topics for further research that can be determined. This section however limits itself to a few central topics that stand in direct connection to findings of the thesis. The results above provide evidence of the complexity of social life where a constant presence of more than one language in conversation is the norm and where translanguaging can be perceived as the only unmarked way to communicate in many situations of life. The research presents a sustainable approach that enables analysis and comprehension of situations. However, as shown in the literature review, analysis and discussions (see e.g. §2.7 and chapter 8), the vast majority of (linguistic) research in Senegal mainly focusses on urban centres, leaving the rural areas fairly under-described. Irrespective of the amount of linguistic

research that still needs to be done in these areas, under-representation in literature leads to generalised misinterpretations of such areas, as was shown regarding the anticipated role of Wolof before starting this research, as well as publications on Wolofisation and the threatening and loss of smaller local, patrimonial or identity languages. Researchers, political and economic institutions have only speculative data to refer to, which is in many cases not appropriate and might therefore lead to misalignment of stakeholders' strategic positioning. Therefore, future research is required to further investigate these small-scale ecologies in Senegal (and wider areas of West Africa) to provide better descriptions of the actual situations and more fine-grained identifications of language use throughout rural areas in particular.

In the description and analysis of the diverse linguistic repertoires of speakers in Jibëeher, multimodal and ethnographic approaches to collect and analyse the data were required and even indispensable, which is however not often considered in linguistic research outside Western settings. The integration of background information, including the impact of existing social, political and economic forces and institutions, provided stable factors on which an analysis of communicative events is grounded. Even though this research only presents a rather momentary picture of multiple and fluid ethnolinguistic identities in a rather limited geographic space, the degree of mutual respect and trust developed through three years' regular interaction with the main participants testifies to the importance of immersive fieldwork. However, in the future this needs to be implemented in different places to contribute to a better understanding of the linguistic situation in Senegal as a whole and of small-scale multilingualism in other areas.

Furthermore, even though (socio-)linguists broadly agree that linguistic repertoires are shaped by speakers' family contexts and life trajectories, which create different and dynamic linguistic biographies, small-scale longitudinal studies are non-existent in (rural) language ecologies in Senegal. Future research will have to shed light on the development of the linguistic situation, to assess for instance the extent to which Wolof spreads through the country, what attitudes and ideologies the different generations present in years to come, why they might change and how linguistic repertoires further adapt to social environments etc. Emphasising longitudinal in-depth investigations, which apply ethnographic approaches that centre on individuals and give them a chance to voice their interpretations of the situations, will provide further eye-opening results in the research of multilingualism. Furthermore, such studies could contribute to an understanding of the factors that alter and affect the perceptions and representation of one's identity and self-

reports, as it became clear that the change of language(s) and linguistic environment can be defining characteristics for individuals' fluid language use and identities.

It should also be acknowledged that several other findings of this study warrant further discussion and future investigations, since this research was limited to the village of Jibëeher and its residents (and the participatory videography data even to one household), with mainly four people in focus. Therefore, the findings are not generalisable beyond the borders of the village, as major differences of language use can already be observed in the neighbouring villages through brief observations (see discussions in chapter 5 and 8 above) and remain unexplored in large areas of rural Casamance and Senegal. Given that the findings of this study might not only relate to multilingual situations in this one village in the southern Casamance but could also be a unique example for Jibëeher, more information is needed as to whether individual language(s), individual and social multilingualism act in a similar way in other villages, how speakers deal with their patrimonial and identity languages and represent their linguistic repertoires, attitudes and ideologies, deal with integration of strangers, exogamous marriage, guests etc.

At present we are neither in a position to describe the language use in most of the rural areas in Senegal, nor to determine how the language ecology develops in rural Senegal as influenced by increasing mobility, technology, change in political structures, economic environment and so on, nor to delineate the dissemination of Wolof within the multilingual repertoires of speakers in many remote areas of the country. Although in this research the same attention could have been paid to languages other than Wolof, as the most used language of Senegal it was the centre of this research. Other language(s) are however of equal value, especially focussing on smaller areas, and should therefore receive more attention in future investigations on multilingualism.

10 Bibliography

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Appendix

Significant terms

Terminology	Origin	Meaning
(Baïnouk) Gubëeher	Language name	The Baïnouk language spoken in Jibëeher
ubëeher	BG SG.	The terms used to describe the people identifying as Baïouk Gubëeher
ñambëeher	BG PL.	
gulol	BG SG.	Greater administrative area
halol	BG PL.	
bilid	BG SG.	Smaller traditional districts
ilid	BG PL.	
Jakarta	Name of city	Motorised bike which serves as taxi, called after the capital of Indonesia since many bikes came from there
Mov Avvi / Eriin	JB / BG	‘The land of the king’, also called ‘royaume de Mov Avvi’ including 13 villages on a peninsula north of Djibonker
Jirer	F / BG / J	Brin, adjacent village to Djibonker
Gubabo	BG	Ziguinchor, regions capital
sirun	BG SG.	Shrine, holy place to have ceremonies
murun	BG PL.	
Nawetaan	W	(Sports) association in the rainy season
soirée	F	Dance evening
xawaare	W	Social gathering
sirun	BG SG.	kind of ancestral shrine
murun	BG PL.	
ujebun	BG SG.	‘slave’ who has to serve in the mothers bilid but also has the right to take what they like
ñanjebun	BG PL.	
karik	BG	Place that holds the name of the bilid, family shrine
buiñ	BG	Ceremony for a newborn
ubootlanken bootlanken	BG SG.	The children of a traditional ‘slave’ of a bilid
away/aca	W	Interrogation ‘to start to do something’
Ujirer	BG SG.	The people from Brin
Ñamjirer	BG PL.	

Questionnaire: metadata

Informations personnelles - Questionnaire

Collecteur(s): _____ Date : _____

Nom du fichier: _____ Lieu : _____

1. Nom du participant

2. Date de naissance

3. Lieu de naissance

4. Est-ce que vous êtes marié?

Oui No

5. Nom de l'épouse/époux

6. Noms des parentes

7. Quelles langues parlez-vous ?

Pour chaque langue, notez les compétences linguistiques évaluées par le participant dans les domaines oral et compréhension.

Langues compétences	et	Apprises: où et quand

8. Depuis la naissance quels sont les lieux que vous avez habités

Lieu	Durée	Occupation (école ; travaille ...)

1. Quels sont les personnes que vous allez voir souvent chez eux, pour passer la journée, pour causer ou juste pour saluer? Quelles langues parlez-vous ?
2. Quelles personnes vous rendent-ils souvent visite chez vous ? Quelles langues parlez-vous ?
3. Quelles personnes approchez-vous pour des conseils ? Quelles langues parlez-vous ?

4. Quand vous avez un travail ou une tâche, à qui vous vous adressez pour de l'aide? Quelles langues parlez-vous ?

5. Quelles sont les personnes que vous rencontrez souvent ? Quelles langues parlez-vous ?

6. Quelles sont les personnes qui vous demande de l'aide ou des conseils ? Quelles langues parlez vous ?