Sociolinguistic spaces and multilingualism: practices and perceptions in Essyl, Senegal

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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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Abstract

This thesis explores the perceptions and practices of multilingualism in Essyl, Senegal, by considering how these are used and construed in sociolinguistic space. Based on fieldwork conducted in the village of Essyl, in the Casamance region of southern Senegal, this thesis explores how mobility and spatiality affect both the practices and discursive ideologies of multilingualism in a rural setting from an ethnographic perspective. In order to do this, the thesis addresses the following topics: participants' life trajectories and the relationship with their linguistic repertoires; what patterns of language use are observed in natural discourse data; perceptions of space and multilingualism by considering approaches to language territorialisation and translanguaging.

Firstly, in the three introductory chapters, I present the research area and overview of the wider sociolinguistic setting in Senegal, before moving on to a review of multilingualism and presenting relevant concepts and approaches. Subsequently, I discuss in detail the qualitative methodology behind the thesis focusing on ethnographic methods and triangulation of analyses. There follows three descriptive chapters: firstly, I present the linguistic repertoires of key participants, before describing various patterns of mobility in the following chapter and how those relate to both repertoire expansion and perceptions of multilingualism, while in the last descriptive chapter I focus on examining multilingual linguistic practices in Essyl from various viewpoints.

In the final chapters of the thesis, I discuss how participants orient towards diverse, yet inclusive, linguistic practices, and how these are linked to perceived

monolingual and multilingual sociolinguistic spaces through processes of erasure and indexicality by way of language territorialisation. I further show how the validity of established concepts such as code are called into question, when taking into account different scales and perspectives of the practices and perceptions of multilingualism in Essyl, Senegal.

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Abbreviations

3	Third person
ABSTR	Abstract
A.O.	Among others
CD	Concord/agreement marker
FUT	Future
LOC	Location marker (following Sagna 2008)
NC	Noun class marker
O.E.	Original emphasis
PL	Plural
REFES	*regroupement des femmes d'espace de la commune d'Enampor* 'Bringing together of women from the commune of Enampor'
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
UCAD	*Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar*

1. Introduction

This thesis[1] seeks to investigate both the practices and perceptions of multilingualism in the village of Essyl, located in the Casamance region, Senegal. Over the course of the present study, I will consider how space in a highly multilingual area becomes associated with the concept of monolingualism. Using an ethnographic case study approach, I will use data taken from linguistic biographies, recordings of linguistic practices and interviews to assess the ideological processes, such as language territorialisation, through which a sociolinguistic space is created, considering various perspectives on actual language use and ideologies thereof. Furthermore, the analyses of the practices described in this thesis employ a range of different scales and perspectives and thus bring new insights to theoretical approaches to analysing multilingual data, such as translanguaging.

In this introductory chapter, I firstly present the focus of the research situating the present study within the emerging field of research on rural multilingualism in Africa, before introducing the research questions. Following this I present an overview of Essyl, the village where the research took place, with background information regarding the history of the area, before turning to introduce the wider sociolinguistic settings of the Casamance and Senegal. In doing so, I provide a summary of languages and multilingualism, introducing the topics of scale and perspectives as pertaining to language naming, an important point for the remainder of the thesis.

[1] This thesis was kindly funded by The Leverhulme Trust through the Crossroads Project. More information on the project and team will be given in §3.6 and can also be found at soascrossroads.org

1.1. Research focus

1.1.1. Multilingualism in rural Africa

Multilingualism is often considered to be the lingua franca of Africa (Fardon & Furniss 1994: 4), due to its pervasiveness on the continent, forming an inherent part of daily life for the vast majority of people. West Africa is itself characterised by a high degree of multilingualism (Atanga et al. 2013: 6) and linguistic diversity, on both the individual and societal level. Historically, linguistic research in West Africa has focused on the documentation and description of languages, both as part of, and following the colonial project, as noted by Nekasa Barasa (2015) and Lüpke (2019). Much sociolinguistic research on multilingualism in Africa often concerns language use in urban settings, with assumptions that they are inherently more multilingual than rural settings (Prah 2010: 175), revealing simplistic, essentialist ideas opposing rurality to urbanity, modernity and multilingualism, thereby implying rural areas to be more monolingual, monolithic and linguistically homogeneous, ignoring many factors such as mobility between areas, one facet of lived experience which contributes to multilingualism. In the Casamance context, as for research elsewhere on the continent, urban multilingualism in the regional capital of Ziguinchor has been the focus of some of the seminal sociolinguistic works on Senegal (Juillard 1995; Juillard 2001; Dreyfus & Juillard 2004; Juillard 2010) and complements work on urban language use in cities in the north, most notably in the capital city Dakar (e.g. Calvet & Dreyfus 1990; Swigart 1990; Thiam 1994; Ndao 1995; Mc Laughlin 2009). However, more recent research from rural areas in the Casamance (e.g. Lüpke 2010a; 2016a; 2016b; 2018; Cobbinah et al. 2017; Goodchild & Weidl 2018a; Watson 2018a; Weidl 2018) and from other countries such as Cameroon (Connell 2009; Beyer 2010; Beyer & Schreiber 2013; Esene Agwara 2013; Di Carlo & Good

2014; Di Carlo 2015) demonstrates that rural multilingualism is a long established phenomenon, in which languages, ideologies and practices must all be taken into account. This study forms part of this new wave of research on ideologies and linguistic practices in rural sub-Saharan African contexts.

1.1.2. Research questions

In this thesis I describe the perceptions and practices of multilingualism in Essyl, Senegal, considering how these relate to (sociolinguistic) space. From an ethnographic perspective, I examine how mobility and spatiality affect both linguistic practices and discursive ideologies of multilingualism in a rural setting. These aims thus lead to several principal research questions:

a. **What are the various constellations of participants' linguistic repertoires?**

   This will be answered with detailed descriptions of participants' linguistic repertoires, taking into account the various practices participants report, including an investigation of language naming practices. This will enable a comparison among participants to identify similar patterns in the constellation of repertoires and therefore, which varieties or linguistic resources may be most available and most likely to be used in natural discourse.

b. **What is the relationship between a participant's history of mobility and their linguistic repertoire?**

This will be answered using data collected from conducting linguistic biographies with participants. By collecting data about their life history and possible migration patterns, this will enable a focus on when and where certain languages or varieties were acquired and what impact this has had on their linguistic repertoire and thus enriches the answers to research questions (a) and (c).

c. **What patterns of language use are observed in natural discourse data?**

This will be answered using analyses derived from naturalistic language data and observations collected in various contexts. In assessing the various patterns of language use, the contexts of the communicative events, the participants present and the possible linguistic resources available in repertoires, this should indicate an answer as to whether multilingualism on an individual level of repertoire translates into multilingualism on a societal level among the participants in Essyl.

d. **What is the effect, if any, of highly mobile participants with distinct linguistic repertoires on the patterns and perceptions of language use in Essyl?**

This will be answered by examining all the data collected together to establish whether participants who have been the most highly mobile and may have alternative patterns of repertoires affect the patterns of language use using natural language data in various situations. Taking into account

participants' perceptions of language use will indicate to what extent this has an effect on the relationship between language use, space, and their relationship with the village of Essyl.

A further research question is warranted, considering that the present study is conducted in a setting which is underrepresented in the literature. Therefore, a further aim of the thesis is to expand or contribute to novel approaches to multilingual analyses, such as the translanguaging approach (see §2.5.3), with data from a rural West African setting, and hence leads to the following additional research question:

e. **What is the contribution to approaches for analysing complex situations of multilingualism, for example the translanguaging approach and spatial repertoires?**

   This will be answered through a discussion of the analyses set against a theoretical background examining differences between structuralist and post-structuralist considerations of language use in sociolinguistic space, incorporating translanguaging practices. As the research is from a setting which is not very prevalent in the established literature, an assessment will be made as to whether the sociolinguistic setting and linguistic practices which are described throughout the thesis can best be analysed using this approach, and further how the analyses may expand the approach itself.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I present the rationale behind the thesis, before introducing necessary background information about the village of

Essyl and the surrounding area, focusing briefly on the history before situating it within the wider linguistic setting. I further provide information on Senegalese multilingualism and an introductory discussion of languages and language naming practices of the region.

1.1.3. Rationale

Whilst there has been a growing body of work carried out on multilingualism in the Casamance, and Senegal more widely, there has been little sociolinguistic work in rural settings to date conducted using naturalistic discourse data. The research in this thesis stems from an interest in investigating how participants with individual, varied, multilingual repertoires, who are highly mobile, use and describe their various linguistic resources. This is in order to ascertain what links there are between language use, ideologies and space, in a rural setting, taking into account a variety of perspectives.

Lüpke (2016a; 2018) describes how in the Casamance, which is highly multilingual, most places including "villages are habitually associated with one language as the language of the locality" (Lüpke 2016a: 10) through a process which she terms "patrimonial deixis", and which can surface in language naming practices (which will be explained below in §1.4). Thereby, a language name includes a village name, as for example Joola Banjal being the Joola language of the village of Banjal. She takes the patrimonial naming practices to indicate the named language of the male founders of a certain village, and that in these multilingual settings, the language should be considered as one of the languages of X (place) (Cobbinah 2012). However, Lüpke states that this process of patrimonial deixis simultaneously

indexes a particular patrimonial ideal through iconization processes, while erasing[2] multilingualism, particularly women's, from the picture. Indeed, Senegal has a high level of individual and societal multilingualism, and the Casamance demonstrates a concentrated level of linguistic diversity (Juillard 1995; Dreyfus & Juillard 2004; Mbaya 2005; Lüpke 2010a; Lüpke 2010b; Cobbinah 2010; Ndecky 2011; Nunez 2015; Cobbinah et al. 2017; Nunez & Léglise 2017, a.o.). One of the reasons for choosing Essyl as a research site is its location in the former kingdom of Mof Avvi (henceforth Mof Avvi), where numerous researchers have worked previously and have referred to what could be considered the patrimonial language of the area in different ways. For example, Tendeng (2007) refers to Gusiilay, referring to the village of Essyl; A-C. Bassène (2006) to Jóola Banjal, referring to the village of Banjal; Bassene (2012) to Joola Eegimaa and Sagna (2008; 2016) to Gújjolaay Eegimaa, neither of which contain a reference to a place. Other appellations will all be further explored in §1.4. But for an introduction, it suffices to say that this makes for an interesting area to investigate the processes of language territorialisation (Blommaert 2010), which associate a language with place, in a wider area described as multilingual.

Sagna & E. Bassène describe the area of Mof Avvi, in which the research setting of Essyl is located (see Map 1.3 in §1.2 below) thus:

> […] the territory of Mof-Ávvi, which is a linguistically homogeneous Eegimaa speaking area, in the sense that there is only one linguistic speech community, with Eegimaa as the language of communication.

[2] These ideological processes of iconization and erasure are based on Irvine & Gal (2000) and will be further explored in §2.4 and §7.1.

> Speakers of Eegimaa have become increasingly multilingual, especially in the last five to seven decades due to schooling in French and rural exodus. However, the linguistic landscape of the Eegimaa speaking areas of Mof-Ávvi is characterised by the use of Eegimaa throughout the ten villages.
>
> (Sagna & E. Bassène 2016:44)

The authors then explicate further in a footnote to the above quote:

> There are two main types of village in the Casamance. The first type is that of multilingual villages which are composed of different linguistic communities. These villages, like cities, are linguistically heterogeneous in the sense that different languages are used in different districts. The second type of village is that of villages like those in Mof-Ávvi where only one language is used in each village. Speakers may be multilingual as a result of schooling and migration, but this is a case of individual multilingualism rather than societal multilingualism. The villages can be seen as linguistically homogeneous because only one language is used among the speakers who live there.
>
> (Sagna & Bassène 2016: 44, note 2)

It seems from the above quotes as if this description of the sociolinguistic setting subscribes to Lüpke’s patrimonial deixis which can be ascribed to a particular language ideology. It is of interest to investigate how, despite high levels of

individual multilingualism, the area of Mof Avvi retains an association as monolingual on a societal level, contrasting with other villages and towns in the wider area perceived as multilingual. Furthermore, a look at mobility and migration will be necessary as this is one of the principle reasons, along with education, through which people are purported to become multilingual, whilst the area of Mof Avvi, including Essyl, are perceived to be "linguistically homogeneous" where one language is used.

Lüpke & Storch (2013) remind us that African contexts of multilingualism vary widely and many of the concepts surrounding multilingualism have been conceived with a monolingual outlook, coming from studies based on European, North American and Australian contexts. They argue that it is, therefore, much more helpful to conceive of repertoires rather than of discrete or fixed languages when discussing multilingualism (Lüpke & Storch 2013: 2), which will be addressed through the present study. Previous sociolinguistic studies in the Casamance have dealt with different contexts of multilingualism and have either been conducted in a quantitative paradigm (Ducos 1983) or in a qualitative framework, but with some of the most seminal work located in the regional capital Ziguinchor (Juillard 1995; Dreyfus & Juillard 2004), with a focus on multilingual linguistic practices including Casamance Creole (Nunez 2015; Nunez & Léglise 2017), and other urban settings, such as Ndecky (2011) focusing on multilingual practices in Gudoump, a town to the east of Ziguinchor. There has been a notable comparative study between Casamance and Catalonia including multlingual practices as indicative of convivial relations (Heil 2013). In addition, a recent Master's thesis by Manga (2015) studied code-switching between Joola Banjal (Eegimaa), French and Wolof, in the mobile population of Mof Avvi in the villages of Enampore and Seleki. The study was

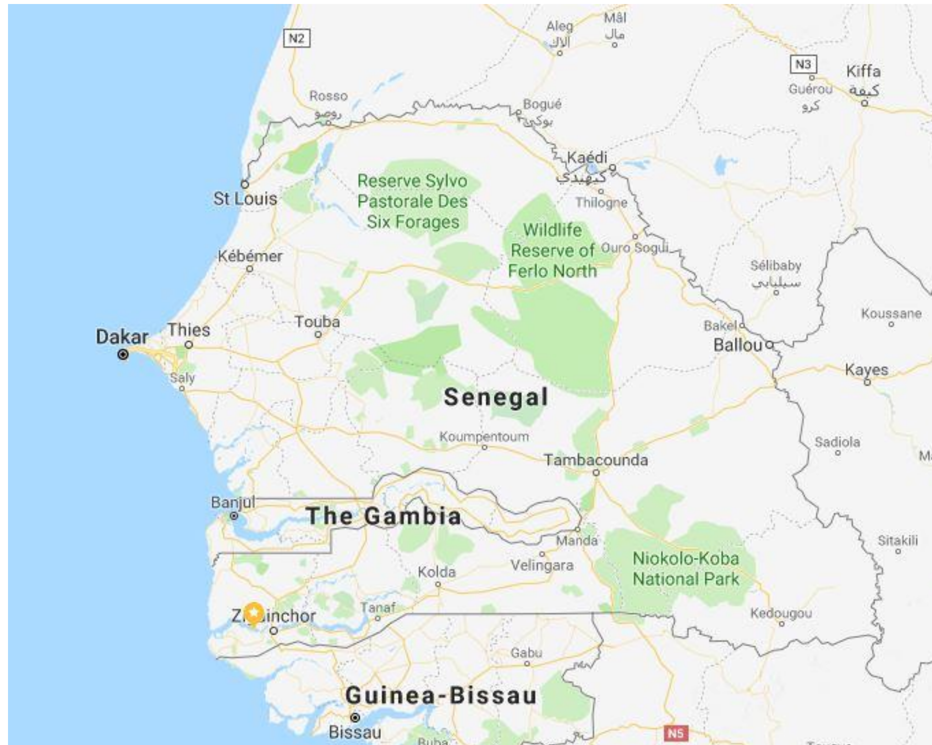
undertaken using a mixed methodology, using a questionnaire and staged communicative events in order to examine various types of code-switching in discourse. Therefore, a further interest of this thesis is to examine participants' linguistic repertoires, and how their life history including migration, may affect language use in natural discourse in the village of Essyl. Using a qualitative methodology and particularly naturalistic communicative contexts will enrich and complement the findings of the above studies on language use in the Casamance by examining language use in non-staged contexts in a rural setting and further investigate how these relate to sociolinguistic space and ideologies of language territorialisation.

1.2. Background information on Essyl and the surrounding area

In this section I will introduce the research setting and present some of the background to the history of the area, as it is relevant to understand some of the linguistic diversity present in the region today.

1.2.1. Research setting

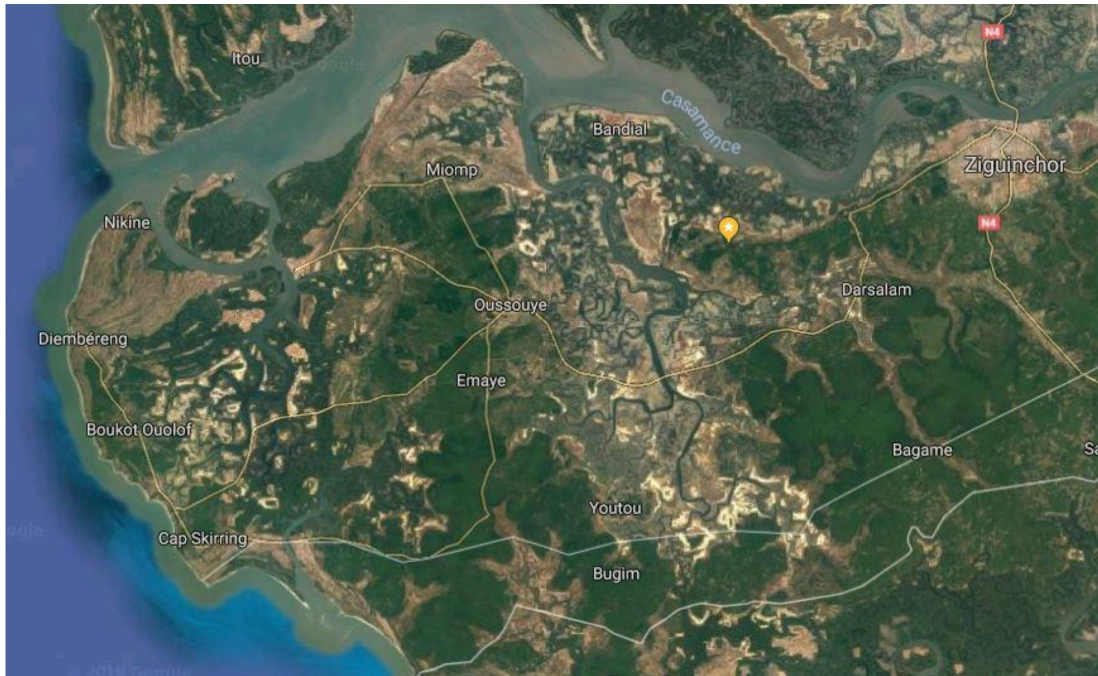
The research took place in the village of Essyl located in the former kingdom of Mof Avvi (Mof Avvi is a Joola Eegimaa term meaning 'land of the king'). It is located in the Lower Casamance, a region in the southwest of Senegal, West Africa and is indicated with a yellow marker on the map below in Map .



Map 1.1: Senegal

(source: www.google.co.uk/maps)

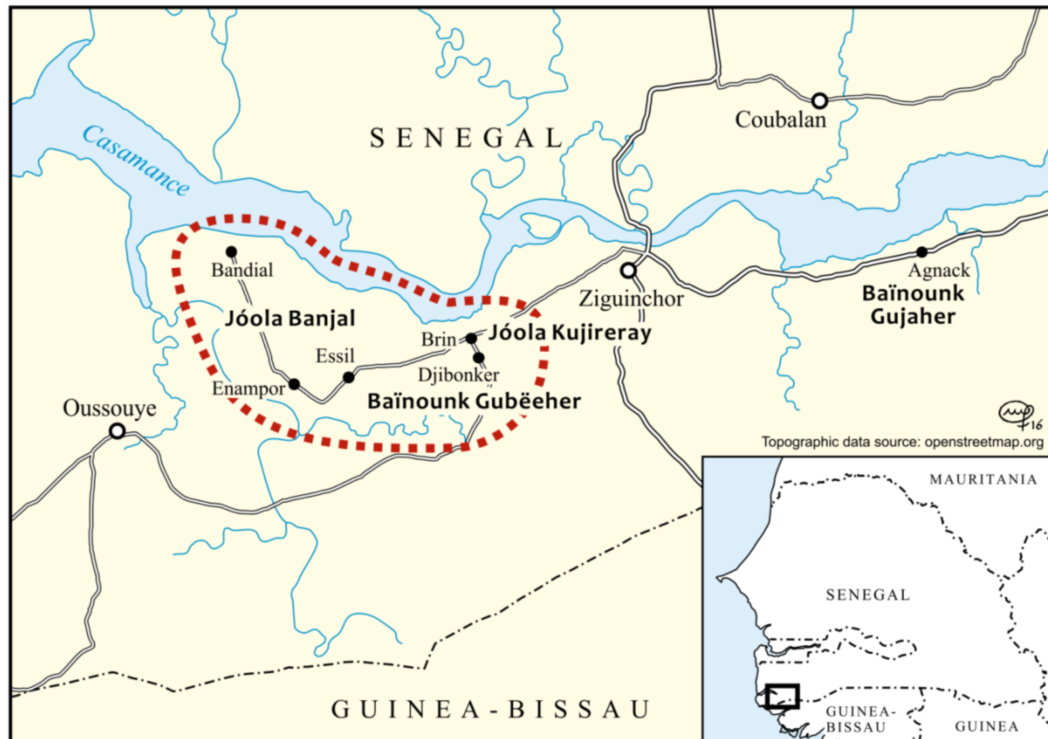
The Casamance, and the Lower/Basse Casamance, are terms which are in frequent use by speakers and in the literature, for describing the area south of The Gambia and the area south of the Casamance River, respectively, although neither corresponds to any current administrative region of Senegal. In Map 1.2 below, Essyl's location is again indicated with a yellow marker. The map also shows the nearest town of Ziguinchor, the capital of the region, and with the satellite view, the peninsula of Mof Avvi, where Essyl is located, is clearly visible.



Map 1.2: Essyl and surrounding area

(source: www.google.co.uk/maps satellite view)

More specifically Essyl is located in the administrative region of Ziguinchor, which is bounded by the border with Guinea-Bissau to the south and by The Gambia in the north and bisected by the Casamance River; to the east is the administrative region of Sédhiou. See Map 1.3 below for a map of the Crossroads area (i.e. the area of research encompassed by the Crossroads project, see §3.6 for more information) marked in red and the languages associated with the research settings in bold type. In this map Essyl is spelled "Essil", and is how Sagna (2008; Sagna & Bassène 2016) refers to the name of the village using Joola Eegimaa orthographic conventions.



Map 1.3: The Crossroads area

(source: www.soascrossroads.org)

Mof Avvi is located approximately 12 km to the west of Ziguinchor on a peninsula, and consists of ten villages, which include the larger villages of Essyl, Enampore, Séléki and Banjal[3]. The Crossroads research area encompasses Mof Avvi and also comprises two other villages of Brin and Djibonker, with the village of Agnack Grand as a control setting to the east of Ziguinchor. There is a well paved road that passes through Brin, with much traffic between Ziguinchor and the coast which helps maintain a high rate of mobility for people living in the region. The road to Mof Avvi starts in Brin at the Crossroads, but this is unpaved which makes transport

[3] Place names also have different spellings or local toponyms. For example, Sagna (2008) refers to Enampore as Enappor. Banjal is also spelt Bandial. Brin is known locally as Jirer, from where the name of the language Kujireray is derived – the language of Jirer. To be further discussed in §1.4 below.

more difficult, especially during the rainy season. The area around the villages consists of dense forest and mangroves with the Casamance River and numerous tributaries within fairly easy reach from all the above named villages.

Essyl is located approximately 6km from Brin after passing through the village of Badiatte. It is difficult to provide estimates of inhabitants and indicating a fixed number does not necessarily represent everyone who lives in the village, as members of households can frequently change according to different times of year. People may receive visitors and family members for a variety of reasons, whether for pleasure, for help with the household, to aid with rice planting during the rainy season, among other reasons. Also people may leave the household for educational, economic or personal reasons, perhaps visiting Ziguinchor or Dakar for extended periods. Alexander Cobbinah and Rachel Watson (both p.c.) estimate that in Brin and Djibonker there are approximately 1000-1500 inhabitants, and I estimate Essyl to be slightly smaller with approximately 600 inhabitants. Sagna and Bassène state that up to 2/5 of the population of Mof Avvi live outside of the area in what they, and many of my participants, refer to as the diaspora (Bassène 2006: 8; Sagna 2008: 47), whether this is Ziguinchor, Dakar or Paris. In Essyl there is a *maternelle* 'nursery' and *école primaire* 'primary school' with the first cycle of secondary school being available in Enampore, a neighbouring village; children have to travel outside of Mof Avvi to continue with their education (although there are plans to build such a school in Mof Avvi – M. Sambou, p.c.). In addition there are two *boutiques* 'shops' which also function as bars and form part of the social life of the village. There is also a *Foyer de Jeunes* 'village hall run by the Youth Association', used for meetings, parties and other events, a church and a *calvaire* 'religious monument/cross'. During the time of research there was a *dispensaire* 'dispensary'

and a *maternité* 'maternity unit' constructed which will be run by a well-known doctor from the village. The wider area is well known for its system of wet rice agriculture with different tasks allocated to the dry and rainy seasons. The dry season generally runs from November to June with the rainy season July to October. In the rainy season many people who are originally from the area or have family ties there return to the villages to help with work in the rice fields as this is the busiest time of the year. In addition to some of the reasons listed above, this brings further heterogeneity into the area as people from the diaspora may have different repertoires and this therefore creates a seasonal pattern in the diversity of multilingualism and languages present in the region year on year[4].

1.2.2. Historical background

The Casamance has a long history, although due to the lack of documented records before the colonial period there is little known about the origins of various groups who live in the area today (Baum 1986; Barry 1987: 4). In addition, the multiplicity of names given to various groups of people and languages, whether by themselves, by neighbouring groups in the region, or by colonisers, often means that it is unclear how the various labels are being used (Lüpke 2018). Today one still finds a multiplicity of labels and names, bearing in mind that the referents of such labels, whether "ethnic" groups or languages, were/are fluid concepts, not absolute entities, especially in the Casamance context. It is generally accepted that Joola groups were established in the Lower Casamance region pre 15th century, although it is a matter of debate where they originated from, possibly from the south or east (Barry 1987;

[4] The periods of fieldwork carried out in the present study all took place in the dry season, therefore a study in the wet season would be a welcome complement, see §8.3.

Linares 1992). The founding of the village of Essyl is also debated: there are links with the village of Thionk Essyl located to the north of the Casamance River, both culturally and linguistically, and which village was founded first is a matter of conversation among the respective populations (and not necessarily divided along village lines) (also noted by Watson 2019). However Palmeri (1995: 73–77) recounts the origin of the population of Mof Avvi, with the Bassène family founding Essyl as the first settlement after travelling west from the village of Borofaye. According to Mark et al. (1998: 37) various peoples referred to as Joola had little sense of being a shared group, until the use of the term gained currency throughout the 19th and 20th centuries with the French colonisers' attempts at "pacifying" the region. Furthermore, they propose that a shared sense of Joola identity came out of the separatist conflict in the Casamance which gripped the area since the early 1980s, with the *Mouvement des Forces Democratiques de la Casamance* (MFDC) 'Movement of Democratic Forces of the Casamance' and the Senegalese military subjecting the area to an ongoing traumatic experience, with people disappeared, murdered, or internally displaced and villages raided (for more information see e.g. Evans 2009). It is ostensibly calm in the region today. However, a military presence still persists in the area, although there is little, but sporadic, violence. As the conflict had effects on the movement of people, it thus had linguistic effects too, with many people displaced, moving villages, often to different linguistic settings.

Among a number of groups known to have had a presence since at least the beginning of the sixteenth century are the Baïnounk, seen by many as the autochthons of the region, who once had control of a powerful kingdom (Baum 1986: 50–51). Baïnounk dominance did not hold, however, and Baum asserts that until the 1700s the area of the Lower Casamance "was dominated by the expansion

of the Mandinka westward toward the Atlantic Ocean and the Floup [Joola] and Balante northward. These three peoples gradually conquered and incorporated a large number of the indigenous Baïnounk" (Baum 1986: 79–80). Baum bases his account on contemporary oral histories which seem to project clear ethnolinguistic identities; however, as criticisms of this aspect of his work, Mark (1999) and other historical studies emphasise that groups at that time were more likely based on clans that cross-cut clear ethnic and linguistic borders because of dense social exchange networks through marriage, integration of slaves, etc. (Mark 1976; Brooks 1993; Wright 1999). Furthermore, the area was part of the transatlantic slave trade, with the Portuguese having settled in the surrounding area since the 16th century (Brooks 1993), establishing garrisons in present-day Guinea-Bissau and later Ziguinchor in the 1700s, which today is still the administrative centre of the region and the nearest town to Essyl. Senegal and the Casamance area were a French colony, and the French began to directly negotiate deals to establish trading posts with Joola or other groups in the area (Baum 1999: 131–132). However, others claim the Joola of the Lower Casamance resisted the French particularly forcefully (Palmeri 1995: 31). Baum puts forward that Ziguinchor, the regional capital, already displayed much of the heterogeneity characteristic of the region: in 1850 the town inhabitants included groups with nominal identities of Luso-Africans, Baïnounk, Joola, Manjak and Balanta (Baum 1999: 133–134), yet as mentioned above it is unlikely that these were self-referential terms, as Lüpke (2010b; 2016a) points out there is no known equivalent term to "Baïnounk" in any of the Baïnounk languages.

Senegal gained independence from France in 1960. Christianity had already begun to have an influence in the Casamance area from the 1930s and Islam only begun to have a strong influence after World War II (Baum 1986: 7). In the

Casamance today, there are many Christians (mostly of Catholic denomination) with Brin a nearby village being host to a Catholic seminary and many people in Essyl identifying as Catholics. Senegal is predominantly a Muslim country, where between 90-95% of the Senegalese population adhere to Islam (Lüpke 2016a: 2). In addition, in the Casamance and in Essyl, many people follow local religion, which can be described as "the path of the forebears" based around ancestor, spirit and shrine worship (Baum 1986: 4; 1999), and many do so today in a syncretic way (De Jong 2007). In the present day the area continues with its history of diversity. After Dakar where 51.1% of international immigrants are located, the region of Ziguinchor welcomes the second largest amount of migrants and refugees: 8.2% of the total of 113 373 (Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie 2014: 14). The majority of these come from other areas of Senegal, in addition to other West African countries, particularly Guinea-Bissau as a result of the independence and civil wars which resulted in an influx of people with Guinea-Bissau Creole as part of their repertoires (Juillard 1995: 52; Nunez 2015), one example which only serves to increase the already high levels of linguistic diversity present in the region.

1.3. The languages and multilingualism of Senegal

Senegal, as is common for West Africa, is a highly multilingual country which the Ethnologue currently lists as having 38 individual, living languages (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016). The number of languages is, of course, disputed and variously counted depending on numerous factors, both linguistic and non-linguistic. Following Lüpke (2018: 182) I take "language" to be a construct defined by political, social and identity-making factors, among others, and not by linguistic criteria. However, discussing named languages in relation to linguistic criteria is still

useful for an overview of the linguistic diversity of Senegal and will be followed here and in the section below. Despite the vast majority of the population of approximately 15.5 million people being multilingual, that is using language and languages fluidly, French is the sole official language of the republic. It is the ex-colonial language of Senegal and was retained as the official language of the country following independence in 1960 and is used in the formal education system and in official contexts (Sall 2009). However, few people use standardised French, and if so generally in limited contexts, with estimates ranging from 10% of the overall population (Mc Laughlin 2008a; Sall 2009) to 20% (Diallo 2010: 63). These contexts include the education system, universities and official administration. Yet, even in these contexts its use is still restricted, where language use may depend upon the official[5] and repertoires of persons present. In compulsory education, children are taught in French, and French is not taught as a subject in itself (Juillard 1995; Weidl 2012). Depending on the repertoire of the teachers, the first few years may unofficially consist of a form of transitional oral bilingualism in another language, for example Wolof or Joola Eegimaa (Caroline Juillard, p.c. and see §6.3.1.1). Yet, the administrative region of Ziguinchor, which encompasses the current research area, has the highest rate of education in the country, at all levels of schooling: preschool, primary, and secondary (Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie 2014: 6), although there is a high rate of re-sits and many people still drop out of the system for various reasons (Juillard 1995: 53–54), however it could be expected that more people speak French in the Casamance than in other areas of

[5] An anecdotal example concerns a wedding in Ziguinchor I attended, where it was assumed that the ceremony would be carried out in French and I was asked to interpret into English for guests. Yet at the beginning of the ceremony the officiator announced she would use Wolof and so my colleague Miriam Weidl ended up interpreting instead.

Senegal. Indeed 72% of Sagna's consultants, mainly based in Mof Avvi, report French (Sagna 2008: 308–309) and 77% of Watson's consultants who are mainly based in Brin report French (Watson 2014: 377). Cobbinah (2012: 49) also lists French as one of the frequently spoken languages in Djibonker. In my own data, 61 out of a total of 103 participants overall include French as part of their self-reported repertoires (although detailed data is not available for all participants, see §3.3.1 for more information), equating to 59%, and of the 8 key participants 7 report French as part of their repertoires (see Table 4.1). Very often, people will have acquired some French in a wide variety of different contexts, not necessarily through formal education, as will be shown in §4, e.g. through work in Ziguinchor or with acquaintances. Mbaya (2005) terms this Senegalese French, which does not refer to one discrete variety, but rather is used as an umbrella term for fluctuating practices with some shared conventions for informal situations and by people who only have a "limited" knowledge of the standard language (Mbaya 2005: 159). The idea of standard French in Senegal is thus inherently problematic, especially when considering that only a small percentage of the population are exposed to it, and continue to use it outside of particular official contexts.

Wolof is the most widely spoken language in Senegal and is understood by over 90% of the population (Ndao 1995; Mbaya 2005; Mc Laughlin 2008a). It is therefore the *de facto* language of wider communication; Mc Laughlin (2008b) refers to Wolof as the national lingua franca. Wolof belongs to the north branch of the Atlantic group of languages within the wider Niger-Congo family (see Figure 1.1). A large number of languages from both the Atlantic and Mande groups of Niger-Congo are present in Senegal, and people may have a number of each in their repertoires with speakers having been in prolonged contact (Childs 2010). Wolof is an international language

also spoken in The Gambia and other surrounding countries and of course anywhere in the world where Wolof speakers have moved to. Wolof is one of the national languages officially recognised by the Senegalese constitution: originally in 1971, six languages (or groups of languages) were given national language status and an accompanying official orthography: Wolof, Sereer, Pulaar, Mandinka, Joola, and Soninke (République du Sénégal 1971; Mc Laughlin 2008b; Diallo 2010). In 2001 the constitution was amended so that any other codified language, i.e. one that has a standardised writing system, may gain the status of national language and since then 13 other languages/groups of languages have gained this status, including many from the Casamance, e.g. Baïnounk, Mankanya and Balante (Mc Laughlin 2008b; Sall 2009; Diallo 2010; Lüpke 2010b), some of which will be discussed in the following section. Wolof is used all over Senegal and is particularly associated with areas in the north of the country. Indeed Wolof is present in many contexts, including those which are perceived to be the preserve of the official language, French, and Wolof enjoys a prominent role in politics and the mass media, such as television and radio, for example. Furthermore, a variety called "Urban Wolof" has arisen, which is characterised by the use of French and Wolof and has been extensively studied by Swigart (1990) and Mc Laughlin (2008a; 2015) among others, and will be further discussed in §2.2.1. Although Wolof has recognition as a national language and has a standardised orthography, few people use the standard version. Regardless, its widespread use and status as the *de facto* national language of wider communication means that Wolof plays an important role in the daily lives of multilingual individuals in Senegal.

1.4. Languages and language naming practices in Essyl and surroundings

The Casamance, which encompasses the research setting of Essyl, is seen as emblematic of Senegal's multilingualism with a high number of named languages present. Most of the named languages belong to the Atlantic group of languages, but there are also numerous Mande languages, Indo-European languages and a Portuguese-based creole which are all variously used depending on the place, context and people's repertoires. It is worth noting that this section is intended to provide a general overview of the (socio)linguistic setting (for a review of multilingualism in the area see §2.2). It is, however, difficult to generalise concerning linguistic repertoires, as they are highly individualistic depending on life history and will be dealt with later. Rather, I introduce some of the language naming practices in the region, as these are important for the remainder of the thesis[6].

The village of Essyl, and the surrounding area of Mof Avvi, is associated with the named language Joola Eegimaa, with Mof Avvi being considered as its "ideological home base" (Lüpke 2018: 184). This does not necessarily mean that everyone in Essyl claims Joola Eegimaa as an identity language, nor that everyone claims it as part of their repertoire, nor is it the only language spoken in that location, but only that there is a link between a named language and geographical territory. Joola Eegimaa is estimated to be spoken by between 7000 (Bassène 2006) and 13,000 (Simons & Fennig 2018) people. Joola Eegimaa is part of the Joola cluster in the Bak branch of the Atlantic grouping. Atlantic forms part of the wider Niger-Congo family. Joola is one of the largest clusters of Atlantic and encompasses numerous varieties, some of which are perceived to be mutually intelligible and some not. The

[6] This section is partly based on Goodchild (Forthcoming) where I focus on multilingualism in Atlantic languages and on Joola naming practices.

internal classification of Joola has long been a subject of debate, with the internal varieties being referred to as languages or dialects depending on how the researcher perceives the distinction (Barry 1987; Sagna 2008; 2016; Watson 2015); the Atlantic group has itself been the subject of rigorous debate (Wilson 1989; Childs 2010; Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming). The newest classification of Atlantic is provided by Pozdniakov & Segerer (Forthcoming) in Figure 1.1. In their classification Joola Eegimaa is referred to as Banjal, which will be explained below.

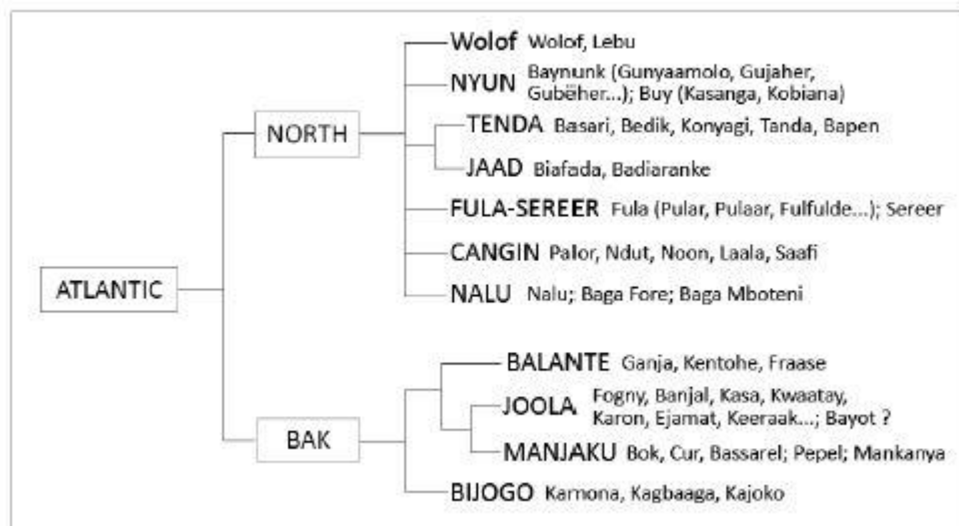


Figure 1.1: Classification of Atlantic languages

(Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming: 4)

The differences in the enumeration of Joola varieties depend heavily on the background of the researcher and their aims in classification. For example, Sapir (Sapir 1971: 58), using lexico-statistical methods, analyses a “Diola” group, consisting of “an extended dialect cluster and four independent languages”. Barry (1987) uses similar methods in an effort to reconstruct proto-Joola and furthermore

maps out the geographical distribution of Joola varieites along isoglosses, whereas Carlton & Rand (1993: 19) list thirteen independent languages as they take into account various sociolinguistic factors including participants' perceptions. One of the common factors among Joola varieties is their complex system of noun class markers.

Different designations for the various Joola varieties reflect both etic and emic naming practices: the former often associates varieties with differences in syntax and lexicon for example by linguists, or by speakers of other varieties; the latter often associates varieties with geographical locations. Irvine (2016) convincingly argues that for a more nuanced understanding of language use, all points of view should be considered, as they indicate different levels and scales of analysis and the reasons behind them should be further taken into account. Sagna (2008) refers to the variety spoken in Mof Avvi, which he documented, as Gújjolaay Eegimaa. In Joola Eegimaa, "Gújjolaay" consists of the prefix *gu-* used for language names in Joola Eegimaa, *-jjola-* 'Joola' and a suffix *–ay* denoting the abstract, i.e. 'the Joola language'; "Eegimaa" is used in discourse to mean 'here is what I am telling you' and as Sagna (2008: 23) notes is not attested in other Joola varieties, and is thus used for differentiation purposes. These affixes can be used productively to create language names on different levels as the speaker sees fit, as will be shown in §6.2.3. Broadly in line with Sagna, Cobbinah (2012) and Bassene (2012), when speaking in general terms I use "Joola Eegimaa", yet I also attempt to use the designation closest to that used by speakers themselves. Although many participants simply refer to "*gujjolaay*" 'Joola', few used the term "*Eegimaa*". This could complement the increasing popularity of the term "*gubanjalay*" by speakers, also noted by Sagna (ms). This name meaning 'the language of the village of Banjal' is indicative of a

popular language naming practice linking language to geographical location in what Lüpke (2018: 187) terms patrimonial deixis (see §2.4.2 for a fuller explanation and §7.1.2 for discussion), this being the "language that is currently seen as the firstcomer language of the location", therefore Joola was the language spoken by the founders of Banjal. However, she notes that this in theory could change depending on current politics. In my data, *banjal, gubanjalay,* and *joola banjal* were all popular terms and are also used in Joola Buluf and Joola Fogny to refer to Joola Eegimaa (Sagna & Bassène 2016: 43). In Goodchild (Forthcoming: 8–9) I argue that its popularity is also likely due to literacy activities by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (henceforth SIL), a missionary organisation who conduct documentation creating literacy materials and ultimately Bible translations (see for example Basen & Basen 2005; Berndt 2007). Their work has a strong ideological and religious basis and is likely to have cemented the popularity of the term, especially considering many of my participants took part in the literacy classes they provided. In addition other researchers use this term in the literature, for example Sapir (1971) and Bassène (2006). Another term which actively links Joola to the village of Essyl is *Gusilay*, which was put forward in a village meeting where the research was discussed as being the language spoken in Essyl [field notes 23/02/2016]. However, apart from this meeting it was used very infrequently by participants and its use is avoided in this thesis, unless quoting a participant. Even though Tendeng (2007) refers to the variety spoken in Essyl as "Gusiilay", there is potential for confusion as another related Joola variety "Gusilay" is spoken in Thionk Essyl to the north of the Casamance River. Other terms for Joola Eegimaa include *Kusiilay, Endungo,* and *Kúlaakiay*, used by speakers of Kujireray, Bayot and Joola Kaasa respectively (Sagna & Bassène 2016: 43). The choice of designation may be indicative of

differences in linguistic practices and the flexibility of linguistic labels can reflect local language ideologies and levels of identity that speakers wish to project (Cobbinah et al. 2017: 81), but also as I note in Goodchild (2016) names of languages and languages in use during fieldwork are constantly negotiated by researcher and participants and the context of data collection should also be critically considered as this may affect participants' linguistic, and language naming, practices.

In the surrounding area, the villages of Brin and Djibonker are each associated with their own patrimonial language, Joola Kujireray and Baïnounk Gubëeher, respectively. Joola Kujireray (Watson 2015), absent from the above classification in Figure 1.1, is often subsumed under another language label, that of Joola Eegimaa or Banjal. Its name, however, clearly marks it as the Joola language of Jirer (the indigenous place name for Brin (Watson 2015)). It currently appears in the Ethnologue as a dialect of Joola Eegimaa (Banjal - listed as Bandial), rather than as a separate language (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2016). Watson (2018b) states that it shares a lexical similarity with Joola Eegimaa of 76% and thus a high level of mutual intelligibility (Sagna 2008: 23). They also have similar phoneme inventories and noun class systems, although there are certain salient differences between the varieites, such as the use of word initial velar plosives /k/ in Kujireray (among other Joola languages) and /g/ in Joola Eegimaa, which speakers may use to index difference. Baïnounk Gubëeher (Cobbinah 2012) is the patrimonial language of the village of Djibonker, adjacent to Brin, with the villages sharing close historical ties. Baïnounk Gubëeher is part of the Nyun cluster in the North branch of Atlantic languages, and is thus distantly related to the Joola cluster. It is generally accepted that Baïnounk languages are not mutually intelligible, although closely related, and

despite the fact that they are spoken in multilingual settings by multilingual speakers, as is typical for the Casamance, speakers tend to only claim one Baïnounk variety in their repertoire (Lüpke 2010b: 161). This is in contrast to the Joola cluster where speakers will very often speak a localised Joola, such as Joola Eegimaa and one which functions as a regional language of wider communication such as Joola Fogny (Barry 1987; Lüpke 2010b; Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming, a.o.).

Joola Fogny is widely spoken in the Casamance and is generally associated with the area to the north of the Casamance River, but has an extensive reach into The Gambia, Ziguinchor and surrounding area (Watson 2015: 31). However, even this term masks a number of varieties (Sagna 2008: 30). In addition there is Joola Kaasa, which also functions as a language of wider communication, and is associated with the area south of the Casamance River and to the west of Mof Avvi (Barry 1987; Sagna & Bassène 2016). Although some people describe Joola varieties as mutually intelligble, Watson (2015: 42) notes that this needs to be treated with caution as many diverge to a considerable degree and if you could assume no contact between speakers, Joola Fogny and Joola Kujireray, for example, would not be mutually intelligible. Participants report speaking other Joola varieties, such as Joola Hitou, Joola Youtou and Joola Buluf, which will all be discussed when they occur in the thesis. In addition to the wide variety of Joola spoken in the area, there are numerous other languages spoken which include other Atlantic languages such as Manjak, Mancagne, Pulaar and Bayot; Mande languages (also of the overarching Niger-Congo group, but typologically very distinct) such as Bambara and Mandinka; and various Indo-European languages such as Spanish, Portuguese and English. Furthermore, there is a Portuguese-based Creole spoken in the Casamance and a related one in Guinea-Bissau, which also often functions as a lingua franca (Biagui,

Nunez & Quint Submitted). Speakers often refer to it as Kriolu. Although there is a diverse range of languages present in the Casamance, whether they form part of people's repertoires and practices is highly dependent on context and the life history of the individual.

In this chapter, I've introduced the research focus, examining linguistic practices, multilingualism and their relation to space, in the rural village setting of Essyl in the Casamance, Senegal. This thesis fills a gap in the literature concerning rural African multilingualism, while complementing recent studies conducted in the surrounding area. I provided a brief background to Essyl and the Casamance, before focusing on the named languages spoken in the area, describing some of the naming conventions used by both speakers and researchers. In the following chapter, I review the literature concerning multilingualism in similar settings, placing the study within the wider field, before reviewing concepts central to the analytical aims of the thesis, including examining place, space, mobility and translanguaging.

2. Literature review

In this chapter I survey various areas of literature which are relevant to situate the research questions into the wider research context. Firstly I broadly review the field of multilingualism, before focusing on studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa, looking at work conducted in rural settings, and also a highly relevant study of Jufferman's (2015) of languaging in The Gambia. Secondly, I move onto reviewing works of multilingualism specifically looking at Senegal and the Casamance. Thirdly, I survey works relating to key concepts of the research questions, e.g. linguistic repertoires and mobility in relation to multilingualism.

2.1. Review of multilingualism

2.1.1. The field of multilingualism

In their introduction to the *Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism*, Martin-Jones et al. (2012) provide a concise overview of the field of multilingualism, starting from the 19th century with the nation-state building ambitions of various European countries, who standardized, codified and promoted newly bounded languages as emblematic of nations, states and peoples. This led to multilingualism being seen as threatening to the established homogenised nation, whether from indigenous languages or languages of migrants, something which is clearly still seen today in many states. Of course, with many European nations' colonisation of many parts of the world, whether the Americas, Asia or Africa, they exported this ideology to other parts of the world and actively engaged in enumerating, documenting and suppressing other languages and their speakers. This is not to say that European

nations ever were monolingual, with wide varieties of languages and dialects spoken, but rather that they played such a large role in "the rise and dominance of monolingual national standard ideologies" (Auer & Li Wei 2007: 3). Of course, any cursory look at a random European nation, such as France, quickly falls foul of the monolingual nation ideology, with the indigenous Celtic language Breton, and numerous languages such as Occitan, Provençal and Catalan spoken in the south of the country, among others. Furthermore, the fact of linking a language to an intrinsic aspect of national identity is also quickly called into doubt, when considering how many European nations share many of these official languages, such as French in France, Belgium, Switzerland, among others (Auer & Li Wei 2007). Not only have the ideologies of European nation states had an influence over a widespread promotion of monolingualism as the norm (despite the fact that most people in the world are multilingual, there being approximately 7000 languages in the world (Simons & Fennig 2018), but only roughly 200 countries) but the discipline of linguistics, and its subfield of sociolinguistics, have played a significant role in subscribing to and promoting the idea of languages as separate, bounded, enumerable entities (Makoni & Pennycook 2005; Nagy & Meyerhoff 2008; Blommaert 2010, a.o.).

Nagy & Meyerhoff (2008: 2 and following) describe the "curious monolingual bias of sociolinguistics", where some of the most seminal works have focused on dialectology studies of English varieties, for example Labov (1978), Trudgill (1974) and Milroy (1980 cited in above). They further examine the trends of published articles in two leading journals *Language Variation and Change* and *Journal of Sociolinguistics* from the late 1980s until 2008 and find that the featured articles predominantly report on monolingual Northern contexts with only 2% of the data in

the first journal coming from African contexts and 0% in the second. Although of course, plenty of seminal studies on multilingualism have been carried out in European contexts, they often concern the interplay of a standard, official, language and other local languages with the exception of some notable studies such as Gal (1979) and Gumperz (1964), among many others. More recent works have tended to focus on contexts of migration especially within the context of globalization and modernity (Blommaert 2010). Much of the monolingual bias also relates to the perception of whole languages, and of multilingualism as the addition of more than one language in an individual's repertoire. Although Li Wei (2008) claims that many sociolinguists have long moved away from considering multilingualism to be composed of discrete languages, the impact of colonialism and the importation of these ideas, for example to West Africa where most of the colonial languages are retained as official languages including French in Senegal (and are linked to formal education and linguistic projects such as language documentation), cannot be understated and should therefore be critically considered when addressing multilingualism in areas such as sub-Saharan Africa, to be further explored below.

2.1.2. Multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa

In the previous section a brief overview of the field of multilingualism was provided, where it was noted that the majority of the work to date on multilingual contexts has taken place within Eurocentric or Northern settings, and indeed where many of the situations deal with one or more standardised languages alongside say a minority or heritage language situation. In this section a review of studies of multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa will be presented, particularly focusing on contexts similar to the Senegalese setting, or including ones in which standardised languages (generally in a

sub-Saharan African context meaning ex-colonial languages) play a different role. Although much of the literature can be said to concentrate on "francophone" or "anglophone" Africa, these denominations are clearly misnomers; rather, these terms refer to the official languages of the post-colonial states, i.e. whether they were French or British colonies, or to the language that the literature is written in. Chumbow & Bobda (2000: 45) also point out the absurdity in referring to a country such as Senegal as "francophone", when so few people speak French, and they agree with Schmied (1991 cited in Chumbow & Bobda 2000: 45) that "Africans are essentially africanophone". This is akin to how Fardon & Furniss (1994) talk of multilingualism as being Africa's *lingua franca* and indeed in much of the continent this certainly seems to hold. In the literature on multilingualism in African contexts, not only are educational contexts predominant, but also those dealing with urban settings. Multilingual people in rural multilingual areas are less frequently the subject of the studies, but those which are available will be considered below, as most relevant to the present study. Different considerations are given to the importance of multilingualism in this region, with different factors given over to sustaining multilingual ecologies (Vigouroux & Mufwene 2008). Multilingualism is often treated with regards to educational contexts and this will be dealt with briefly, as although not the focus of the thesis, the vast amount of work on multilingualism and education must be recognised, particularly in the context of East Africa, where the focus of much linguistic research has been on language planning and policy, as pointed out by Nekesa Barasa (2015: 40). However, other factors will be given consideration, such as different rights or obligations that being multilingual entails, alongside other aspects which are little treated in Northern contexts, such as magical protection (Di Carlo 2015). Furthermore, an important recent study on

translanguaging (see §2.5.3) in The Gambia by Juffermans (2015) will be discussed as this has important ramifications for the present study, particularly since many of my participants have lived there and given its proximity to the Casamance.

Firstly, a look at a highly multilingual context in Cameroon is warranted, where both English and French are joint official languages: the country having been a colony of both the United Kingdom and France. Di Carlo & Good (2014) present the Lower Fungom region of Cameroon, a rural area where over 8 languages, or language clusters, are spoken among 13 villages in a situation which Esene Agwara terms "hyper pluralistic" (2013: 51). Similar levels of linguistic diversity are attested in the Casamance. In their paper Di Carlo & Good describe how languages are often identified as being spoken within one village only, despite a nearby village speaking a closely related variety, which Di Carlo (2015: 3) describes as an "extremely localist sociolinguistic attitude". This aligns strongly with the affiliations to various chiefdoms, whereby by speaking a "language" you align yourself with that group and thereby can claim some magical protection from the chief, or that, concomitantly, "multilingual competence would allow one to symbolize affiliation with multiple groups" (Di Carlo 2015: 6). Therefore, language use in the region is dependent on many different factors: for example, a child who has parents from two different villages, and hence possibly two different languages, is expected to learn their father's language for use with paternal kin and their mother's language for use with maternal kin (Di Carlo & Good 2014: 26). These different languages and their uses also express solidarity to one or more networks or groups, which Di Carlo expands on in his (2018) paper. Furthermore, this can act to counter spiritual insecurity:

multilingualism is the major way to maximise the number of latent networks of solidarity through the construction of a set of distinct social identities […]. [T]his tendency towards multiple affiliations is underpinned by spiritual insecurity.

(Di Carlo 2015: 8)

Furthermore, the networks of solidarity that can be expressed through language use in the Lower Fungom are relative and not essentialist in nature. In the Casamance context, spirituality and religion also play a large role in language use, particularly with regards to French and Catholicism contra Wolof, as will be discussed in §6.3.1.2, and are also important for language use and shrines as part of ancestor worship (see also Weidl 2018 for the importance of using Baïnounk Gubëeher in a variety of ceremonies). However, there is one difference that should be noted between the Lower Fungom setting and that of the Casamance, which relates to the status of a language as a *lingua franca*. In the Lower Fungom, Cameroonian Pidgin functions as a *lingua franca*, which Di Carlo & Good anecdotally observe may be replacing older patterns of multilingualism, where they perceive it to be replacing the acquisition of various local languages as second or third languages (2014: 6). In the Casamance context, as will be discussed throughout the thesis (see in particular §1.4, §2.2, §6) various languages could be said to fill the role of *lingua franca*, for example a Portuguese-based creole (Kriolu), Joola (Fogny), and most notably Wolof. However, the role of the various *lingua francas* in the Casamance is more complex: it does not seem that in the Casamance local languages are losing out to the *lingua francas*; rather Wolof is fulfilling the role of overall *lingua franca*, whilst the other two recede from prominence, but are still used according to interlocutor, context,

setting, etc. Much of this may depend on the "reach" of various languages, which may correspond to areal spaces (Rachel Watson, p.c. June 2018). Yet the status of a language as *lingua franca* is only one small factor to consider in such highly diverse multilingual settings, where numerous factors including the above discussed by Di Carlo & Good, such as solidarity, networks, kinship and in-migration all play a role.

Lüpke & Storch (2013: 21) demonstrate that one of the most crucial factors for the maintenance of a multilingual "ecosystem" is that "multilingualism is valued in the host society". Alongside this valuing of multilingualism is the importance of "sharing a pattern of multilingualism. Knowing which languages to expect in which place or context helps to keep multilingual repertoires alive by creating routines" (Lüpke & Storch 2013: 19). Further, they detail various social factors which contribute to maintaining a diverse multilingual linguistic ecology, namely:

- Exogynous marriage patterns, where women come from an outside group and marry into a community
- Language acquisition in peer groups and age classes
- Fostering
- Joking relationships and patronymic equivalences beyond ethnolinguistic boundaries
- Mobility and migration for ritual, religious, economic and educational purposes

(Lüpke in Lüpke & Storch 2013:33)

Many of the factors which Di Carlo & Good allude to are similar to those above which Lüpke identifies; further they could also be seen to foster networks and

solidarity, with regards to marriage patterns, fostering, joking relationships and mobility including in-migration which further strengthen kinship ties: all of which in the Casamance context may strengthen, diversify or change in some way the linguistic setting (topics such as marriage patterns and mobility and migration will be dealt with throughout the thesis, see in particular §2.3, §5.1.3, §7.3). Mobility and migration in African settings are often treated in conjunction with urban sociolinguistic settings, and as often happens with places all over the world, people migrate to cities to take advantage of various opportunities, whether educational, economic, etc. Therefore many studies (some of which will be discussed in the following section as pertains to studies concerning Senegal) will be focused on language use in urban areas, and indeed there are many studies of urban youth varieties, see for example Prah (2010). Although there is this seeming divide in the literature between urban and rural multilingual settings, both are relevant for the Crossroads area. In places with a high degree of individual mobility, people will often travel between villages and towns, whether for errands or for extended periods, therefore it is vital to know how multilingualism functions in both settings, whilst remembering that multilingualism is an established practice in rural settings too. Yet studies which deal with multilingualism in rural areas are still few and far between.

In one such study, Connell (2009) describes the linguistic diversity and language choice in a market in a small village called Somié, on the Cameroon-Nigeria border. The village is associated with a "main" language, Ba. Other languages of the same cluster are spoken, as are some languages from the Bantoid group. The linguistic diversity present in this small village at first appears striking, but is actually common across many rural, African, sociolinguistic settings: Connell found that one person who was recorded over the course of a 2 hour visit to the market used no less than 11

languages over a total of 45 conversations with various speakers. Ba was mainly used with known Ba speakers, but evidently there is a high degree of rural multilingualism nonetheless. In addition over the course of one market day all transactions were monitored by research assistants for language choice. Over 589 transactions, 14 identified languages were used in total, with 42% carried out in Fulfulde and 20% in Ba. This study, however, only concentrates on one domain, the market, and although both sets of results clearly show individual and societal multilingualism, it still demonstrates that one language is overwhelmingly used with speakers from that group, Ba, and that Fulfulde is clearly associated with the transactional domain. It is, however, a rare study into the diversity of everyday multilingual practices in a rural area.

Beyer and Schreiber (Beyer 2010; Beyer & Schreiber 2013; Beyer 2015) have carried out research in the border area between Burkina Faso and Mali, where a similar multilingual situation holds, where people speak numerous languages from distant or unrelated language families, in addition to the presence of languages of wider communication. Having carried out a social network study into the effects of the degree of integration of the person and the relationship with the degree of labialisation, they show that these cannot be fully analysed without in depth ethnographic knowledge of the speakers. Furthermore, Beyer (2010: 147) reports that speech norms are highly influenced by Jula, a *lingua franca*, and French, neither of which share labialisation, which has resulted in this linguistic feature becoming emblematic “of being rural and uneducated”. Although in the Casamance setting, French can be associated with education, as the only official language of the education system, there is a concomitant negative association with speaking Joola Eegimaa, but this is seemingly only perpetuated through the education system itself

(see §6.3.1.1) rather than being a wide-spread attitude associating rurality with low levels of education and language use.

In the following section, works on multilingualism in Senegal and the Casamance will be reviewed. Contrary to other areas of Africa, studies have been carried out in both rural and urban areas, although to date most of the sociolinguistic studies have focused on urban areas, whereas rural areas tend to have been dealt with under the language documentation paradigm.

2.2. Multilingualism in Senegal and the Casamance

There is a fair amount of linguistic and sociolinguistic studies conducted in Senegal and the Casamance, although the former tend to dominate. Many studies have been carried out on Atlantic languages and languages from other linguistic families, often within the framework of language documentation and description (see for example Sapir 1969; Barry 1987; Sagna 2008; Cobbinah 2012; Watson 2015, among others). Furthermore there have been numerous anthropological works carried out in the Casamance, which do often make mention of the sociolinguistic context, and these will be reviewed together in §2.2.2 with some of the other literature that focuses on the Casamance. I begin by looking at the wider context of multilingualism in Senegal and review some important studies in §2.2.1, which are taken from different research paradigms and perspectives, but which are necessary nonetheless for an overview of the wider sociolinguistic setting. Lastly, in §2.2.3 I concentrate on sociolinguistic studies which have been carried out in the Casamance, mainly in the regional capital of Ziguinchor, which have great relevance for the present study, considering that many participants have lived there and travel there on a regular basis (see §5 in particular).

2.2.1. Multilingualism in Senegal

In this section, I concentrate on literature which specifically addresses topics concerning more than one language, i.e. not the description of one named language. As is to be expected with Senegal, many of the studies include a focus on French, the official language, Wolof, the most widely spoken national language, and "urban Wolof", a variety of Wolof and French which has attracted a lot of scholarly attention and which many researchers (as will be shown below) have sought to analyse as a form of code-switching between Wolof and French.

Much of the literature regarding linguistic practices in Senegal focuses on urban settings, and indeed on urban Wolof. Taking a sociolinguistic and pragmatic approach to code-switching of Wolof and French in urban settings, Ndao (1995: 303) concludes that urban Wolof can be conceived of as a polynomial language, i.e. one that consists of numerous terms or the totality of linguistic practices which evade internal hierarchies and normative boundaries. In multilingual discourse he finds that French is used for emblematic functions, for reasons of prestige, or because the word was more "at hand" in the moment of the utterance. Furthermore, he states that speakers develop communicative competence through switching (Ndao 1995: 311) and that in using mixed discourse speakers can overcome the identity dialectics associated with having to choose Wolof or French. Although participants may refer to their speech in myriad ways, by and large researchers have stuck to the term urban Wolof, although as will be shown below Mc Laughlin (2009) prefers a speaker-defined approach to the naming of linguistic practices.

Multilingual linguistic practices analysed as code-switching in various Senegalese languages, usually including Wolof and French have long been popular topics at

Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar (UCAD), with a gradual opening to include other languages beyond Wolof, French and urban Wolof. Faye (2008) looks at code-switching in French, Sereer and Wolof from both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives with a view to examine the motivations behind code-switching. They propose that the status of the three languages in question is emblematic of the Senegalese sociolinguistic situation of the time: French as official language, Wolof as vehicular language and a third language, in this case Sereer, as a vernacular language. Faye's (2008: 248–249) findings include speakers with lower levels of education using less French; that generally code-switching between the three languages tends to occur only among people identifying as Sereer and is heavily influenced by urban Wolof, which leads to them referring to this way of speaking as "urban Sereer"; that Sereer is devalorised compared to other languages; that speakers tend to express themselves using urban Wolof without paying much attention and furthermore that this expresses an urban identity in Senegal.

Thiam (1994) reports once again on "urban Wolof" and the extent of sociolinguistic variation found in this mixed code. However, the study is partly problematic (which the author somewhat acknowledges) as they recorded their natural language data with a hidden microphone without the majority of the participants' knowledge (Thiam 1994: 13–14), in addition to making further recordings and carrying out a questionnaire. The findings also reveal differences in use according to numerous variables, such as age, socioeconomic standing and level of education. Furthermore, the middle and lower classes demonstrate a use of the mixed code, which can be described as a vernacular way of speaking (Thiam 1994: 26).

Swigart (1990; 1992; 1994; 2000) has long worked on urban Wolof, and seems to be the researcher who coined the term, at least in published form, and from early on purported that the "codeswitching" that happened between French and Wolof, particularly in the urban area of Dakar, could not be satisfactorily explained by existing theoretical frameworks, either for the patterns of switching or mixing, or for the purposes behind the switches. She included both emic and etic views on language use concentrating on attitudes and ideologies. Her findings include women displaying a reticence to speaking French due to associated negative attitudinal pressures, whereas men show overconfidence and this leads to women using urban Wolof more often (Swigart 1990). Speakers often have a "practice/perception split" which can appear contradictory, whereby urban Wolof is the unmarked code, yet speakers denounce its use and perceive that they speak a purer form of Wolof, but in fact by encompassing these contradictions, she convincingly argues that urban Wolof has "earned itself a separate sociolinguistic status" (Swigart 1992: 99). In using urban Wolof speakers create a dual identity for themselves which can "be characterised as simply bilingual and urban" (Swigart 1994: 186) and even though there can be overt negative attitudes, there is considerable covert prestige in its use, and that through media such as radio and television it has gained a powerful sense of legitimacy as defined by Bourdieu (Swigart 2000). Many of these points have relevance for the current study although the sociolinguistic situation necessitates some transpositions of terms with regards to the practices in use.

Mc Laughlin has focused on many topics germane to Wolof and the themes in this thesis: for example, she has written on the development of Wolof as the unofficial national *lingua franca* of Senegal (Mc Laughlin 2008b; 2008a); the origins of urban Wolof (Mc Laughlin 2008c; 2009); and the links between Wolof and

Haalpulaar identity with regards to Wolofization. In this instance she describes Wolofization as "the spread of Wolof as a lingua franca" (Mc Laughlin 1995: 153) and "the spread of ethnicity" (Mc Laughlin 1995: 162).This contrasts to a broader process involving people who identify as Wolof taking on the majority of political, administrative and commercial roles, whether in, which also brings with it the spread of language and customs for example (Juillard 1995: 32–35). Mc Laughlin found that if a group such as Haalpulaarʔen strongly associated their identity language, Pulaar, with their ethnicity, they felt more susceptible to linguistic Wolofization to the detriment of Pulaar. In this thesis, the topic of linguistic Wolofization is discussed with regards to Joola, however, similar to the focus in Mc Laughlin's work, these discussions mostly surface in relation to urban settings (see §6.1 and §6.3). Most recently her work has focused on the performance of identity, showing how people orient their language use on a cline between ideologically "pure" Wolof and French (Mc Laughlin 2017), despite these both being rare occurrences of linguistic practice in Senegal. Although many studies of urban Wolof equate its use with ideas of modernity, Mc Laughlin (2008c) demonstrates how it originated in the 18th and 19th centuries in Saint-Louis in the north of Senegal, where it was already characterised by significant lexical borrowings from French and considered to be one of the most useful languages for trade and one of the most widely spoken, despite not being considered "pure Wolof". In her work, Mc Laughlin has often focused on sociolinguistic aspects of language use, and often refrains from categorising (urban) Wolof as instances of code-switching for example, preferring to take a speaker-led approach to language contact and classification (Mc Laughlin 2009: 72–73), an approach which I attempt to investigate in the thesis. Furthermore, she has focused on language attitudes and ideologies towards (urban) Wolof finding that although

some participants expressed negative attitudes towards borrowings from French, the older generation (above 45) "expressed the attitude that urban Wolof was simply a way of communicating […] and that it was a very Senegalese way of speaking" (Mc Laughlin 2009: 75). As will be shown throughout the data and analyses, a fluid use of language, which can be described as a "way of speaking", which Ndao (1995) and Thiam (1994) also use, is a more apt approach to describing linguistic practices in Essyl and the Casamance rather than relying on notions of categorised languages. In the following section, I turn the focus to studies on the Casamance.

2.2.2. Studies on the Casamance

Here I concentrate on anthropological or linguistic works which look at the Casamance region broadly, focusing on comments made about languages or the linguistic setting, some of which include Essyl and the surrounding area. One anthropological work is by Palmeri (1995), who conducted research in Mof Avvi in the villages of Elubalir and Essyl in the 1970s and 1980s. His focus was originally on construction (i.e. of houses), but he then moved to studying familial relations, marriage patterns and shrines, among other topics. The study is written up half as an academic study and half as a travelogue with a strong focus on how he as a researcher experienced the field work, although in a less reflective manner than one might hope. On language he mentions little; bear in mind, however, that at the time there was little documentary material on Joola Eegimaa, and Sapir had only recently published his work on Joola Fogny in 1969 (Sapir 1969) and his inventory of West Atlantic languages, including those of the Joola cluster in 1971 (Sapir 1971), in which he refers to Bandial. However, Palmeri's first priority was "*connaître leur langue parce qu'au village* [Elabulir] *ne vivaient que très peu de personnes sachant*

quelques mots de français" 'to learn their language because in the village [Elabulir] only a few people living there knew some words of French'[7] (Palmeri 1995: 37). He makes little mention of other languages possibly present, and seems not to partake in the naming of the language; he repeats how Elabulir is very isolated (it is on an island reached by *pirogue*) and his sense of isolation comes across in his writings. However, we can infer that indeed Joola (Eegimaa) is the predominant language spoken, or perhaps the default language of communication, as he states that learning the language is the most plausible reason for him being in the village and provides practically the only occasions to talk to other people (Palmeri 1995: 37). The importance for newcomers to learn Joola is evident here and the same sentiment is found in the present study (see §5.1.3 in particular).

In other anthropological studies there has often been a focus on language and ethnicity. For example, Moreau (2001) attempts to establish the various ethnicities of the population of Oussouye via naming practices and official records, whilst acknowledging that ethnicity has no official statute in Senegal. She particularly focuses on Joola naming practices, whereby people might be named after a family member, but also have numerous nicknames or a Christian/Muslim name for example. She found a growing tendency for children from Joola parents to be given a Joola name, with growing numbers having more than one Joola first name, linking this to a desire to affirm Joola identity. Among the participants featured in the study, similar naming practices can be found, whereby people very often have more than one name: an official name on documents and other names by which they are known in their daily lives, including Joola names. Tomàs i Guilera (2005) also focuses on ethnic identity among the Joola of Oussouye. In his study language use is mentioned

[7] Unless otherwise stated all translations are author's own.

in a small section devoted to multilingualism. However, as noted the focus of his study is on Joola identity, and significantly his results indicate that it is important for people who identify as Joola to speak Joola; this is also evident for the Essyl context, see §6.2, §7.1 and §7.2. Tomàs i Guilera also discusses the use of Wolof by younger generations: "*Molts joves xerren un joola anomenat kahitié, ple de paraules wolof, amb allò que els lingüistes anomenarien 'contaminacions lingüístiques*'" [original emphasis (henceforth o.e.) underlined; in italics in original] 'Many young people speak a Joola called *kahitié*, full of Wolof words, which is what linguists would call "linguistic contamination"' (Tomàs i Guilera 2005: 393). He states that there have been changes in the language, with older generations speaking a deep Joola in contrast to most of the adult generation who speak a light Joola full of Wolof and French words (Tomàs i Guilera 2005: 238). In the Essyl context it is not necessarily instances of borrowings from French or Wolof into Joola which are remarked upon, neither do we see Joola being referred to as deep or light, rather what is more likely to be remarked upon is what they perceive as younger generations and those outside of Mof Avvi undertaking a wider switch to Wolof and using Joola (Eegimaa) in fewer contexts (see §6.3.2.2). Tomàs i Guilera notes that it is young women who tend to view Wolof positively and speak it among themselves when they come to town to live, in this case the town of Oussouye, and generally view learning another languages as a positive factor (Tomàs i Guilera 2005: 393). Evidently, what can be gleaned from Tomàs i Guilera's work is that Joola people in Oussouye view Joola positively for identity purposes and speak it whether with instances of code switching or mixing, which he terms contaminations above, but which likely indicate multilingual repertoires, including Wolof and French among possible other multilingual linguistic practices.

Despite the preponderance of Wolof many groups in the Casamance have generally managed to retain other languages and have added Wolof to their repertoires as a *lingua franca* (see Mc Laughlin (2008) on the use of Wolof as a national and urban language in Senegal and §2.2.1 above). Others, however, remark that younger generations, and above all girls and young women, are leading the way towards language shift when it comes to using Wolof, for example Sagna (2008) for the Essyl context and Cobbinah (2012) for Djibonker. Summarising the hypotheses made in sociolinguistic research and presented by speakers themselves, Lüpke & Storch (2013: 20) state there is a certain stigma towards women using French, who are portrayed as "the main propagators of Wolof in their age groups, and in turn are also responsible for the growing role of Wolof in general, since they tend to speak to their children in Wolof (depending on the setting and also on their group language)". Cobbinah (2012: 50–51, note 15) concurs that women are the most likely to have an impact on the linguistic repertoires of children as it is them who are responsible for their care. The reality of child care and language acquisition, however, is yet to be investigated in the Crossroads area and language acquisition is the subject of Sagna's current research [p.c. January 2018]. Child care may be given by women, or other members of the household, or indeed other older children. Lüpke & Storch (2013) and Lüpke (2016a) stress the importance of peer groups in shaping children's repertoires, since children are released into the care of their peers from an early age. Cobbinah's (2012) take on the use of Wolof is broader. He puts forward that it is spreading among the younger generations due to its popularity and links with urban culture. However, Weidl's (2018) thesis provides a detailed description and analysis of the role of Wolof in Djibonker and demonstrates that its use is much more nuanced and complex, although its use in the village does seem to increase the closer

to the road and transport links that people are. This is a compelling argument, especially as mobility between the villages and Ziguinchor is becoming even easier[8]. The observations of the above studies are varied, yet it is worth pointing out that apart from Lüpke & Storch (2013) the focus of these studies was not multilingualism *per se*, therefore this research on multilingualism and mobility in rural Casamance will add a great deal of value to the growing body of work on multilingualism and the social factors that maintain the diversity of languages present in the Casamance, Senegal.

2.2.3. Sociolinguistic studies in the Casamance

Caroline Juillard has been at the forefront of sociolinguistic research in the Casamance since the early 1990s and continues to work in the area to this day. She has also conducted research in Essyl focusing on the school context, through the Crossroads project. The importance of her work and her approach cannot be overstated, spanning many years of multilingualism and language practices in the south of Senegal. However, one early sociolinguistic study in the area comes not from Juillard, but from Ducos (1983) who conducted a large scale study on multilingualism and language description in the Casamance area using the concept of repertoire as a theoretical grounding to explore multilingualism on an individual and societal level. Her working hypothesis was that individual or group repertoires in a general multilingual setting depend on the different linguistic situations that individuals have met with (Ducos 1983: 63). Therefore, individual repertoires are diverse and vary according to the individual's past, whilst acknowledging that

[8] In mid-April 2017 a new bus route with a regular timetable from Djibonker-Ziguinchor was introduced. http://www.aps.sn/actualites/economie/transport/article/ziguinchor-receptionne-8-nouveaux-minibus-destines-aux-localites-de-niaguis-brin-et-mpack accessed 07/08/2017.

repertoires further vary for the individual across time (Ducos 1983: 66). This positioning is shared in this thesis, meaning that it is important to take into account each person's history and the many different contexts in which they interact, after which we still only have a snapshot of a repertoire at a particular point in time. Concerning language use on a wider scale, she states that:

> *seul le diola a une fonction de communication inter-ethnique: un compromis diola Kasa – diola du Fogny, qui sert à la communication intra-ethnique, se hisse au rôle de grande communication régionale [...] il assume alor*s *une fonction d'intégration régionale*
>
> only Joola functions for inter-ethnic communication: a Joola Kaasa – Joola Fogny compromise, which serves for intra-ethnic communication, has attached itself to the role of regional wider communication […] it assumes the function of regional integration
>
> (Ducos 1983: 60)

These are all important points for the present study and will be drawn upon, particularly the idea of a language corresponding to regional integration and its use as being inclusive.

Juillard (1995) documents and describes daily multilingual language use in the regional capital of Ziguinchor. There were numerous foci to her wide-ranging work: the multilingualism of school children, language use at the market, and language use in different families and *quartiers* 'neighbourhoods' of the town, whilst also considering how people's mobility around their area and town, the centre and

periphery, influenced their language use and repertoires. Relevant findings include that the use of Wolof increases when people move outside of their *quartier* and in interactions with strangers, when people frequent the centre for economic transactions and that young people, girls above all, have a tendency to “slide” towards the use of Wolof (Juillard 1995: 238). In contrast, in Juillard (2001) she considers the concept of language shift in multilingual discourse (not concerning for example shift in language use across generations), among a group of young people in Ziguinchor who identify as Joola. Although when considering their actual language use, during a game of cards, the researcher can identify “movements” or “shifts” towards French, Wolof, or Mandinka, for the young Joola people with multiple identities, there is still a base language Joola and a varied way of speaking it, whilst being able to claim that they are Joola from a particular area, town or region (Juillard 2001: 23). Importantly though, language choice is highly dependent on interlocutor, context, degree of knowledge and shared repertoires. In Dreyfus & Juillard’s (2004) seminal work on multilingualism in Senegal, they focus on patterns of multilingualism in two major cities – Dakar (Dreyfus) and Ziguinchor (Juillard). Taking a qualitative approach, Juillard (2004) collected much of the data in various *quartiers* in Ziguinchor, using interviews where respondents would self-report on their languages and some language-in-use data was also collected. One finding is that Wolof is beginning to spread in this diverse urban environment. Moreover, they propose that it is mainly women and children who are causing this spread (Dreyfus & Juillard 2004: 142). They identify various factors which are instrumental in the transmission and use of languages in Ziguinchor: the family, the school, and age groups, which of course align with Lüpke & Storch’s factors which nurture multilingualism (see 2.1.2).

A fairly recent study on multilingual language use was carried out by fellow Crossroads project member, Tricia Manga (2015), for her Masters II dissertation. In her study she focused on language practices and code-switching between Joola Banjal (Eegimaa), French and Wolof, especially among the migrant population of Mof Avvi. The study is important as she looks at language practices from conversations, although not naturally occurring, as they were set up by the researcher with topics provided, it still considers actual language use in a rural setting in sociolinguistic terms, rather than from a language documentation point of view. She defines migrant population as constituted by people who move to the city, those who return to the village or generally someone who moves location for educational or socioeconomic purposes. Interestingly, in her study, and importantly for the present study, she does not find that Wolof influences young people that much, having found no complete utterances in Wolof in her corpus. However, those who migrated to town, i.e. Ziguinchor, for educational or socioeconomic purposes did tend to code-switch the most. She concludes that her participants code-switch for a variety of reasons: to go beyond the traditional way of communicating using Joola Banjal, because of a lack of vocabulary in one or more of the languages, and for reasons of identity (Manga 2015: 72–73). Further, she states that "[*l*]*es deux langues les plus mélangées sont le jóola banjal et le français. Le français a fortement influencé le discours des jeunes du Mof Avví qui font du code switching sans s'en rendre compte*" 'Joola Banjal and French are the two most mixed languages. French has strongly influenced the speech of the young people who code switch without realising' (Manga 2015: 73). Convincingly Manga found that across Mof Avvi people were engaging in multilingual practices, which she labels as code-switching, even if the participants themselves do not realise what they are doing. Her work,

then, raises further questions and issues pertinent to the present study: namely, what linguistic practices do participants with varying mobility histories engage in a broader range of settings; and if Joola Banjal and French are so intermixed that people do not realise they are code-switching, can we continue to speak of separate codes? These topics will be dealt with in §6 and §7.4 respectively, with the aim to add to and deepen the work begun by Manga (2015) on multilingualism, language use and mobility in Essyl and surrounding Mof Avvi. In the following section I survey works, in a broader frame and in settings outwith Mof Avvi, which deal with the evidently closely related topics of language and mobility.

Much of the ground breaking work on rural multilingualism in Africa has been recently carried out by members of the Crossroads team in the area neighbouring Mof Avvi and Essyl, with of course some taking place within Essyl and the surroundings itself. Although much of this work started out from a descriptive and documentary paradigm, the shift towards the sociolinguistics of multilingualism was in response to the multifaceted nature of everyday communication in the area, which cannot be fully captured by focusing on documentation of a bounded language. Particularly relevant for the current thesis is Cobbinah's (Forthcoming) current work on the dialectics of identity as pertains to language use in the village of Djibonker and wider area. He focuses on regional integration, particularly with regards to the initiation ritual and further defines language use and language naming practices alongside strategies and purposes on three different levels: local, regional, national. His summarising table is copied here below:

	Local level	**Regional level**	**National level**
Strategy	Maximum emphasis on difference with any community beyond the immediately local level	Inclusion, downplaying of difference within a defined area, while maintaining autonomy	Emphasising affinity with groups sharing essentialist labels
Purpose	Maintaining of independence and potential for strategic realignment; claiming of firstcomer status	Power of the many through strategical alliances; integration of diaspora	Negotiation of linguistic rights within a national-political framework
Effect on language naming	Naming of languages on a very fine-grained level	Mixed labels (Baïnounk-Joola), local varieties becoming invisible	Clustering of languages according to essentialist labels, ignoring differences within these clusters
Language use	Local language or variety for everyday in-group communication or for excluding outsiders, regional or national languages for communicative purposes	Regional lingua francas for downplaying local differences, local varieties for maintaining differences in unity	Local varieties for symbolic purposes, national lingua francas for practical purposes

Table 2.1: Levels of identity construction

(Cobbinah Forthcoming:23)

Although one could equate the different levels of identity construction to those of Auer et al.'s (2013) levels of language indexicality (which will be presented below in §2.4 and discussed in §7), Cobbinah provides a more nuanced depiction of the Casamance context. However suited these generalisations are to the context, after having examined the data and analyses from Essyl, one can see a few discrepancies, which will be discussed in §7. Using a table with demarcations between the levels is

good for an overview, however the overlaps between the levels and how they interact together, especially with regards to actual language use, is unclear. The biggest difference between what is happening in Cobbinah's above observations and the data presented in this thesis pertains to the local level of language use. As Cobbinah describes above on the local level, a local language is used for in-group communication or for excluding outsiders. Although the use of a local language such as Joola Eegimaa could exclude other people who do not know it, in my data I never found this as a reason for using it. Rather the focus was on inclusion through linguistic practices or for a drive to reinforce language use or to connect it to local customs, such as the initiation: these will be further explored in §6 and §7. It should be noted, however, that Cobbinah's primary focus was on people who live in Djibonker and speak Baïnounk Gubëeher, a language which tends not to be spoken by those who don't identify as Baïnounk (Cobbinah 2010; Lüpke 2010b; Cobbinah 2012; Weidl 2018), although more people who live in neighbouring Brin are learning it (Cobbinah Forthcoming; Watson 2018b). Furthermore, it tends to be the case that generally people will only report one Baïnounk language in their repertoires and generally the Baïnounk languages are highly divergent from each other.

Lüpke (2010a; 2010b; 2013; 2016a; 2016b; 2018; 2019; Lüpke & Storch 2013) has long worked in the Casamance firstly in Niamone and subsequently Agnack Grand, ostensibly setting out to document Baïnounk languages. Yet she makes clear from the beginning that people who identify as Baïnounk are proud to be multilingual in as many languages as possible and those of their surrounding neighbours. Furthermore, Baïnounk have long been associated with double patrimonial identities (see §2.4 below), including Creole, especially those who live to the east of Ziguinchor, with historical links to the inland ports of São Domingo

and Cacheu (Lüpke, p.c. 2018); see also §6.4.2. In Lüpke (2010b) she finds that Baïnounk Gunyaamolo is reportedly spoken evenly across various domains such as the market, field or mosque, but is the predominant language spoken in the home. Importantly there are also methodological findings regarding languages and repertoires: for the older generation some reported to be monolingual, yet this is unlikely ever to be the case (see §6.2.1) and participants report more multilingual language use when they are asked to imagine different contexts for language use rather than being asked what languages are spoken.

In Agnack Grand, Lüpke develops her ethnographic based methodologies towards incorporating different "levels of granularity" when examining identities as linked to linguistic repertoire, which she finds is dependent on life experience, including such matters as childhood environment, mobility and education for example (Lüpke 2016a: 19). These different scale-levels (Blommaert 2005: 133–134; Blommaert 2010; Irvine 2016, a.o.) of language naming, identity formation, and linguistic practices all have relevance for the current thesis and are broadly found to be replicated in the Essyl context, with some caveats, hence the singularity of Essyl as monolingual idea, but based on the same scale-making processes used by participants. Lüpke (2018: 202) argues that the processes which nurture highly multilingual societies, like the Casamance, which she characterises as small-scale multilingualism, following Singer & Harris (2016), come about through the construction of boundaries, which are needed to enable complex patterns of multilingualism, and these are often based around concepts of landlord and stranger relationships (Brooks 1993), which will be further explicated below in §2.4. Basing their work on an Aboriginal community in northern Australia, Singer & Harris (2016) define small-scale multilingualism as characteristic of a multilingual society

where social and political groups are small in size and the languages in question are spoken by small numbers of speakers. Furthermore, they put forward some commonalities with similar societies found around the world:

- Community members each speak a number of indigenous languages
- Each indigenous language has a small number of speakers (<5000)
- Marriages between people with different main languages is obligatory or common
- Multiple languages are used within each family and household group

(Singer & Harris 2016: 167)

Although many of the above points are consistent with the data for Essyl, there are some caveats. Even though participants may speak a number of indigenous languages, many of the languages concerned are spoken by many more people, for example Wolof. Although marriages may happen between speakers of different main languages, among the main participants in the present study, the majority have married speakers of the same main language, namely Joola Eegimaa. However, speakers are still fluid with their use of languages, and also may engage in receptive multilingual strategies, as described by Singer & Harris (2016), where participants stick to their own language without accommodating to interlocutors. However, language use is fluid and dependent on context. The flexibility of language use and the flexibility of what you can signal with your language use (including contradictory concepts and that which cannot be signified) is therefore key to a deeper understanding of multilingualism in the region.

Watson (2015; 2018a; 2018b) started out documenting Joola Kujireray, a related language to Joola Eegimaa, which is associated with the village of Brin - named *Jirer* in Joola Kujireray, thus simultaneously indexing the Joola relatedness of language and the location where it is predominantly spoken (see §1.4, §6, §6.2.3, §7.1 for more information on language naming practices with geographical locations). Recently, she too has turned to the multilingual context in which Joola Kujireray is spoken, with a particular focus on the interaction between Joola languages, both on the level of lexical relatedness and from a sociolinguistic perspective as pertains to language use. With regards to lexical divergence and convergence between Joola Eegimaa and Joola Kujireray, in her most recent paper (2018a) she demonstrates, using a detailed word list and correspondences with historical linguistic methods, that they are less related than once thought, with only approximately 50% of shared core vocabulary, with other similarities due to contact and sustained multilingualism with Baïnounk Gubëeher speakers, amongst others. Furthermore, she proposes that unequal multilingualism between people living in Brin, Djibonker and Mof Avvi could provide clues as to historical splits between Joola languages and as to the provenance of Joola Kujireray. Although she posits an unequal situation where Brin was an offshoot of Djibonker which maintained a dominant power relationship, nowadays the inverse holds where Djibonker inhabitants typically count Joola Kujireray in their repertoires, but not the reverse (although this is changing). Furthermore, she proposes that this historical inequality can partly explain why speakers of Joola Kujireray routinely include Joola Eegimaa as part of their repertoires (although more research is needed in this area), whereas the inverse generally does not hold. This is corroborated by my data: only 1 participant, JS4, of those in Essyl (103) claims to speak Joola Kujireray

"*passablement*" 'reasonably well' although further detailed biographical information was not obtained, as she was a minor participant in some recordings. In a recent presentation and accompanying manuscript Watson (2018b) discusses linguistic practices associated with Joola and identifies three types of strategies used when participants who may or may not know each other engage in discourse: receptive multilingualism, whereby speakers speak to each other in different languages, using their "own" Joola and have no issues in understanding their interlocutors; alignment, where speakers "reach a consensus on a single Joola language" (Watson 2018b: no page) and this is based on the relationships between speakers, their repertoires and shared languages; and translanguaging, which she takes to include elements of both receptive multilingualism, alignment and the use of prototypical Joola features in a fluid manner, which she proposes is due to unequal social relationships between speakers, little knowledge of shared languages in repertoires and therefore less knowledge about prototypical features of unfamiliar Joola varieties.

2.3. Language and mobility

As will be seen throughout the thesis, the link between language, mobility and therefore space is important for conceptualising key tenets of language use, particularly with regards to repertoire and repertoire expansion, language acquisition, contrasts between ideological places which are mono- or multilingual and the impact that mobility has on language use in the village of Essyl. Although migration is often conceived of as a modern phenomenon, particularly with regards to globalisation, it is important to keep in mind that humans have always been highly mobile, and that issues surrounding migration and globalisation leading to super-diverse contexts (Vertovec 2007) are not merely modern, urban nor Northern phenomena. There has

been a fair amount of work which discusses migration in relation to the Joola of the Casamance, yet to date little of the focus has concerned the effects that migration has on language use or related topics such as language maintenance. Although many authors do usually mention languages and language use after migration, the focus has rather been on historical migration, migration for economic purposes, the relation to agricultural production, the relation between migration and identity and women's migration. For example, Foucher (2005) discusses identity in the Casamance in relation to the Casamance separatist conflict. Yet, he argues that gender relations in regard to migration, particularly of women, have played a significant role in Joola identity construction. Throughout the twentieth century Joola migration was of both rural and urban types, with men migrating to work in agricultural roles, while many women migrated to Dakar as domestic workers (Foucher 2005). After the Second World War there was a successful education drive in the Casamance led by the Catholic Church which focused on men, which has had consequences for language use beyond migration, as discussed by Juillard (Dreyfus & Juillard 2004). This is also pertinent to data in this thesis as will be presented and discussed in §6.3.1.2 and §7.2. Women on the other hand were successfully migrating, working, and bringing home much needed wealth. Various associations tried to prevent women leaving their villages, and they set up parties to forcefully bring women back to the Casamance from Dakar. Yet paradoxically there was pride in women working and being able to bring back commodities, such as sacks of rice, to their family when they returned for the seasonal harvest. Foucher (2005) details how language use was linked to migration, with women working in Dakar using more Wolof, and upon returning to their villages being proud to speak it, whereas the men preferred a Joola language or French, the language of their professional

education through the Catholic Church. Language use and the threat of Wolofization was perceived as weakening Joola society, and was seen to be the fault of women, thus linking mobility to linguistic practices and to perceptions of identity, which in turn has an influence on language use. Similar themes will be discussed in relation to key participants and language use in the village in general in §5 and §6.3.1.3, among others.

The type of mobility and migration which Foucher (2005) describes above, where people migrate to a city to work for a period and then return to the village, is also dealt with in more detail by Linares (2003), who focuses on rural-rural and urban-rural migration, and the effects this has on agricultural practices. She puts forward that Joola people rarely migrate because of serious food poverty, but rather there are other incentives to migrate: “the combined effects of the lack of opportunities to earn cash, plus the boredom of rural life, and the desire for goods and new experiences” (Linares 2003: 114). The type of migration that Linares covers is called “turnaround migration” whereby people return from cities to engage in seasonal agriculture, e.g. during the rainy season for rice planting. Although she states that the type, period, length and extent of engagement of migrants returning to engage in agricultural practices varies by Joola community or village, the return from the city is a common factor. Indeed this is something that will be observed later on in the thesis, when considering participants’ individual mobility patterns (see §5).

An important mobility pattern which can have significant implications for multilingualism and language use in the region is that which comes about as a result of exogamous marriage, which is attested throughout the Casamance (Lüpke 2016a: 23). Exogamous marriage can be described as marrying someone outside of your social group, broadly defined. Lüpke (in Lüpke & Storch 2013: 34–36) describes

how in the Casamance and Senegal more widely, exogamous marriage commonly takes the form of exogynous marriage, whereby women come from an outside group and marry into their husband’s group, thereby integrating into a new community. Women will often move into their husband’s family home in a different village. Therefore, this often entails entering into a different sociolinguistic setting. Linares (1992) describes marriage patterns for a Joola community based in Jipalom, to the north of the Casamance River, who share marriage exchanges with 6 other local communities. The “women move around, though not in any pre-determined or unidirectional manner” (Linares 1992: 108). Lüpke (Lüpke & Storch 2013: 34) notes that in the case Linares describes, “the circulation of women does not introduce additional languages into the villages involved, since all the villages of the marrying community are located in the Joola Kujamaatay (Fogny) language area – this Joola language is one of the largest languages of the Casamance”. Although this may be the case with regards to patrimonial language, it does not account for the fact that women may have expanded and diverse repertoires from migration before marriage, as is the case with many of the participants in Essyl: although they married into a different group, they shared Joola Eegimaa as a patrimonial language, yet still introduce the possibility for additional languages due to prior migration, as will be shown in §4.

It will be shown that participants migrate for a variety of reasons, not only the reasons above, and many of them have been well documented by previous researchers working on migration in the Casamance area. Migration to the city, or to another rural area, sometimes even across international borders to engage in cash-earning, often seasonal, work is certainly one of the main drives. Although not specifically dealt with in the thesis, migration is not to be thought of as a purely adult

phenomenon, the movement of children is also of importance in the Casamance context and it too has an impact on language use and particularly the maintenance of multilingualism. Lüpke (in Lüpke & Storch 2013: 39–41) discusses the practice of fostering, whereby children are sent to other families for a variety of reasons, among them educational fostering, so that the child has access to formal education; domestic fostering, where the child is expected to help in the household; and kinship fostering, where the child is raised by family members. These fostering practices often mean that children move to areas with a different sociolinguistic setting and therefore learn new languages, perhaps forget some from the place of origin and engage in new practices in a new environment. Furthermore, families who move away from their villages of origin to the regional capital, Ziguinchor, the national capital Dakar, or even to Europe, may send their children to their villages of origin during the summer months or for extended periods with the express intention of learning or strengthening the language(s) spoken there. This type of migration, which is specifically related to language use and language learning has been documented before by Calvet & Dreyfus (1990) and which they term "*séjours linguistiques*" and which Miriam Weidl and I have translated/described as 'linguistic residencies'. Moreover, Calvet & Dreyfus state that this is a language learning strategy particularly for families from the Casamance region (as opposed to other areas of Senegal) and is said by their participants to be the easiest method of language acquisition, simply consisting of sending the children to the Casamance. It is described by one of their participants thus: "*il suffit d'envoyer les enfants au village, ils apprennent [...] ils commencent à parler*" 'it's enough to send the children to the village, they learn […] they start speaking' (Calvet & Dreyfus 1990: 34). As will be shown later in the thesis, this type of language learning is important for the

expansion of repertoires, and also for maintaining a link with the village and the language(s) of the village (see §6 and §7.3 for data and discussion). Furthermore, it sets up a type of language learning and mobility which is retained into adulthood, whether the language learning is a secondary reason for migration, or is in fact the main reason for temporary migration. Although various types of migration patterns are described in §5, it is generally turnaround migration which is most interesting to the present study, as it is posited that through repertoire expansion as a result of migratory practices, patterns of language use and multilingualism may be affected by people's return to Essyl.

There is a vast body of literature concerning language and migration, particularly with regards to language maintenance and shift, and/or in Northern contexts, where migrants from all over the world have moved in a more permanent pattern of settlement and engaged in new linguistic practices. Pauwels (2016: 169) confirms that this type of "permanent settlement in a new location [has been] the traditional focus for migration and indeed LM [language maintenance] studies". Much of the focus of such works has been on a particular ethno-linguistic group who may or may not maintain their heritage language or shift languages according to the majority language of the new location. However, there is also much work on the new multilingual settings that this type of migration creates, which as mentioned above is often described in terms of super-diversity, which Vertovec (2007: 1025) describes as the "diversification of diversity" in regards to migration in the UK. Importantly super-diversity does not merely signify that a concept is more diverse than before, or more diverse than other settings, but rather he uses the term to signify that diversity should not merely be treated in terms of ethnicity or country-of-origin, but rather that it is multi-faceted with diverging variables that intersect, which were previously

overlooked in migration studies in the UK context. He, then, treats many of the possible facets of diversity side-by-side instead of focusing on one such as ethnicity which leads to spurious claims of "community". Many sociolinguistic studies have picked up on the term superdiversity and use it for situations of migration when looking at language use. In using such a term, Vertovec and others have sought to include a more personalised experience of migration which includes trajectory, language, gender and numerous other factors. Indeed, a recent edited volume on *Language and Superdiversity* (Arnaut et al. 2016) outlines the new theoretical lenses applied to the study of language, by taking a superdiverse turn in analysis. In one of the introductory chapters, Blommaert & Rampton (2016) sketch out a paradigm for research focusing on ethnography as an epistemology and not merely a methodology and putting language and communication as focal topics, rather than languages and communities, which indeed much of the field has long moved away from. Many of the chapters in the volume focus on contexts of migration, where superdiversity is central to the study of mobility and communication, taking numerous factors into account when looking at language use. This approach is also taken in this thesis, employing ethnography as a lens through which to examine language use and communication, but incorporating the super-diversity of Essyl. By that I intend to include not only the diversity of languages and linguistic practices, but also encompass people's mobility trajectories, education, repertoires, and also other aspects such as gender and age, which although not central to the thesis, can neither be left out of the analysis, as will be shown for example with the acquisition of French (see §4.6, §5.1.2, §6.3.1 among others). The present study attempts to incorporate many of the above points, but in dealing with the effects or indexical relations of mobility and language use, one topic which must be treated as necessary

in relation to mobility is the relationship between place and space, which combined with language use can lead to concepts such as sociolinguistic space or translanguaging space, which will all be dealt with in the following section.

2.4. Conceptions of place and space

In §2.4.1 I present various existing defintions of place and space and further consider how these relate to concepts such as sociolinguistic space and spatial repertoires, and concepts surrounding language territorialisation, which will then be discussed in §7.1 in light of the data and analyses stemming from the current study. I examine in §2.4.2 the relationships which pertain between place, space and language, considering orders of indexicality and patrimonial deixis.

2.4.1. Towards sociolinguistic space

Place is often described as a geographical location which can be:

> enter[ed] […] into your GPS[…], all places have some sort of physicality, and when people carry out particular practices within particular places, those practices become *emplaced in* [o.e.], or fundamentally associated with, those places. By this definition, a place can be a country, a city, a building or even a room.
>
> (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2013: 15–16)

Although (as will be shown later in the thesis) language use can become associated with places, i.e. geographical locations, such as the practices of Joola Eegimaa associated with Mof Avvi, it is important to also consider not only the practices, but

ideologies of languages and use, which may or may not align with the practices in question. For example, this does not explain how French becomes associated with the geographical country of Senegal as official language. Arising out of the legacy of colonisation, this is clearly not practice-based and is an imposition of a European idealised standard language. This exists on a macro-level whereby Senegalese languages are erased, as the official language French is associated with the nation of Senegal. Irvine & Gal (2000) demonstrate how the ideological processes of erasure, iconicity and fractal recursivity all had a hand in General Faidherbe's language mapping of the Senegalese nation and the description of its languages through the 19th century. They define the three terms thusly (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37–38): iconization as a relationship between "linguistic features that index social groups […] [which] appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence"; fractal recursivity as the "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level"; erasure as "the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible". They identify the three processes as working concomitantly in the historical language mapping process they describe, which has important parallels with some of the ideologies at play to be explored further in the thesis, namely:

> The language map depicted the relationship ideologically supposed to obtain between language, population and territory (*iconization*), but it could only do so by tidying up the linguistic situation, removing multilingualism and variation from the picture (*erasure*). The

> multilingualism was supposed to have been introduced […] through a history of conquest and conversion that paralleled […] the hierarchical relationships thought to obtain between Europeans and Africans […] [which] were the implicit model for a history of relationships within Africa itself (*recursivity*).
>
> (Irvine & Gal 2000: 55)

The history of linguistics in Senegal and the above processes can be seen today, whereby Senegal is still referred to as a francophone country, despite the highly multilingual linguistic practices which occur there. These processes, and how they interact with concepts explored below such as language territorialisation (Blommaert 2010) and patrimonial deixis (Lüpke 2016a), will be important for considering the relationships between the practices and perceptions of multilingualism and the space of Essyl.

However, the processes described above seemingly ignore the practices which happen in a given place, and the processes through which these practices then come to be associated with a space. This is an important distinction for Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2013: 16), whereby places, although associated with different human activities which happen there, are constructed by top-down organisation, which explains Senegal being a francophone country in many people's perceptions, particularly those outside of the country itself and in Western/Northern settings. Space, however, which they say does not have a geographical location, is constructed by bottom-up processes of people interacting in occupied space, which they also make reference to through language (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2013:16). For Auer et al. (2013: 3) physical spaces are equated to locations and it is

these that acquire social meaning from various activities which are associated with value by the people who interact in the spaces. In Juillard (1995: 238) when considering people's movements around Ziguinchor, she found that participants create their own spaces: they delimit entities, whether that be social or geographic, that broadly correspond to the dichotomy of inside and outside:

> *[…] ces delimitations se créent, mais ne se figent pas: elles sont négociables et actualisables, à chaque instant et en n'importe quel lieu, en fonction des rencontres que chacun peut faire. Cependant, le monde du dedans et celui du dehors sont également territorialisés, et la répétition quotidienne des activités et des rencontres y contribuent.*
>
> […] these delimitations are created, but are not fossilised: they are negotiable and realised, in each moment and in any place, according to the encounters that you experience. However, the people from the inside and those of the outside are also territorialised, and the daily repetition of activities and encounters contribute to this.
>
> (Juillard 1995: 238)

Therefore, created spaces become territorialised, that is associated with locations through activities and meetings with people, although, importantly, they are negotiated. The concept of territorialisation will be examined with regards to language use below. As has been seen there are different takes on the distinctions between place and space, though mostly there is agreement that it is humans and their interactions which imbue place or location with meaning and which then

translates into a conceptual space. Although spatiality (outside of language and migration studies) has only recently received a new focus in sociolinguistic research, moving away from the past association with dialectology (Johnstone 2009) and towards repertoire studies, linguistic practices and translanguaging require a revised spatial approach to capture the complexity of communication (Canagarajah 2017). Additionally, the burgeoning field of study concerning linguistic landscapes predominantly deals with visible language in public places/spaces, often concerned with multilingual signage in urban contexts (see for example, Barni & Bagna 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni 2010; Gorter, Marten & Mensel 2012). Yet other branches of social sciences have long been concerned with conceptions of space.

In Lefebvre's seminal work *The Production of Space* he attempts to create a unified theory of space including what he sees as three different fields of space: the physical space, the mental space and the social space (1992: 11). When he discusses a term such as "room" or "marketplace", he states that "they correspond to a specific use of that space, and hence to a spatial practice that they express and constitute" (Lefebvre 1992: 16). These terms, he further puts forward, also describe a social space, where people interact and where practices take place. Common to most of these approaches is a focus on practices, which is particularly pertinent to the data, analysis and discussion in this study. For it is not only concepts of languages which become associated with places, but linguistic practices which people use to create meaningful spaces, and to discuss these. For Lefebvre (1992: 16), language is entwined with the concept of social space and he asks whether "language […] precede[s], accompan[ies] or follow[s] social space? Is it a precondition of social space or merely a formulation of it?" I would argue that it is all three at once, that

language precedes, accompanies and follows social space, because for social space to have meaning it requires that humans interact in it. If social space does not exactly equate to physical locations, although physical locations can become spaces and social spaces, human interaction and communication nonetheless necessarily entail the use of language (of some sort, and this could be in the widest terms including various semiotic resources and not merely limited to spoken or signed languages). Therefore in order to create a social space language is used in interaction, both preceding and accompanying its creation and also following, as people then discuss the social space and make reference to it in discourse. Furthermore, spaces rather than locations or places can change and interact with other concepts such as time, resulting in spaces, and social spaces, which only exist in the moment of interaction, which Blommaert & De Fina (2017) refer to as chronotopes. Although imbued with meaning and potentially discussed by people, these may not translate into a fixed, indexical relation established between practices and place. Therefore, what is important is that "space, and interactional spaces, are created and constructed by humans, which are ephemeral and are reconstituted with each encounter of people" (Goodchild Forthcoming: 2–3). However, through repeated encounters of people and through processes of emplacement and indexicality, these social spaces may become imbued with meaning and "cultural value [which] is not a static property of things or people but a precipitate of sociohistorically locatable practices, including discursive practices, which imbue cultural forms with recognizable sign-values and bring these into circulation along identifiable trajectories in social space" (Agha 2003: 232). Therefore, through communication and interaction, which should be as contextualised as possible (acknowledging the history of repeated practices, which will have happened over time), certain social spaces become associated with cultural

practices and values, one of which is language use, which will be discussed extensively throughout the thesis, but particularly in §6, §7.3 and §7.4, with regards to Essyl and the perception of monolingualism. Yet, although the concept of social space is relevant to the data and analyses and seems to inherently include linguistic practices, some sociolinguists have sought to extend the term by introducing the concept of sociolinguistic space.

Sociolinguistic space encompasses much of what is included in the definitions of social space above, but has been elaborated by, among others, Juillard, who has carried out extensive sociolinguistic research in the Casamance context, as described in §2.2 above. For Juillard, sociolinguistic space is:

> *une notion qui, d'une part, tient compte tout à la fois des lieux, géographiques et/ou socio-symboliques, des situations de communication, des réseaux, des activités et des types de relations interpersonnelles, ainsi que des variétés, langues ou usages, et traits disponibles comme ressources, et les relie dans une non – dualité, et qui d'autre part, implique toujours qu'un espace donné soit relié à d'autres espaces sociolinguistiques, proches ou distants, potentiels, latents ou manifestés*

> a notion, which on the one hand, takes into account spaces, geographic and/or socio-symbolic, communication situations, networks, activities and types of interpersonal relationships, as well as varieties, languages or uses, and available features as resources, and which combines them in a non-duality, and which on the other hand still implies that a given space

> is related to other sociolinguistic spaces, whether near or far, potential, latent or manifest
>
> (Juillard 2016: 4)

A sociolinguistic space then is an interrelated concept, which must be fully contextualised and appears in interaction, much like social spaces, but also encompasses geographic locations, interpersonal networks, other resources and most importantly links to other spaces, which may be latent. The potential for sociolinguistic spaces to relate to other possible spaces is crucial, that new spaces may emerge through the possibilities and constellations of individuals, their repertoires and communicative practices. I also consider Juillard's inclusion of latent spaces is vital as it signifies other possibilities which may, or may not, be taken up in the moment of interaction. When numerous possibilities exist, for example, for language use in interaction, it is interesting to investigate why some sociolinguistic spaces are not created and why some are privileged over others. How participants interact, with different relationships, in different contexts, with different languages and resources and how they discuss and relate these spaces to others will be further explored in the data, analyses and discussions, as it will be a key concept in aligning observed language use in Essyl with claims of monolingualism made by participants and Sagna (2016; Sagna & Bassène 2016). Furthermore, a cornerstone of sociolinguistic space, at least for Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2013), is to examine what kinds of resources their participants index in multilingual sociolinguistic spaces, but also what ideologies are present in the construction of these spaces, part of which they feel is constructed in space and time through narratives. It is important for them to include their "interviewee's individual perspectives, which allows [them]

to discover nuances in the construction of different spaces connected to the same place by different individuals" (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2013:25). Although they focused on interviews, and not on spontaneous conversations, they found that the language and linguistic resources that participants used during the interviews also contributed to the construction of sociolinguistic spaces. In the present study, I also consider it imperative to include participants' perspectives on their language use and through the narrative of life history and personal trajectories, the different individuals all offer their own constructions of sociolinguistic spaces, which generally align to associate the place of Essyl as a sociolinguistic space, in contrast to other constructed sociolinguistic spaces. In their study, Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain focused on the relationship between sociolinguistic space and identity among German-speaking migrants and their descendants in Canada. However, they put forward that in constructing "a sociolinguistic space, they [participants] do so not first and foremost by constructing an image of the space itself – its order and its shape – but also, and even primarily, by constructing images of their own and others' positions within that space" (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2013: 25). In this study, both will be considered as important to the construction of Essyl as a monolingual space, by participants who give order and a shape to the space by contrasting it with outside or other spaces, as well as positioning themselves as mono- or multilingual within the sociolinguistic spaces they describe, and often in contrast to others both within and outwith the sociolinguistic spaces which are often indexically linked to places. However, this study goes further in also considering natural language data and the linguistic practices which occur in the sociolinguistic spaces that participants construct (or not), and combining them with the positionalities of the featured

participants in order to grasp the complexities of language use in this sociolinguistic setting.

In studying the perceptions of the relationship between language use and space, it is important to attempt to understand the type of relationship that people construct between the two, that is the indexical processes by which a language becomes associated with a space, whether physical location, symbolic or sociolinguistic space. In the Lower Fungom region of Cameroon, Di Carlo & Good (2014) describe how each village in a highly multilingual area becomes associated with a language, through essentialising localist sociolinguistic attitudes. However, people may use different languages in order to index numerous affiliations with different villages and their chiefs which may confer and invoke rights and spiritual protection. They convincingly demonstrate how both essentialising and indexicalising processes are at work concomitantly in a setting where individuals' multilingualism varies according to family and life history. Furthermore, they claim that a rupture in the ideological link between village and language would not represent a loss of ethnicity or language *per se*, but rather "would merely represent a shift among the kaleidoscopic array of allegiances that characterize the Lower Fungom social space" (Di Carlo & Good 2014: 30). The relationship between space and language in the Lower Fungom is thus influenced by symbolic and personal affiliations and ideologies, in addition to processes which link a place, a village, with a language. According to Blommaert this relationship can be conceived of in terms of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, whereby

> [t]erritoralization stands for the perception and attribution of values to language as a local phenomenon, something which ties people to local

> communities and spaces. […] Conversely, deterritorialization stands for the perception and attribution of values to language as something which does not belong to one locality but which organizes translocal trajectories and wider spaces […]
>
> (Blommaert 2010: 45–46)

He further states that many people would customarily associate the concept of first languages (L1) with territorialisation, which also encompasses concepts such as predominantly oral languages, i.e. without a (standardised) written form, and the concepts of dialects, which may often take on pejorative connotations. While deterritorialized languages are often associated as being second languages (L2) or other languages, those which function as *lingua francas,* in addition to varieties spoken in diaspora, and those which are standardized and have accompanying literacy standards. As will be shown throughout the thesis and discussed later in §7.1, concepts such as L1 and L2 are not necessarily applicable to the Essyl context and concepts such as a "standard language" are called into question through the numerous layers of functions and statuses of the languages in question. Furthermore, it is obviously not a clear-cut dichotomy between territorialisation and deterritorialisation, for in the Casamance sociolinguistic setting a language such as Joola Fogny may be at once used as L1 in a particular area, i.e. to the north of the river, whilst being used as regional *lingua franca* more widely in Ziguinchor and the surroundings, alongside other languages which may fill similar roles and be ascribed similar values by people in varying contexts.

2.4.2. *Processes of indexicality*

As humans interact in places and their practices take on values, then spaces, social spaces and sociolinguistic spaces are created through their practices, including language use. Various concepts related to space were explored above, but in this section some of the processes behind language use pointing to meaningful space will be considered, namely processes of indexicality. I will examine Silverstein's (2003) concept of indexical order, before turning to a concept more closely associated with sociolinguistic study in the Casamance: Lüpke's (2016b; 2018) account of patrimonial (language) deixis.

Silverstein (2003: 193) contends that his concept of indexical order is a necessary theorisation in order to examine any given sociolinguistic phenomenon and its link between different frames of analysis, i.e. between micro-social and macro-social frames. This entails examining language use in context, which he puts forward is a macro-sociological order of "things that perdure […] beyond any particular token interactional moment, and which semiotic material in such an interactional moment may index" (Silverstein 2003: 200). He gives the example of a grammatical norm, in the Saussurean sense, which is "macro-sociological […], as it is thought of as a property of a whole language community of speakers indexically invoked by following grammatical rule each time an utterance is used parsable into sentence-parts under the grammar" (Silverstein 2003: 201–202). At the most basic level, this means that when humans use signs in discourse, they have at once a pragmatic and metapragmatic function and of course the metapragmatic discourse can explain, rationalise and associates the pragmatic use of language to wider cultural frameworks, thus creating "indexical significance" (Silverstein 2003: 196–197). It is important to recognise that these cultural frameworks or values to which language in

use point to are inherently ideological in nature, and these frameworks and values in turn influence people's linguistic practices in interaction. Hantgan (2017) uses Silverstein's indexical field approach to examine divergences and convergences at the Crossroads between speakers of Joola Eegimaa, Joola Kujireray and Baïnounk Gubëeher with regards to phonetic realisation of word-initial velar plosives (see §1.4) in greetings. She concludes that using an unvoiced or voiced plosive at the first level indexes differences between languages, and at the second level, convergence of identity and respect between speakers. However, her data are limited and offer little concrete discussion of identity practices. A more thorough analysis and discussion of Joola discourse is offered by Watson (2019) with regards to respect and joking examining the social relationships existing among speakers, backed up by sociolinguistic data. As noted by others working in the Crossroads area and the Casamance, e.g. Cobbinah (Forthcoming) and Lüpke (2016a; 2018; Lüpke & Storch 2013), identity is a multifaceted concept and works at many different levels concurrently (see Table 2.1) with regards to language use. Although hinted at throughout the thesis, and is likely to play a key role alongside spatial theorisations of language use, the data on identity in this study is insufficient to make claims such as Hantgan's. The lack of robust data presents a limitation to the scope of the present study and therefore a more thorough examination of identity would well be suited to development for further research (see §8.3).

Despite the lack of data in this study considering identity, the concept of indexical order, is nonetheless somewhat useful for beginning to conceptualise the relationship between practices, discourse and the ways in which these influence (sociolinguistic) space. Silverstein (2003: 201–202) puts forward that underlying social partitions of "categorical differentiation [such] as sociological age, gender, social and socio-

economic class, profession, and other aspects of what we term institutional/positional social identity […] are relevant to interactionally accomplished indexicality”. Therefore, for example participants who are female and who have worked in Dakar as domenstic helpers may be able to use Wolof in Joola discourse. These Wolof tokens are then used in interaction and may index difference in social space compared with an interlocutor. However, what these tokens index on the macro-sociological plane will differ according to perceptions and ideological stances. These ideological values could be “good/bad; preferred/dispreferred; normal/deviant” and these underpin the “partitions of social space” (Silverstein 2003: 202–203). If, as will be shown later in the thesis, participants, observers and researchers do not even agree on the designations of linguistic practices in interaction, then this makes the tokens and the targets for the indexes subject to differing perceptions too, whether they simply index a multilingual repertoire, having worked as a domestic helper, mobility history, urbanity or modernity, for example, and whether these stances are preferred/dispreffered also differ according to perceptions. Di Carlo (2018: 3) questions the lack of ethnographic underpinning of what is taken as a “*de facto* sociolinguistic axiom […] [that is] the relation between sociolinguistic indexes and their targets”. Indexical order does not necessarily “lead to the representation of […] categorical identities” (Di Carlo 2018: 3). In the same paper he demonstrates how multilingual speakers in the Lower Fungom region of Cameroon do not use various lects to define certain aspects of their identity, but rather use them to “index a [relative] position within one specific network” or group, allowing for multiple affiliations, in part to protect against spiritual insecurity (Di Carlo 2018: 8–11). In such a similar multilingual context such as the Casamance, it is useful to consider processes of indexicality, but without

a priori assumptions of the targets of the indexes, much in the same way as I conclude that *a priori* assumptions about bounded languages should not be the starting point for analysis of linguistic practices (see §7.3 and particulary §7.4).

Lüpke (2016b; 2018) introduces the concept of patrimonial deixis with regards to local language naming strategies in the Casamance. The naming strategies are a process through which language names in the Crossroads area become associated with both an ethnolinguistic term (which may also indicate an ethnic group) and a location (as introduced in §1.4). She puts forward that language naming strategies are most often tied to the establishment of villages and land claims, with the firstcomers to a settlement laying claim to the land and "through their descendants and linguistic identity, determine its patrimonial language" (Lüpke 2018: 187) and that this today still forms the basis of associating settlements (i.e. physical space) with groups and languages. This can be understood by (partly) following the example she gives in the same paper using the language names *Kujóolay Jire* or *Jóola Kujireray* (*Jire* being the indigenous name for Brin, see §1.4):

> The first part of the name (Kujóolay or Jóola) is changeable and identifies them as belonging to one intermediate level of ethnolinguistic organization, for instance as Jóola, Baïnounk, Balant or Manjak. In many instances, these intermediate levels ultimately originate in classification of outsiders that have since then been appropriated in past and ongoing processes of ethnogenesis. The second part of the name is often derived from a place-name and characterizes the language as being the language of a particular location.
>
> (Lüpke 2018: 187)

Furthermore, only the first part of the name contains any reference to ethnic classifications and the second generally does not. However, some further clarifications are needed, as Lüpke says the first part refers to ethnolinguistic classifications and is interchangeable. Although the terms do seem to be interchangeable, only the use of *Kujóolay* definitely refers to an ethno*linguistic* classification, because, as noted in §1.4, the prefixes *ku-* or *gu-* are the noun classes used for languages (in Joola and Baïnounk languages), therefore *Jóola* can have an ethnic connotation and *may* have a linguistic one (but is dependent on language of use, e.g. if speaking in French then *le joola,* most commonly rendered as *le diola,* can refer to a language). Therefore in *Jóola Kujireray* the first part refers to Joola as a grouping, which may have an ethnic and linguistic connotation, and the second part to the language of a location, i.e. the language of *Jire* 'Brin'; *Kujóolay Jire* would therefore be rendered as 'the Joola language' which definitely retains both elements of 'ethnolinguistic' connotations attached to a location *Jire.* Consequenlty many of the language names may be read as 'the language of X' and this is the one claimed as the patrimonial language, through "patrimonial deixis refer[ing] to that language that is currently seen as the firstcomer language of the location" (Lüpke 2018: 187). Importantly, the referent may change according to current politics and ideologies: that which is inherited from the ancestors (patrimony) may only be understood with extra contextual information (deixis).

Ethnic identity and identity languages in the Casmance area tend to be passed down through the male line, although it is important to remember that not necessarily everyone who claims a language as their identity language may speak it. Idenitities are multifaceted and fluid, particularly with regards to language, which is just one way for people to express themselves. Lüpke (2016a) demonstrates however

that although many societies in the area are by and large patrilineal and virilocal, meaning that men and women inherit their father's ethnic identity and concomitant identity language (although it is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence), there will only be a certain proportion of men who will continue to be immersed in it: "language ideologies are male-centred and based on the idealised scenario that sedentary men pass on a language to their sons, who do the same *ad infinitum*" (Lüpke 2016a: 22). One can observe similar ideologies in Essyl, where not only language transmission is important (see §6.3.1.3 and §6.3.2.2), but also the relation to mobility or rather immobility in this case; the ideological link between a language and place being reinforced by patterns of inheritance and immobility (see §5.1.1). Furthermore, these two aspects of language transmission and mobility come together when considering the diaspora of Essyl and Mof Avvi. As stated elsewhere in the thesis (§1.2.1) many Joola Eegimaa speakers live outside of Mof Avvi and may send their children to stay with family in the long holidays, in part, to learn Joola Eegimaa in a *séjour linguistique* 'linguistic residency' (Calvet & Dreyfus 1990). Lüpke (2018: 198) states with reference to Baïnounk groups and languages that "diaspora organizations are instrumental in promoting essentialist ideas about belonging, and in creating those discourses that justify them", promoting ideals such as monolingual ancestors. It is likely that the Mof Avvi diaspora and organisations may contribute to these conceptions about language and identity, although both identity and language use within the diaspora are topics highlighted for future research (§8.3) due to the limited data available in the current study. Despite these lacunae, the notional of patrimonial deixis remains an important grounding for examining the relationship between ideologies of linguistic practices being tied to space and is likely to be instrumental in the perception of Essyl as monolingual (discussed in §7.1.2).

In addition to considering the ideological processes at work linking places, spaces and languages, this thesis will also consider linguistic practices in Essyl, in addition to life histories and repertoires, which will all be introduced in the following section.

2.5. Concepts and approaches

In this section I review works relating to key concepts of the research in order to situate my research questions within a wider theoretical framework and fields of research. The review of works is organised into various sub-sections. Firstly I survey works relating to the concept of linguistic repertoire, including seminal works by Gumperz & Hymes (1972) and Gumperz (1964) alongside more recent conceptualisations of the term repertoire, examining Blommaert (2010) and Pennycook (2012; 2015) among others. Secondly, I examine how the concept of an individual's linguistic repertoire is linked to their biography, with the focus on the recent methods and works surrounding linguistic biographies, concentrating on work by Busch (2015; 2016). Then in §2.5.3 I move away from the individual, micro-level, of repertoire and life history towards how multilingual language use is interpreted. This section will focus on topics such as code-switching including theoretical work such as Auer (2009) and Myers-Scotton (1995). Finally, in §2.5.3, I wish to situate the work within broader theories of language and multilingualism on a macro-level and in this section I will consider various approaches including translanguaging and how this fluid concept of language use and repertoire can be adapted for a highly multilingual situation such as Senegal, much as Juffermans (2015) demonstrates for The Gambia.

2.5.1. Linguistic repertoire

The term "repertoire" or "linguistic repertoire" has been in use throughout sociolinguistic literature for many years, indeed even since the "birth" of sociolinguistics in the 1960s. However, it has more recently been given renewed prominence in current work, particularly as it is useful for considering highly complex, fluid, sociolinguistic settings. It also fits in well with burgeoning areas of study such as the (trans)languaging approach which will be further discussed below in §2.5.3. Yet many people's use of repertoire as a concept has not diverged greatly from its earliest use. Gumperz (1964: 137) talks of "verbal repertoire, the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction". What is important here is that Gumperz puts it forward as a concept that can be defined both in linguistic and social terms and therefore is not only what resources a person can draw upon, but also takes into account the social restrictions on language use in context (Gumperz 1964: 151). He originally envisioned repertoires as fluid and the concept allows for studying both monolingual and multilingual settings, indeed considering both as constituting repertoires respectively. But it is in actual language use that he sees the difference emerge, that in fact multilingual repertoires are most fixed when it comes to language use norms and it is the monolingual repertoire that affords greater flexibility in interaction. This is due to various choices that the interlocutors must make according to social relationships, languages used, and linguistic behavioural norms. Yet the concept of repertoire can be applied across "speech communities of all types" (Gumperz 1964: 141). However, what Gumperz seemingly focuses on is the forms that are regularly used in social interactions. This therefore seems to preclude forms which are not frequently used in given social situations or with potential interlocutors, but which still could form part of a person's

repertoire. He thus sees interaction as definitive of the construction of someone's repertoire. However, I feel that the latent aspects of a person's repertoire may in fact have important ramifications for how they use other parts of it in interactions and with whom.

For the research setting in the Casamance it is important to have a conception of repertoire that not only encompasses the linguistic forms that are most regularly used in interactions, but also those forms, varieties, or languages, which might not be so often used. In the Lower Casamance, Ducos (1983) carried out a sociolinguistic study using the concept of repertoire as a starting point for investigating multilingualism on an individual and societal level. Her starting hypothesis is that "[…] *le répertoire linguistique individuel ou de groupe dans une situation de plurilinguisme généralisé et divers est fonction des situations auxquelles les individus sont confrontés*." 'the linguistic repertoire of an individual or a group in a setting of generalised and diverse multilingualism varies according to the situations with which individuals are confronted' (Ducos 1983: 63). Furthermore, her concept of repertoire recognises numerous variables which can be used to define an individual's repertoire. In the Casamance context, she states that these are the speaker's ethnic language (the language associated with their ethnicity); their first language, which they learnt to speak through; their "language of use" (*langue d'usage*) which the speaker uses most often in their immediate environment; and second languages (Ducos 1983: 66). These are all highly problematic concepts in and of themselves, and especially so when dealing with the Casamance context. Even if people in the Casamance claim a single "ethnicity", which most people agree is a socially constructed concept (Fought 2006), much as languages are (Canagarajah 2013), it is not the case that all ethnic designations have a corresponding language

and vice versa. While people may claim a language as part of their repertoire, for example if their father was Baïnounk and they grew up in Dakar, they may still claim Baïnounk Gubëeher as an identity language associated with patrilineal descent, whilst not speaking it. They may also claim their ethnicity to be Joola, as people may claim numerous embedded identities (Lüpke 2010b; Lüpke 2016a; Lüpke 2018; Cobbinah Forthcoming), and there is more than one Baïnounk language, so these simplifications simply do not hold in the Casamance context and must be problematised, teased out and further investigated in studies such as the present one. Furthermore, children grow up in a highly diverse linguistic environment, where it may be difficult to separate which language they first learnt to speak through and by the same token, the language the speakers use most often depends significantly on context, and these are of course based on the assumption that one can readily identify a language as distinct from another. Regardless, Ducos develops the concept of layering of repertoire to include languages which may not be in regular use by the speaker (if at all), which is akin to Juillard's concept of latency in repertoires and sociolinguistic spaces (2016), and is a useful way to envisage repertoires not existing as monolithic entities. Therefore, not only does repertoire vary according to situation and context, much as described by Gumperz, but also (for an individual) across time (Ducos 1983: 66). An important part of Ducos' concept of repertoire is its fluidity, yet in the Casamance context it is important to also include the concept of languages, which can be defined as having social and individual significance in people's repertoires, even if these are not currently used in a particular time or location.

This concept of having languages available in the layers of repertoires, or even in another repertoire (that it is not merely one repertoire that a person has, but rather multiple), does not fit with others' concepts of how repertoire can be tied to mobility

and space, which conceive of repertoires being construed of linguistic resources and not necessarily languages or purely linguistic forms to be used in various contexts, but places some aspect of worth on the use of available forms, conceiving of them as a resource to be utilised. In Pennycook & Otsuji (2015) they speak of "spatial repertoires", where an individual's linguistic repertoires and their "resources […] can only be understood in relation to the practices they engage in […] and the other linguistic resources that people bring to this space". In their book *Metrolingualism*, they draw a distinction between individual repertoires and spatial repertoires. In looking at multilingual language use in a restaurant in Sydney they draw a distinction between the personal and that which a certain defined space can potentially hold: "individual repertoires, i.e., the totality of linguistic resources sedimented in the individual, and the repertoires of the restaurant, i.e., the totality of linguistic resources available and potentially mobilized in the restaurant." It is in the localized interactions that an individual's repertoire achieves a certain communicative aim, which also fits in with Gumperz' definition of a repertoire being formed by meaningful interaction. It is worth mentioning here the differences in approaches, with Gumperz working within a structuralist framework and Pennycook & Otsuji coming from a post-structuralist perspective. So in Pennycook & Otsuji's terms, not only are individual repertoires fluid, but so are spatial repertoires, depending on the location and the individuals present. All of the above succeed in moving away from the problematic concept of "speech community" by focusing on language in interaction and choosing either the individual or the space as a starting point for analysis. Yet Pennycook & Otsuji mirror Gumperz in that resources or parts of the repertoire which are not used in interactions or a certain space are

necessarily in the background, whereas for Ducos this could be construed as a layer of repertoire, with other languages existing as other layers.

Busch (2015: 6) concurs that in recent conceptions of linguistic repertoire there is a necessity to "move beyond the realms of speech community, which is achieved either by taking a biographical perspective that ties the repertoire more to an individual's life trajectory, or by taking a spatial perspective that focuses on encounters in linguistically highly diverse settings". However, I prefer to see these as layers of repertoire, which combine much as Pennycook & Otsuji describe the relationship between these two concepts. Busch, however, develops the concept of the layered repertoire further and incorporates personal experience of repertoire, including emotional experiences towards languages, situations and the individual's own repertoire. Rather than focusing solely on the available resources in either an individual or a spatial repertoire, she puts forward that it is also important to look at those resources people do not have and moreover that "particular languages or ways of speaking can have such strong emotional or linguistic-ideological connotation that they are unavailable or only partly available at particular moments" (Busch 2015: 14). It is important not to overlook the emotional aspects of repertoire, particularly in the Casamance context, as feelings of self-worth, particularly in relation to the use of French, are very important in whether French is used in natural discourse despite being part of people's repertoires, and in particular this is important to one participant's (VB_{M68}) relationship to Wolof (see §4.5 and §6.3.1.2 in particular). Furthermore, Busch defines repertoire "not as something that the individual possesses but as something formed and deployed in intersubjective processes located on the border between the self and the other" (Busch 2015: 7). Therefore, in her definition of repertoire, ideologies and attitudes towards people and languages play a

crucial role in feelings of insider/outsider relationships and hence power relationships ultimately leading to feelings of linguistic inequality (Busch 2015: 9–11). Busch specifically seeks to move beyond work on repertoire by Pennycook and Blommaert, among others, yet I feel that they do have important points to consider when discussing repertoire.

For Blommaert, "the answer to the puzzles of our repertoires is in our biographies and the wider histories of the communities in which we live" (Blommaert 2010: 105). Although repertoire is helpful in moving away from the concept of speech community, Blommaert specifically positions the personal repertoire in a life trajectory and shows how it relates to the different communities in which people live. I feel that this is also an important point, to consider the history of the spaces in which people live and communicate. In the research that follows, I will attempt to combine many aspects of the above conceptions of repertoire in an attempt to achieve a holistic understanding of the possibilities involved in people's linguistic practices. In sum, I follow most of the above, where I believe that repertoires are not only displayed in natural discourse, but are constituted in different contexts and spaces, which may change over time or location; yet it also encompasses resources or languages which may not be frequently used and which may form part of a repertoire for ideological reasons, such as claiming a named language for identity purposes. Therefore, spatial repertoires influence the individual and vice versa. Furthermore, I concur with Blommaert and Busch, in that the deepest understanding of repertoire may come about from including a biographical approach, which will be discussed further in the following section.

2.5.2. Linguistic biographies

In order to achieve a nuanced understanding of the constellation of people's linguistic repertoire, it has become increasingly important to study repertoire alongside biographies, people's lives, lived experiences, mobility and their life trajectory. Rather than concentrating on an outsider's perception of repertoire which is discernible from language use in interaction, as defined by Gumperz above as consisting of frequently used forms, a linguistic biography seeks to understand repertoire from the personal experience of the individual. Although associated with multilingualism research mainly as a methodological approach, Busch (2016) provides an overview of language biographical research and puts forward the case that it is becoming in itself a sub-field, with particular emphasis on language learning experiences. As Busch points out, in much multilingualism research the biographical interview tends to be seen as providing extra information about how people think they act, instead of being treated as a reliable source for information on how they actually do act (Busch 2016: 5). In speaking about participants' feelings of shame around language use, a biographical approach would recognise this first-hand lived experience and investigate how that relates to the repertoire in the present, past and future and also how it is formed of "restrictions and of potentialities which includes anticipations, imaginations, fears and desires" (Busch 2016: 7).

These aspects of lived experiences of language use with regards to participants' life trajectories are explored in a paper by Martinez (2015) where participants' life histories and linguistic biographies, with data obtained from interviews, are analysed as longitudinal data examining issues of identity and language learning, primarily through participants' experiences of these. These approaches are important as they legitimise the experiences of the participants with regards to their own language use.

Although interviews are often used, as stated above, to gain participants' perspectives on their language use, it is generally contrasted against the researcher's interpretation of their observed linguistic practices, which can in itself be revealing of language attitudes of the speakers, for example. Yet, the biographical approach treats this as first hand data. As seen above, Blommaert stated that the make-up of our repertoire is evident from our biographies. Through mobility people acquire linguistic resources in formal and informal ways of learning; where at certain stages in life these will correspond to certain linguistic resources which add to the ever-changing nature of repertoire in accordance with one's life history or trajectory (Blommaert & Backus 2013). Yet it is only in interaction with others and through ethnographic research that the understanding of linguistic biographies can assist in a more nuanced understanding of repertoire and situated language use among groups of people.

2.5.3. Linguistic practices: code-switching, multilingualism and translanguaging

In such highly multilingual situations and in looking at linguistic practices and natural language use, it is inevitable that the topic of code-switching should be explored here. Auer (1999: 310) defines code-switching as "the contrast between one code and the other […] [which] is meaningful, and can be interpreted by participants, as indexing […] either some aspects of the situation (discourse-related switching), or some feature of the code-switching speaker (participant-related switching)." The codes involved are in theory identifiable and moreover, there is a language of interaction that can be identified and from which language code-switching occurs. It is important to note that in his explanation of code-switching, however, Auer puts forward that a code should be defined according to participants' perceptions of what

the certain codes are and not the linguist's perceptions (Auer 1999: 312), and it is then up to the linguist to decide if these form one code or language. In the same paper Auer also proposes "language mixing" which is code-switching at a high and frequent level where no one dominant code can be determined, rather the mix itself may be defined as one code and can have significance in itself as a mixed code (Auer 1999: 318), which can stand in contrast to other mixed or monolingual modes available in participants' repertoires. Furthermore, there is another phenomenon which he refers to as "fused lects" which broadly corresponds to what others have referred to as "mixed languages" (see for example Bakker (1997)) among others with relation to Michif and others). This is where two codes are mixed but with certain grammatical constraints and the speakers do not necessarily speak the languages from which the fused lect derives from, unlike with code-switching or mixing where speakers are expected to know at least some of the languages involved with the mixing.

Myers-Scotton (1995) remains one of the more prominent code-switching researchers, despite the fact that the basis for her research has been robustly critiqued essentially since publication (see, e.g., Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998). Her work established frameworks and concepts such as matrix and embedded language, which still have much influence today. She defines code-switching to be "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" and furthermore states that her data and analyses are concerned with the alternation of languages (Myers-Scotton 1995: 1–2). However, it is evident that she begins her theoretical paradigm from an inherently problematic viewpoint, that of positing monolingualism, that is the use of one language, as the norm. In her introduction she asks "what do bilingual speakers gain by conducting a conversation in two languages (i.e. through code switching)

rather than simply using one language throughout?” (Myers-Scotton 1995: 3). This is all the more surprising as the data analysed in the volume is from African sociolinguistic settings, such as Kenya and Zimbabwe, where multilingualism is inherently present, as with the vast majority of situations on the continent. Even if there are people who identify as monolingual, it is well known that this generally includes the use of different varieties, registers, and genres, and in the context of Essyl, as will be seen in §6.2.1, claiming to be monolingual in Joola likely includes a diversity of linguistic practices. Furthermore, she equates monolingualism to a lack of mobility and rural living stating that people who become bilingual in Africa do so through mobility “either in a socio-economic or a geographic sense” and “persons living in urban areas often speak two or three additional languages” (Myers-Scotton 1995: 33). As has been shown above in §2.1.2, much work on multilingualism in Africa has indeed focused on urban settings, yet much recent work (e.g. Beyer 2010; Lüpke 2010b; Di Carlo & Good 2014; Lüpke & Storch 2013; Lüpke 2016b; Di Carlo 2015; Cobbinah et al. 2017; Weidl 2018, a.o.), including the current study, challenge these problematic essentialist monolingual-rural assumptions. In addition she states that “small ethnic groups – each with its own mother tongue” (Myers-Scotton 1995: 34) are characteristic of Africa. However, these are all problematic terms, especially in African contexts. Equally problematic is her claim that “[a]s a rule, the more education, the more bilingualism” (Myers-Scotton 1995: 34). Although it is not untrue that education may result in increased multilingualism, due to learning the official language in a school context and often being in contact with students with different linguistic repertoires, it is rather a different pattern of multilingualism which emerges, as can be seen in the data for the thesis: named languages such as French, English and Spanish will be encountered in school contexts, in addition to

students' varying repertoires. However, this is not to say that people's repertoires will not be extended outside of school, as is often the case with informal learning of French in Senegal, see §4 for participants' linguistic portraits in the Essyl context. In sum, although influential, Stell & Yakpo (2015: 3) state that "the notion of "language" equating "code" encapsulated in the concept of code-switching has been questioned increasingly, especially in the face of intensive and seemingly unconscious code-switching". Yet criticisms especially of Myers-Scotton's approach were prevalent from early on (see e.g. Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998; Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998). However, I would argue that it is not the fact of unconscious or intense code-switching which has brought this into question, but the long-standing assumption of languages as countable, definable entities.

Code-switching remains an important theoretical background in looking at linguistic practices in multilingual situations despite the fact that many in sociolinguistics have long moved away from examining multilingualism in terms of discrete languages (Li Wei 2008). Canagarajah puts forward that multilingualism is often conceived of as "whole languages added one on top of the other to form multilingual competence" (Canagarajah 2013: 7), which is certainly echoed throughout much of the literature on multilingualism. Part of the recent popularity of terms such as languaging and translanguaging, to be examined below, stems in part from the problematic default assumption of languages as a given linguistic entity existing in the world, when they are social constructs, the naming and demarcation of which was and is often highly political (Canagarajah 2013; Juffermans 2015; Lüpke 2019, a.o.). Which means, as Makoni & Pennycook (2005) argue, that languages are inventions, created out of colonial projects, whose institutionalisation of languages rests on the premise of enumerability from an ideological standpoint.

Yet these have long-lasting effects on various aspects of daily life, particularly through language policies and education and in how people ultimately end up identifying with named languages as constructs (see also Joseph 2004 on how identity is essentially a linguistic construct). Despite a focus on actual linguistic practices of people from many sociolinguistic works, and the problematisation of the concept of language as a countable entity, the persistence of the term in retaining relevance in many fields of linguistics, in having significance in people's daily lives, means that sociolinguistic studies must have the actual linguistic practices of participants in the foreground, taking into account their descriptions of their linguistic practices, whilst simultaneously investigating the associations behind and problematising the concepts of languages. One of the ways in which to approach this is to engage in an investigation of both emic and etic naming practices and how these varieties of glossonyms may differentially index a variety of linguistic practices and identities, as convincingly argued by Lüpke (2019), which is what the present work acknowledges and attempts to do, see in particular §1.2, §4, §6, §7.

Particularly in recent sociolinguistic work on multilingualism (e.g., Blackledge & Creese 2010; García & Li Wei 2014, a.o.), terms such as languaging and translanguaging have become increasingly popular as approaches or frameworks for examining complex and fluid multilingual contexts. Yet even in recent work where scholars have tried to incorporate fluidity and to move away from considering languages as bounded entities, there is a tendency, or rather a necessity, to resort to discussing languages as such. Yet terms such as monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism are pervasive in the field and are all often used with reference to "whole languages", or as Auer (2009: 491) states, there have been many attempts to define bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages", despite the vast

range of “complex linguistic activities” that it encompasses. Native-like use of language and issues with competence have also been pervasive in the field, as pointed out by Canagarajah above. However, to counteract this perception of competence in whole languages, Blommaert (2010: 9) introduced the idea of “truncated multilingualism”, where people have “incomplete” repertoires of languages, as people do not command full competence in the entirety of a language. He demonstrates how this applies to speakers of standard, prestige forms of a language, as well as for people combining many non-native varieties of various languages, whilst also showing how important a concept like repertoire is in much current sociolinguistic research on multilingualism. Yet although Blommaert develops his argument to conceive of repertoires as linguistic resources, that have “indexical value”, and may only count as a language in a certain context (Blommaert 2010: 12), from his framework it is still possible to equate repertoires and forms with a concept of a bounded language.

A term which has been used to discuss multilingualism without resorting to discussing linguistic boundaries or discrete languages is “heteroglossia”, the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs (Bailey 2007: 257). The term was originally coined by Bakhtin (1981, 1986, 1994 cited in Blackledge & Creese 2010:18) and a crucial point of the term is to remember that “in every utterance, there are traces of the social, political, and historical forces which have shaped it”. This, therefore, avoids having to speak about bounded languages, yet does not necessarily exclude it, as languages can be perceived as a concept which has come about through social, political and historical forces. Blackledge & Creese (2010: 17) engage both with the concepts of languages as “social constructs, invented by nations in the course of nation-building, and that linguistic resources need not be

understood as bounded, discrete “languages”. They take multilingualism to be “the appropriation and incorporation for meaning-making of any and all linguistic resources which come to hand” (Blackledge & Creese 2010: 17). This is similar to Canagarajah, who in his book *Translingual Practice*, introduces the term translingual to capture the dynamicity of “interactions between languages and communities” (2013: 7). He admits that the biggest challenge in introducing new terms, such as translingual, is that there is still a need to discuss these fluid practices using labelled languages, whilst addressing practices that are mobile and hybrid. He puts forward that “the translingual orientation posits that while language resources are mobile, they acquire labels and identities through situated uses in particular contexts and get reified through language ideologies” (Canagarajah 2013: 15). Yet the countability of language(s) still seems to hold as labels for languages may then result in the expectation of whole or countable entities, which of course, may not be how people perceive their own language use or repertoires. Pennycook & Otsuji (2012: 449) attempt to move away from the countability of languages and introduce the term “metrolingualism”, which “posits mixed language as the singular norm where the notion of language in time and space (metro)” becomes the modifying variable of language use. I agree with the attempt to situate language use within a particular time and space, to fully contextualise the language use and the move away from countability, yet even if language use is mixed, this still implies that the resources or practices come from different definable entities in order to become mixed together. They discuss how Fardon & Furniss (1994) speak of multilingualism as “Africa’s lingua franca” and that in such situations it may be that “the level of fluidity renders it difficult to determine any boundaries that may indicate that there are different languages involved” (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 446–447). Of course,

this does not indicate who would decide that there are different languages involved, whether it is the speaker or linguist, for example. It is important to incorporate emic and etic viewpoints on languages and linguistic practices when attempting to analyse the complex and fluid practices in context, which I attempt to do throughout the thesis.

In Juffermans' (2015a) work in The Gambia, he discusses languaging practices with particular reference to literacy practices. Although he also takes the communicative event or literacy product as his starting point, as many of the authors detailed above, by which practices are grounded in time and space and context, he does not start with an assumption that named languages are necessary to begin the analysis. Rather he relies on "local language practices and […] take[s] alternative local meta-language as a basis for theorising local languaging" (Juffermans 2015: 56). Through interviews and focus groups, Juffermans found that participants tended to talk about "*moo fiŋ kaŋo*" 'black people's language' which was articulated in a "view of languaging rather than languages" when referring to their local language practices (Juffermans 2015: 98). This also manifested during discussion about languages to be taught in schools: people often responded that how they speak should be included in schools, but refused to name any languages (Juffermans 2015: 129). Through starting with the practice and no *a priori* assumptions about languages, Juffermans has provided a thoughtful analysis of literacy and languaging practices in The Gambia.

In a paper by Jørgensen et al. (2011), they introduce the term polylanguaging or polylingualism. They present a critical view of much terminology, including multilingualism and the concept of bounded definable languages. Yet in defining a set of linguistic practices as polylingual, they use languages and the idea of

competence or non-competence to describe a certain pattern of languaging: "Language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages" (Jørgensen et al. 2011: 34). Once again, the communicative event and practices are foregrounded in the analysis and competence is not necessarily an inherent part as it allows for people to use linguistic resources from "languages" that they may not "know". Building on the concept of languaging, the term "translanguaging", was originally used in pedagogical settings in bilingual education programmes in Wales. García and others (García 2009; García & Li Wei 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid 2015) define translanguaging as people using their full repertoires regardless of defined boundaries of named languages, and indeed going beyond languages. The approach is therefore centred around the communicative practices of speakers and not on languages, and is similar to polylanguaging; it also includes practices such as code-switching but goes beyond that to include hybrid uses not attributable to various codes. People's own perceptions of their linguistic practices should be investigated as in the case of Juffermans above, where local practices and terminology have resulted in a study of languaging which he states moves towards a sociolinguistics of "who languages what to whom, when and where, with what resources, and under what conditions" (Juffermans 2015: 107), inspired by Fishman (1965). Whilst investigating these context dependent linguistic practices, it is nevertheless important to remember that "labelled languages and language varieties have a reality for social groups" (Canagarajah 2013: 15–16) and should therefore not necessarily be discounted and may often be part of participants' descriptions of their practices. This is why, as part of the data analysis, detailed in §3.5, I will employ a triangulation method,

combining the speaker's report on their own linguistic practices, alongside the researcher's and a third-party (transcriber's or research assistant's) report.

My research then attempts to follow more recent languaging and translanguaging approaches in looking at fluid and hybrid linguistic practices taking the communicative event as the starting point for analysis and incorporating numerous perspectives on the data and analysis. I follow many of the above authors in understanding and using the term multilingualism to describe all linguistic resources used by people to communicate, in fluid and hybrid fashions, whether or not they may be associated with a concept of bounded languages. Although I do not wish to align myself with those who understand multilingualism to be associated with competence or proficiency, I feel it nonetheless is a useful term, precisely because it does allow for the incorporation of the concept of speakers' practices being associated with the concept of specific languages (despite this not being how people communicate along bounded lines), but as having some sort of reality or ideological basis for speakers (even if it has been imposed). Yet it should not be understood as the addition of an entire language on top of another, but it should allow a space for the concept of languages to be included in (interpretations of) multilingual languaging practices.

In the following chapter I outline my methodology and the methods used during the fieldwork and in the analysis of the data for the thesis.

3. Methodology

3.1. Qualitative methodology

The research questions regarding participants' repertoires, their language use and how mobility affects linguistic practices are best investigated using methods associated with qualitative methodologies. The questions do not entail data that is easily quantifiable nor generalizable. A case study approach is preferred to enable in-depth, fine-grained analysis of the highly individualistic phenomena in question. As the data is of a textual nature it will necessitate thematic analyses. Furthermore, qualitative methodologies do not assume an *a priori* state of affairs to be refuted or confirmed, rather the methods used look at interpreting an existing situation to analyse possible causes of the social situation under investigation (Heller 2008; Litosseliti 2010). An important aspect is the reflection on the role of the researcher, both in the data and the analyses. This is an essential step to ensure a rounded, triangulated, analysis, all of which will be covered in more detail in the following sections of this chapter.

3.2. Methods

In this section I deal with the various methods used in the study, such as observations and various types of interviews.

3.2.1. Ethnographic field notes, observations and attested usage

The cornerstone of a research project focused on collecting ethnographic data about participants, their lives and language use relies heavily on the researcher's field notes

which primarily come about as a result of participant observation. During observations, interviews, etc., I made hand-written field notes, which were typed up as soon as feasibly possible. They also contain reflections on the process of research and function as a field diary documenting an understanding of how I interpret data in the field. Before moving on to discuss how each of these methods is used in the research project, I should state what I understand by each of these terms in turn.

Firstly, as I describe my fieldnotes as ethnographic, I will outline what I understand by the term “ethnography”. Duranti (1997: 87) describes an ethnography as “a style in which the researcher establishes a dialogue between different viewpoints and voices, including those of the people studied, of the ethnographer, and of his disciplinary and theoretical preferences.” Heller (2008), in discussing what an ethnography of bilingualism might look like, raises more questions than she answers, but importantly states that ethnography is inherently interpretivist and therefore assumes that knowledge is socially constructed, revealing phenomena which can be discovered, described and then analysed. My understanding of the term ethnography encompasses both viewpoints: that ethnography is suited to researching phenomena, in this case multilingual language use and the construction of repertoires as pertains to people’s life histories, which can be described in depth and analysed in order to interpret this shared knowledge, whilst retaining Duranti’s point of establishing a dialogue between the researcher’s viewpoints, the participants’ and the theory. This then relates to how data is collected and analysed as will be exemplified throughout the chapter and the thesis. The fieldnotes include participants’ comments and observations about multilingualism and also include the researcher’s notes, whether reflexive considerations about the research process or observations of events.

Observations are the central aspect of much qualitative research and are generally termed participant observation, although they exist on a cline from participant observation, where the researcher "passively" observes the participants and attempts to be as unobtrusive as possible, to active participation where the researcher is fully involved in the activity they are attempting to research or an activity through which the research topic is broached or used (Duranti 1997). DeWalt & DeWalt (2011: 12) define participant observation as "a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture." Having engaged in the cline of observations, it is evident that the researcher's degree of active involvement in the situation will affect whether or not they are able to simultaneously take notes, record the situation or even think critically about what the participants and themselves are doing for later writing up. However, in reflecting on the experiences of participant observation, including writing up after the event, the researcher can gain insight into the daily lived experience of language use for participants and also reflect critically on their selves, their methods and findings (Davies 1999; Madison 2005; O'Reilly 2005).

Closely related to observations, I use the term "attested usage". Through observations, whether they are active or passive participant observation, certain insights are gained. Yet during fieldwork there are many instances where the researcher shares aspects of the daily life of participants without "actively" observing; as is well known, fieldworkers are never entirely off the job. DeWalt & DeWalt (2011: 75–76) refer to this as being "on", where the researcher finds it easier to recall details and is actively considering how the situation relates to their research. However, there will be situations where the researcher did not intend to be "on", but

perhaps participated nonetheless and made an important observation. Therefore, if salient language use is observed in one of these circumstances, without being part of the more rigorous observations, then I label it attested usage. In an instance of attested usage there would not be a recording but only some notes made after the fact.

All of the above methods proved crucial in order to collect data to answer the research questions, predominantly the questions regarding multilingual repertoires and language use and how these relate to various domains, interlocutors and social variables in an attempt to understand the dynamicity of language use in Essyl. However, observations are less suited to the third research question (c) regarding participants' mobility, therefore the method for obtaining this data will be dealt with in §3.2.3. Observations, notes and attested usage, however, provided data to answer the research questions relating to repertoire and language use. In observations that were not recorded broad tendencies of language use were obtained for example by assessing which languages participants took turns in. I identified in broad brushstrokes what language I perceived the turn to be based in, for example whether French, Wolof or Joola (Eegimaa) were dominant. I was also able to identify "Joola" with some of the emblematic features such as pronunciation of various phonemes which index different named languages (§6.2). Furthermore, through familiarity with Spanish (and other Romance languages) there were occasions when I perceived that Kriolu was being used, although it was not common in the corpus or observed events. Clearly, this was only my perspective of events. Therefore after the fact I would speak to the participants and ask them to report back on languages spoken or follow up with another observer, for example, a research assistant if present. Overall, observations of various speech events, observations of people's actions in everyday

life and the concomitant fieldnotes about participants and the researcher's interactions, methods and reflections therefore form a crucial part of the data in answering questions about repertoire and multilingual language use.

3.2.2. Audio and video recordings of observed naturalistic language data

The main focus of the research questions is to investigate multilingual language use in Essyl and relate this to participants' repertoires and other social factors such as their degree of mobility as pertains to their life histories. In this section, I will delineate what is meant by observed naturalistic language data.

Observed naturalistic language data is in contrast to staged natural language data. The use of this terminology here is an extension of Himmelmann's (1998) definition of observed and staged communicative events, in relation to the field of language documentation. For Himmelmann, a communicative event runs the gamut from an exclamation to extended conversations or speeches, for example. Yet the crucial factor of the communicative event is the fact that "it is also meant to emphasize a holistic and situated view of linguistic behaviour" (Himmelmann 1998: 168). Also following Himmelmann, Lüpke (2005: 76) defines observed communicative events as "all texts for which linguists' influence on content and linguistic structure of the utterance is limited to their presence as observers". However, the limitation of linguists to observers does little to distinguish between mere observation and participant observation and furthermore, their mere presence as observers may in fact have wide-ranging influences on the texts collected, whether their presence influences language choice, topics discussed or registers; see, for instance, §5.1.2 on a participant interpreting my presence as requiring monolingual Joola Eegimaa. In those situations where the researcher is a participant observer then this will of course

have even larger demonstrable effects: in both cases the presence of the researchers should be taken into account in the analysis of the communicative event to aim for the "holistic and situated" view of the event that Himmelmann strives for. Yet the crucial factor for observing naturalistic language use is that the linguist does not set up, i.e. stage, much of the event. Therefore the event observed should be one that can be reasonably expected to take place/have taken place without the presence of the researcher; an example from my own corpus would be a meeting of the Catholic Women's prayer association, which I was invited to attend and record, but would have taken place without me too (§6.2.2). Therefore, I understand a staged communicative event to be one that is conducted at the researcher's behest, for example interviews and linguistic biographies which will be dealt with in §3.2.3 and §3.2.4 respectively.

In relation to research question (c) concerning actual language use, audio and video instances of recorded observed naturalistic language data are crucial in answering the question. In order to study the communicative event in any detail, including the languages which are involved, the speakers, the topic, the genre, the context, etc., it is vital that it is recorded and then transcribed to allow for a full fine-grained analysis from various perspectives. The data gained from such recordings is very rich and not only forms the crucial part of language use data and analysis, but also can be used to enrich and complement the self-reported data gained about participants' repertoires. This will be discussed in more detail in the following two sections, but if the self-report does not tally with actual language use, then this is to be further investigated to ascertain the role that language ideologies play. Furthermore, natural language data may provide other information relating to the other research questions in a circumstantial way if, for example, participants speak

about language use or how often they visit town. As the events are not staged it gives a good indication of who comes together regularly in a group, whether it is a work group or prayer group, which languages are used, and what is discussed. In all of these instances video recordings are preferred as they assist with the transcription and analysis of multiparty conversations, seeing who is talking to whom, and aid with more contextual data. In some instances, it was not possible to record using video due to various constraints, whether ethical or practical, in those cases audio recordings were made of observed communicative events. Although these are more difficult to analyse as the audio must be aligned with my notes and it is often hard to identify participants and their turns, they nonetheless contribute rich data to answering questions regarding participants' repertoires and enrich data and analysis regarding multilingual language use.

3.2.3. (Semi-structured) Interviews

In the two sections above, methods which focused around observations were examined, where I stated my understanding of the terms and described how they would be used to predominantly answer the research question (c) relating to multilingual language use and to a lesser extent the constellation of repertoires (a). In this (and the following section) I will consider methods which are staged communicative events, where the researcher initiates an event during which I seek to obtain data relating to repertoires, life histories, and wider issues such as attitudes towards the various languages spoken and multilingualism in general.

Duranti makes a distinction between the methods which sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists use: "linguistic anthropologists do not use interviews as their main technique for collecting speech samples, but as occasions for eliciting

native interpretations of speech already collected in other situations, mostly in spontaneous interactions" (Duranti 1997: 107). In my work I do not use interviews as my main technique, rather the interview is an opportunity, albeit a formal instance of communication, to obtain data which is not easily obtainable through observations. Indeed the importance of the qualitative interview in acquiring particularly biographical information with which to triangulate data obtained through observations, should not be understated (Codó 2008: 161–162). The interview is a site of co-constructed meaning and whilst the interviewer does indeed have a list of topics that they wish to get information about, I attempted to make them conversational, whilst retaining awareness of the formality of the situation. It is also important to analyse data obtained from interviews actively including the interviewer, and not to merely analyse the answers devoid of context or questions asked as these can have important impacts on participants' answers (see §3.5 based on Goodchild & Weidl 2016a). Nevertheless, I understand the method of interview to be akin to an elicitation session and would define it as such, whether it is semi-structured around pertinent themes or is even less structured in its nature.

Interviews were used in order to obtain data pertaining to the research questions regarding participants' repertoires and for biographical information. Some of this information for certain participants was gained gradually through informal conversations over the various periods of fieldwork, whilst engaging in other activities during participant's daily lives, for example while jointly preparing a meal, baking, or general conversation in the evenings. However, in many cases it was more efficient to engage in a more formal process of interviewing around a focused topic. The interviews were therefore initiated by the researcher and participants were asked to engage in conversation and questions about their lives and sometimes around

themed topics, which led to a broader understanding of multilingual practices in the village and provided further data to answer the research questions relating to participants' repertoires and their linguistic practices.

As will be further discussed in §3.5, there is much about the format of interviews which requires that the research setting, context and the researcher are all included in the analysis. This forms an important part of the work and will therefore receive a fuller discussion. Nevertheless, it is important to draw a distinction between interviews that were conducted solely by me, as the researcher, and those where it was necessary for a research assistant (see §3.6) to be present to act as interpreter. As some participants did not feel comfortable speaking French in an interview setting, or in some cases did not speak French at all, it was necessary to include a research assistant to act as interpreter, whether into Wolof, Joola Eegimaa, another Joola language or a mixture, whatever the participant was most comfortable with. On occasion I also conducted interviews in Wolof in the field trip 2017[9]. However, using research assistants was not ideal for a fluid conversation and often the interpreters would only interpret the questions and provide a summary of the answers from the interviewee, meaning that salient points were unable to be followed up directly in the interview situation. As the research assistants were aware that I wanted to ask certain questions and that they would subsequently be transcribed and translated, they did not always offer interpretations despite prompting. In other circumstances, where I was able to conduct interviews in French, the conversation and interview were able to be less structured and pertinent topics could be followed

[9] For a further discussion on the use of language(s) in interviews and multilingual settings see Goodchild (2016).

up immediately. In any case, salient topics identified from the first round of interviews after the first field trip, were followed up during the second.

3.2.4. Life histories and linguistic biographies

In this section, I will briefly discuss the life history and linguistic biography interview, as a subset of a semi-structured interview. As discussed in §2.5.2 above the life history and linguistic biography is a method and methodology used in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of a person's repertoire. More specifically, the linguistic biography interview seeks to tie people's acquisition of languages and their use to various life points or their migration trajectories. The focus of life history is predominantly on significant life events through which language use can be explored. These types of interview were thus required in order to answer the research questions (b) and (d) regarding the effect of mobility on repertoire and any subsequent effects highly mobile participants have on the patterns of language use in the village.

The interview is the core of the linguistic biography, however, there are also other biographical methods available when considering participants' daily language use. These include language portraits, where participants should colour in a picture of a person and label it with the languages they speak; and language diaries, where participants record their daily language use either in a written diary format or in a video or audio diary. However, owing to the high number of participants unfamiliar with paper and pen and rendering pictographic representation, I did not use language portraits. I did, however, ask two participants to write language diaries over the course of a week to supplement data obtained regarding their language use and mobility patterns. One of the participants, however, had broken her glasses and

orally reported her language use to me which I noted down. Although not a central part of the data collection, they were nevertheless useful in confirming patterns of mobility and language use previously observed: one is presented in Appendix C for reference. In life history interviews there is the potential for the imbalance of power is to be greater than when discussing other topics as the data is highly personal. Especially with regards to the Casamance context, it is necessary to tread carefully around the issue of migration considering the traumatic experiences that many participants may have been confronted with during the conflict. It was often the case that data such as this was in fact obtained through everyday conversation, once I had known the participants for some time and there was a degree of trust built up. However, some people were naturally more open than others, as expected. The linguistic biography interview, when connecting life experience to language use, is best carried out with space allowed for participants to choose the language(s) of response. This, of course, then brings the same issues as above as a suitable research assistant or project member (in my case Tricia Manga, a fellow PhD student, see §3.6) should in fact be present to enable the probability of sharing most languages in the repertoires and ensuring a more level relationship in language use. The interviews themselves revealed interesting patterns of language use especially in relation to various points of the participant's biography.

3.3. Data collection

This section deals with various aspects of fieldwork necessary to gather data to create a corpus to fully answer the research questions. The corpus consists of primary data collected through two fieldtrips to the Casamance region of Senegal and will be detailed in §3.3.1. The first fieldtrip lasted for 5 months between

November 2015 and March 2016. The second fieldtrip was for three months from January 2017-April 2017. I went on a third trip from December 2017 – January 2018. However, on this trip I did not collect any new data, but rather was focused on catching up with participants, discussing the main findings so far and checking some data and anlayses. Through contacts in Brin I was able to find a room lodging with a couple, VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ who became two of the key participants and whose grown-up children had all moved out. I am very grateful to them for looking after me so well during my time in the field and for all their Joola Eegimaa lessons. During my stay I participated in their everyday life in order to know them better and to understand about life in the village, customs, language, etc. I generally stayed for 4-5 days a week in Essyl (varying the days of the week) and spent a couple of days at the project field base in the neighbouring village of Brin to fully charge equipment, work with the transcribers and other researchers, much of which will be discussed in more detail in the sections below.

3.3.1. Participant selection

The participant codes featured in the thesis are based on the Crossroads-wide codes which were shared between all researchers on the project team (see §3.6). Generally they are constructed from participants' initials and sometimes a number (generally where participants share initials), e.g. VB or RM1. I have adapted these including the addition of a sub-script to the codes indicating whether the participants are male ($_{M}$) or female ($_{F}$) and their age (or approximate age) in 2016 when the main period of fieldwork took place, e.g. VB_{M68} or $RM1_{F61}$. An asterix in place of, or after, the age indicates either age unknown or an estimated age. This is often if the participant is unsure, or if there are conflicting records with regards to ID cards and birth age. I

have refrained from using aliases as participants often have numerous names and nicknames, which may carry cultural or religious significance (see for example Sagna & Bassène (2016) for more information on personal naming practices), therefore I felt it would be inappropriate to choose names on their behalf.

The key participants for the research emerged as a result of the household who hosted me during my fieldtrips. Originally having started out residing at the Crossroads' project (see §3.6.2) field base *Centre Linguistique Laurent Sagna* in Brin while I made contacts in the area, I made friends with IT_{F23} who speaks Joola Eegimaa. Although her family live in Brin, they originate from Mof Avvi (Essyl and Battignhere). She knew that I was looking for a place to stay in Essyl and as she had family links there, we travelled together to meet VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ (see §4.5 and §4.6 for their respective linguistic portraits) who she referred to as her *tonton* and *tata* 'uncle' and 'aunt'. IT_{F23}'s father is the son of VB_{M68}'s oldest sister, who moved from Essyl to Battignhere when she married. IT_{F23} knew that her aunt and uncle had spare rooms as all of their adult children had moved out. We were thus introduced and I explained my research with the help of IT_{F23} and that I would be happy to help out around the home, live as they do and to try and integrate into their lives, also trying to learn Joola Eegimaa, in order to understand how they use language(s) in their daily lives. During my various field stays I contributed to the household by for example sweeping, helping with food preparation and buying supplies such as onions, oil and gas when needed. As Lüpke (2016a: 13) notes working with host families as participants allows for personal relationships to be established and helps with participant observation of a wide range of daily interactions. This facilitates establishing trust, as with $RM1_{F61,}$ who was happy to participate in the research, but reticent towards formal situations such as interviews. As we knew each other more,

she would discuss her time working in The Gambia whilst we baked cakes together for her to sell, for example. As I was hosted in this household, I met their closest neighbours $PB2_{F39}$ and $CS3_{M55}$ (see §4.3 and §4.2), a married couple, and $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44} (see §4.7 and §4.8), related to my hosts through marriage to VB_{M68}'s cousins. $DS4_{F49}$ was also head of the Women's Catholic Association of Mof Avvi (see §6.2.2) and invited me to attend, observe and record their meetings and activities throughout Mof Avvi.

The non-key participants for the research were originally chosen using "convenience sampling" (Milroy & Gordon 2003), where the selection of participants is based on the mutual convenience of the participants themselves and indeed the researcher. Although the context of the present research is rather different than the settings in which Milroy & Gordon worked, it is however, an apt description of how participants for the wider study became involved. During the first field trip this was essentially the only way to proceed with participant selection as many people in Essyl were very busy in the first couple of months as they were heavily engaged in the rice harvest. Even if people are not actively involved in rice agriculture it is of course time consuming to carry out interviews and observations and I took every opportunity presented to conduct recorded observations, but these were more easily carried out by accompanying $RM1_{F61}$ to her various activities, such as gardening, harvesting rice and attending meetings of the Women's Catholic Association of Mof Avvi. Furthermore, due to the busyness of daily life, especially when people are very mobile and frequently travel to visit friends, attend funeral ceremonies or simply go to town, it was often the case that scheduled interviews were delayed. Observations of people's daily activities in the village setting were more easily conducted. The Crossroads research project had been introduced at a

village-wide meeting in 2014 and through the Women's Catholic Association meeting in Essyl and my personal research was introduced at a village meeting with the *chef de village* 'village chief' with the help of DS during my first field trip 2015-2016.

Overall 103 people participated in the study in some way, although not all are featured in the thesis. Roles included a bystander in an observed communicative event recording or as participants in sociolinguistic interviews. Tricia Manga, a fellow Senegalese PhD student who had previously worked in Mof Avvi, and research assistants DS and VB_{M68} helped identify participants, introduce the research and helped conduct interviews. For the participants featured in the thesis, I provide a table with basic repertoire data in Appendix A. Therefore, although my key participants are few in number, it was important to include some who identified with comparatively small linguistic repertoires, such as VB_{M68}, and conversely those with varied repertoires, along with various mobility histories. Furthermore, it was important to choose some key participants who were either currently highly mobile and frequently visited town or who had a migration history to different towns and villages in order to answer the research questions (b) and (d) as to whether these participants have any impact on the patterns of language use, in addition to some participants who have a pattern of relative immobility. A participant who fits this pattern is important, to ascertain the relation between immobility and perceptions of monolingualism, as a counterpoint to multilingual perceptions and practices. Two further key participants were identified: $RB4_{F42}$ and $CB1_{F38}$ who both had differing extensive multilingual repertoires and life histories. $RB4_{F42}$ is DS' wife and consequently one of the first people I met in Essyl, when visiting his house. She also often attended the same meetings as $RM1_{F61}$. $CB1_{F38}$ was one of the first people I

met in Essyl too, as I conducted one of my preliminary interviews with her arranged by DS. As she runs one of the shops in Essyl with her husband and their house is near the centre of the village, this allowed observations of a wide range of communicative events with a large number of people, due to its status as a meeting place. Both $CB1_{F38}$ and $RB4_{F42}$ were less involved than the other key participants, mainly due to the other participants living in closer spatial proximity and the busyness of both of their schedules.

As I am not engaging in a quantitative study nor do I believe that there is such a thing as a representative sample of a group which is difficult to define, it was not necessary nor desirable to attempt a “representative sample” across ages, genders, and according to other factors. Although it does make sense to attempt a balanced sample, it was easier to engage with, observe and work with women due to a fairly rigid gender division among certain tasks; Tomàs i Guilera (2005) and De Jong (2007) found the inverse during their studies in other Joola areas. I managed to include participants across various age ranges, but the focus was on adults with diverse migration histories. Some children who lived in the households of key participants were also included in the research. Older children’s language use is already affected by mobility issues as many of them have to travel to attend the latter stage of secondary school and further education, but this meant that they were by and large not resident in Essyl during my periods of fieldwork. More specific information about the participants will be dealt with in the following chapters of the thesis when presenting the participants, naturalistic language data and the concomitant analyses.

3.3.2. Corpora

The data collected during the field trips using the methods discussed in §3.2 is all collated in a corpus of work. The data which I have collected for the research discussed in this thesis and comprises my personal corpus consists of household questionnaire interviews which include participants' reported repertoire data; recordings of observed and staged communicative events with numerous participants; sociolinguistic interviews on life histories and linguistic biographies, some of which contain spontaneous speech and interactions from bystanders; these are detailed in Table 3.1 below including hours of recordings and transcribed data available according to genre of recording. As will be mentioned in §3.4.1 the recordings are either transcribed by myself, when they were conducted mostly in French and some Wolof, or by one of the team of transcribers for the communicative events and for other languages used.

Genre of recording	Total length of recordings in hours	Total length of transcribed data in hours	Transcribed by
Household interviews	11	5	SG, DS, LM
Staged and observed communicative events	17 staged; 27 observed	15	DS, LM, LS
Life histories/linguistic biographies	10	2	SG

Table 3.1: Details of personal corpus

Furthermore, in addition to the corpus of audio-visual data detailed above, there are extensive field notes, totalling approximately 30,000 words.

In addition to my personal corpus which I collected, each member of the Crossroads research team (see §3.6) collected their own individual data. This resulted in an incredibly rich corpus, with many days' worth of data, composed of a wider range of recording genres including lexical and grammatical elicitation sessions, staged and observed communicative events, experimental gesture data and natural language data. This results in a very large corpus which can be mined for myriad purposes. Specifically, I used the Crossroads corpus in order to verify patterns of language use by key participants in different settings, for example if they appear in a recording in Djibonker or Brin. Forms which a transcriber has associated with one language or another can also be cross-checked with other aspects of the corpus to further support claims relating to multilingual linguistic practices, such as code-switching or translanguaging. Therefore, transcriptions across transcribers can be cross-checked and thus form part of the triangulation of analyses to be discussed in §3.5.

3.4. Data processing

3.4.1. Transcription conventions

During the periods of fieldwork, many different types of data were collected, using various different methods, among them interviews and natural observed communicative events, which are detailed in §3.2. Due to the well-known time ratio for transcribing audio and video files, the recordings were prioritised for transcription according to whether a key participant was present or if the topic and data were particularly salient according to thematic analyses[10]. Whether the data

[10] Bearing in mind that the team of transcribers transcribed not only my data, but also data from all of the Crossroads team (see §3.6).

were transcribed by me or passed to the transcription team depended on the type of data collected and the language practices which were included in the recording. For example, a semi-structured sociolinguistic interview or a linguistic biography interview carried out predominantly in French would be transcribed by me. If, for example, the recording was of a multi-party conversation, with naturalistic data from an observed communicative event, where any number of languages or languaging practices may be present, then it was passed to the team of transcribers who were all trained in multilingual transcription techniques and who all have extensive repertoires including many of the numerous languages which are spoken in the area. Regardless of who did the transcription, the programme ELAN was used, as described in §3.4.2. The transcription of non-standardised languages, and often French (most of the transcribers completed some form of formal education, yet did not necessarily use the standardised French orthography), follows the official Senegalese orthography for writing in national languages (République du Sénégal 1971; République du Sénégal 1977; Evers 2011; Weidl 2012: 32–36). Whilst the official language of Senegal remains French, the recognised national languages include Wolof, Pulaar, Sereer, Joola, Mandinka, and Soninké, as per the 1971 constitution amendment. As mentioned above (§1.3), after a referendum in 2000, another amendment means that a national language can include "any other national language that will be codified" (Diallo 2010: 62). The orthographic conventions used to write the national languages are extended to all of the languages used in the Crossroads area, where indeed many of the national languages are encountered, among others. The team of transcribers were trained to use ELAN by the Crossroads postdoctoral researchers during their early fieldwork trips. Furthermore, the transcribers would translate the segments of annotated texts into French. When I

transcribed recordings, I used the standard French orthography for transcribing French and the official orthography for Wolof, despite both uses of the language possibly being non-standard. In the following sections I will briefly consider the choice of various software programs used for transcription and analysis of the data.

3.4.2. ELAN

The audio and video recordings, either of naturalistic language use observations or of interviews, were transcribed as detailed above. The choice of program for transcription and for searching the transcriptions as an important stage of the analysis was ELAN. Created by the MPI and freely available, it is particularly good for transcribing multi-party conversations, as the use of multiple tiers allows for numerous participants, and overlapping speech which is segmented according to participants. For natural language use recordings, the transcribers would also state which languages they believed were being spoken in the various segments, which was a crucial step in the analysis of multilingual practices.

3.4.3. NVivo

NVivo is a program which is designed for organising and analysing qualitative data. Many different types of data can be analysed together in the program, for example, text, photos, videos, etc. In my case, I have included transcripts of interviews, participant data, notes from participant observation and my field notes. The researcher then creates a node-like structure from a thematic analysis of the data and can code for as many themes as necessary. Some of the themes coded for in my research include repertoires, language names, language attitudes, linguistic space, mobility, among others. The program allows for queries to be run across all data and

analyses, running queries such as word frequencies, cluster analyses (if appropriate), and relationships between sources, participants, and analysis. The analysis is sorted by the researcher into a hierarchical node (tree) structure and also permits meta-commentaries on the data, methods or analysis through the use of textual memos related to the source or coding. I began using NVivo 10 at the beginning of the research and then in 2016 switched to newly released NVivo 11 with improved functionalities and the option to include relations between participants.

3.5. Data analysis

In this section I will explain how I go about analysing the various data collected. The method involved is an integrated approach and has been previously presented jointly with Miriam Weidl (Goodchild & Weidl 2016), as we have developed a similar approach for analysing our data, which we further developed together. For analysis I use a triangulation method, which is vital in order to understand the complexities of the research setting and the data presented. In dealing with the empirical data, we originally found that the more traditional approaches to analysis, where the analysis is carried out solely by the researcher, fail to capture the various levels of complexity when dealing with such a highly multilingual setting. The approach takes into account various perspectives (Irvine 2016; Gal 2016) including the participants who are involved with the research. It combines what is referred to as the speakers' report, the observers' report and the researcher's report, which will all be explained fully.

The Casamance is highly multilingual, both on the macro-level of the wider society, and on the micro-level of the individual and their repertoire. Taking into account all the named languages present in the area, and which mostly are used

fluidly and frequently, presents a challenge for sociolinguistic documentation of speakers' practices. In order to carry out the research, data of various types is needed, acquired by using a variety of methods, which are detailed above in §3.2. However, not only is a triangulation of methods required, but also a triangulation of the analyses. Furthermore, we also reflect critically on our presence as researchers in the field and take this into account at all stages of the research process, from planning, data collection, through to data analysis and dissemination, as this has an effect on the analysis of the multilingual situation being studied.

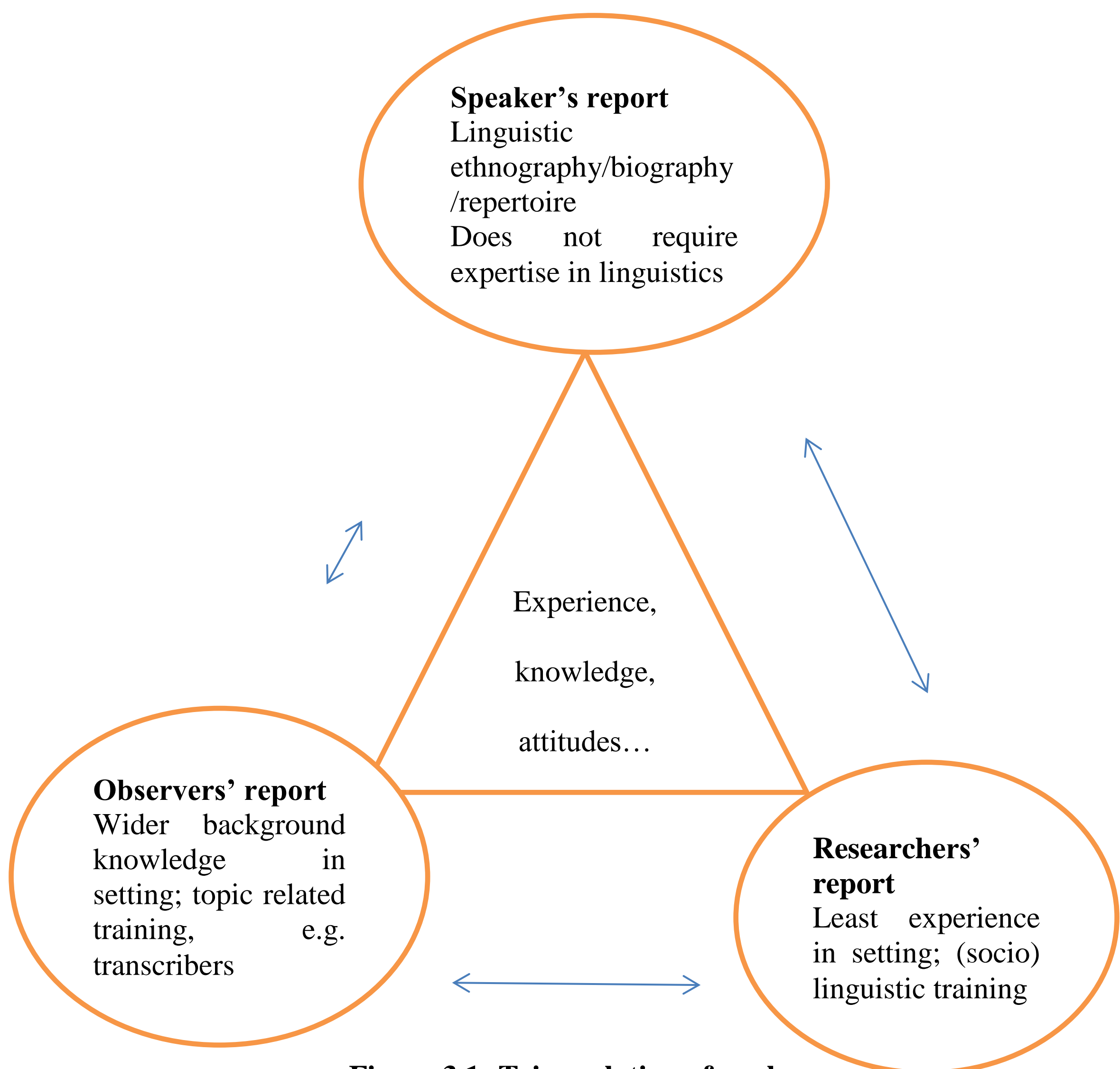


Figure 3.1: Triangulation of analyses

In Figure 3.1 above, a diagrammatic representation of the triangulation of analyses is presented. In the figure, the arrows represent the possibility of influence between the various reports and in the middle of the triangle we placed experience, knowledge, attitudes, etc., which all should be taken into consideration as they will affect each of the reports differently. Firstly, the speakers' report comprises self-reported data on participants' own experiences and repertoires. It is worth mentioning briefly that this is the only part of the triangulation method that does not require specific expertise from the participants, even though of course they may not be used to describing their repertoires or may not have even fully considered how they use their repertoires on a daily basis. However, it is a crucial part, as it gives the participants involved in the research a chance to describe their linguistic practices in the way that they prefer and also to name the languages in their own words (also noted by Juillard, p.c. March 2016). As discussed in Goodchild (2016: 81–84) allowing participants to represent their languages using emic naming practices is important and can also provide insights into how language use is perceived and how languages are used in the area; this is particularly pertinent with reference to Joola and Joola varieties (see §1.4, §6.2.3, and §7.3). When analysing the speakers' report, however, it is not treated in isolation. Generally data from this angle will most likely be acquired through (linguistic biography) semi-structured interviews. In the analysis it is vital that the participants' answers are not analysed separately, but that the context of the interview is analysed (as it is a very formal setting) and that the interaction in full is studied closely for researcher effects.

Secondly, the observers' report is taken into consideration. An observer is someone who might be a transcriber, a colleague or a research assistant, for example. Therefore, they are someone who has received at least a small amount of training in

order to assist with some aspect of the research on multilingualism. In our context, this is one of our first steps in the deeper analysis of the data. In our situation, the observer is in most cases a transcriber who has an extensive multilingual repertoire of many of the languages spoken in the area, and who has been trained in multilingual transcription techniques using ELAN. One of the roles of the transcribers is to identify the segments of languages being spoken in various recordings. As many of the languages used in the Crossroads area are not fully described and are fluidly mixed in natural discourse, this is a crucial step in the analysis and provides further insight into speakers' language use and others' perceptions of it. At this stage of the analysis it is also important to engage in a dialogue with the observers about why they think that different languages are being spoken and why they designate various segments as such. For example, a segment of speech may be marked as French, but the researcher is able to identify elements from Wolof, and this produced by a speaker who claims not to speak French, thereby demonstrating the complexities and levels of language use and perception.

Lastly, the researcher's report is the remaining point in the triangle and not only comprises the researcher's analysis, but also incorporates the above two perspectives in an attempt at a holistic, more nuanced understanding of the complexities of multilingualism. In my case, as I am not from Senegal, I have the least experience and general knowledge about the research setting, yet the research has been planned and carried out by me after having been formally educated in sociolinguistic theory and field methods. Yet my linguistic repertoire does not consist of the same languages and sociolects of the speakers, nor do I possess a fully shared cultural knowledge with the speakers involved in the research. Therefore, it is crucial to include the above two perspectives on the data to triangulate the analyses. However,

having taken into account the speakers' report on their repertoires, the observers' report on natural data, I then compare and contrast these against my own findings and analysis of the data, in order to achieve a more holistic and nuanced look at multilingualism in the area. The researcher's report must take into account the different interpretations of the data, and the possibilities for the various people reporting to influence each other, including the effects of the researcher in different contexts.

To summarise, the need to incorporate various perspectives on the data came about through a learning process when dealing with the empirical data. Different types of data collected through various methods detailed above were required in order to provide the foundation for a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of multilingualism. This integrated approach requires continual reflection from the researcher on all aspects of the research and analyses conducted. It incorporates effects of the researcher and numerous perspectives on language use which are essential in documenting and analysing speakers' linguistic practices.

3.6. The researcher and team

In this section I outline my position and background as a researcher and reflect on how this has influenced the present study, before presenting information about the team working on the wider Crossroads project and our research together.

3.6.1. The researcher

One of the cornerstones of ethnographic research is the necessity to incorporate the researcher and their positionings into the study and take into account how these influence the whole process of the research from selection of topics to carrying out

the fieldwork and even the analyses and write-up. Furthermore, self-reflexivity is an important point in ethical ethnographic research (Davies 1999) and more and more areas of study are recognising the importance of explaining a researcher's positionalities in order to fully contextualise their research experience.

I am a woman in my 30s, white European, English and British, from a lower-middle class background. I was raised in an English-speaking household, although my mother speaks some French, learnt in formal education and used when working for a number of years for a French company in the UK. I received compulsory education in England. I began to learn other languages formally in secondary education, beginning with French at 11 years old, then German at 12 years old. I chose to study Spanish at a tertiary college before continuing with university education. My further education all took place in Europe, being based in England for my BA, MA and PhD, albeit with some time spent in France, Austria and Spain as part of an Erasmus year abroad during my undergraduate degree in modern language studies, where I studied French, German, Spanish and Dutch, which I begun aged 19, and Catalan aged 20. My MA was in language documentation and description, specialising in language maintenance and revitalisation. I focused on sociolinguistic topics and wrote my dissertation on the transmission and use of Mauritian Creole as a heritage language in the UK, using a small-scale case study approach. Before embarking on the PhD I attended a training workshop on multilingualism, where I had the opportunity to go to the Casamance, Senegal on a 4 week trip to carry out a pilot study on language attitudes in the village of Agnack Grand, where Friederike Lüpke works (see §3.6.2 below). After that I was offered a place on the Crossroads project to carry out research for a PhD on multilingualism in the Crossroads area. During the PhD I also received formal instruction in Wolof, from PhD colleague

Miriam Weidl. I also attended a week-long intensive private Wolof course in Saint-Louis, in the north of Senegal. In addition, I began to learn Joola Eegimaa from my hosts in Essyl.

Much of the above did indeed have a certain amount of influence over how I approached my topic, the focus of the thesis and how I conducted fieldwork. Some of the issues surrounding languages used during fieldwork and a reflection of working practices were previously dealt with in Goodchild (2016) but will be briefly recapped here, and many of the issues are expanded on throughout the thesis, for example the question around "Joola". Despite having received training in linguistics, language documentation and fieldwork, it is often the case that every researcher in a field necessarily has to reinvent the wheel (Eleanor Ridge, p.c.) due to context, the researcher's background, a different topic, different repertoires, etc. Yet some of the issues encountered led to a questioning of methods, and indeed gave an insight into the data and analysis, which resulted in a changed focus and broadening of the theoretical landscape for dealing with the multilingualism evident in the data. Firstly, and as described in Goodchild (2016), the languages in which research is conducted can have a profound impact on the data and analyses. I already spoke French before beginning fieldwork, but knew that I would try to learn as much or as many of the languages spoken in the Crossroads area as possible. Before beginning research, I also undertook Wolof lessons (see above), as Wolof is the most widely spoken language in Senegal. In the end, the research presented was carried out in a multilingual fashion and often with the aid of a research assistant acting as interpreter (see §3.6.2). French was used with others who were comfortable speaking French, for casual conversations, for interviews and if there was a situation for interpreting then I would speak in French with the research assistant, which was

generally interpreted into Joola Eegimaa. Generally women were more reticent in speaking French and more men happily engaged in French with me. However, many women felt more comfortable after I had gotten to know them better, as there was an assumption on their part that as a white, European researcher, I would be French. When I explained that I was English and had learnt French through school, in addition to not being that confident either when speaking it, then others felt more at ease using French themselves. Although I had anticipated using Wolof frequently, on an almost daily basis, the reality once in Essyl, was that I used it infrequently: mostly with visitors, mobile salespeople and particularly with one of the key participants, IS_{F44} (see §4.8 and §6.3.2.3). I tended to use Wolof if visiting Brin and Djibonker, and always when going into Ziguinchor (often alongside French) (for map see Map 1.3). This however tallied with observations and attitudes towards the use of Wolof in relation to Mof Avvi and outside spaces, which will be further dealt with in various chapters throughout the remainder of the thesis (e.g. §5.1.2 and §6.3.2). I tried to learn as much Joola Eegimaa as possible, and many people took it upon themselves to speak to me only in Joola Eegimaa regardless of my level of understanding, which also likely had an influence on linguistic practices in my presence. This chimed with previous researchers in the area who worked on Joola Eegimaa, and indeed, although I was there to do a study on multilingualism in natural conversations, there was often a perception that I was there to work on Joola Eegimaa. This topic was also dealt with in Goodchild (2016) in detail, yet it is worth repeating that explaining the aims of the research clearly and frequently is also beneficial for ongoing informed consent and participation.

It is important to consider languages, privilege and my type of multilingualism when considering how it affected the research. However, it is also important to

consider the effect that conducting research as a woman has had[11]. It has had profound ramifications for the research, and not only in how I carried it out, but also on the research topic overall. Originally I had intended to do a study focused on gender, multilingualism and transmission of multilingual repertoires. However, although I have retained certain aspects from a gendered lens, which appear in the latter parts of the thesis (§6 and §7), the focus had to change due to what I found to be the somewhat divided nature of much of daily life in Essyl, which although it supported my idea to a certain extent, made it more difficult to retain the main focus. Much of daily life in Essyl (and here I am generalising) is divided broadly along gender lines, i.e. men and women and the various expectations placed on people according to their perceived gender. Women do most of the household chores, such as sweeping, washing dishes, washing clothes and cooking. Both men and women take part in agricultural activities around rice and rice production. I was more readily invited and included in women's activities, despite being unmarried and without children. This is in contrast to my Senegalese colleague Tricia Manga, who often felt uncomfortable or unable to participate as she was, at the time, unmarried and without children. As a European white woman, I was not subjected to the same gender separation and, in theory, could often move easily between men's and women's activities. This even involved who I would sit with at parties, for example, as many women sit together and the men sit together. I was usually invited to accompany the women in their workgroups, or to funerals, or to the women's meetings of the Catholic Association for example. However, I could also sit with the men, as being an outsider and a European I did not fall into the same categories of woman or

[11] Similar reflections from a male researcher and the influence on the research in another Joola context can be found in Tomàs i Guilera (2005: chap. 1).

female. But it was harder to socialise with men and for the research it was harder to be incorporated in daily life. It was easier due to $RM1_{F61}$'s (my host) involvement with various groups to accompany her and to engage in various activities, such as cooking, and to help with chores which helped to integrate into my hosts' lives, but then reinforced perceptions that I should work with women. Therefore, the majority of my key participants are women and many of the recordings and observations made are generally focused around women and women's activities, although I could observe a fair number of mixed and men-focused activities. These are present throughout the thesis, although as I was unable to observe comparative events for men and women and to truly participate in both sets of activities, and since in the early stages of observations and analysis gender did not seem to play such a role in language use as I had thought, I therefore changed the focus of the thesis, as I observed that mobility had a more important role to play in repertoire and language use, although some gendered aspects are still dealt with, e.g. the use of French.

Furthermore, my training certainly had an effect on how I approached the topic and analyses, while throughout the research it was necessary to adapt working practices and to change analytical techniques. This can be seen in the early approaches especially to repertoire data, and the structure of the thesis overall. Although I wanted to move the focus away from pre-defined codes and languages, this only happened after a while in the field and was motivated by data, participants' opinions and analyses. In interviews, conversations, etc., I began focusing on languages as discrete entities and also language names, although I came to realise the importance for participants to designate their linguistic practices as they see fit. This was an important step as it also provided clues for the analysis of linguistic practices from an emic viewpoint. Of course, language names and varieties do have

significance for speakers, and therefore they are retained as important social constructs in the daily lives of participants. However after engaging in a reflexive practice on my methods and background, and also once incorporating others' perspectives into the analyses (see §3.5), a more nuanced approach to the topic was possible. Key to this approach was working as part of a team of researchers, research assistants and transcribers, which will be further detailed in the following section.

3.6.2. The team

My PhD project was funded for the first three years through the Leverhulme Trust Leverhulme Research Leadership Award, led by Professor Friederike Lüpke[12]. The project overall investigates multilingualism and language contact at the Crossroads, the three areas of Brin, Djibonker, and Mof Avvi – and specifically the village of Essyl. The Crossroads team was international and its members came from various different disciplines of linguistics, which enabled collaborative insights into language use in the region. In addition to my own research, there were two other SOAS based PhD researchers: Chelsea Krajcik (2018) examined gesture and multilingualism and was based predominantly in Brin; and Miriam Weidl (2018) investigated the role of Wolof in multilingual language practices and was based predominantly in Djibonker; I have collaborated with Weidl on various occasions as the team member whose research interests are closest to my own (see Goodchild & Weidl 2016a; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b). Furthermore two PhD students were based at the *Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar*: Tricia Manga who studied deixis in language use in Mof Avvi, including in the village of Essyl, and with whom I

[12] See https://www.leverhulme.ac.uk/funding/grant-schemes/research-leadership-awards and https://soascrossroads.org/ (both accessed 11/08/2017) for further information.

worked occasionally; and Cheikh Sadibou Sambou who conducted a study on code-switching in multilingual speech in Djibonker. Three SOAS based post-doctoral fellows also worked as part of the project: Rachel Watson (2019; Cobbinah et al. 2017); Alexander Cobbinah (Cobbinah et al. 2017; Cobbinah Forthcoming); and Abbie Hantgan (2017; Cobbinah et al. 2017).

In addition to the researchers listed above, a team of 5 transcribers were trained and employed in multilingual transcription techniques using ELAN, and provided essential transcription in numerous languages, which they are all speakers of. Their insights into local languaging practices were invaluable when considering the triangulation of analyses[13]. The transcription conventions are detailed in §3.4.1. Working with transcribers formed an essential part of the research, both for the overall project, but especially for my individual research. When transcribing they also coded each segment of annotation for the language(s) they considered to be used therein. These did not always align with my own analyses, nor speaker perceptions, and the discussions around mismatches formed an important part of the analyses as was discussed in §3.5 and as will be shown later throughout the thesis.

I was helped by research assistants in various ways during the data collection phase of the research, the methods of which were discussed in more detail in §3.2. Initially David Sagna, who comes from Essyl, helped me to establish contacts and in interviews interpreted between French and Joola Eegimaa. David is himself trained in transcription and in language documentation techniques by SIL and has worked in Cameroon. Furthermore David was one of a team of two who translated the New Testament into Joola Banjal (Eegimaa), and due to his linguistics training his work

[13] The transcription team comprised Aimé Césaire Biagui, Laurent Manga, David Sagna, Jérémie Fahed Sagna and Lina Sagna. The whole Crossroads team is deeply indebted to their outstanding work.

and input were highly valued by all members of the team. He worked for the Crossroads project as the principal transcriber for Joola Eegimaa and recordings made in Mof Avvi. He initially assisted in preliminary sociolinguistic interviews with me in Essyl. However, it quickly became clear that with transcription and with other duties it was difficult to arrange mutually beneficially working sessions[14]. Therefore, once I had moved into Essyl on a more regular basis, VB_{M68}, my host and one of the key participants (introduced in §4.5), was able to accompany me to interviews and some recordings as his timetable, work, and other activities allowed. VB_{M68} mainly assisted with interpretation into Joola Eegimaa (among other languages) and was very good at setting up appointments and opportunities for observations, particularly due to his liaison work with the Catholic Church, which meant that he was a respected figure in Essyl.

3.7. Ethics and ethical approval

As with any research project that involves other people as participants, it is necessary to work ethically and obtain fully informed consent from participants about various aspects of the research from data collection, through the stages of analysis to dissemination of the research. Before beginning fieldwork, ethical approval was obtained from SOAS, University of London.

During the research, there was a system in place regarding anonymization and various options for obtaining informed consent from participants. It should be noted here that some participants expressly requested that their data not be anonymized and that their names should be printed in the thesis in order to acknowledge their

[14] For a fuller discussion on how working with David, among other issues, affected my research and fieldwork see Goodchild (2016).

involvement and vital contribution to the work. For those that requested anonymity, a unique identifier code was assigned, composed of a combination of 2-4 letters and numbers (this was mimicked across the researchers on the project and was collated to enable collaboration with research on relations between the villages). For those participants who requested that only I work with their data, I retained this on my personal drives and only shared the code with the other researchers. Furthermore informed consent was obtained and re-obtained on many occasions throughout the periods of fieldwork where the project, aims, methods and dissemination possibilities were discussed with participants. This was done on various levels as befits local cultural expectations and the rigours of ethical research. On the broadest societal level the aims of the research were explained during a preliminary trip to the area from December 2014-January 2015[15], at village meetings, women's associations and during announcements at the local churches. Furthermore, some representatives of the villages in question formed an administrative council to assist with the management of the field base, *Centre Linguistique Laurent Sagna* 'the Laurent Sagna Linguistic Centre', in addition to three scientific councils who work on dictionary committees for Joola Eegimaa, Joola Kujireray and Baïnounk Gubëeher, set up by the postdoctoral researchers. On many occasions and before and after each recording session, I reiterated that anyone may have their data anonymized and in addition that they are free to withdraw anytime and have their data deleted from the project if desired. Informed consent was generally not obtained using formal,

[15] This trip did not form part of the official fieldwork periods *per se*, as it was expressly to make contacts with participants, to employ and train transcribers, and to undertake a period of cultural and language immersion. Nearly the whole UK contingent was present on the trip and it was kindly funded through the same Leverhulme Trust project.

written, consent forms, as this does not fit with cultural expectations and therefore consent was obtained orally and was often recorded at the beginning of the session.

Due to the volatile recent history of the Casamance and other regional conflicts, many people were displaced, experienced violence and knew family and friends who were killed or disappeared (§1.2). These traumatic experiences sometimes came up in life history interviews, although I never specifically initiated a discussion about such topics, as they are not often openly discussed (at least not in my presence), yet some participants volunteered this information. Although children were not the main focus of the research, they were inevitably involved, especially when studying language use in family settings, or they would often pass by during recordings. As far as possible, consent was obtained from parents or guardians of the children, although often children would play together in groups away from their home, yet by having previously informed the villages in general meetings about the research project, everyone was aware that it was possible that they may be recorded when undertaking participant observation. In addition, I let the children know that we could stop at any time and showed them how the camera worked, which they were generally very interested in. Younger children often did not understand French, so I might use Wolof or some basic Joola Eegimaa to explain if no one was around who was able to interpret.

Data collection necessarily involved either audio or video recordings, whether of interviews, life histories or observed natural language use, which would theoretically compromise requested anonymity. Most recordings, where permission has been granted, have been deposited with SOAS Language Archive. Access to the files may be requested through the SOAS Language Archive at https://lat1.lis.soas.ac.uk/. The files are stored within the Crossroads corpus. Access to data from other Crossroads

team members may also be requested there. As much of the data recorded was natural observed language data of informal events, in many situations, participants were simply chatting and occasionally talked about sensitive information. Where possible or requested, recordings were played back to participants to agree or not and this formed part of debriefing sessions for extended recordings or interviews. At the transcription phase, sensitive data and topics were also flagged, as the transcribers were from the villages in question and were alert to bringing sensitive topics to the attention of the researchers, such as one recording which discussed activities that take place in the men's sacred forest in Essyl. This recording was then not transcribed and stored safely. Furthermore, there was a near continuous presence of researchers at the field base, in addition to a secretary who managed the base and was in weekly contact with the researchers. Therefore even without telephone or email access it was possible for participants to be in touch with the team via the secretary if there were any problems.

The underlying theme in each of the possible issues with ethical research discussed above in this section ultimately can be mitigated by ensuring a robust workflow and communication channels. Furthermore, the communication of research aims, outcomes, methods, analysis and dissemination should be reiterated with each recording, and indeed, with each field trip, and beyond once the researcher leaves the field.

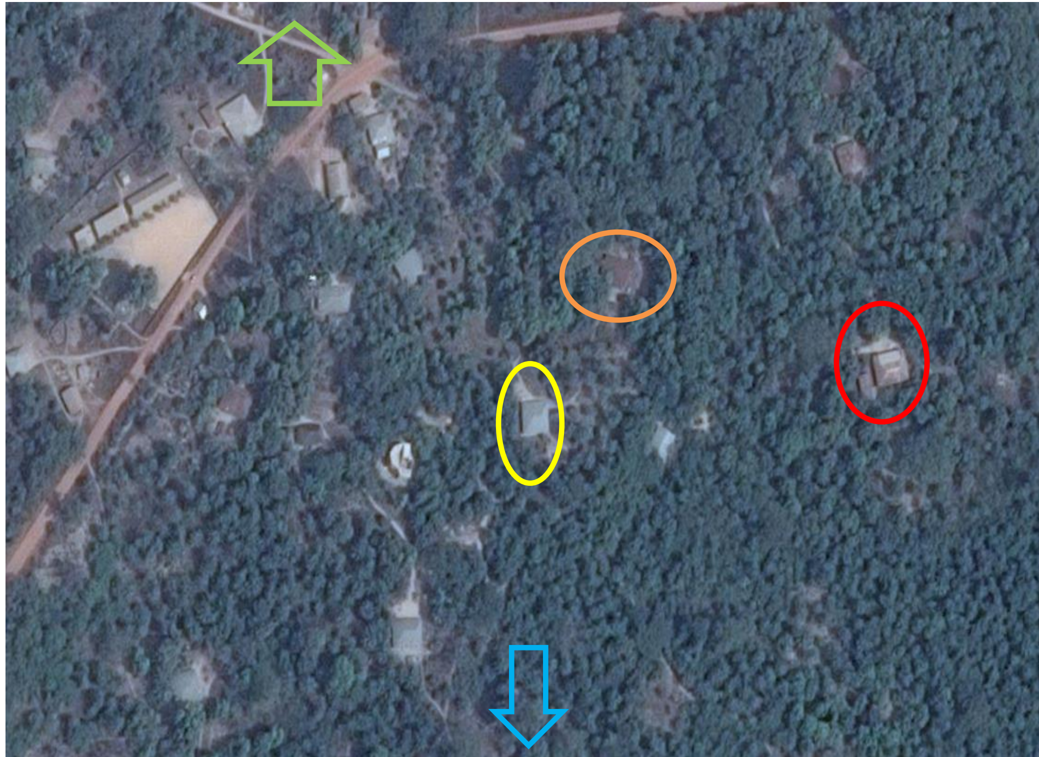
In this chapter I outlined the qualitative methodology used in the research for this thesis. The ethnographic methods of data collection and participant selection were presented, alongside an overview of the data processing workflow. The process for data analysis was sketched out. I further provided a description of the researcher and team, in addition to providing a discussion of ethical research. In the following

chapter, I present the key particpants in the study via a series of linguistic portrait vignettes.

4. Linguistic portraits

This chapter provides an introduction to the key participants of the study by way of ethnographic case studies of participants' repertoires. This includes looking at and comparing the different linguistic resources available for the participants to establish if there are general trends in repertoires across participants or the degree of individuality. This section is intended to provide data to answer, at least in part, research question (a) What are the various constellations of participants' linguistic repertoires? Relevant ethnographic information is included here, yet information concerning people's life trajectories and mobility will be dealt with extensively in chapter 5.

Firstly, I include a representation of the geographical location of the centre of the village of Essyl in Map 4.1 and a table summarising biographical and repertoire information for the key participants in Table 4.1. In Map 4.1 the households of the participants are marked. The orange circle is $PB2_{F39}$ and $CS3_{M55}$'s house; the red circle is $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}'s house; the yellow circle is $RM1_{F61}$ and VB_{M68}'s house. The green arrow indicates the direction of $CB1_{F38}$'s house; the blue arrow indicates the direction of $RB4_{F42}$'s house.



Map 4.1: satellite view of Essyl - centre

(source: www.google.co.uk/maps edited by author)

Below in Table 4.1 is a summary of the information on participants' repertoires using named languages, based on the designations that the participants used themselves, basic biographical information and locations where they have lived, presented in a tabular format for easy comparison[16]. In the remainder of the chapter each participant's repertoire will be discussed in more detail. The amount of detail and information about their life history and repertoire differs for each participant, as people shared as much or as little as they were comfortable with.

[16] For the equivalents between the Senegalese school system and the English school system for reference, please see Appendix B

Participant	M/F	Year born	Education – highest level achieved with age in brackets	Repertoire using named languages	Places lived
$CB1_{F38}$	F	1978	5ème (13)	Joola Banjal; Joola Kaasa d'Oussouye; Joola Fogny; Mandinka; Wolof; Pulaar; French	Dakar; Ziguinchor; Essyl
$CS3_{M55}$	M	1961	3ème (15)	Joola; Joola Banjal; Kriolu; Mandinka; Wolof; French; Joola Kaasa	Essyl; Dakar; Rufisque; Ziguinchor; Pointe-St. Georges; Guinea-Bissau
$PB2_{F39}$	F	1977	CM2 (11)	Joola Banjal; Joola Fogny; Wolof; French	Eloubalir; Essyl; Ziguinchor;
$RB4_{F42}$	F	1974	2nde (16)	Joola Banjal; Wolof; French; Joola Fogny; Sose; Spanish; English	Essyl; Ziguinchor; Goudomp
VB_{M68}	M	1948	4ème (14)	Joola Banjal; French	Essyl; Ziguinchor
$RM1_{F61}$	F	1955	None	Joola Banjal; Wolof; French; Mandinka; Kriolu	Enampor; Dakar; Brikama (The Gambia); Banjul (The Gambia); Ziguinchor: Essyl
$DS4_{F49}$	F	1967	5ème (13)	Joola Fogny; Joola; Joola Banjal; French; Wolof	Tangiem; Essyl; Dakar; Ziguinchor; Djembering
IS_{F44}	F	1972	None	Arame; Wolof; Mandinka; Joola; Joola Kaasa	Ziguinchor; Dakar; Essyl

Table 4.1: Key participants' repertoires and basic biographical information

4.1. $CB1_{F38}$

$CB1_{F38}$ is female and was born in 1978 in the capital city of Dakar. She spent the first 5 years of her childhood there before moving to Ziguinchor where she grew up. She attended school until the 5th grade (see Appendix B), which is the second year of secondary school at the age of 13. She only moved to Essyl when she married her husband, FS_{M42}, in 2000. Together they have five children: three girls who were born in 2000, 2010 and 2017, and two boys born in 2005 and 2007. In addition, $CB1_{F38}$ fostered her cousin, whose mother was very ill and whose father is a brother of JB_{M56}, $CB1_{F38}$'s father. $CB1_{F38}$ reports that she cannot remember specifically how long she has lived with them, but it's been many years. They currently live in Essyl, in the centre, near to the crossroads of Essyl on the right, and together they run one of the two shops and bars in Essyl. Her father, JB_{M56}, who she frequently visits, also lives in Essyl. JB_{M56} is one of VB_{M68}'s (§4.5) close friends. $CB1_{F38}$ is not related to any of the other key participants. She sometimes works in the shop and is currently an elected councillor for the *Commune d'Enampor* 'municipality of Enampor'. Due to both of her roles and the central location of her house, where people who walk from the other *quartier* of Kadukay pass by on their way to the shops, she is in frequent contact with many people in the village, including the other key participants when they come to the shop or for official *commune* business. Furthermore, the key participants often attend traditional funerals and ceremonies. Occasions such as a traditional funeral where nearly all of the key participants were present is described in §5.2.

$CB1_{F38}$ reports speaking certain named languages and varieties, some of which she equates with geographical locations. Her self-reported repertoire comprises Joola varieties, of which she singles out Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny and Joola Kaasa, the

latter of which she specifically classifies as that of Oussouye, a large town 30km west from the Crossroads village of Brin. She also reports speaking Mandinka, Wolof and Pulaar, which she learnt when in Ziguinchor. She enjoys learning languages and wishes that she had had the opportunity to learn Kriolu when she was living in Ziguinchor. However, she didn't live in what is perceived as one of the traditional Kriolu speaking neighbourhoods (see Biagui, Nunez & Quint Submitted), and did not have Kriolu speakers as neighbours. She also speaks French, although she did not complete schooling due to ill health as a child and is insecure with her self-reported competency in French. Later in Ziguinchor she worked in a hotel restaurant as a cook and also worked for a French family. In this informal setting, as is fairly common among the participants (see also $RM1_{F61}$ and $DS4_{F49}$'s experiences of learning French in work contexts), she learnt and used French. Because of the way in which she learnt French, she said that sometimes the children in the household mock her French and so she doesn't speak it much at home, preferring to speak Joola with them. Generally $CB1_{F38}$ enjoys learning languages and does actually enjoy speaking French and practicing. Once she realised that I wasn't French and I had explained that I also learnt French at school and as an English speaker, she felt much more comfortable using French and enjoyed talking with me in French when we met.

Although she only moved to Essyl upon her marriage in 2000, she had previously spent holidays in Essyl growing up and so already understood Joola Eegimaa from these *séjours linguistiques*, 'linguistic visits or residencies' common among families who live in the cities and send their children to the villages to learn languages with their extended families (Calvet & Dreyfus 1990). In Ziguinchor she stayed with a maternal uncle and in the household they reportedly spoke Joola and Wolof. When working in the shop, she reports using Joola to speak to customers. When speaking

with her brothers and sisters she uses Joola, but with some relations who do not speak Joola, she reports speaking Wolof. When Haalpulaarʔen traders come to Essyl, she reports speaking Pulaar to them.

4.2. $CS3_{M55}$

$CS3_{M55}$ was born in 1961 and is a palm wine collector who lives in Essyl with his wife, $PB2_{F39}$ (see §4.3) and their four children. He is not related to any other of the key participants[17]. He is a neighbour to VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ and he passes by VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$'s house daily on the way to and from his palm trees; $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44} live nearby.

$CS3_{M55}$ attended primary school and then secondary school until the 3rd grade, at the age of 15 which is the end of the first cycle of secondary school. He states that his repertoire consists of Joola ("*mon joola*" 'my Joola'), Kriolu, which he learnt through cohabitation, Mandinka, which he acquired in Ziguinchor, Wolof and French. He says that he speaks Joola most of the time and that he can get by in French. As will be seen later though, he frequently switches into French particularly if in a group of men or with people who have been to school, and particularly with his older brother MNS_{M68}. At home with $PB2_{F39}$ and the children he states that they speak Joola, but that they also sometimes speak French too, even with the youngest children who are still in the early years of school; the older two can speak French quite well now. Their children were born in 2001, 2003, 2010 and 2012. With friends in the village, he mainly speaks Joola, French and Wolof although there are a

[17] $CS3_{M55}$ is, however, related to the transcriber and secretary of the *Centre Linguistique Laurent Sagna,* Jérémie Fahed Sagna (JFS). In fact, JFS grew up in $CS3_{M55}$'s house as a child. I found this out after having selected $CS3_{M55}$ as one of the key participants.

few who speak Mandinka and Kriolu, for example DS and $CS3_{M55}$ were observed speaking Kriolu as will be discussed in §6.4.2.

4.3. $PB2_{F39}$

$PB2_{F39}$ was born in 1977 in Eloubalir, one of the villages of the kingdom of Mof Avvi. Eloubalir is situated on an island, in a tributary of the Casamance River named the Kamobeul Bolong. Access from the Mof Avvi mainland is by *pirogue* trip only. As stated in §4.2, $PB2_{F39}$ is married to $CS3_{M55}$ and together they have four children. She is not related to any of the other key participants. She is a neighbour and friend to VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ and lives near $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}. She attends meetings of the Catholic Women's Association with $DS4_{F49}$ and $RM1_{F61}$ and frequently sees IS_{F44} at events such as traditional ceremonies.

If asked formally $PB2_{F39}$ reports a repertoire of Joola Banjal (Eegimaa), Wolof and French. $PB2_{F39}$ reports having learnt Wolof whilst living in Ziguinchor in the Colobane district, when she was younger. She lived in Ziguinchor with her aunt for the whole of her schooling and stayed in school until she completed the CM2 class, the end of primary education. As with many other participants, although the medium of instruction within the classroom was French, in the playground $PB2_{F39}$ began to learn Wolof with her friends. Although other participants only speak of beginning to learn French formally once they begin school, $PB2_{F39}$ says that she did begin to learn French before leaving Eloubalir, however. She rates her Wolof as better than her French, although she says that she is most competent in Joola Banjal "her language". Initially she presents a picture of dominant Joola Eegimaa language use, where she uses it to her children particularly to tell them off. Generally with *toubabs*

'Europeans'[18] she says that she speaks French, as well as with a couple of her cousins who don't understand Joola. Among other relations the dominant language which she claims to use is Joola. However with female friends in the village, $PB2_{F39}$ often uses Joola, but also Wolof particularly for informal chats and gossiping.

Although $PB2_{F39}$ does not actively list other Joola varieties as part of her repertoire when asked in a formal manner, in further discussion and on occasions other than interviews, she does admit to competence in other Joola varieties. Many participants and speakers of Joola Eegimaa refer to the fact that as speakers of Joola Eegimaa they are able to "passively" understand other Joola varieties, whereas speakers of other varieties rarely understand them. Therefore in many situations a certain degree of accommodation is needed. During an extended interview discussing her time in Ziguinchor [ESS190216SG1] it was revealed that she lived with Joola Fogny speakers. She learnt Joola Fogny in Ziguinchor and used it in her time there, although she does not currently count it as part of her repertoire in Essyl. For example, $DS4_{F49}$ discusses how when she arrived in Essyl it was very useful to have friends who understood Joola Fogny and named $PB2_{F39}$ as one of those who was most influential with helping her to learn Joola Banjal (see §5.1.3). With a couple of friends from Dakar she reports speaking Wolof and within one of her work groups she says that they predominantly speak Joola as it is their "*langue maternelle*" 'their mother tongue'. Yet when buying things from one of the two shops in Essyl, she states that it is easier to use Wolof, linking the use of Wolof with the transactional domain, which is also found across the Crossroads sites (Miriam Weidl, p.c.; observations and field notes). Although it is worth noting that at the time

[18] *Toubab* is a term used widely in West Africa, particularly in Senegal and The Gambia, which was originally used for European, white people, however the use of the term has been extended and may be used to refer to foreigners or Westerners regardless of whether they are white or from Europe.

of the interview in 2016, GD_{F24} who is from Dakar and spoke little Joola Eegimaa (although she did speak Joola Kaasa) was working in one of the shops, so it is likely that in interactions with her more Wolof was used at that time.

4.4. $RB4_{F42}$

$RB4_{F42}$ was born in 1974 and teaches children at the *maternelle* 'nursery school' in Essyl on a voluntary basis in the mornings and is also very active in women's work groups, the Catholic Women's Prayer Association, and political events. She is not related to any of the other key participants. She is, however, the daughter of the chief of Essyl and is married to DS, who was one of the transcribers at the *Centre Linguistique Laurent Sagna* and who was one of my main research assistants in Essyl (see §3.6 for further information). They have 6 children, the oldest of whom was born in 1991 and the youngest in 2012. $RB4_{F42}$ attended school until the 2nd grade, at the age of 16, the first year of the second cycle of secondary school. She also undertook the Joola (Banjal) literacy classes organised by SIL and was the first teacher trained, who then went on to teach literacy to many of the women in Essyl.

As with many other people who were born and grew up in Essyl, she reported that before leaving Essyl her repertoire started out with Joola Banjal and French as the named languages. French was reinforced and more formally learnt through her education. She attended a Catholic school rather than a state school, and the Canadian nuns and priest who taught at the school were heavily influential in her acquisition of French. $RB4_{F42}$ explained that even in school during breaks French was imposed and no Wolof was allowed to be spoken, which is consistent with reports of Catholic education in Ziguinchor (see Juillard in Dreyfus & Juillard 2004) and also other participants' experiences of Catholic education (see particularly

VB$_{M68}$ in §4.5). Yet RB4$_{F42}$ says that when she was staying in Ziguinchor in order to attend school, she would speak Joola in the household, but with her friends outside of the house and schools they would speak Wolof regardless. Although when specifically asked about the named languages that she speaks, she did not list Spanish and English, through informal conversations with RB4$_{F42}$ it transpired that she was taught them at school as well, although she does not feel confident with her level of English at all. RB4$_{F42}$ also speaks Sose (Mandinka). She expanded her repertoire when she lived outside of Essyl and learnt Sose when staying in Goudomp, a town to the east of Ziguinchor in the Sédhiou region (see Map 4.2: Essyl and Goudomp below).

Map 4.2: Essyl and Goudomp

(source: google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

RB4$_{F42}$ explained that at the time there were many Pulaar and Mandinka people living in that village and Sose was one of the most widely spoken languages in the village. Joola Fogny also forms part of her repertoire; she enjoys listening to Joola

Fogny and Wolof programmes on the radio. $RB4_{F42}$ reports speaking Joola Fogny well having learnt it in town, i.e. in Ziguinchor. Regarding her reported linguistic practices, she states that she often mixes languages, that she is likely to mix Joola with French, particularly when speaking to her husband DS; in fact she states that she cannot speak Joola without mixing it with French.

4.5. VB_{M68}

VB_{M68} was born in 1948 in Essyl. He is married to $RM1_{F61}$, who is discussed in §4.6 below. Together they have three children, who are all adults. He grew up with $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}'s husbands as they are related – they are cousins by the same grandfather. $DS4_{F49}$'s husband is JB8 and IS_{F44}'s husband is AB17, who will be mentioned further below in §4.7 and §4.8 respectively. Reportedly when growing up in Essyl they all spoke their *langue maternelle* 'mother tongue' together, Joola.

VB_{M68} grew up in Essyl apart from two years when he studied in Ziguinchor. He studied until the age of 14: the 4th grade which is the third year in the first cycle of secondary school. He spent the last two years of his education at the Catholic seminary in Ziguinchor. Despite the Catholic seminary bringing together children from all over the Casamance, of different ethnicities and speaking different languages, VB_{M68} claims that among the children themselves they only spoke French even during breaks and in the boarding house. As Juillard states in Dreyfus & Juillard (2004: 278) Catholic education in Ziguinchor heavily promoted the use of French and prohibited the use of Wolof. He stated that he is "*complexé*" 'hung up' about Wolof, which may explain some of his negative feelings with regards to language transmission, particularly in relation to his granddaughter who predominantly speaks Wolof when visiting (§6.3.2.2). VB_{M68} is the head of the

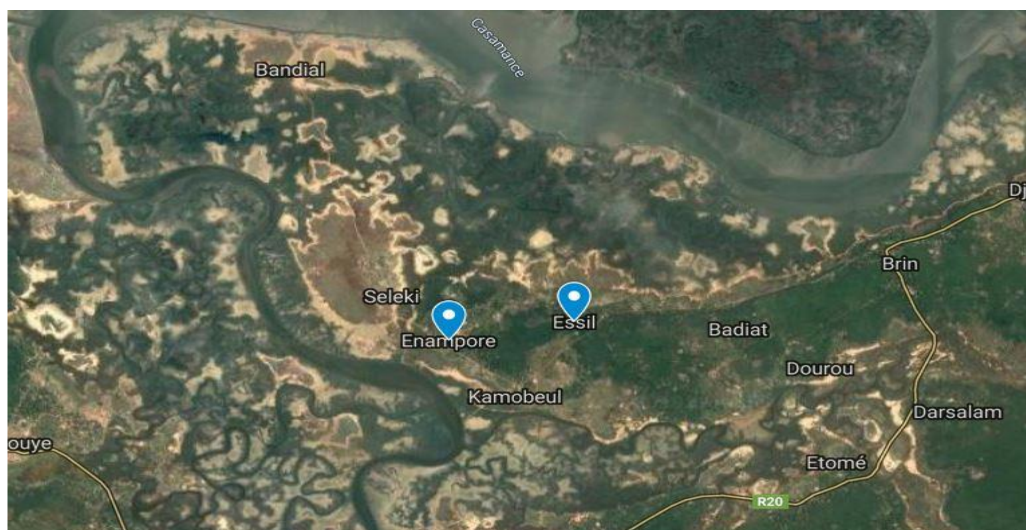
association of Christians of Essyl. He is the liaison between the clergy and villagers whilst looking after the church and calling meetings of Christians to discuss pertinent issues. Furthermore, VB_{M68}'s cousin, and brother to AB17 and JB8, is a bishop and well known throughout the Casamance. In addition to his duties as head of the Christian association, VB_{M68} also looks after cattle for his family relations AB17 and JB8. He hasn't lived anywhere else apart from Essyl and those two years in boarding school in Ziguinchor, which seems to have had a marked effect in the presence, or rather, absence of certain named languages in his repertoire.

VB_{M68} has one of the most restricted reported repertoires in Essyl (apart from the few non-key participants who state that they are monolingual). He speaks Joola Eegimaa, French and understands some Wolof. He reports that he does not like to speak Wolof and in fact refuses to speak it in many different contexts: this is well known among other participants and leads to interesting sociolinguistic situations and language choices. Regarding his repertoire he reports speaking Joola Eegimaa very well, French well and Wolof not very well; although he says he cannot understand it, this is not always the case as will be shown in later sections. He can write both Joola Eegimaa and French, having learnt the latter in school, and the former through literacy classes provided by SIL. VB_{M68} was part of the first cohort in 2006, but did not finish the course due to work commitments. He does, however, read some of the little religious booklets produced by SIL and has a copy of the Joola Banjal New Testament which he sometimes reads from. He reported only speaking Joola Eegimaa whilst growing up in Essyl. Among his brother and sisters they reportedly only speak Joola Eegimaa, as two of the three siblings do not speak French and VB_{M68} does not speak Wolof at all. Interestingly these three languages represent a default repertoire of Joola Eegimaa, French and Wolof, but where Joola

Eegimaa is preferred as the other two languages are considered exclusive and not equally shared among participants. However it is imagined that if they all spoke French and if they all spoke Wolof, then a mix or another constellation of languages in use might be possible, as will be further discussed in §7.1. All of VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$'s adult children speak Joola Eegimaa, French and Wolof. He reports only speaking Joola Eegimaa to them. With his wife, $RM1_{F61}$, he speaks Joola Eegimaa. For the Crossroads area, VB_{M68} seemingly has a small repertoire consisting of two or three languages, one of which he claims to not speak very well. Crucially he claims he has lived in Essyl all his life, apart from the French-medium school in Ziguinchor, and has thus not been presented with opportunities to learn other languages in other sociolinguistic spaces.

4.6. $RM1_{F61}$

$RM1_{F61}$ was born in 1955 in Enampor, a neighbouring village to Essyl in the kingdom of Mof Avvi.



Map 4.3: Essyl and Enampor

(source: google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

She did not attend school and has no formal education apart from the literacy classes provided by SIL. $RM1_{F61}$ is married to VB_{M68}, whose repertoire is detailed in the above section. Together they have three adult children. $RM1_{F61}$ is related through marriage to VB_{M68}'s family, but no other of the key participants. $CS3_{M55}$ and $PB2_{F39}$ are her neighbours, as are $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}. $RM1_{F61}$ is also very active in women's groups and particularly the Women's Catholic Association.

$RM1_{F61}$ originally presented herself as a monolingual Joola speaker to me. Other people, such as VB_{M68}, her husband, also described her as monolingual. I lodged with $RM1_{F61}$ and VB_{M68} when staying in Essyl. For a long time she only spoke to me in Joola Eegimaa. After a time I sensed she became frustrated with my slow progress in Joola Eegimaa and in fact begun to speak French with me, particularly if she wanted me to do something around the house and I didn't understand her instructions. At first, this surprised me as other people said that she did not speak French and that their household would be a good place in which to learn Joola Eegimaa. In formal situations, such as interviews, $RM1_{F61}$ presents as monolingual. However, the longer we knew each other and talked informally, the more multilingual her repertoire became. In addition to Joola Eegimaa, she also speaks French, Wolof, Mandinka and Kriolu. She also judges that she has a high passive competence in understanding other Joolas. She doesn't feel confident in French as she never went to school and her acquisition trajectory of French was informal, as is typical of many other women interviewed. Until $RM1_{F61}$ felt more comfortable with me as a researcher and my presence, which took a couple of months, she did not state that she spoke French, nor did I observe her using it in different situations. She frequently says that her Wolof isn't very good, that it used to be better when she

lived in Dakar and that she has forgotten a lot of it after having moved back to Mof Avvi, but as will be seen in the following chapters, $RM1_{F61}$ often uses Wolof, dependent on interlocutor and context (see §6.3.2.2 for example).

$RM1_{F61}$ learnt French whilst in Ziguinchor where she worked for a French family, looking after their children, and when the children were old enough to go to school she began cooking for them. When she moved there she was still young herself, not more than a teenager. When discussing $RM1_{F61}$'s linguistic biography and her life history with her, it is difficult to be precise about the ages at which she moved and how long she lived in each place. As she didn't attend school she has never formally learnt numeracy: how to tell time by hours and minutes, how to count numbers, ages and therefore years, and how to deal with money apart from by memorising the coins and notes. Later $RM1_{F61}$ also spent time in The Gambia working for a couple with whom she spoke Wolof, although she also picked up some Mandinka in The Gambia, thereby expanding a prototypical Mof Avvi repertoire.

4.7. $DS4_{F49}$

$DS4_{F49}$ was born in 1967 in Tangiem, near Bignona, the district to the north of the Casamance River. She moved to Essyl when she married her husband JB8 who works as an English teacher in Ziguinchor during the week. She lives in a house with her husband, his brother AB17 and his wife IS_{F44}. They also live with the brothers' mother, MTT, who is one of the few participants (although not a key participant) who reports only speaking Joola. In the house there are 5 children. One of the children was fostered by $DS4_{F49}$ and JB8, though they do not have any (biological) children together. $DS4_{F49}$ is currently the President of the Women's Catholic Association. She states that she speaks Joola Fogny and Joola Eegimaa, but cannot

speak one or the other without mixing them. She also speaks French and she attended school until the 5th grade. When she was 3 years old she was taken to Ziguinchor to the *quartier* Lyndiane, where she grew up. She went to a private school until the 5th grade, which is the second year of secondary school, normally begun at the age of 13. However she had to stop due to lack of funds and had to go and find work instead, as her family preferred to pay for the boys in the family to attend school. $DS4_{F49}$ also speaks Wolof, but states that she doesn't like to speak Wolof at all. After she married her husband, they came to Essyl for a couple of weeks, then he was seconded to a school in Djembering for 5 years, a village on the coast where Joola Kwaataay is spoken. During her time in Djembering, she did not learn Joola Kwaataay and she said that people there do not even speak Joola Fogny or Kaasa, both of which are used as vehicular Joola varieties in the wider Casamance region. During the time that her husband was in Djembering, $DS4_{F49}$ mainly stayed in Essyl with her mother-in-law and would go to Djembering to see her husband for a few weeks at a time and then come back. After 5 years JB8 was seconded to a college in Ziguinchor and then she moved back to Essyl. JB8 returns to Essyl at weekends and in the holidays; however, as he does summer classes even in the school holidays he only officially gets 2 weeks of leave (not including Christmas and Easter breaks). When $DS4_{F49}$ first moved to Essyl she did not speak any Joola Eegimaa or Banjal as she calls it when discussing the language in French. $DS4_{F49}$ expanded her repertoire in Essyl with friends that she made in the village and was especially influenced by $RM1_{F61}$ and $PB2_{F39}$, among others who ended up in the same work group, as they would often explain things to her in "her Joola". It is worth noting this connection between the participants, also due to the fact that they are all neighbours and are geographically very close to each other.

4.8. IS_{F44}

IS_{F44} was born in 1972 in Ziguinchor and did not attend formal schooling. She is married to AB17 and lives in the same house as $DS4_{F49}$ above – they are therefore sisters-in-law. She is related through marriage to VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$. Unlike many of the other participants and people in Essyl, she is not Joola, rather she identifies with the Arame ethnicity from Eramben in Guinea-Bissau, although she was born and grew up in Ziguinchor, Senegal. Her husband is a painter and often goes to Dakar – indeed I only briefly met him on one occasion, at the beginning of my second fieldtrip in January 2017 as he was about the take the boat back to Dakar. 10 people live in the house: the two couples, the brothers' mother and 5 children. Her youngest child does not live in the household as she is being fostered.

IS_{F44} reports named languages in her repertoire of Arame[19], Wolof, Mandinka and *Gujoolaay* 'Joola', and specifically can understand Joola Kaasa although she states that she answers in Wolof. IS_{F44} went to Dakar to work with her sisters with whom she shared a room. In Dakar she worked as a domestic worker. When with $DS4_{F49}$ she reports that she mixes Joola with Wolof at home, but that they understand each other very well. With other women in the village she says that she speaks Wolof although as will be seen this depends on who she is speaking to, although it is certainly the case that most of the women in the village who have been interviewed or form part of the study can indeed speak or understand Wolof. Before moving to Essyl she says that she could get by in Joola through having lived in Ziguinchor.

[19] There is little to no extant literature on Arame: (Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming: 11) state that Erame (Arame) is a variety of Bayot spoken in Guinea-Bissau which is currently under study by Segerer.

This chapter presented linguistic portraits of the key participants in the thesis. By taking a biographical approach to repertoire data, participants invariably linked languages, language learning and linguistic practices to different places and various life stages. Although linguistic repertoires varied, some commonalities were evident. All participants report a Joola variety. Participants invariably referred to Joola Banjal rather than using the term Joola Eegimaa. Some also reported Joola in and of itself. 6 of the 8 reported speaking Joola Eegimaa/Banjal throughout their lifetime, whereas $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44} had previously spoken other Joola varieties, and only upon marriage into Essyl was it necessary to begin learning Joola Eegimaa. Most participants reported speaking predominantly Joola Eegimaa in their households, although many acknowledged the presence of French and to a lesser extent Wolof. French was mainly associated with formal education, although some participants learnt or developed it informally in other settings, such as through domestic work. Other Joola varieties and other languages were acquired in locations outside of Mof Avvi and are reportedly used depending on interlocutor and context. In the following chapter, I present participants' mobility history and patterns of current movements and relate them to reported and observed language use.

5. Spaces: practices and perceptions of mobility

Here I will explore participants' perceptions of space and mobility, through participants' life histories and biographical data; and investigate how movement through space and time have influenced their linguistic repertoires. This will provide answers to research question (b): What is the relationship between a participant's history of mobility and their linguistic repertoire? In §5.1 I focus on reported practices, i.e. those that took place before the commencement of my research in the area; in §5.2 I look at practices of mobility which took place during the research periods and were based on reported and observed data, which will partly answer research question (d) What is the effect, if any, of highly mobile participants with distinct linguistic repertoires on the patterns and perceptions of language use in Essyl?

5.1. Mobility history

This section then will look at key participants' reported mobility history prior to the commencement of my research project. This section draws on data obtained through semi-structured interviews on life history and mobility trajectory, information gleaned through observations and informal conversations. Among the key participants I have identified three main tendencies in mobility patterns: staying in Essyl, or rather relative immobility; moving away from Essyl, and possibly returning, which Linares (2003) terms "turnaround migration"; and moving to Essyl from another place to settle. This section considers what impact participants' mobility has had on the extension (or not) of their linguistic repertoires, considering

different acquisition settings, different motivations for movements and the overall impact this has on their repertoire and possible current language use patterns. To recap, I present below in Table 5.1 the information regarding participants' repertoires and the locations they have lived with the table divided according to pattern of mobility, which will all be fully explicated in the following subsections.

Mobility pattern	**Participant**	**M/F**	**Year born**	**Education – highest level achieved with age in brackets**	**Repertoire using named languages**	**Places lived**
Staying in Essyl (§5.1.1)	VB_{M68}	M	1948	4ème (14)	Joola Banjal; French	Essyl; Ziguinchor
Moving away from Essyl and returning (§5.1.2)	$CS3_{M55}$	M	1961	3ème (15)	Joola; Joola Banjal; Kriolu; Mandinka; Wolof; French; Joola Kaasa	Essyl; Dakar; Rufisque; Ziguinchor; Pointe-St. Georges; Guinea-Bissau
	$RB4_{F42}$	F	1974	2nde (16)	Joola Banjal; Wolof; French; Joola Fogny; Sose; Spanish; English	Essyl; Ziguinchor; Goudomp
Moving away from Essyl and visiting (§5.1.3)	No key participant					
Moving to Essyl (§5.1.4)	$PB2_{F39}$	F	1977	CM2 (11)	Joola Banjal; Joola Fogny; Wolof; French	Elubalir; Essyl; Ziguinchor;
	$CB1_{F38}$	F	1978	5ème (13)	Joola Banjal; Joola Kaasa d'Oussouye;	Dakar; Ziguinchor; Essyl

					Joola Fogny; Mandinka; Wolof; Pulaar; French	
	$RM1_{F61}$	F	1955	None	Joola Banjal; Wolof; French; Mandinka; Kriolu	Enampor; Dakar; Brikama (Gambia); Banjul (Gambia); Ziguinchor: Essyl
	$DS4_{F49}$	F	1967	5ème (13)	Joola Fogny; Joola; Joola Banjal; French; Wolof	Tangiem; Essyl; Dakar; Ziguinchor; Djembering
	IS_{F44}	F	1972	None	Arame; Wolof; Mandinka; Joola; Joola Kaasa;	Ziguinchor; Dakar; Essyl

Table 5.1: mobility and repertoire data for key participants

5.1.1. Staying in Essyl

If Essyl is perceived as a monolingual area (Sagna & Bassène 2016; Sagna nd) then we need to look at the linguistic practices of people who remain in Essyl throughout the majority of their life and take a look at their linguistic repertoires and language use in order to understand the impact this has on their language use. VB_{M68} will be used as a case study for this section as his life history most closely resembles this mobility, or rather immobility, pattern. As he is the only key participant that fits this pattern, interview and attitudinal data will also be examined. Interestingly even though this is the minority pattern of mobility (although it is obviously hard to generalise across the village due to the case study approach) it seems to be the dominant ideology and perception of a "typical" speaker of Joola Eegimaa.

VB_{M68} grew up in an impluvium house in Essyl where different families of the same grandfather lived together. An impluvium is a house with numerous rooms around a central round area, where the roof comes into the centre to catch and store the rain during the rainy season[20]. VB_{M68} described his grandfather as following the traditional religion (path of the forebears) and was polygamous, he had two wives; both families lived in the same house. VB_{M68} grew up in the same house as his cousins JB8 and AB17. VB_{M68} claims to only have lived outside of Essyl for 2 years when he boarded at the Catholic seminary in Ziguinchor for two school years. See Map 5.1: Essyl and Ziguinchor below.

Map 5.1: Essyl and Ziguinchor

(source: google.co.uk/maps amended 2019)

Before that he lived in Essyl and after Ziguinchor returned to Essyl. Despite there being children from all over the Casamance present at the boarding school, the

[20] Impluvium houses are very rare and only attested in the area of Mof Avvi (Lüpke, p.c. and to my knowledge), and it is often associated with being a Joola structure. Current impluviums can be found in Enampore and Seleki. RM1's family household in Enampore is an impluvium and there are two in Enampore and Seleki respectively that function as *campements* 'simple guest lodging'.

children were forced to speak French with each other both inside and outside of classrooms. This is contrasted with reports of other participants' educational experiences, especially those who grew up or went to school in Ziguinchor, such as $DS4_{F49}$ and $CS3_{M55}$ who report speaking French in the classroom and Wolof with friends in the break. Crucially though, these participants did not board at their school, but rather stayed with host families, and even though $DS4_{F49}$'s host family reportedly banned the use of Wolof in the home, $DS4_{F49}$ reported speaking Wolof with friends during breaks and on the way to and from school - evidently the children were not under as much supervision as at a boarding school.

VB_{M68} has spoken to me before on various occasions about feeling "left behind" by other men of his generation and not having had the opportunity to go to other towns and learn other languages. His relative immobility and the Catholic boarding school education seem to have had profound impacts on his language use, and attitudes, particularly in relation to Wolof (Juillard in Dreyfus & Juillard 2004: 278; see 6.3.1.2 for further contextualisation and discussion). He does not report Wolof as part of his repertoire and indeed his levels of observed comprehension appear quite low to a casual observer. In situations where Wolof use was expected, for example with itinerant traders who are likely outsiders to Mof Avvi, VB_{M68} goes against the default. On one occasion a trader passed by doing shoe repairs. He greeted VB_{M68} in Wolof and me in French due to his expectations about which languages we might speak, but then in fact he ended up talking to me in Wolof and VB_{M68} in French, as VB_{M68} either did not understand or refused to engage in Wolof conversation. A summarising table of VB_{M68}'s reported mobility trajectory and linguistic practices is presented below, detailing length of stay, languages used and acquired, reason and linguistic practices. The linguistic practices (for each participant later in the chapter)

are described as monolingual or multilingual, which most closely aligns with how participants discussed their practices, bearing in mind that later in thesis in chapters 6 and 7, I discuss a more practice-oriented inclusive approach to the term monolingualism: this does not necessarily mean that other languages were not spoken, and that in describing multilingual practices there may have been defined differences in language use in different contexts.

Location	**Length of stay**	**Language(s) acquired / used**	**Linguistic practices**	**Reason re: mobility**
Essyl	66 years	Joola (Eegimaa/Banjal)	Monolingual	Home village
Ziguinchor	2 years	French	Monolingual	Catholic boarding school

Table 5.2: VB_{M68} reported mobility and language use

The possibilities presented by moving outside of the Joola Eegimaa sociolinguistic area are associated with education, jobs, but also the opportunities to learn languages other than Joola (Eegimaa) and French. The other outside spaces permit the acquisition of other languages or multilingual practices, as also supported by $RB4_{F42}$, in an extract from an interview, conducted jointly with Caroline Juillard (CJ in extract below) and transcribed by myself:

(5.1)

1	SG	*et tu as commencé à apprendre le wolof ici à Essyl ?*
		‘and did you start to learn Wolof here in Essyl ?’
2	$RB4_{F42}$	*à Ziguinchor*
		‘in Ziguinchor’

3	SG	*et avec des autres Joolas qui étaient là-bas*
		‘and with other Joola people who were there’
4	$RB4_{F42}$	*les Fogny*
		‘the Fogny people’
5	SG	*c’est les Fogny*
		‘it’s Fogny people’
6	$RB4_{F42}$	*mais je parle bien le fogny aussi*
		‘but I also speak Fogny well’
7	CJ	*toi tu l’as appris à Ziguinchor ou bien ou bien ici*
		‘did you learn that in Ziguinchor or somewhere or here’
8	$RB4_{F42}$	*à Ziguinchor*
		‘in Ziguinchor’
9	CJ	*donc finalement c’est en quittant ici qu’on apprend les autres langues*
		‘so after all it’s when you leave here that you learn other languages’
10	$RB4_{F42}$	*ici on ne parle que le joola banjal*
		‘here we only speak Joola Banjal’

[ESS230216SG 07:39-08:55]

This extract not only demonstrates the perception of language acquisition in other spaces, but also reinforces the presupposed dichotomy between monolingual Essyl where only Joola Eegimaa (Banjal) is spoken and outside multilingual areas where other languages, including other Joola languages, are learnt and used.

Immobility is associated with monolingualism, and the exclusive use of Joola Eegimaa in Essyl, and by extension Mof Avvi. But also the concept of immobility is associated by participants with older generations, bringing a generational lens to the perceived acquisition of multilingual repertoires and languages other than Joola (Eegimaa) and to a lesser extent French. Generations take on different meanings in the Joola context, especially for men who are initiated into generations which occur at long intervals – every 20 years or so, and for women who enter adulthood upon having given birth to a child. This creates a generation of men who have certain rights and obligations to each other and previous generations of initiated men (Mark, De Jong & Chupin 1998). Indeed, generations in any context are difficult to define (Goodchild & Weidl 2018b). Yet, in interviews and casual conversations and in the focus group a recurring theme was of a generational divide in terms of mobility and its association with mono- or multilingualism. Generally the "older generations" or the "ancestors" are associated with immobility and monolingualism, while the current adults, or indeed the younger generation are associated with higher rates of mobility and multilingualism. For example in the focus group $CS3_{M55}$ and $DS4_{F49}$ contrast themselves to the "ancestors":

(5.2)

1	$CS3_{M55}$ to group	*let olal mayer garoverít me ola mayer bujelór bare bare*
		'us who don't stay in one place, us now we only insult ourselves'
2	$DS4_{F49}$ to group	*buga no gújerír de bare let wolal buga mayer*

'it was our ancestors who didn't leave but not us today'

[ESS040317SGa_CUT2 04:08 – 04:15]

However, as Hamer (1983), Lambert (1994: 80–84) and Foucher (2005) have described it was common, especially for Joola women, to travel to Ziguinchor, and particularly Dakar to look for work, often as domestic workers who would send money and rice back to their families in the Casamance. This pattern is observed in the current work in §5.1.2. Furthermore, Lüpke (2010b) found in a study of language attitudes in Niamone, that speakers of Baïnounk Guñaamolo regularly perceived that their ancestors and older generations where less mobile and less multilingual, although when questions where further contextualised, participants put forward that older generations wouldn't have had issues communicating in multilingual settings. $CS3_{M55}$ further makes a direct link between understanding languages and mobility: "*ewun gólógúm mata ola maer oroverita*" 'understanding them [languages] it's because us now we don't stay in one place'. In an interview with $JB1_{M26}$ he also states that the older generations did not move around very much and that is why they were monolingual. Indeed VB_{M68}'s immobility has been the result of his "monolingualism". In the same focus group he exclaims in French "*et moi qui ne parle que le joola*" 'and me who only speaks Joola'. Despite the link between monolingual Joola and immobility, VB_{M68} acquired French and regularly uses it. His historical trajectory is relatively immobile when compared to others in the following section, but his current language use patterns are, understandably, influenced by others' mobility and the concomitant languages they acquired. Those mobility patterns and perceptions of such will be presented in the following sections.

5.1.2. *Moving away from Essyl (and returning), i.e. turnaround migration*

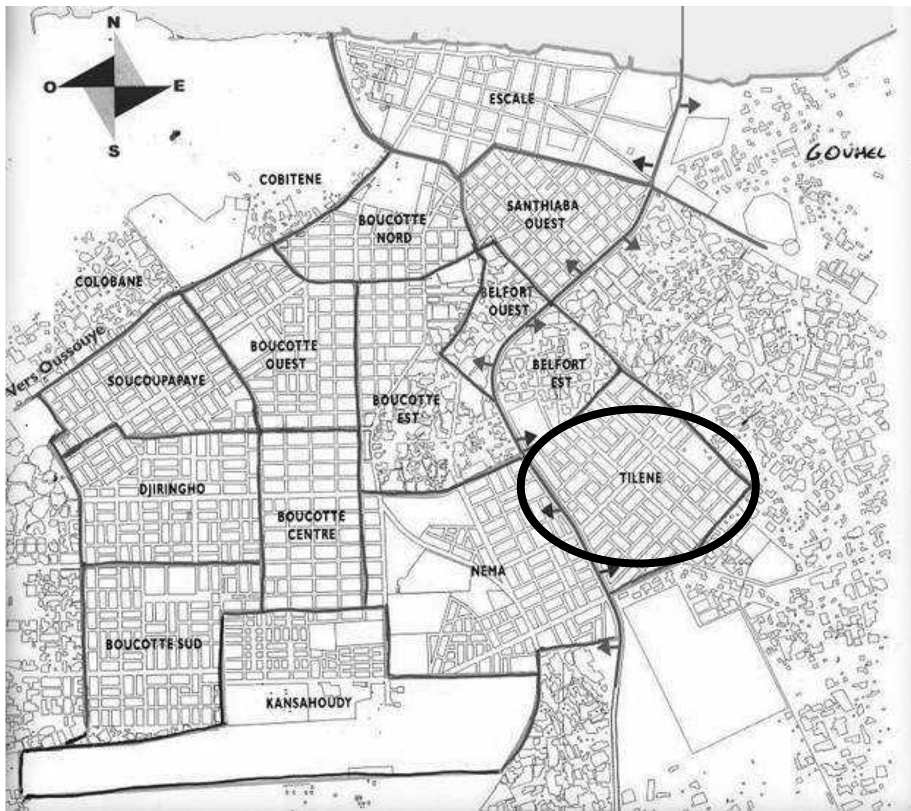
Two participants, $RB4_{F42}$ and $CS3_{M55}$, were born in Essyl, but spent their time growing up between Essyl and other places, both villages and towns. Both have been and are quite mobile in adult life, even though they have come back to settle in Essyl, excepting periods where they went *en campagne* 'migration to do seasonal work', as in the case of $CS3_{M55}$, which will be explained below, or to visit family as in the recent case of $RB4_{F42}$, which will be discussed in §5.2. They have extensive repertoires, which is typical for their mobility patterns, even if not necessarily typical of other participants, especially when contrasted with VB_{M68} above.

$CS3_{M55}$ has an extensive linguistic repertoire which incorporates various linguistic varieties which he acquired through various life stages living in different locations. He is also perceived by other participants as having an extensive repertoire and being able to communicate in a lot of languages. $CS3_{M55}$ grew up in Essyl, although from the 6th to the 3rd grade, he lived in Ziguinchor (see Map 5.1 above) with two different guardians or host families [ESS220317SG1]. The mother of one of the households where he lived for a year was from Kadjinol, Mlomp, which is in the department of Oussouye.

Map 5.2: Kadjinol, Mlomp and Essyl

(source google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

Furthermore, all of the other inhabitants of the house, apart from $CS3_{M55}$, were from the same department and all spoke Joola Kaasa. Through his stay in this household he acquired Joola Kaasa informally through day to day interactions with the host family and now feels confident speaking it stating that he speaks it very well. Whilst in Ziguinchor $CS3_{M55}$ lived in the Tilène *quartier*. $CS3_{M55}$ reported that there were many Kriolu speakers in the district and outside of the house he mainly spoke Kriolu and Wolof. Tilène is one of the *quartiers* of Ziguinchor which Biagui et al. (Submitted) describe as a traditional creole speaking district (see Map 5.3 below).



Map 5.3: Tilène *quartier* of Ziguinchor

(source: scoopdeziguinchor.com accessed and amended 2019)

Furthermore, there were reportedly many people who spoke Mankanya and Mandjak who lived in the same district. Juillard (1995: 37–39) explains that this neighbourhood of Ziguinchor was divided into parcels of land and formally created in 1976 after a population "explosion" in the 1960s. Yet between the early 1970s and Tilène's incorporation into the city, many refugees from Guinea-Bissau arrived and established themselves in this area. Many of those who arrived were Mandjak and Mancagnes, which $CS3_{M55}$ also acknowledges through his narrative. He states that he learnt Kriolu in the neighbourhood. Even though Biagui et al. (Submitted) present Tilène as a traditional Casamance Creole speaking district of Ziguinchor, it is

obviously a relatively recent tradition as can be seen from Juillard's description of the area.

However, Biagui et al. (Submitted: 30) recognise the influx and influence of Guinea-Bissau Creole speakers, of whom they state, several thousand live in the Tilène district, either people who moved directly from Guinea-Bissau to Senegal or their descendants. Therefore, particularly in this district the interaction of Guinea-Bissau Creole speakers with Casamance Creole speakers has resulted in a symbiotic relationship between the creoles with regards to lexical borrowings and alternations. Living in this neighbourhood for 3 years between 1975 and 1978 $CS3_{M55}$ acquired Kriolu at the height of the population expansion with many people from Guinea-Bissau in the neighbourhood. He explained that Kriolu was the first language he learned on arriving in Ziguinchor, even before Mandinka or Joola Kaasa, although he stayed with Mandinka and Joola Kaasa-speaking host families. However, after a few years, his self-judged competency in Mandinka outstripped his Kriolu. $CS3_{M55}$ says that he regrets "neglecting" Mancagne and Manjak as he can only greet and say a few basic phrases in these two languages. Wolof was the language mainly spoken among friends. Later in life as an adult, he returned to Ziguinchor and lived with his older brother, MNS_{M68}, whilst he worked in a factory making cooking oil from peanuts. Here he states that he "relearnt" Kriolu as they were staying in a creole *quartier* and it was often used among colleagues working in the factory.

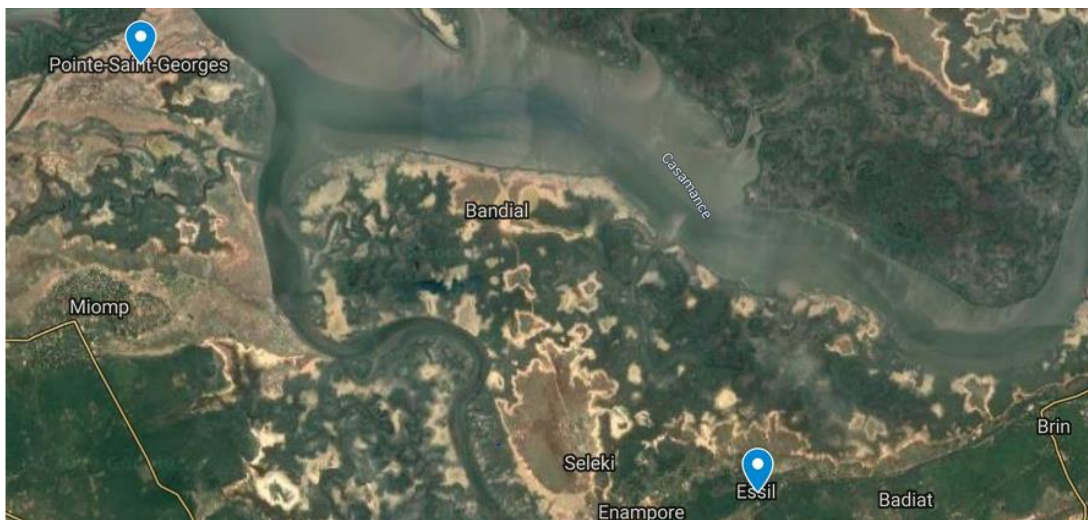
After school he went to look for work in Dakar and stayed there until he moved to Rufisque, in the wider Dakar area, see Map 5.4 below.

Map 5.4: Rufisque and Dakar

(source: maps-library.com accessed and amended 2019)

In Rufisque he lived with Sereer people, but he says he only knows how to greet in Sereer (see §6.4.4 for an example of an occurrence of Sereer from $CS3_{M55}$ and discussion around its use). In the home in Rufisque, Wolof was the main language reportedly used. $CS3_{M55}$ lived in the Rufisque/Dakar area from 1984-1992 where he worked in a cement factory. He had to return to Essyl in 1992 to look after his ageing parents and he also took over his father's palm trees for tapping palm wine, which is currently his main source of work. $CS3_{M55}$ married $PB2_{F39}$ in 1998, but before their wedding in 1997, he went to find seasonal work to raise money for palm wine. He describes going *en campagne* for men as either consisting of palm wine tapping or

fishing depending on the season and location[21]. In this instance, he went with another friend from Essyl to Pointe St. Georges, a village on the banks of the Casamance River, and slept there with other fishermen in huts by the riverside, for 4-5 months.



Map 5.5: Pointe-Saint-Georges and Essyl

(source: google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

In addition, he carried out seasonal work in Ziguinchor at the factory where they produce cooking oil from peanuts and during this time stayed with his brother MNS_{M68} and his family in Ziguinchor. For 4 months in 2008 he also went to do seasonal fishing in Guinea-Bissau. Although he was predominantly based in Guinea-Bissau for the length of his seasonal work, he was still actively mobile when needed, for example if $PB2_{F39}$ had an issue to discuss or needed something for the house, then they would meet in Ziguinchor and see each other. However, during the 4

[21] In the interview [ESS220317SG] $CS3_{M55}$ makes a distinction between migratory work for men: palm wine tapping, fishing, factory work, etc., and migratory work for women which he predominantly perceives as going to work as a cook or a domestic worker. This will be further discussed in §5.1.4.

months that he was away he never came back to Essyl. Table 5.3 below summarises $CS3_{M55}$'s mobility trajectory and linguistic practices:

Location	Length of stay	Language(s) acquired / used	Linguistic practices	Reason re: mobility
Essyl	Approx. 40 years	Joola (Eegimaa/Banjal) French	Monolingual	Home village
Ziguinchor	3 years	Joola Kaasa Kriolu Mandinka Wolof	Multilingual	Education
Ziguinchor	Uncertain	Kriolu Wolof Joola	Multilingual	Seasonal work
Dakar	8 years (division uncertain)	Wolof Joola	Multilingual	Work
Rufisque		Wolof Sereer	Multilingual	Work
Pointe St. Georges	4-5 months	Joola (Eegimaa/Banjal)	Monolingual	Seasonal work
Guinea-Bissau (town/village unspecified)	4 months	Kriolu	Multilingual?	Seasonal work

Table 5.3: $CS3_{M55}$ reported mobility and language use

During the focus group in which $CS3_{M55}$ participated [focus group ESS040317SGa-d; notes 04/03/2017], the moderator, DS, used $CS3_{M55}$ as an example of someone who speaks a lot of languages as a launching point to discuss whether being this multilingual is advantageous. Interestingly, when $CS3_{M55}$ discusses what it means to be multilingual he gives an example listing standardised languages such as English, French, etc. Furthermore, he also uses French when listing these named languages. This does not mean, however, that multilingualism or the fact of speaking more than one language is only associated with standard, prestige varieties, although it is often the default assumption among participants. Yet

in the focus group different understandings of multilingualism were discussed, with participants expressing opinions such as Joola being a way of speaking (see §6.2.3). During the focus group, $CS3_{M55}$ and DS discuss their earlier interaction that day with masons from Guinea-Bissau where they both spoke Kriolu, a rare instance of a Kriolu sociolinguistic space arising in Essyl due to the presence of the masons [observations 04/03/2017]. He states that he is currently comfortable speaking Kriolu now and enjoys using it, for example, with the masons that were constructing at VB_{M68}'s house, which activates a part of his repertoire which is normally latent whilst in Essyl and Mof Avvi and is only used according to the sociolinguistic context.

5.1.3. Moving away from Essyl and visiting

There is, however, another pattern of mobility which consists of moving away from Essyl on a more "permanent" basis and then returning to visit family and friends. As the research was based in Essyl, no key participant exemplifies this pattern. One of the participants in question is VB_{M68}'s younger sister FB_{F61}. She was born in 1955 and grew up in Essyl. The dates and information presented here are gained from a short sociolinguistic interview, which was not recorded, as per her request [notes 10/03/2017]. As with life history data from $RM1_{F61}$, as FB_{F61} only attended "a little bit of school", she was not certain of years or dates and during the interview, VB_{M68} and sometimes $RM1_{F61}$ supplemented information. FB_{F61} moved to Ziguinchor in the late 70s to work there and then moved to Dakar to marry her husband in the early 80s; when the Casamance troubles started she had already been in Dakar for 3 years. She fostered TB, VB_{M68}'s and $RM1_{F61}$'s youngest daughter when TB was 3 or 4 years old. Since moving to Dakar she comes to visit the Casamance once or twice a

year and visits Ziguinchor and Essyl to see different family members. Languages that form part of FB_{F61}'s repertoire are: "*gujoolaay, gussilaay, guwolofay, français*" 'Joola, Gusiilaay, Wolof, French'. During my two main field trips she stayed for a few weeks each year with VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$. In 2017 she left for Dakar after a visit of 2 weeks and then returned the same week to attend a funeral in Essyl. Table 5.4 below summarises FB_{F61}'s reported language use in the various places she has lived.

Location	**Length of stay**	**Language(s) acquired / used**	**Linguistic practices**	**Reason re: mobility**
Essyl	Approx. 16 years	Joola Joola Gussilay	Monolingual	Home village
Ziguinchor	Approx. 5 years	Joola Wolof	Multilingual	Work
Dakar	Approx. 40 years	Joola Wolof French	Multilingual	Marriage

Table 5.4: FB_{F61} reported mobility trajectory and language use

To me FB_{F61} always presented herself as a monolingual Joola speaker and would tell off other people if they spoke either French or Wolof with me, as otherwise "how would she learn Joola?". Of course the fact that she would like to only speak Joola does not extend to her actual language use. She lived in Dakar for many years and speaks Wolof very well. When visiting VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$, VB_{M68} and FB_{F61} often had "monolingual" Joola Eegimaa conversations or as close to a monolingual conversation as possible; and with $RM1_{F61}$ the languages used depended on who else was present at the time. With $RM1_{F61}$ alone the predominant language used was Joola Eegimaa, but they were observed on occasion using Wolof too, generally initiated by FB_{F61}. Furthermore, if there was another person present, for example TB or IS_{F44} then they were observed on numerous occasions speaking Wolof together.

One of the people with whom a greater use of Wolof was associated is TB, VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$'s youngest daughter, who grew up with FB_{F61} in Dakar. She also fits in to the same pattern of mobility: she was born in Essyl and spent the early years of her life there until she moved to Dakar with FB_{F61} at the age of 4-5. She now returns to visit Essyl once or twice a year. She works as a teacher and when there are holidays, for example the spring break 2017, she tends to spend them in Dakar rather than in Essyl. In early 2017 she visited Essyl twice when I was present, both times for ceremonies: one for the anniversary mass of her *tuteur's* 'guardian's' sister (FB_{F61}'s husband's sister) which was held in Ziguinchor. She travelled down to attend that and stayed for one evening and the next morning in Essyl before leaving to go to Ziguinchor. The other occasion was for the funeral of her uncle, DT, when many family members travelled together from Dakar. She travelled with FB_{F61}, and two of her cousins, all are similar in age – late twenties and early thirties. The evening before the funeral, TB, FB_{F61} and other family members arrived [observations 30/03/2017]. There were prayers outside the house while TB and the younger cousins fetched water. Some of the aunts were cooking dinner. Later when we came to eat dinner the younger women including me all sat together and only spoke Wolof between themselves, which made FB_{F61} comment that they should speak Joola as I was present. Thereby FB_{F61} acted as a sort of "gatekeeper" of a monolingual ideology, which is something that Lüpke (2016a: 31) comments on describing the difficulty in maintaining a monolingual mode for recordings, when the environment is inherently multilingual, and thus normal daily activities are suppressed, such as people walking through a courtyard and greeting. FB_{F61}'s gatekeeping activities on language use in my presence often triggered a monolingual Joola mode. Throughout the few days that they were staying at the house, the

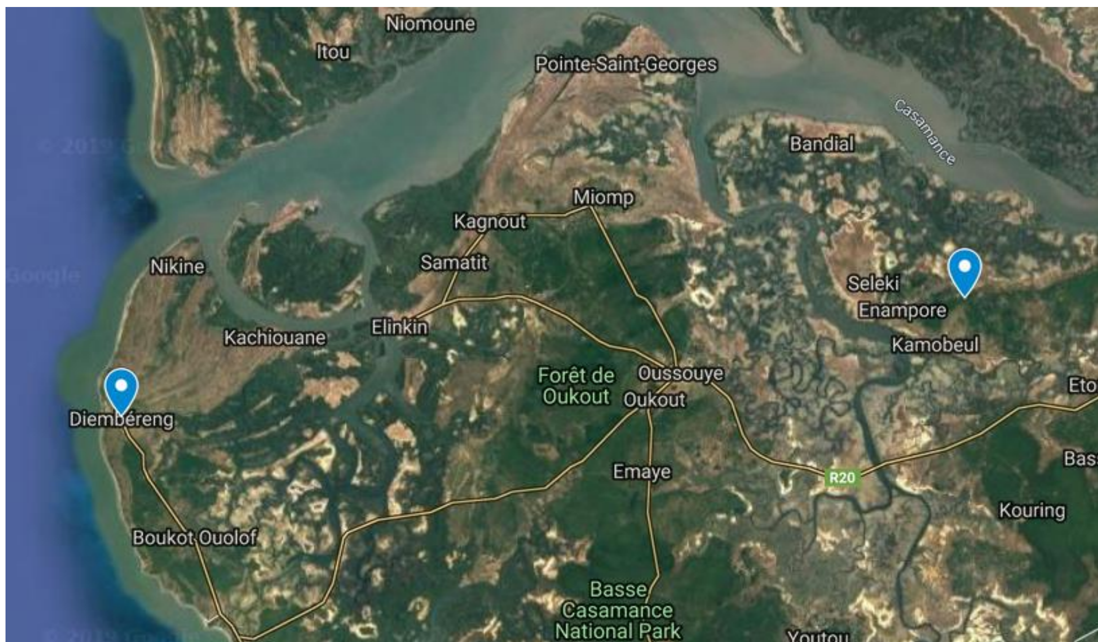
cousins gradually used less and less Wolof between themselves and used more Joola due to the influence of many family members who were speaking Joola. This is despite the fact that many people did also speak Wolof. Other participants may perceive them as being typical of people who move to Dakar using Wolof instead of Joola, but they are all competent Joola speakers and had no problems holding extended conversations in Joola over the weekend, which as mentioned above did have a discernible effect on their language use in their small group.

5.1.4. Moving to Essyl

Of the 8 key participants, 5 did not grow up in Essyl, but moved there when they were adults. They are $RM1_{F61}$, $PB2_{F39}$, $CB1_{F38}$, $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}. The uniting factor between them is that they are all women who moved to the village when they married their husbands. This follows the pattern of exogamous marriage, which is a common practice in the wider Casamance area (as presented in §2.3). They can, however, be broadly divided into two groups depending on where they grew up. $RM1_{F61}$ and $PB2_{F39}$ grew up in other villages of Mof Avvi, Enampor and Eloubalir respectively, whereas the other three, $CB1_{F38}$, $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44} mainly grew up in Ziguinchor (in addition to other towns and villages). However, the crucial distinction with regards to language use is the difference between $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44} compared with the other participants: both came from outside of Essyl and Mof Avvi and therefore were/are expected to learn Joola Eegimaa.

5.1.4.1. From outside of Mof Avvi

DS4$_{F49}$ came to Essyl in 2003 when she married her husband JB8. Before that she had lived in Dakar since 1989 and had worked as a maid or domestic worker in various different households, including one with a family from Burkina Faso and one household with an Ivorian family. In 2003 her husband was seconded to Djembering, as he works as a secondary school English teacher, and for the first 5 years of his post she would spend a few weeks in Djembering and a few weeks in Essyl.



Map 5.6: Djembering and Essyl

(source: google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

When she arrived in Essyl she found it difficult, however, as most people spoke Joola Eegimaa and even though she speaks a related Joola variety, Fogny, she had difficulty understanding people. Below is an extended extract from an interview with DS4$_{F49}$ where she describes arriving in Essyl (transcribed by myself):

(5.3)

1	SG	*c'était difficile quand tu es venue ici la première fois*
		'was it difficult when you came here the first time'
2	$DS4_{F49}$	*oui*
		'yes'
3		*dis-moi la première semaine ne dis pas la première fois*
		'say rather the first week don't say the first time'
4		*la première semaine oh j'étais très fatiguée parce que moi j'ai fait*
5		*ici une semaine*
		'the first week oh I was tired because me I had done a week here'
6		*je suis partie en ce moment-là il était à Djembering j'ai fait une*
7		*semaine à Djembering*
		'I left at that time he was in Djembering I did one week in Djembering'
8		*je suis retournée*
		'I came back'
9		*la semaine prochaine j'ai commencé à récolter*
		'the next week I started to harvest'
10		*maintenant quand je parle quand elle parle je ne comprends pas*
		'now when I speak when she speaks I don't understand'

11 *je demande à ce moment-là la vielle aussi elle parti dans les*

12 *rizières*

‘I asked at that time the old lady also went to the rice fields’

13 *mais les dames là qu'est-ce qu'elles disent*

‘but these women here what are they saying’

14 *elle m'explique c'est comme ça que j'ai fait jusqu'à maintenant*

‘she explains it to me it's like that that I did it until now’

15 *ça va oui*

‘it's ok yes’

16 *maintenant je comprends*

now I understand

17 SG *peut-être ici à Essyl quelqu'un qui t'a influencé ou t'as aidé*

18 *beaucoup à apprendre le banjal*

‘is there maybe here in Essyl someone who influenced you or you

helped you a lot to learn Banjal’

19 DS4$_{F49}$ *le banjal uuh*

‘Banjal uuh’

20 *par exemple si je sors*

‘for example if I go out’

21 *quand je parle avec uh mes mes mes amis là*

'when I speak with uh my my my friends there'

22 *c'est là-bas que j'apprends mieux*

'it's there that I learn best'

23 *parce que ici avant*

'because here before'

24 *moi j'étais ici avec la vielle*

'me when I was with the old lady'

25 *on était deux*

'we were just us two'

26 *bon quand elle sort elle est dans la panade*

'so when she leaves she is hard up'

27 *j'ai pas avec qui je cause*

'I don't have any one to talk to'

28 *jusqu'à midi quand elle descend on cause un tout petit peu*

'until midday when she stops work we chat a little bit'

29 *tout le monde va se reposer*

'everyone goes to have a rest'

30 *maintenant quand je sors*

'now when I go out'

31 *voilà c'est mieux j'apprends*

'that's when I learn best'

32 *le joola du banjal*

'Joola Banjal'

33 *oui*

‘yes’

34 SG *et est-ce que tes amies elles comprennent aussi des autres joolas*

‘and did your friends did they understand other Joolas’

35 $DS4_{F49}$ *eux ils comprennent notre langue*

‘them they understand our language’

36 *mais nous on comprend pas leur langue*

‘but us we don't understand theirs’

37 *à cause de ça moi quand je parle ma langue*

‘because of that me when I speak my language’

38 *eux ils comprends vite*

‘them they understand quickly’

39 *mais moi au début quand eux ils parlent*

‘but me at the beginning when they speak’

40 *il faut que je demande encore*

‘I have to ask again’

41 *qu'est-ce que tu as dit*

‘what did you say’

42 *ils expliquent ça en mon joola voilà*

‘they explain it in my Joola like that’

43 SG *et c'est qui les amies qui t'a beaucoup aidé*

‘and who are the friends who helped you a lot’

44 $DS4_{F49}$ *Les* $RM1_{F61}$

	$RM1_{F61}$[22]
45	*uh*
	uh
46	*$PB2_{F39}$*
47	*$MM2_{F55*}$*
48	*$MM1_{F57}$*
49	*$JD2_{F49}$*
50	*mais les dames que tu as l'autre jour*
	'but the women that you the other day'
51	*où ça ici où ça chez VB_{M68}*
	'over there here where at VB_{M68}'s'
52	*quand on a récolté VB_{M68} voilà*
	'when we were harvesting VB_{M68}'s'
53	*c'est eux*
	'that's them'

[ESS240216SG 06:47 – 09:56]

The above extract is very rich and nicely brings together various main themes of the study. Therefore I have included it as an extended extract without removing

[22] In the interview DS4 cites her friends' first names and for $MM1_{F57}$ and $MM2_{F55*}$ their nicknames as they both share their first and second names. In the transcription I have used their participant codes.

individual quotes. It not only deals with women's migration upon getting married, but also concomitant expectations to learn Joola Eegimaa, the intelligibility of different Joola varieties and also the friendship groups, which are formed around a work group, that $DS4_{F49}$ formed or joined upon arriving in the village. Table 5.5 below summarises her mobility history and language use practices.

Location	**Length of stay**	**Language(s) acquired / used**	**Linguistic practices**	**Reason re: mobility**
Ziguinchor	Approx. 17 years	Joola Fogny Wolof French	Multilingualism	Childhood and education
Dakar	14 years	French Wolof	Multilingualism	Work
Djembering	5 years on and off (concurrent with Essyl)	Joola Joola Fogny	Multilingualism	Visit husband
Essyl	13 years	Joola Joola Fogny Joola Eegimaa Wolof French	Multilingualism	Marriage

Table 5.5: $DS4_{F49}$ reported mobility trajectory and language use

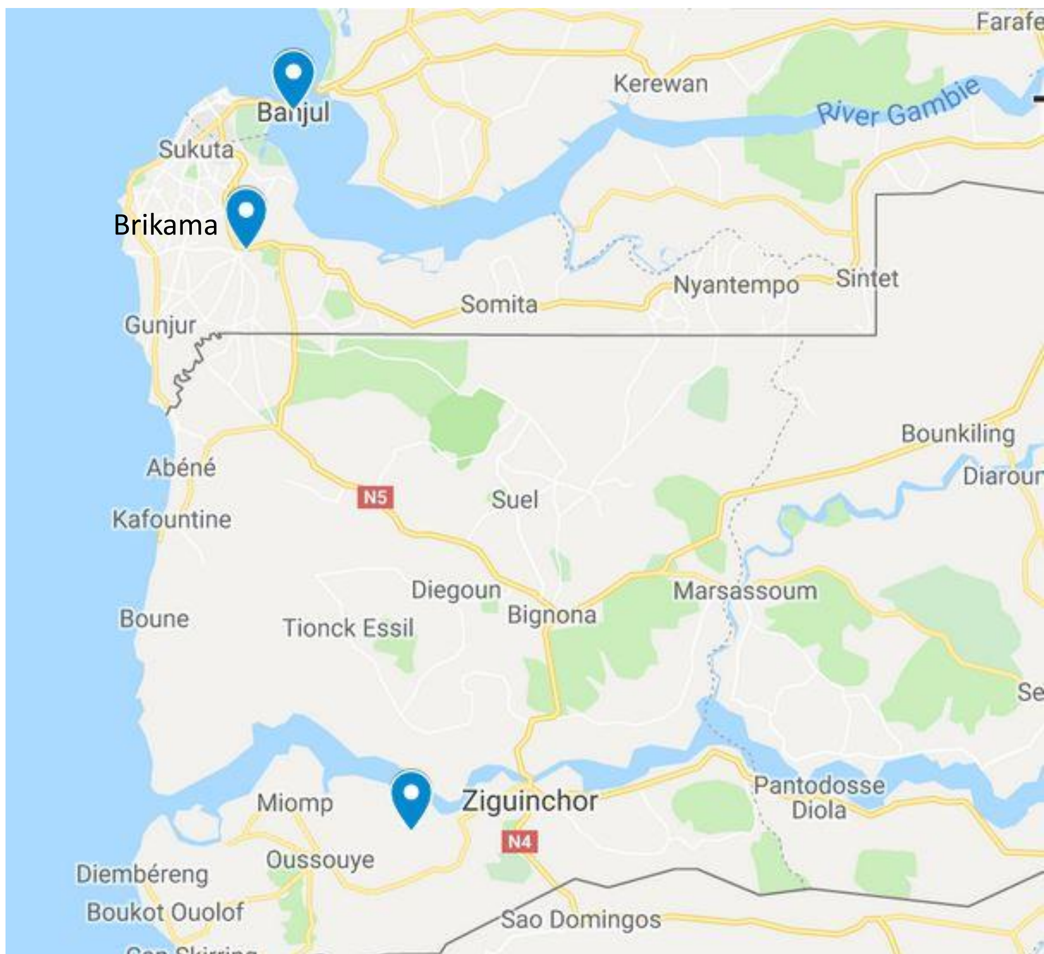
It is noteworthy that the first two people that she names as those friends who helped her to learn Joola Eegimaa on arriving are $PB2_{F39}$ and $RM1_{F61}$. Of course, $RM1_{F61}$ is part of the extended family and both are close neighbours. As will be seen in the following section too, although they both moved to Essyl upon marriage, they grew up speaking Joola Eegimaa and are from other villages in Mof Avvi, therefore are perfectly placed to help $DS4_{F49}$ learn the language (lines 34-44). $PB2_{F39}$ understands and speaks Joola Fogny from her time in Ziguinchor, as does $RM1_{F61}$. Furthermore, $DS4_{F49}$'s description of the work group she joined for harvesting the rice fields

closely matches the group of today, and indeed the extracts of natural language use in the rice fields come from many of the same participants (see example (6.15)). In addition, the other people named, $MM1_{F57}$ and $JD2_{F49}$, are also regularly attendees and members of the Catholic Women's Association. $MM1_{F57}$ forms part of the committee and she is also a representative for the village of Essyl. These women regularly come together in village meetings, meetings of the women's association, the women of Mof Avvi (for "traditional" activities such as funerals and work groups) and have continued to do so over many years of living in Essyl together.

5.1.4.2. From / Link with Mof Avvi sociolinguistic space

$RM1_{F61}$ and $PB2_{F39}$ already spoke Joola Eegimaa when they came to Essyl to live with their husbands. $RM1_{F61}$ grew up in Enampor and also spent approximately 5 years in Dakar staying with family when she was a teenager, although she does not know the exact years or how old she was specifically. Before marrying VB_{M68} in 1977, she had only visited Essyl once before to attend a cousin's wedding, which is where she met VB_{M68}. After that she did not visit until they were married as they said it was not considered prudent for a young unmarried woman to visit her husband's village before they were married. As she stated when moving from Enampor to Essyl it was easy because "they speak the same language", i.e. Joola Eegimaa. In the intervening years after leaving Enampor and arriving in Essyl, $RM1_{F61}$ expanded her repertoire through living and working in different towns and with different families, in the same way as many of the other participants. Whilst in Dakar she used Joola in the family household. Some of her relatives were Joola Banjal and some were Joola Fogny and she stated that she spoke Fogny at the same

time as Banjal when with them. Wolof was continually used from her time in Dakar and then when she moved to The Gambia to work as a domestic worker in family households. For 2 years she worked in the capital city of Banjul (see Map 5.7 below) with a Joola family and reports having spoken Joola and Wolof in the household. After 2 years she then went to work for another family in Brikama (see Map 5.7 below) who she states were Aku and who only spoke English and Wolof. As some members of the family spoke Wolof, she says she did not learn any English and does not claim any passive understanding either.



Map 5.7: Banjul and Brikama, The Gambia and Essyl, Senegal

(source google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

Juffermans (2015: 32, 39–40) describes how Aku people settled in The Gambia around 1850, descended from liberated slaves from Sierra Leone who had been taken to England and the Americas. The Aku language is an English-based Creole, closely related to Sierra Leonean Krio. However the family would describe their linguistic pracitces, $RM1_{F61}$ interpreted the non-Wolof as English and regardless did not actively learn it. Here in $RM1_{F61}$'s reporting of the linguistic setting, the importance of perspective is evident (Gal 2016). For her the contrast in linguistic practice is between Wolof and other. With her knowledge that The Gambia was previously a British colony where English persists as the official language, she perceived the non-Wolof as English. Only after having lived in The Gambia did she move to Ziguinchor where she worked for a European French family starting out looking after their children and then cooking for them when the children were old enough to attend school. It was here that she said she learnt French. She was living in Sindiane, one of the *quartiers* of Ziguinchor and says that at that time there were people in the neighbourhood who spoke Kriolu, so she learnt a very little bit there among friends and neighbours. Although Kriolu in Ziguinchor might have lost importance as a *lingua franca* in the town, some of Juillard's participants state that before independence its use was more widespread (Dreyfus & Juillard 2004) and indeed Biagui et al. (Submitted) show that Sindiane falls within a larger district of Cobitaine, which they map as one of the traditional Casamance Creole speaking districts of Ziguinchor. This is truly the embodiment of Calvet & Dreyfus' (1990) *plurilinguisme de voisinage* whereby daily interaction with your neighbours and friends is a type of informal language learning. When $RM1_{F61}$ was in Ziguinchor she would return to Enampor during the rainy seasons to her family home to help out

with the rice planting. Upon marrying VB_{M68} she moved to Essyl, which she had only visited once previously for a cousin's wedding where they met, yet from a linguistic point of view, she felt that her integration into Essyl was easy as they speak "the same language" as in Enampor. One effect that living in Essyl over a prolonged period of time, however, has had on her language use, is that she feels as if she has forgotten a lot of her Wolof, Kriolu and Mandinka. $RM1_{F61}$ only mentioned on occasion that she understood or could speak any Mandinka, but as underreporting of linguistic competencies is frequent, especially of those varieties which remain latent in the main in Essyl. Underreporting is generally observed with reference to French among women, which will also be discussed in §7, but also passive competence in other Joola varieties, see also $PB2_{F39}$'s reported repertoire description in §4.3. Although $RM1_{F61}$ enjoys speaking Wolof, since living in Essyl she feels as if her level of spoken competence has declined although she does regularly use it with certain people, for example IS_{F44} or LD_{F29} who attend the Catholic Women's Association meetings, and with family members as will be shown in §6.3.2.2. $RM1_{F61}$'s case is emblematic of people who expand their repertoires outside of Mof Avvi, yet when they return their extensive repertoires become to some degree latent possibilities regarding multilingual language use.

Location	Length of stay	Language(s) acquired / used	Linguistic practices	Reason re: mobility
Enampor	Approx. 13 years	Joola (Eegimaa/Banjal)	Monolingualism	Home village
Dakar	Approx. 5 years	Joola Joola Banjal Joola Fogny Wolof	Multilingualism	Family visit
Banjul (The Gambia)	2 years	Wolof Joola Mandinka	Multilingualism	Work
Brikama (The Gambia)	2 years	Wolof Mandinka	Multilingualism	Work
Ziguinchor	Uncertain	Joola French Kriolu	Multilingualism	Work
Essyl	Approx. 35 years	Joola Banjal Joola Wolof	Monolingualism	Marriage

Table 5.6: RM1$_{F61}$ reported mobility trajectory and language use

Therefore, certain languages are only activated according to the sociolinguistic space of interaction, which will be further discussed in §6.3.2.2 and §6.4.1 below. Although CB1$_{F38}$ was born in Dakar, lived there for 5 years and then moved to and grew up in Ziguinchor, she also retains a strong link to Mof Avvi through her father. Her father is JB$_{M56}$ (one of VB$_{M68}$'s best friends) who originates from Essyl. Before she moved to Essyl in 2000 when she married her husband FS$_{M42}$, she already spoke Joola Eegimaa, as whilst she was growing up she spent every holiday in Essyl with family. This is indicative of the type of *séjours linguistiques* 'linguistic visits' (Calvet & Dreyfus 1990) which many children are sent on. However in CB1$_{F38}$'s case it was not only to learn Joola Eegimaa, but also to visit family and spend holidays there.

All of the above sections in this chapter, although analysed according to different migration patterns or life history, do reunite a recurring theme, which is seen consistently throughout discourses in Essyl and reinforces the association of Essyl and Mof Avvi with monolingualism and outside areas and mobility with the acquisition of multilingualism and expansion of linguistic repertoires. Some of the reasons why understanding lots of languages is seen as important is to "enable people to travel, so that when you travel to other places people will be able to understand you and you won't be lost", as expressed by IS_{F44} and interestingly VB_{M68} in a focus group [ESS040317SGa]. Another link between perceived monolingualism and the lack of mobility is presented by $DS4_{F49}$ during the focus group, who says that it was their ancestors who weren't multilingual as they did not move around much. Looking at historical texts, it is not necessarily the case (see, for example, Baum 1986; Linares 2003; Foucher 2005), yet this perception persists that older generations were monolingual and that younger ones are more multilingual. Sagna (nd) provides a table where he contrasts monolingual and bi-/multilingual speakers appearing in his data according to different age categories and states that the historical decrease of monolingualism is due to migration factors. This is possible, but not clear from the data. Yet it is significant that no speaker under 50 claims to be monolingual, as this strengthens the perception that immobility is associated with monolingualism. Multilingualism enables mobility and mobility enables multilingualism: these two correlations exist in a reconstituting relationship often associated with the younger generation. $CS3_{M55}$ says if the younger generation do not move around, then they will feel trapped [ESS040317SG]. If people wish to continue their education then they must necessarily leave Mof Avvi to attend the second cycle of secondary school but this is not a recent phenomenon as evident

through various participants' own experiences. Even $CS3_{M55}$, who uttered the above statement, left Mof Avvi for exactly that reason and went to Ziguinchor to study for the first cycle of secondary school. The only difference with today is that children do not need to leave Mof Avvi for the first cycle only the second. Leaving Mof Avvi for education, economic reasons or for family visits are all common and as seen above have contributed to the expansion of linguistic repertoires in most cases, whereas cases of relative immobility, as in the case of VB_{M68}, have led to a restricted repertoire compared with many other people in the area. The following section will examine participants' current patterns of mobility and their reported language use in various settings.

5.2. Current mobility

The previous section demonstrated that many of the participants have moved around a lot and lived in different towns and villages before coming to, or returning to live, in Essyl. Participants are generally based in Essyl, but they all continue to move around between the different villages of Mof Avvi, Ziguinchor, Dakar, and further afield, for various reasons. These trips can be highly frequent and have also impacted the research as participants have been unavailable because they made frequent trips to town or visited family members for extended month-long stays. Evidently, this fact further reinforces the importance of the research questions relating to participants' mobility and language use and will form part of the analysis and discussion in this section.

Firstly I will briefly discuss $CB1_{F38}$ as the busyness of her schedule meant that in the field season January 2017-April 2017 she was entirely unable to continue working with me. For example I met with her on the morning of 9th March 2017

where we talked and she apologised for not being able to work with me and described to me some of her activities of the preceding week [field notes 09-10/03/2017]. As she is currently an elected councillor for the *Commune d'Enampor* 'municipality of Enampor' she had gone to Enampor two days previously for a meeting where the councillors discussed their budget for the year. The *Commune d'Enampor* is an administrative and political entity that encompasses all of the villages of Mof Avvi, the two other Crossroads villages of Brin and Djibonker and two other nearby villages Mamatoro and Medina. She reports that in these meetings the councillors speak Joola and French together, especially as there are members from Brin and Djibonker present. She says that Wolof is not used in general as not everyone can speak or understand Wolof and if it is used then someone will translate it into Joola. This, however, stands in contrast to other reports of these meetings by other members in the Crossroads. Miriam Weidl reports that language choice is highly dependent on the presence of participants. Language choices include Baïnounk Gubëeher if there are many residents from Djibonker present and due to the attendance of people from Mamatoro and Medina who may have different linguistic repertoies, then Wolof or Joola Fogny may also be used (Weidl 2018: 145–148). During the same week $CB1_{F38}$ attended another meeting on behalf of the *Commune d'Enampor*, again in Enampor, and she went to Ziguinchor on business for the shop. In addition during the same week she went to Kamobeul, one of the neighbouring villages to Essyl, to work with REFES, *regroupement des femmes d'espace de la commune d'Enampor*, 'the municipality of Enampor women's group' which is a women's organisation that is secular, i.e. anyone can join. In Kamobeul they have a house where groups of women meet to save money via a *tontine* system, where membership fees and regular money savings by the members go towards a

common pot. Then any member has the right to ask to borrow money so that they can start their own small businesses with the overall aim being "*pour mettre toutes les femmes en activité pour qu'elles travaillent et peuvent avoir de l'argent*" 'to enable all women to be active so that they can work and have some money' [CB1$_{F38}$ conversation noted in field notes 09/03/2017]. Language use during these meetings is reported to be Joola with a high proportion of French, as a lot of numeracy work is done through French, which was also found during the numerous meetings of the Women's Catholic Association I attended [observations among others field notes 08/02/2017]. In addition to these various activities, that same afternoon there was a funeral ceremony in Kamobeul at which she was present (I also went along with a number of women, some of whom were key participants, and CB1$_{F38}$ accompanied us on our return to Essyl). Furthermore, she was busy with preparations for the funeral anniversary celebrations for her late mother which would take place in early April 2017 in Eloubalir, one of the island villages of Mof Avvi.

As has been mentioned throughout the thesis, participants may often take extended trips to visit family, for example to Dakar, and this was certainly the case for three of the participants from 2015 until April 2017. The participants in question were RB4$_{F42}$, CS3$_{M55}$ and RM1$_{F61}$. During an interview about her current reported mobility and movements, RB4$_{F42}$ said that she very infrequently goes to Dakar and when she does it is according to whether there is a special occasion, such as a funeral or wedding to attend [ESS240117SG4]. The last time she visited Dakar was in 2015 and only for three days to attend a wedding. As she has four young children living at home, she finds it hard to travel with them. In the month before the interview, she had only been once to Ziguinchor to attend a funeral, as making regular trips to town can quickly become expensive. Yet a few weeks later, RB4$_{F42}$ left Essyl to go for a

month to Dakar, as her oldest daughter lives there and she had just had a baby. Although she feels that she does not leave Essyl much, when she does, then it is more likely to be for extended stays. When not in Essyl then for the most she reports preferring to speak Wolof, particularly when in Ziguinchor, although in Dakar she reports that she uses French and Wolof, but Joola in the house with family. Indeed across participants, the main reason to go currently to Dakar is in order to visit friends or family and generally this is an extended stay of approximately a month. Before I returned to the field in January 2017, $CS3_{M55}$ had spent a month in Dakar in October 2016 where he visited family and friends and stayed with various people [conversation with $CS3_{M55}$ attested and field notes 10/03/2017].

$RM1_{F61}$ also went to Dakar during my field stay for two weeks from 26/02/2017 to visit her oldest daughter, AB2, who lives there to prepare for her marriage which took place in June 2017. In addition her son PB3 lives in Dakar as does his girlfriend and their daughter RB2. As I stayed with $RM1_{F61}$, I was able to observe more closely how much she moved around during the three months of the fieldtrip and particularly in comparison with the previous field stay, she certainly was busier and made more frequent trips, mostly due to family concerns. However during a joint interview with VB_{M68} [ESS250117SG1] about their current mobility, she presents herself as only leaving Essyl when she needs to or has to get something. In order to make some money, $RM1_{F61}$ informally sells red wine from home. This is either purchased in Guinea-Bissau, where it is sold cheaper even though Senegal and Guinea-Bissau use the same currency, or in bulk from a warehouse in Ziguinchor. She states that in order to stock up she goes to Ziguinchor every two to three months where she buys from a Manjak seller who understands Joola. If he isn't there then she has to conduct her transactions in Wolof, which although she sometimes says she has forgotten, she

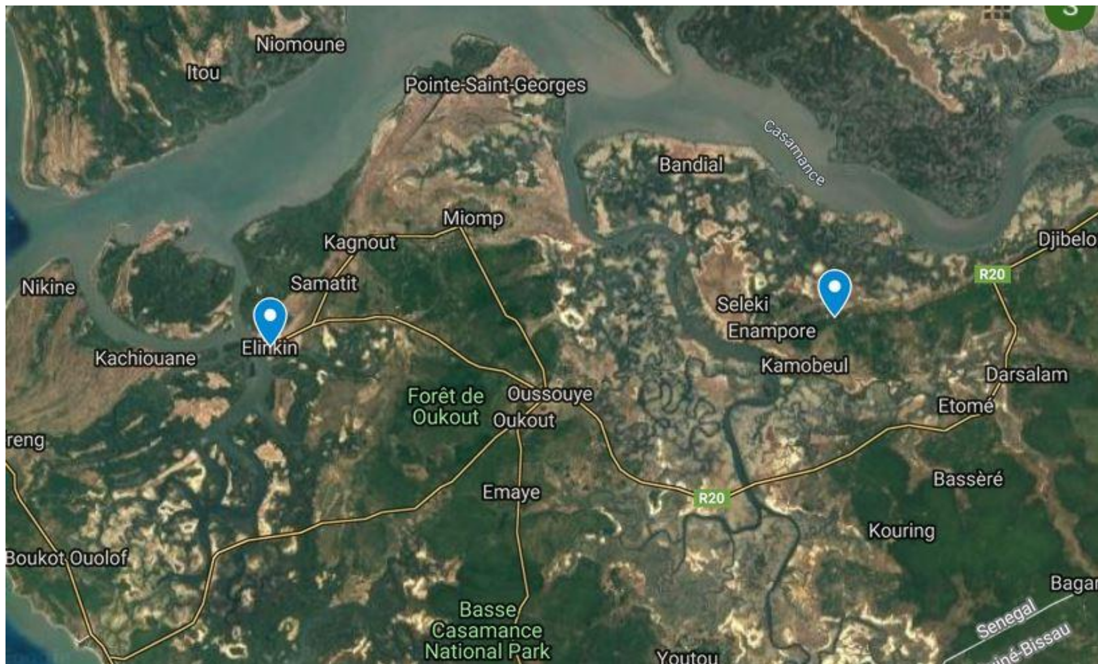
regularly uses it both in Essyl and outside Mof Avvi depending on context. $RM1_{F61}$ more frequently moves around between the villages of Mof Avvi, visiting family, friends and attending meetings of the Catholic Women's Association and ceremonies in neighbouring villages. She regularly goes to Enampor to visit her family, she states about every 2 to 3 weeks, yet she was going more frequently during the first three months of 2017 as unfortunately her older sister was ill and she often accompanied her between Enampor and Ziguinchor to the hospital. She would often go to Enampor for an afternoon or a day to visit walking there and back. The frequent trips around and outside of Mof Avvi, and how $RM1_{F61}$ reports them contrasts with the reports of her husband VB_{M68}, who presents himself as much less mobile, although this is not necessarily the case.

VB_{M68} states that he has only been to Dakar once in 1964 to attend a funeral there [ESS250117SG1]. VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$'s oldest daughter, AB2 got married in June 2017 and the wedding took place in Dakar. $RM1_{F61}$ went to stay with AB2 from April 2017 until after the ceremony and VB_{M68} went for a few days to attend the ceremony. Although he does not report it as such, his current mobility patterns are focused around his role as head of the Association of Christians of Essyl and his participation in various related events, such as masses or pilgrimages. Even though he has an older brother and family relations in Ziguinchor, he rarely goes to town unless there is a funeral to attend or a family problem; he states that he goes to Ziguinchor less than once a month. His reported language use when in Ziguinchor is rather different to other participants. He uses Joola with Joola relations or other known Joola people, as do many of the other participants who also report a preference for Joola. However, he does not use Wolof with other people or strangers. This is related to his dislike of Wolof and his reported lesser competency in the

language. His restricted repertoire marks him out when in Ziguinchor, however, as for example when he wants to buy something then he reports using French rather than Wolof, whereas Wolof is very often associated with the transactional domain and strangers by other participants. Whereas other participants have the opportunity to use more resources in their linguistic repertories when they go to Ziguinchor, it is the opposite for VB_{M68}, as his choices become more restricted as Joola Eegimaa is removed as a choice and therefore he becomes "monolingual" with French usage as he refuses to speak Wolof. Other participants in the same situation will either use Wolof as a default or once some shared common knowledge of repertoires is made explicit then they may use other possibilities in their repertoires, for example Mandinka or Kriolu. Yet because he tends to move around more within Mof Avvi, his repertoire reinforces itself and is constituted by the movements that he makes, therefore he uses a preponderance of Joola (Eegimaa).

As described in §6.3.1.2 church services are not held weekly in Essyl and alternate with various villages in Mof Avvi, therefore VB_{M68} will often attend services in Badiatte or Kamobeul for example. As the services are run by the same priests and generally the congregations are made up of people from the villages in Mof Avvi, the language use patterns are therefore similar to those described in the following chapter in §6.3.1.2 (confirmed through observations of church services in Badiatte in March 2016). Other observed and reported movements of VB_{M68} are also linked to the church and his work, for example, during February 2017 VB_{M68} had to go to Brin on two occasions to visit the priests, as the priests in Essyl needed records of baptisms and as the records were dated from before the introduction of the diocese of Enampor, he had to go to Brin, which was the main diocese at the time. The other significant yearly movement that VB_{M68} undertakes is the pilgrimage to Elinkine

every December, a village in the Basse Casamance region, approximately 50km from Essyl.



Map 5.8: Essyl and Elinkine

(source: google.co.uk/maps accessed and amended 2019)

The day trip is usually organised so that groups take buses together and the whole day trip usually costs around 3000 CFA. The main event is a mass during the morning from 10am-1pm at which the bishop usually speaks. However, as VB_{M68} states, as the event is for people all over the Casamance to come to, then the whole service is conducted in French, and not Joola. Yet even VB_{M68}'s yearly pilgrimage to Elinkine may not continue in the future. During March 2017 I accompanied VB_{M68} to a site just outside of Kamobeul in Mof Avvi [field notes 23/03/2017], where a small group of men from the Catholic Association and one of the priests met to clear an area of ground of brush, grasses, etc. (This event is also discussed from a language use perspective in §6.3.1.2 below.) It is intended that this area will become

a secondary pilgrimage site where the Catholics of Mof Avvi can come and pray instead of making the journey to Elinkine, thereby saving time and costs. If this is the case and VB_{M68} does not continue to make the journey outside of Mof Avvi to Elinkine, then his mobility patterns will become even more restricted to Mof Avvi.

Furthermore, VB_{M68} wrote a language diary during one week which provides further data regarding his current mobility patterns and although it is only a randomly chosen week, albeit at the participant's convenience, it does support and illustrate his reported dominant patterns of mobility. As discussed VB_{M68} states that he does not often travel to Ziguinchor or other towns or if so, then it is specifically for either a ceremony or perhaps on church business in the capacity of head of the Christian Association of Essyl. In the week in question, VB_{M68} mainly stayed in and around the village of Essyl for 4 out of the 7 days, in the *quartiers* of Essyl and Kadikaye. The other 3 days involved him travelling within the kingdom of Mof Avvi to different neighbouring villages. On 2 days he went to Kamobeul: once for a funeral and once with the church to clear a pilgrimage site. On the other day he went to the neighbouring village of Enampor, where $RM1_{F61}$ is from, to attend a funeral of one of her relations. As regards VB_{M68}'s reported language use in the different places, he did not refer to languages used when he went to attend a funeral in Kamobeul. However, the other time he went to Kamobeul, he reported speaking Joola Banjal and French and when in Enampor for another funeral, he also reported speaking Joola Banjal with people from the other villages of Mof Avvi and even with those who came from Ziguinchor, which tallies with reported and observed language use trends especially regarding VB_{M68}'s own language use patterns. Table 5.7 below provides an overview of the key participants' mobility and reported language use discussed above:

Person	Location	Length	Frequency	Reason	Languages used	Linguistic practices
$CB1_{F38}$	Enampor	Day visit	2 x / week – 1 x / month	Meeting of *Commune d'Enampor*	Joola French	Multilingualism
	Ziguinchor	Day visit	Depends on need	Shop business	Uncertain likely Joola and Wolof	Most likely multilingualism
	Kamobeul	Day visit	Unknown	*REFES* meeting	Joola French	Multilingualism
	Kamobeul	Day visit	Individual event	Funeral	Joola	Monolingualism
$RB4_{F42}$	Ziguinchor	Day visit	Individual event	Funeral	Wolof	Likely multilingualism
	Dakar	1 month	Individual event	Family visit (birth of grandchild)	French Wolof Joola	Multilingualism
$RM1_{F61}$	Dakar	2 weeks	1-3 / year	Family visit	Joola Wolof	Multilingualism
	Dakar	2 months	1-3 / year	Family visit (wedding)	Joola Wolof	Multilingualism
	Ziguinchor	Day visit	2-3 months	Business	Joola Wolof	Multilingualism
	Enampor	Day visit	3 x / week – 1 x / 2 or 3 weeks	Family visit	Joola Eegimaa	Monolingualism
VB_{M68}	Dakar	Approx . 5 days	Individual event	Family visit (wedding)	Joola French	Multlingualism
	Ziguinchor	Day visit	Less than 1 x / month	Family visit / funeral	Joola French	Monolingualism
	Badiatte	Day visit	1 x every 2 weeks	Church service	Joola Eegimaa French	Mono-multilingualism
	Kamobeul	Day visit	1 x every 2 weeks	Church service	Joola Eegimaa French	Mono-multilingualism
	Kamobeul	Day visit	Individual event	Church business	Joola French	Mono-multilingualism
	Kamobeul	Day visit	Individual event	Funeral	Unknown likely Joola	Likely monolingualism
	Enampor	Day visit	Individual event	Funeral	Joola Banjal	Monolingualism
	Brin	Day visit	2 x / month	Church business	Joola French	Mono-multilingualism
	Elinkine	Day visit	1 x / year	Pilgrimage	French	Monolingualism

Table 5.7: snapshot of current mobility and reported language use of 4 key participants

Overall, the vast majority of all participants' current mobility patterns are centred around attending ceremonies, and in the most cases, funerals or anniversaries of funerals. This is an important aspect of people's daily lives. Indeed participants have discussed how important it is to regularly attend funerals otherwise people would gossip that they never attend any. These events reunite family members and friends from all parts of the region, country and diaspora in Senegal and beyond, even internationally, e.g., from France. They are, therefore, sites and situations where people come together who have vastly different repertoires and the affordances for multilingual language use are indeed greater than on a day-to-day basis in Essyl. However, I do not wish to make it seem as if funerals are exceptional, as they do form part of everyday life. During my periods of fieldwork and especially in December-January, there was usually at least one funeral per week, and even if the ceremony itself is not attended then participants often travel to present their condolences to the deceased's family. In contrast to my previous personal experience with funerals, it is not always necessary to have known the deceased particularly well, but if the family is known, then it is seen as polite to attend. If the deceased is old, then the funeral is also a celebration with dancing, singing and drinking. Whilst conducting fieldwork in Essyl I often had to rearrange interview sessions or scheduled observations as participants attended funerals on very short notice. Funerals would also interrupt such important events as the rice harvest and groups of women in particular would travel to neighbouring villages or Ziguinchor to pay their respects [field notes 12/01/2016; field notes 10/03/2017]. It was rarely possible to record at such events for research purposes, despite these funerals being attended by many people who would film and record them on their mobiles or tablets for personal purposes documenting the event. I was, however, able to make observations

of who was present, who they attended with and which languages I perceived were used, following up with participants afterwards for confirmation.

In the above, various patterns of mobility were presented, with essentially two categories: non-movers and movers. However, the vast majority of people have been, are, and are likely to be, highly mobile and this evidently does have an effect on their linguistic repertoires on an individual level. It was also shown how participants perceive mobility, with clear links to opportunities of becoming more multilingual. In the next chapter, I will present multilingual linguistic practices observed in Essyl, before reuniting the data and analyses for discussion in chapter 7.

6. From mono- to multilingualism: practices and perceptions

This chapter will analyse instances of naturalistic language data in various contexts to examine the reasons why Essyl may be described as a monolingual setting and the perceptions of linguistic practices that take place there. This chapter responds to research questions (c) What patterns of language use are observed in natural discourse data?; and (d) What is the effect, if any, of highly mobile participants with distinct linguistic repertoires on the patterns and perceptions of language use in Essyl? Relating back to the individual repertoires of participants (chapter 4), the chapter examines different permutations of language use, using recorded conversations, observed communicative events, and focus groups to examine both practices and participants' perceptions. Here the scope of focus is broadened to include other participants in addition to the key participants. The data presented in this chapter are mere snapshots of various different communicative events with a variety of participants. The instances and contexts described in this chapter are not exhaustive, but are merely illustrative of the different linguistic practices which I observed and described in Essyl during the periods of research. For example, in §6.1.2 I discuss Joola Eegimaa being used to talk to children with 2 adult participants: this was not an isolated incident, as similar scenarios were observed across participants in many different contexts. The chapter begins with monolingual instances of bounded language use, where Joola Eegimaa, the language most closely associated with Essyl and Mof Avvi, is dominant in various domains such as the home. The chapter then moves on to consider the use of "Joola" and whether it is perceived, and can be analysed, as a monolingual or multilingual practice. The most

commonly occurring named languages are Joola, French and Wolof in varying combinations, however, in §6.4 instances of other languages are discussed, their occurrence dependent on individuals' repertoires, yet all contributing to the multilingualism of the sociolinguistic space in Essyl.

6.1. Monolingual Joola Eegimaa

The vast majority of participants report Joola Eegimaa as being the only language spoken at home, in the village, during work, among family members and in numerous communicative contexts within the village. It is also widely reported as the only language that children speak together, despite the fact that they begin to learn French at school, if not before. As Sagna (2008; 2016) notes, there is a fair amount of concern about Wolofisation (see §2.1.1), i.e. the shift to using Wolof to the detriment of Joola Eegimaa, although this is often said to apply to towns and cities and to those who move away from the village and Mof Avvi. Furthermore, this is also often attributed to women who move to Ziguinchor or Dakar and then return to the village and are perceived to speak with their children in Wolof. There are a wide variety of contexts and linguistic practices present in Essyl. Firstly in this section, the monolingual contexts of language use will be discussed, where Joola Eegimaa may be analysed as the dominant language used in various contexts.

In interviews with participants, people such as $RB4_{F42}$, who has an extensive multilingual repertoire, presented in §4.4 above, states that "*ici on ne parle que le banjal*" 'here we only speak Banjal' [ESS230216SG]. $JB1_{M26}$, who has a similar repertoire to $RB4_{F42}$, also supports this, extending the monolingual sociolinguistic space to the kingdom of Mof Avvi in general: "*quand je voyage dans le Royaume je parle le joola banjal*" 'when I travel in the kingdom I speak Joola Banjal'

[ESS120116SG4a]. The link between place and one language as put forward by participants constructs Essyl (and Mof Avvi) as a monolingual area, where people heavily associate a location with one particular language, which corresponds to Auer at al.'s (2013: 8–10) first level of spatial indexicality, the "traditional" model, which is "based on a strict one-to-one relationship between spoken language and geographical location". Apart from a meeting of the Women's Catholic Association all of the participant observation recordings took place in Essyl (other non-recorded but observed events took place outside of Essyl, but inside Mof Avvi), therefore if participants' observations and ideas about language use hold, then we should also see Joola Eegimaa being the dominant language used in a variety of interactions.

6.1.1. In the home

$RM1_{F61}$ and VB_{M68}'s household can be described as a monolingual setting. Among the two of them alone Joola Eegimaa is not only dominant, but is also the only language used. Throughout my time with them I observed virtually no code-switching at all, with only the occasional incorporated borrowing from French, for example numbers or days of the week. My presence in their household might have been expected to change this, as happens when FB_{F61} is present (see below). VB_{M68} and I conversed in French and so do $RM1_{F61}$ and me, especially when I did not understand her in Joola Eegimaa. However my presence, and especially $RM1_{F61}$'s increased use of French, did not have any observable impact on their linguistic practices between themselves. Although it might be expected that they incorporated more French into their Joola Eegimaa, this in fact was not the case. However, once strangers or visitors come to the household, whether I as a researcher, or other friends or family then the context changes and their repertoires and linguistic

practices can change, as will be discussed in the following sections. Although, as noted in §5.1.2, when FB_{F61} and I were present in the household, FB_{F61} acted as a language arbiter insisting that everyone speak Joola (Eegimaa) in my presence. Although I had explained my focus of research, she also knew that I was leaning Joola Eegimaa. The combination of my presence when she was staying in the household thus triggered a monolingual Joola language mode. Indeed, the pattern of language use between VB_{M68} and RMI in their household can be considered as a prototypical instance of monolingual linguistic practice in Joola Eegimaa.

6.1.2. Language use with children

With other participants in other situations Joola Eegimaa can also be described as the dominant language, if not as the only language spoken. Two participants, JAS_{F22*} and HB_{F24*}, were in January 2016 working together preparing lunch for the teachers at the school in Essyl. JAS_{F22*}' repertoire consists of Joola Eegimaa, French and Wolof. HB_{F24*} reports Joola Eegimaa, Wolof and limited competency in French. Having observed numerous occasions of them working together and looking after their children at the same time, they did indeed speak Joola Eegimaa to each other for the most part. In a recorded event of them preparing lunch together it is the dominant language spoken between themselves over a period of 2 hours. An example taken from a recorded observation is given below, the transcriber, DS, also concurred that all of the following segments (and the vast majority of the file) were in Joola Eegimaa:

(6.1)

1	HB_{F24*}	*añoli nabbano*
		'your child came back'
2	HB_{F24*}	*Nuffase guceil bu nihi gukan ?*
		'do you know how others do it?'
3	JAS_{F22*}	*Uum?*
		'Huh?'
4	HB_{F24*}	*pan guñul yo balama gúttuŋ yó*
		'they cook it before pounding it'
5	JAS_{F22*}	*Urú pe figen i, aw lepo etogut !*
		'that should have been done since yesterday, you can see that it's not enough'
6		*mbiban, ínje éttuŋ efaŋe may nendee…*
		'well I prefer to pound it'
7	HB_{F24*}	*yo efaŋe nejase ?*
		'is it quicker?'
8	JAS_{F22*}	*so ni uñul uban nubbañ úttuŋ !*
		'Than cooking it and then pounding it?'
9	HB_{F24*}	*ee ?*
		'Yeah?'
10	JAS_{F22*}	*an ahume, bijegol bíjebijebi, iffasut ay me dal !*
		this last one, their charcoal is damp, I don't know whose it is!
11	HB_{F24*}	*Uum?*

		'huh?'
12	JAS_{F22*}	*Bijeh babu neege bíjebijebi*
		'I was saying that the charcoal is damp'
13	HB_{F24*}	*Ujóul uluj babe Damienne bugo n'añoli…*
		'come and see Damienne and your kid'
14	JAS_{F22*}	*Uum ?*
		'huh ?'
15	HB_{F24*}	*Ujóul uluj boube Basiru bugo n'añoli ! Basiru naŋare gande*
16		*gagu, añoli naage bi eyab gande gagu, ñer búrandamor ajae me*
17		*eŋar*
		'come and see Bassirou and your kid! Bassirou took the thing, your kid wanted to grab it, so now they are playing tug of war'

[ESS120116SGb 00:02:13.683 – 00:04:03:778]

Here it should be considered why the conversation is taking place in a monolingual mode. Although I was present as a participant observer, throughout the recording I was largely ignored by the two women. Although both of their repertoires are similar and both present the latent possibilities of also using Wolof and French in their interactions, it is important to consider that they are located in Essyl, in the village, talking about topics such as cooking and children, that no one else intervenes in their conversation and that HB_{F24*} does not assess her level of competency in French

highly. Therefore, if other languages are to be used then it would most likely be Wolof, as the other resource that both possess in their repertoires. Indeed, this is the case, as later in §6.3.3 the continuation of the same observed communicative event will show how French is only used as loan words and that a change in interlocutor and context creates a space for Wolof use. However, in example (6.1), the two young women, JAS_{F22*} and HB_{F24*}, who were both residing in Essyl at the time of the example, used no Wolof to their children and exclusively used Joola Eegimaa.

6.1.3. Ceremonies

Ceremonies, such as funerals, are an important part of cultural life in Essyl, the villages of Mof Avvi and the wider Basse Casamance area. Participants regularly travel to other villages to pay their respects to the deceased's family and may travel as often as once or twice a week. People come from many different villages and towns, even as far as Dakar or villages in Guinea-Bissau, including from France if they are a family member. The language use of the ceremony itself is often restricted, despite these ceremonies reuniting people with varied repertoires who may engage in highly multilingual practices. This also applies more widely to ceremonies other than funerals and the topic of which language or languages should be spoken can be a contentious issue. For example, VB_{M68} and $CS3_{M55}$ discussed the 2004 circumcision with Tricia Manga and me during an interview [ESS160316SGCSa-c]. The circumcision is an initiation for men held approximately every 25-30 years (for more information see Roche 1985; Cobbinah et al. 2017). Many Joola men from Mof Avvi and beyond came to be initiated; people came from Ziguinchor, Dakar and Paris to attend. $CS3_{M55}$ and VB_{M68} reported that language use became an issue as some of the younger initiates did not speak or understand Joola

Eegimaa. It was debated whether to translate from Joola into Wolof, to use Wolof as well as Joola Eegimaa, or to only use Joola. In the end it was decided that only Joola Eegimaa would be used. This meant that some of the initiates had to partner up with a friend or relative who could interpret for them, whether into Wolof, French or another language. After seclusion in the sacred forest for a month, the initiates exit the forest and must sing a song. The song should be sung in Joola, but $CS3_{M55}$ and VB_{M68} lamented the fact that on leaving the forest many people could not even sing a simple song in Joola. The description of the initiation in Mof Avvi stands in contrast to the accounts of language use and how meaning was negotiated in the initiation in Brin/Djibonker in 2014, when dealing with people from all over Senegal and the diaspora, where a more fluid linguistic practice was permitted and although different parts of the forest there have different rules, the use of Wolof, for example, was not specifically ruled out (Cobbinah, p.c.; Weidl, p.c. 12/06/2017).

Joola Eegimaa is widely perceived to be the only language used in Essyl and in this section various salient communicative contexts were described where Joola Eegimaa is the dominant named language used in interaction. Table 6.1 below summarises the above contexts, considering who, where, when and why Joola Eegimaa is used. This broadly follows Fishman's (1965) questions in his famous article *Who speaks what language to whom and when?*, although as Juffermans (2015a) points out (and as will be shown throughout this and the following chapter) it may be more pertinent to ask who *languages* what, to whom, when and why?

Named language(s)	**Who**	**Where**	**When**	**Why**
Joola Eegimaa	$RM1_{F61}$ ↔ VB_{M68}	In the home	If no one else present (incl. researcher)	Dominant language used between them in a variety of settings; preferred; identity language
	JAS_{F22*} ↔ HB_{F24*} JAS_{F22*} → children HB_{F24*} → children	Different contexts incl. working and childcare	Most of the time observed	Unequal levels of competency in French. No change in communicative context
	Most participants	Ceremonies	With other Joola (Eegimaa) speaker	Dominant language used in ceremonies, such as funerals, communicate with ancestors, participation in initiation

Table 6.1: contexts of use of Joola Eegimaa

6.2. Joola

The above section detailed some instances of the use of Joola Eegimaa, the language most closely associated with the village of Essyl and Mof Avvi. Some contexts, for example ceremonial use, may be as close to an ideologically monolingual setting as is possible in the Casamance. It is nonetheless important to note that there may be further settings where Joola Eegimaa is the dominant language in interaction, for example in a situation where someone is present who is expected to learn the language. However, through my observations and data I have collected, the use of Joola Eegimaa should not be considered in isolation and as will be shown in the following section, it may often be difficult to delineate between the different varieties of Joola, whether by participants, observers, or researchers. Therefore, we may, following Watson (Cobbinah et al. 2017; Watson 2019), speak of the above

contexts and settings as being "prototypical" uses of Joola Eegimaa. Although they may be prototypical instances of language use, it is important to note that the concept of the prototype does not exclude differing contexts. This section further expands on the uses of Joola Eegimaa above by considering how Joola Eegimaa forms part of a wider concept of "Joola" and the extent to which Joola, including Joola Eegimaa, can be seen as prototypical for the setting of Mof Avvi or "prototypical language" to be used in a variety of contexts (see §7.2).

6.2.1. Is there a standard Joola?

For this section I will focus on how "Joola" might be a better description of dominant linguistic practices in Essyl, particularly from a participants' perspective. However, it becomes apparent that when discussing the Joola cluster of languages, the term Joola also encompasses a wide range of reported and actual linguistic practices and might be better considered as a languaging practice, which will be further elucidated in §7.3.

If one were to consider languages as definable, countable entities then Joola, which is recognised as one of the national languages of Senegal, masks a range of diversity and is often considered to be a cluster of languages and varieties or dialects, depending on how one perceives the language/dialect distinction (Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming; Sagna 2008; 2016; Watson 2015). Indeed it is one of the largest clusters in the Atlantic grouping of languages. The varieties were grouped together by Sapir (1971), Barry (1987), and were further expanded by Carlton & Rand (1993) who carried out a sociolinguistic study of Joola varieties. Pozdniakov & Segerer (Forthcoming) have put forward the most recent Joola groupings, and the wider Atlantic family from which they derive, from a typological perspective (see

Figure 1.1 in §1.4). However, if participants are asked to name languages in their repertoires and thus count languages[23], then sometimes the diversity of Joola varieties is present in their responses and sometimes the participants answer with "Joola", particularly if they are asked and respond through the medium of Joola, including Joola Eegimaa. Interestingly, out of all of the participants two report speaking only Joola, i.e., they are monolingual in Joola. EGB_{M43} reported speaking "Joola" when asked in French. He was born in 1973, and attended secondary school until the 4th grade. It is important to note that although he responded in French, it is what I, as the researcher, perceive of as French, rather than the participants' perceptions. The inclusion of French within Joola does not seem to harm the view of Essyl as monolingual and incorporates other languages/languaging practices. $AS6_{F70*}$, however, reported only speaking *gujoolay* 'Joola' when asked in Joola (by VB_{M68} as research assistant). She never attended school and did not know when she was born, but her son estimated that she is approximately 70 years old. However, being monolingual in Joola is in itself a multilingual practice as generally more than one variety of Joola may at least be passively understood if not actively used. In addition, other participants who firstly report speaking *banjal* when asked (in French) about the languages in their repertoires, have on other occasions or later in the interview added or demonstrated competence in other Joolas. An example of this is taken from a sociolinguistic interview conducted with $PB2_{F39}$ in tandem with Caroline Juillard. At the beginning of the interview, which was all conducted in French, I asked $PB2_{F39}$ what languages she speaks and she responded "*je parle banjal, wolof, français*" and counts the languages off on her fingers as she names them. At the beginning of the interview it was fairly formal, but as it progressed it

[23] Which is of course only one way of investigating repertoires that is highly ideologically loaded.

became, under Caroline Juillard's guidance, less structured and freer, more informal. After about half an hour we began to speak about people $PB2_{F39}$ knows who have moved to Dakar and Ziguinchor and then began to speak about the time that she spent in Ziguinchor. Juillard asked what other Joolas $PB2_{F39}$ understands and what she spoke in Ziguinchor. Then it emerged that when she was in Ziguinchor she stayed in a *quartier* where there were a lot of Fogny people present and thus acquired Joola Fogny in Ziguinchor. $PB2_{F39}$ is not the only participant to amend her repertoire this way, as asking participants to enumerate languages is not necessarily the most natural way of discerning a person's repertoire in this context where languages and linguistic resources are not necessarily separated into countable entities as in Western traditions. Thus, when speaking more about contextualised language use, a richer description of her repertoire and practices became apparent. Furthermore, $PB2_{F39}$ gives voice to the fluidity of Joola practices, which is also alluded to by many participants and particularly by Joola Eegimaa speakers: "*quand les fognys parlent nous les comprenons, mais quand nous parlons ils nous comprennent difficilement*" 'when Fogny people speak we understand them, but when we speak they have difficulty understanding us' [ESS190216SGb]. When $DS4_{F49}$, a Joola Fogny speaker, first arrived in Essyl she found it difficult to understand everyone for the first couple of weeks, as shown in §5.1.3. In the second week she already went to the rice fields and found it difficult to learn any Joola Eegimaa. At that time her mother-in-law, MTT also went to the rice fields and $DS4_{F49}$ asked what everyone else was saying and then MTT and others, including $PB2_{F39}$, would explain it to her in Joola Fogny.

However, other participants do not necessarily assume that other Joola speakers will be able to understand if they were to speak Joola Eegimaa. Therefore if a Joola

Eegimaa speaker is able to actively use another Joola variety, then it may be necessary to use this Joola when someone from outside Mof Avvi visits Essyl. $JB1_{M26}$ gives this example (transcription my own):

(6.2)

$JB1_{M26}$ *donc par exemple quelqu'un qui sort de là-bas qui comprend le fogny vient ici, on discute ou bien quand moi je vais là-bas je parle fogny alors*

'so for example if someone comes from over there who understands Fogny and they come here we talk or even when I go there then I speak Fogny'

[ESS120116SG4a]

$JB1_{M26}$ learnt Joola Fogny in Ziguinchor and Bignona where he finished school. He now travels to Bignona 5 or 6 times a year to visit his sister and her husband who he stayed with while studying. He also goes to Ziguinchor nearly every weekend to meet friends and visit family. In this example $JB1_{M26}$ specifically designates another Joola variety as Fogny defining a Joola language which is spoken across the Casamance as a *lingua franca*, although this designation also masks complex linguistic practices such as those that happen in Ziguinchor. Juillard (2001) notes that in Ziguinchor "*le diola, dans sa variation dialectale et urbaine, est utilisé exclusivement entre membres des communautés diola-phones*" 'Joola, in its dialectal and urban variation, is used exclusively between members of Joola-speaking communities'. Indeed this transfers over to the situation in Essyl as it is not only

with Joola Fogny speakers that participants are able to use their Joola languaging practices. Therefore this practice is not purely restricted to varieties spoken by people in urban settings, but it also happens in Essyl and Mof Avvi itself.

In the previous section it was shown that in some contexts and between some participants Joola Eegimaa is the dominant language in conversation in Essyl, thus creating a monolingual sociolinguistic space in interaction. However, in other contexts and with other participants, not only is Joola Eegimaa dominant, but also other Joola varieties and Joola more broadly. Many participants either come from outside Mof Avvi, i.e. not from the patrimonial Joola Eegimaa speaking area, or have lived in other Joola speaking areas and have acquired other Joola varieties, or indeed have this broader Joola competence. Examining some natural language data provides interesting insights into how participants use different varieties, how this use is interpreted by observers, and gives indications as to the actual competencies of other participants who claim to be able to understand these other varieties. All of which could indicate a languaging practice rather than definable countable languages. One such key participant is $DS4_{F49}$, who says it is impossible to speak Joola Eegimaa without mixing it with her Joola, Joola Fogny. She moved to Essyl to marry her husband, but she grew up in Ziguinchor in Lyndiane, a *quartier* with a lot of Joola Fogny speakers. When asked what languages she speaks, she at first said ‘Joola and French’; she grew up with her uncle and his family where his wife wouldn’t permit Wolof in the household. As she was born in Tangiem I asked whether the Joola there is the same as the Joola in Essyl and she replies in the interview, conducted in French, as follows (transcription and translation my own. The square brackets indicate overlapping speech):

(6.3)

1	SG	*Tangiem ça c'est est-ce que c'est le même joola*
		'Tangiem that is is that the same Joola'
2	SG	[*que d'ici*]
		'as here'
3	$DS4_{F49}$	[*c'est le même joola*]
		'it's the same Joola'
4	$DS4_{F49}$	*non non c'est pas le même joola d'ici*
		'no no it's not the same Joola as here'
5	$DS4_{F49}$	*c'est à cause de ça moi je ne peux pas parler ici le joola d'ici*
6		*correctement*
		'that's why me, I can't speak the Joola here properly'
7	$DS4_{F49}$	*sans mettre mon joola fogny*
		'without adding my Joola Fogny'
8	$DS4_{F49}$	*ici c'est banjal nous c'est fogny*
		'here it's Banjal us it's Fogny'
9	$DS4_{F49}$	*moi aussi je suis en train d'apprendre le banjal*
		'I'm also still learning Banjal'
10	$DS4_{F49}$	*je parle pas couramment le banjal*
		'I don't speak Banjal fluently'

[ESS240216SG – 00:03:45.066 – 00:04:11.644]

Before I finish asking my question from line 2, $DS4_{F49}$ already begins replying in line 3, that it's the same Joola. However, in line 4 she corrects herself as I added whether it was the same Joola as spoken here, i.e. in Essyl. Then she corrects herself

and says that it is not the same Joola and continues to give an assessment of her use of the two now distinct Joola languages, whereas in her first response she perceives the question as about the broader concept of Joola. Despite having moved to Essyl in 2003, she says that she is still learning *banjal* and does not speak it fluently, but rather mixes in Joola Fogny. In actual language use, this is indeed what she does. When discussing the following example with the transcriber, DS, I asked him why he thought each section was Joola Fogny or Joola Eegimaa. I reminded him of the file and he commented that $DS4_{F49}$ in that clip in particular mixes Joolas, before I even told him who was featured and showed him the sections I was referring to. The extract that follows was taken from a participant observation event of a group of women working in $RM1_{F61}$'s rice fields. Some of the group of women are singing as they work while some others are chatting or commenting on the singing. In the extract I am referred to as Marie, another name which I am known by in Essyl. In the following *Joola Eegimaa* is in Italics, <u>**Joola Fogny**</u> is in bold and underlined, **French** is in bold. Although on review with DS, he stated that many instances of Joola Eegimaa and Joola Fogny share forms, therefore only the prototypical instances (i.e. those which diverge from Joola Eegimaa) of Joola Fogny are picked out below:

(6.4)

1	$DS4_{F49}$ to SG	[*Mari, uŋar wafi, nuoge* <u>**jakum**</u> *ulob* !]
		'Marie, do your part, you said <u>**to not**</u> speak'
2	MMT and	[*Wamisaó ó óóóó…Siilene naage jiaŋenol….jiaŋenol*

3	others	*jikalo….Amisa umu bicin makaañ* !.....] ‘Amissa oh oh oh, Silléné said to scold him…to really scold him… Amissa is with the Mancagnes…’ (singing)
4	IS$_{F44}$	*Wó…ya ! Iki pan íjjuul ! .....Ah !* ‘oh there, wait I have to blow my nose’
5	VB$_{M68}$ to IS$_{F44}$	*Bújusa babu ?* ‘is it a cold?’
6	MMT (addressee unclear)	*…Jiaŋenol !* ‘scold them!’
7	DS4$_{F49}$ to rest of	*Jíabul, wóli babe újuut,* **apranti** *ré !* **<u>Eno mo jihalol man o afóñ</u>**
8	group about her and IS$_{F44}$	**<u>nevonol</u>** *mbi buru jiyab ni manur* ! ‘Start singing, us here we can’t sing we are just **trainees**! **<u>However, if you brought her here to let her sing alone</u>**, then you have to start again altogether’
9	CB1$_{F38}$ to DS4$_{F49}$	*Injé ugu íjuut go sah !* ‘me, I don’t know that one!’

[ESS150116SGa - 00:03:22.825 – 00:04:11.412]

This stretch of various conversations with different participants is all conducted in Joola. Apart from the French *apprenti* ‘trainee’, all of the other turns are identified as Joola. Only $DS4_{F49}$ mixes Joola Eegimaa and Joola Fogny. DS, who transcribed the file, said that in Joola Eegimaa they use different lexical items and constructions for the section marked as Joola Fogny. Many of $DS4_{F49}$’s turns are indeed mixed with Joola Fogny and Joola Eegimaa. In line 9 $CB1_{F38}$ responds to $DS4_{F49}$ in Joola Eegimaa, but has clearly understood her. $CB1_{F38}$ also has Joola Fogny in her repertoire and grew up as well in Ziguinchor, see §4.1. However, in line 7 and 8, $DS4_{F49}$ is not specifically addressing $CB1_{F38}$, although she responds to her, rather she is addressing the whole group, some of whom do not specifically claim to have Joola Fogny in their repertoire, such as AB2 and $RM1_{F61}$, although the rest of the group do report either Joola Fogny or Joola. Speaking of Joola Fogny, Podzniakov & Segerer (submitted) go so far as to say that Joola Fogny has come to be seen as a standard, as it has the largest number of speakers. Moreover, they state that “it is at least passively known by all the people who claim to be Joola” (Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming: 10). Although some of my participants, such as JAS_{F22*}, claim that they do not understand Joola Fogny [field notes 23/02/2017]. However, this perception of Joola Fogny as being a standard could be part of the reason that its use is also present in religious contexts with priests who come from outside Mof Avvi, from the wider Casamance area (see §6.3.1.2).

As part of VB_{M68}’s role as the head of the Christian association, he acts as a point of contact between the priests, who serve the whole diocese of Mof Avvi, and the village of Essyl. One of the priests built a pig-farm a few years ago which was to be run for the benefit of the community, which he showed to some of his colleagues [field notes 02/02/2017]. They visited the building and then came to VB_{M68}’s and

$RM1_{F61}$'s house afterwards to drink palm wine and chat. They were speaking Joola Fogny among themselves and to VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ who were both replying in Joola Eegimaa. One spoke to me in Joola Fogny and I didn't understand and he rebuked me saying that I should speak the local language, despite the fact that he then proceeded to explain that there are differences between the "dialects" spoken in Brin and that spoken in Essyl, neither of which I perceived he spoke to me in. The observations further support the view that Joola Fogny is used by "outsiders", among outsiders, with people from Essyl and even with myself. Whilst people acknowledge the differences in the "local languages", such as Joola Eegimaa and Joola Kujireray in Brin, they are still drawn under the larger designation of Joola, which in this instance the priest took to be Joola Fogny. On this occasion, he perceived Joola Fogny to simultaneously be a wider *lingua franca* and placed it on the same level as a local language which should be used as such by Joola people, whilst erasing more local scales of Joola languages such as Joola Kujireray and Joola Eegimaa.

Many participants do not claim they have a passive competence in Joola Fogny, whilst they have been observed using Joola Fogny, as in the case of $PB2_{F39}$ above. On the other hand, some participants such as JAS_{F22*} specifically states that she finds Joola Fogny difficult, as they have different words and speak too quickly. One of her cohabitants' children grew up in The Gambia in a Joola Fogny speaking household and when the children speak to her they use Joola Fogny; she states she doesn't understand them and someone has to interpret for her. Therefore this overarching claim by Pozdniakov & Segerer (Forthcoming) should be further investigated, and indeed the perceptions of participants and their observed practices suggest that although Joola Fogny can function as a "standard" for many people, this is certainly not the case for all Joola speakers.

6.2.2. Joola as part and parcel of the Catholic Women's Association of Mof Avvi

There is a Catholic Women's Association of Mof Avvi, of which $DS4_{F49}$ is the president (note that this is a different organisation to the *section feminine* which is part of REFES and is a non-denominational women's organisation and is briefly discussed in §5.2). This is a subgroup of *Coordination des Unions Diocesanes des Associations Catholiques Feminines du Sénégal* (CUDAFCS[24]: 'Committee of diocesan unions of the Catholic Women's Associations of Senegal'). Other key participants who are members are: $RM1_{F61}$, $RB4_{F42}$ and $PB2_{F39}$. The Catholic women of Mof Avvi meet regularly at least once a month during the dry season and after the rice harvest is finished. The meeting is held in a different village of Mof Avvi each time, which is drawn from lots. This entails regular exchange of mobility among women from the respective villages in Mof Avvi.

Many of the core participants are either members or have important roles in the organisation. During meetings they discuss numerous local issues, and hold prayer groups, and plan activities that they will run, often to raise money. They also engage in fundraising activities. With the money raised, they sometimes buy cloth together or save the money for joint ventures. In 2016 they held a *xaaware* 'get together' (the word comes from Wolof), a type of all day party for the whole family, where people can come together to drink and food is prepared and there is usually music and dancing. They can start early at 11am or so and continue all day long. It was the first time it was held and it was such a success that it was held again in 2017. The food for the *xaaware* was prepared at $RM1_{F61}$'s and VB_{M68}'s and provided a good

[24] The order of the acronym does not match the name of the organisation. DS4 showed me a membership card from which I was instructed to copy down the name and acronym for my field notes. I therefore assume the discongruence to be merely a typographical error.

opportunity for participant observation [observations and fieldnotes 24/02/2017]. Women from all over Mof Avvi come to the meetings. DS4_{F49} explained, in example (6.5) below, that as many of the women don't speak French or Wolof, then they have to use Joola in the meetings, although in line 3 she refers both to "Joola" and "Joola Banjal", but in the excerpt continues to refer solely to "Joola". The use of Joola is so that as many people as possible can understand the proceedings.

(6.5)

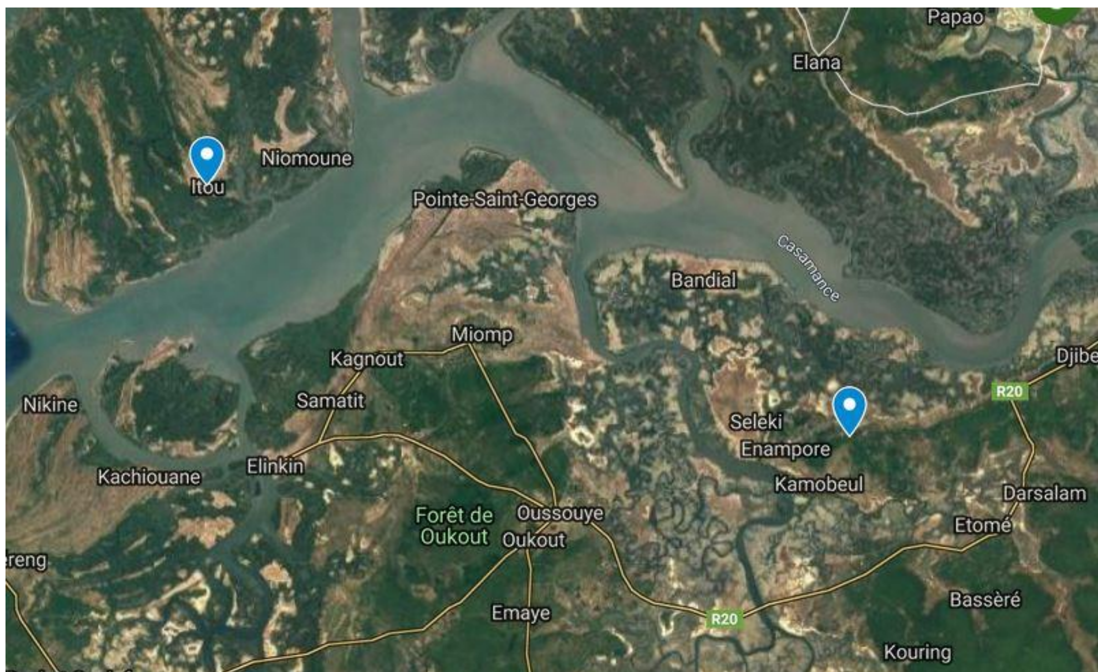
1	SG	*et dans les réunions pour faire comme l'ordre du jour et pour discuter*
		'and in meetings when you do the agenda and for discussions'
2		*normalement vous parlez quelles langues entre vous*
		'normally what languages do you speak between yourselves'
3	DS4_{F49}	*joola toujours joola banjal*
		'Joola always Joola Banjal'
4	SG	*est-ce qu'il y a des thèmes qui peuvent pas être abordés en joola*
5		*banjal*
		'are there some topics which can't be tackled in Joola Banjal'
6	DS4_{F49}	*il y en a mais il faut les ex il faut les traduire encore en joola parce*
7		*que par exemple c'est pas tout le monde qui ont fait l'école*
		'there are but you have to ex you have to translate them again into

		Joola because for example not everyone has been to school'
8	$DS4_{F49}$	*c'est à cause de ça nous on préfère parler le joola*
		'that's why us we prefer to speak Joola'
9	$DS4_{F49}$	*comme ça tout le monde comprend*
		'like that everyone understands'
10	$DS4_{F49}$	*parce que si tu parles français tu vas traduire encore en joola voilà*
		'because if you speak French you will translate it again in Joola, that's why'

[ESS240216SG – 00:26:42 – 00:27:25]

She does report, however, doing her agenda in French and her secretary takes the minutes in French thereby summarising and translating the discussion from Joola into French. During observations the treasurer counted money in French. In one recorded participant observation event, some of the women were working on preparing brooms which are made from the leaves of the *rennier* palm tree in order to make some money to prepare for the *xawaare*. The leaves are stripped and just the stem of the leaf is kept. Then they are dried and then further stripped and lastly they are bundled together. They sell them to a middle man who takes them to Ziguinchor or Dakar to sell for them – they earn between 100-500 CFA depending on the size of the broom. The group of women from Mof Avvi can be further subdivided into groups based on the villages of the kingdom. During observations [24/02/2017-25/02/2017] when the women of Mof Avvi prepared for a *xawaare* in Essyl, women came from neighbouring villages of Badiatte, Grand Badiatte, Batinghere and

Kamobeul and whilst preparing fish and cooking they tended to sit in their village subgroups. Before the *xaaware* of 2017 a sub-group of the women of Essyl came together at RM1$_{F61}$ and VB$_{M68}$'s house to have a meeting, cook and eat together and make brooms [observations and fieldnotes 08/02/2017]. During the cooking phase, there was a lot of Wolof used, especially when LD$_{F29}$ and LB$_{F38}$ arrived to cook. However, once the group began to make the brooms and then the meeting began, Joola was the dominant language spoken. Among the women present were many who are not originally from Essyl or Mof Avvi and who speak other varieties of Joola, for example DS4$_{F49}$ with her Joola Fogny/Joola Eegimaa mix and JD2$_{F49}$. JD2$_{F49}$ is from Hitou (see Map 6.1 below) and describes what she speaks as Joola Hitou. She moved to Essyl with her husband JSB.



Map 6.1: Hitou (spelled Itou) and Essyl

Even when JSB† spoke together with other men, for example when drinking together at VB$_{M68}$'s and RM1$_{F61}$'s there are phonemic differences in the Joola that he speaks

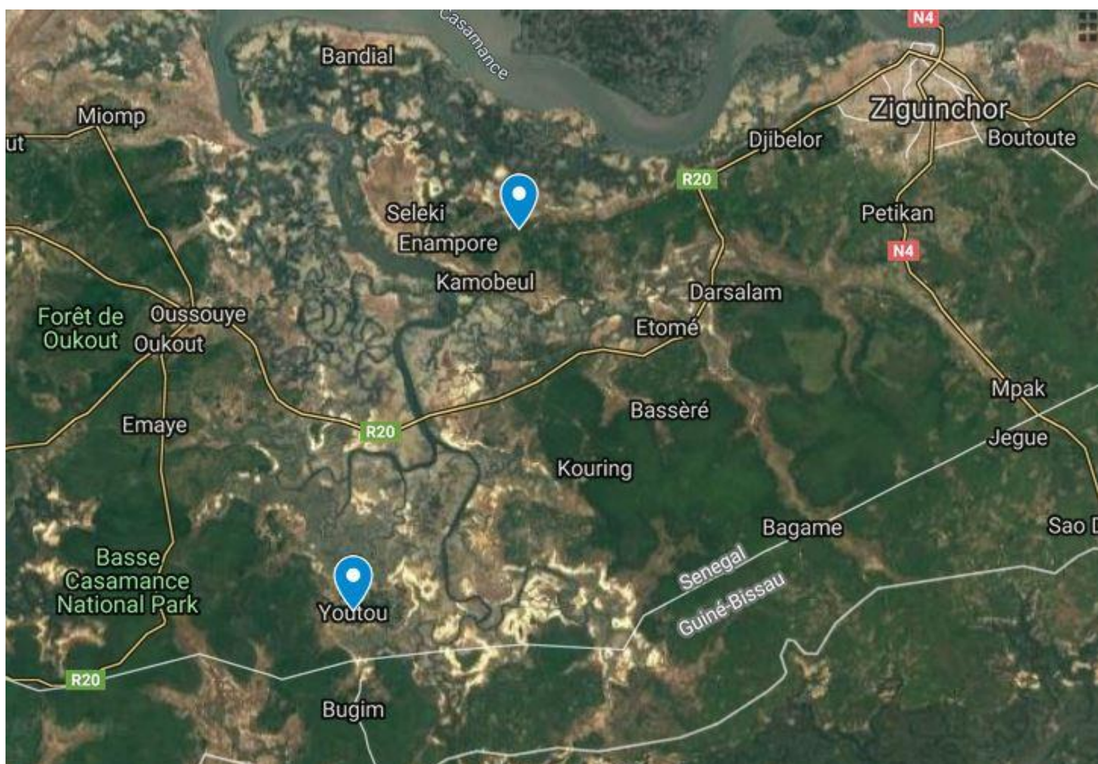
most notably in the /k/ vs. /g/ voiceless vs. voiced distinction. The unvoiced variant is typical of many Joola varieties, but the voiced variant /g/ is prototypical of the Joola Eegimaa variety spoken within Mof Avvi (see also Watson 2019 for more a detailed discussion of prototypical language features with relation to Joola). With $JD2_{F49}$, however, this is less noticeable and may be due to the fact that she trained with SIL as a teacher for the literacy classes in Joola Banjal and will have been formally taught the pre-defined and presupposed differences between the languages (at least according to distinctions by SIL and various linguists) and sound/letter correspondences.

Wolof is not a default language choice in the setting described above, however, it is still used (as identified and analysed by myself the researcher and often transcribers) in different constellations, for example in the meetings among participants and between members and the board. In stating that it is not the default language choice for inclusivity I do not mean that it is not used at all. Rather I wish to put forward that there are communicative practices which are more prototypical for different situations and that people can communicate with each other through consensus in different ways which could be nearer to the expected prototype than others. Therefore, in settings related to the Catholic Church, the prototypical languages used are French and Joola (Eegimaa) (see §6.3.1.2), which many adhere to, although there are those who diverge from the prototype for example LD_{F29} and LMB who speak Wolof at these events between themselves.

6.2.3. The Joola of palm wine collectors: Joola Youtou and Joola Kaasa

There are other varieties of Joola reported by participants, in addition to Joola Fogny and Joola Eegimaa. For example, in an interview in 2016 with JD3, I had already

asked about the different languages he speaks. When I spoke to him again a year later I made particular efforts not to prompt with language names when he described how he speaks. VB_{M68} was assisting and interpreting French - Joola Eegimaa, with JD3 using Joola. JD3 stated that he spoke *gujoolaay*. I knew from the previous interview that he and his family were not from Essyl. They had come as he is a palm wine collector and had moved from Youtou, which is located to the south-west of Mof Avvi next to the border of Guinea-Bissau.



Map 6.2: Youtou and Essyl

Rather than asking about the different Joolas, I asked if he understood or had any difficulties with understanding people in Essyl; it was only then that he specified *gubanjalay* for the variety spoken in Essyl and *guyoutou* for the variety spoken in Youtou. In one recording made with $CS3_{M55}$ and other palm wine collectors the

entire conversation was conducted in Joola Kaasa. However, one of the key participants in the conversation, JD3, does not claim to speak Joola Kaasa. This recording is one of the rare instances in my data of a conversation being analysed by the transcriber as having been conducted in Joola Kaasa without the use of prototypical instances of other Joola varieites.

Before moving on to discuss perceptions of Joola in the following section, I present in Table 6.2 below the various instances of use of other Joola varities described in the above sections. Joola Fogny, Joola Hitou, Joola Youtou and Joola Kaasa were all used, according to participants and transcribers; this is in addition to Joola as a named language.

Named language(s)	**Who**	**Where**	**When**	**Why**
Joola Fogny	$PB2_{F39}$ ↔ neighbours	Ziguinchor	With other Joola Fogny speakers	Joola Fogny speakers perceived as not understanding Joola Eegimaa
	$PB2_{F39}$ ↔ $DS4_{F49}$	Essyl	In rice fields and other contexts, for first few weeks after $DS4_{F49}$'s arrival in Essyl	As $DS4_{F49}$ did not yet understand Joola Eegimaa. Transitional language acquisition
	$JB1_{M26}$ ↔ other Joola Fogny speakers	Mof Avvi and outside of Mof Avvi	Various contexts	If interlocutors do not speak Joola Eegimaa
	$DS4_{F49}$ ↔ many other participants	Essyl, rice fields, women's meetings, home	With other Joola Fogny speakers; in most circumstances	As part of Joola (Eegimaa) linguistic practices; home and identity language; spoken from childhood
	Priests → $RM1_{F61}$ &	At $RM1_{F61}$ & VB_{M68}'s	People from outside Mof	Perception of Joola Fogny as standard;

	VB_{M68}	home	Avvi visiting Essyl	priests did not speak Joola Eegimaa
Joola	$DS4_{F49}$ ↔ $PB2_{F39}$, $RB4_{F42}$, $RM1_{F61}$ and other members of CUDAFCS	Essyl and other villages of Mof Avvi	CUDAFCS meetings and activities	Enable most people to understand – inclusive as not everyone been to school (i.e. French not chosen)
Joola Hitou	$JD2_{F49}$ ↔JSB† JSB† → other participants	Essyl	Various contexts	Main language; both moved from Hitou to Essyl
Joola Youtou	JD3 ↔ LD_{F29}	In the home in Essyl	Reported home language also with their children	Main language; "*langue maternelle*" 'mother tongue' of LD_{F29}; moved from Youtou to Essyl
Joola Kaasa	$CS3_{M55}$ & JD3 ↔ other palm wine collectors	Palm groves, Essyl	Informal drinks and talk	With other Joola Kaasa speaking collectors from outside Mof Avvi

Table 6.2: contexts of use of other named Joola varities

6.2.4. Joola perceptions

As a response to the above sections and data that had been collected, I felt during the second field trip that I had not fully incorporated all of the myriad ways to represent the complexity expressed by the concept of Joola. Therefore, in collaboration with DS, we arranged for a focus group of 4 of the main participants, IS_{F44}, VB_{M68}, $CS3_{M55}$ and $DS4_{F49}$ (with DS acting as moderator) to discuss the topics of languages, multilingualism and Joola. The discussion was one of the pivotal moments of the research.

In launching the discussion concerning what participants perceive "language" to be, when asked what a language is by the moderator DS, $DS4_{F49}$ replied "*gújólay*

húm"[25] 'it's Joola' [ESS040317SGa_cut1 01:55]. But as will be shown, the discussion around language and Joola becomes more complex. However an early answer in the discussion group shows a clear indication that for $DS4_{F49}$ the concept of a language can be reunited with her concept of Joola. In a follow up question to this after a few minutes discussion, DS asks why it is referred to as Joola, as can be seen in the extract below:

(6.6)

1	DS to group	*yayu yo nimaŋ me irorenúl*
		'what I want to ask'
2		*olal nax udeyal noogale*
		'us, if one wants to say'
3		*gújólúway gújólúway*
		'Joola (language) Joola (language)'
4		*guce mai gafase bu jówúm mee nixi nor*
		'is there someone who know how that works'
5		*gújólúway firim faufu faa gújólúway*
		'Joola the word Joola'
6	DS to IS	*awu nípúní púren*
		'you aren't part of this'
7	VB_{M68} to DS	*nuxuka inde nogal gújólúway*

[25] The transcription was carried out by a different transcriber than normal - LM - and the orthographic discrepancies reflect this.

			‘why we say that it's Joola’
8	$DS4_{F49}$	to DS	*ji point jawu je jitëñie de*
			‘that’s a difficult point’
9	DS	to $DS4_{F49}$	*uwuu*
			‘yeah’
10	DS to group		*wa chile gulob gújólúway*
			‘why we say Joola’
11	VB_{M68}	to group	*balober bala ajóla*
			‘it’s the language of a Joola person’
12	DS	to VB_{M68}	*uum exum*
			‘yeah that’s it’
13	VB_{M68}	to group	*uwoox gújólúway*
			‘you have to say it’s Joola’
14			*ey timay elúlúm yayu nugaal français mata*
			‘yes if it’s European people we say it’s French’
15			*bann français bugo*
			‘yet the French them’
16	DS	to VB_{M68}	*yoo*

			'ok'
17	VB_{M68}	to group	*esíiŋ noogal gúsíiŋ*
			'the people of Esiin we say that their language is Gusin'
18	DS	to VB_{M68}	*gúsíiŋay*
			'Gusinay'
19	IS_{F44}	to group	*guwolofay*
			'Wolof'
20	$CS3_{M55}$	to group	*emandiŋ nogal gumandiŋay*
			'if it's Mandinka people we say Mandinka'
21	VB_{M68}	to $CS3_{M55}$	*gumandiŋay*
			'Mandinka'
22	$CS3_{M55}$	to group	*eserer nogal gusereray*
			'if it's Sereer people we say Sereer'
23	VB_{M68}	to group	*balober mai baa*
			'the way of speaking'

[ESS040317SGa_cut1 04:50-05:43]

DS asks what the significance of the term “*gújólúway*” ‘Joola’ is: to which VB_{M68} responds that it is the way of speaking in line 23, which is why that name is given to the language. This is after line 1 where he says that it is the language of a Joola person. Lines 13-22 are the various participants who then demonstrate VB_{M68}’s point by relating a group of people to a language, which is a clear analogy to make in Joola due to the noun classes, and nominal derivation strategies, used. As stated in §1.4 Joola languages, among other languages in the area, have complex noun class systems. The term “*gujjolaay*” is composed of the noun class prefix *gu-*, used for language names in Joola Eegimaa, *-jjola-* ‘Joola’ and the suffix *–ay*, which denotes the abstract (Sagna 2008: 23; Goodchild Forthcoming). However, there are further interesting semantic features to the affixes, which Sagna (2008) further discusses and which are relevant in the discussion here. Sagna not only describes the suffix *–ay* as denoting the abstract, but further specifies that depending on the prefix that the stem (and suffix) combine with, it can either indicate a home area, a language (as spoken by a people), or a way of doing things. He gives the following examples:

(6.7)

(a) *pan* *gu-cix* *ga-ssil-ay*

FUT CD2.3PL-arrive NC9-Essil-ABSTR

‘They will arrive in the territory of Essil.’

(b) *Michael n-a-un-e* *gu-ssil-ay*

Michael LOC-CD1.3SG-hear-PFV NC8-Essil-ABSTR

‘Michael understands the language of Essil.’

(c) *pan* *gu-xul* *ma-ssil-ay*

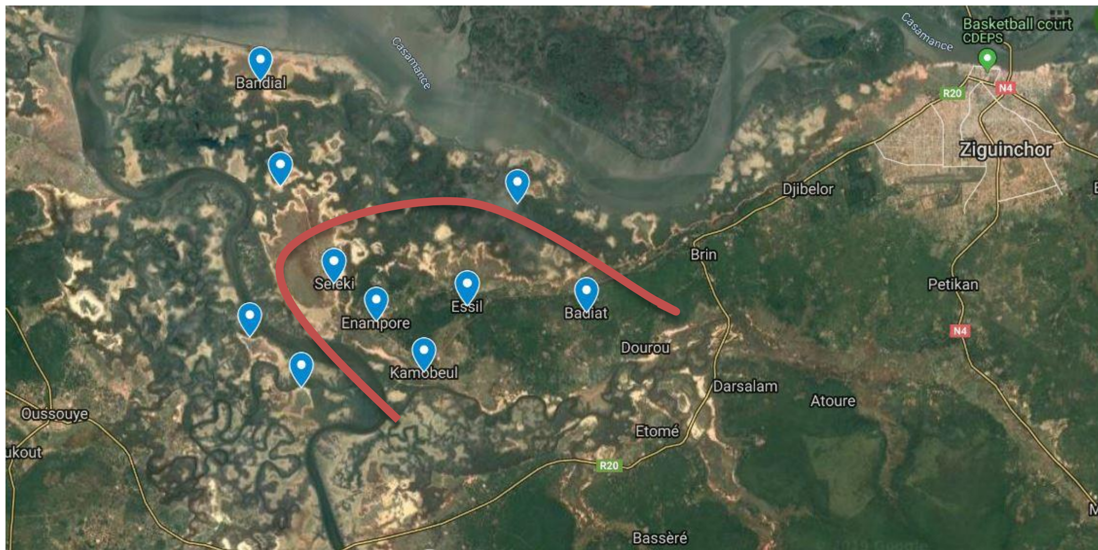
FUT CD2.3PL-mourn NC10b-Essil-ABSTR

'They will do the funerals the way people from Essil do.'

(Sagna 2008: 100)

Here VB_{M68} is making a linguistic analysis of how language names are constructed in Joola languages, or at least in Joola Eegimaa, and then by extension applies this to other situations (although he comes slightly unstuck in his European/French example as he says *français* 'French' in French rather than in Joola). Therefore, VB_{M68} relates the possibility of using these productive affixes to create language names to being a descriptive device about describing how people speak. This of course ties in with the discussion about language names being associated to place names, therefore, when participants wish to distinguish perceived differences according to location, they can productively create names such as *gu-banjal-ay* 'the language of Banjal' and *gu-ssil-ay* 'the language of Essyl', etc. Among participants and speakers there are further distinctions which are drawn between various places, i.e. geographical locations, and spaces in the sense of Lefebvre (1992) and language names. For example, Mof Avvi consists of a peninsula, but also includes one island community of Elubalir and two villages called Batinghere I and Batinghere II which are further separated from the main peninsula – these three locations can only be accessed by *pirogue* 'boat similar to a canoe'. Furthermore, the villages on the peninsula and the islands are divided into 'the land' and 'the mud' – on the peninsula this is a division between Seleki and Etama where there is a bridge on the road over a tributary of the river and the

marshlands (see Map 6.3 below). The villages which fall into the land designation are to the right and below red line.



Map 6.3: The "land" and the "mud"

In the rainy season this frequently floods and makes the division visible. Included in the "mud" designation are the island villages of Elubalir and the two Batingheres, Etama and Banjal. The other five villages are in the "land" designation variety of Joola Eegimaa. The divide is often actively used and discussed and this is demonstrated above in VB_{M68}'s use of the term "*gusiin*" in line 17 which DS corrects to "*gusiinay*" in line 18. VB_{M68} refers in line 17 to this being the language of the people of *Esiin* which is the name for the villages forming part of 'the land' designation: Badiatte, Kamobeul, Essyl, Enampor and Séléki. This results in equating differences in language use with the physical environment. Participants have explained this in relation to people using different vocabulary items because the people who live in the mud areas access the water more, do more fishing, etc., and have different technical vocabulary to reflect this. Furthermore, I have observed

VB_{M68} and others teasing $PB2_{F39}$ about speaking the "mud" variety above. However, the multiple functions of the productive affix *–ay* which can denote home location, language or a manner of doing things, are certainly interesting as it allows for overlapping ways in which to conceive of the topic of language; as a language associated to an ethnicity or people as $CS3_{M55}$ states; as a language associated with a place, as demonstrated in the example from Sagna (2008) above and VB_{M68} in line 17; or as a way of speaking or communicating, i.e. the manner, as demonstrated again by VB_{M68} in line 23.

Only 10 seconds after the above example, DS launches another related topic and states that when people speak about Joola they are talking about something which is vast, yet within Joola there are certain specificities. However, he does not use terms such as language or dialect, for example, and he attempts to verbally avoid prompting a certain response from participants. An extract and photo of the event is provided below:

(6.8)

1	DS to group	*yoo donc*
		'so then'
2		*gújólúway kaka ti faf wawuwuŋ*
		'Joola is something which is vast'
3		*jêló jëló nër*
		'it's really big'
4		*dó ni gújólúway gagu baje mai*
		'within Joola there are'

5	IS_{F44} to group	*catégories*
		‘categories’
6	DS to IS_{F44}	*yoo awu nu vogulo français*
		‘yes you named it with the French’
7	DS to IS_{F44}	*gúlúmay*
		‘with the language of the Europeans’
8	DS to group	*tíí nax ulobame*
		‘as we say’
9	$\mathrm{DS4}_{F49}$ to group	*jifanŋor fanŋor*
		‘they're not on the same level’
10	DS to group	*yoo úre maa*
		‘yes that’s it’
11	DS to group	*gújólúway gaa kasa*
		‘it's Joola of Kaasa’

[ESS040317SGa_cut1 05:51- 06:06]

Figure 6.1: Motion of DS' gestures

However, when watching the video recorded event, it is clear that DS' gestures which occur do influence the participants[26]. In line 3 he holds his arms wide apart, when speaking about how Joola is vast, and then whilst uttering the statement in line 4 on the word "*gújólúway*" 'Joola' DS gestures: he places his palms together and moves this hold over three times in an arc from left to right, the movement represented by the arrows in Figure 6.1 above and therefore with his gestures seems to segment the space in front of him. IS_{F44} then replies using the French term "*catégories*" 'categories', DS then stops gesturing when IS_{F44} replies and moves this gesture towards her whilst uttering line 6, thereby affirming her choice of term for the segmentation of space and Joola. Later in the session DS picks up this theme again and puts forward that Joola is a language and Banjal is a language, so therefore isn't there something that doesn't quite fit? $CS3_{M55}$ replies that in theory one can speak about the Joola language which reunites Buluf, Fogny, which are all

[26] Analysis done in collaboration with Chelsea Krajcik (08/08/2017).

languages. $CS3_{M55}$ further says "*non non gubanjalay c'est une entité olal gacin me babe barebare*" 'no no Banjal is an entity, us who live here'; *entité* in French can also be translated by 'concept' or 'abstraction'. The link between living in a place and an entity, that is Banjal, is once again drawn, although a concept, or abstraction, could also be more than a language, that is how people communicate and they do so in a certain way as they all live in the same place. Much as Lüpke (2018) alludes to, there is an inherent dualism present in the ways in which Joola and Joola varities are discussed in the focus groups and people's perceptions. I present the main thematic relations from the focus group in Table 6.3 below. The two columns, Joola and Banjal (Eegimaa), illustrate the similarities and differences pertaining to the two concepts:

Joola	**Banjal (Eegimaa)**
Vast: contains categories	Category
People / ethnicity	People
Language of Joola person	Language of place
Language	Place
Way of speaking	Entity (concept, abstraction)

Table 6.3: dualism of perceptions of Joola and Banjal

Another interesting take on Joola is provided curtesy of VB_{M68}'s language diary (for a typed up version of the original and translation see Appendix C). He alludes to the complexity and multifaceted nature of Joola, in particular when he reports on conversations that he had with the masons that were staying at his house whilst they were doing work there. The masons came from Guinea-Bissau and spoke 'Joola' in

addition to Arame, Kriolu and Wolof[27]. On Monday 20th March 2017 in the morning at 7.30am, VB_{M68} describes meeting the masons: "*J'ai rencontré les maçons qui sont à la maison avec lesquels j'ai cause avec eux, mais ils ont parlé leur langue qui n'est pas diola bandial.*"[28] 'I met the masons who are at the house with whom I spoke with them, but they spoke their language which isn't Joola Banjal.' Later that same day in the afternoon he describes another conversation with the masons so: "*causerie en diola Bandial, et un mélange langue aramé avec les maçons*" 'chat in Joola Banjal, and a mix of Arame language with the masons'. In this description he distinguishes between Joola Banjal and that of a Joola Banjal/Arame mix with the masons. The same evening at 7.30pm he describes talking to the masons in yet another way: "*descente des maçons on a causé en diola Aramé pour eux et diola bandial pour nous, mais on s'est compris.*" 'the masons finished work we chatted in Joola Arame for them and Joola Banjal for us, but we understood one another'. In this instance he specifically describes Arame as a Joola language and thus alludes more strongly to the relatedness of what are possibly two different Joola varieties. Throughout the same day he moves from a position where the masons are presented as separate and having their own language clearly othered from Joola Banjal, through a mix of Arame and Banjal which is specifically used for communicating with them, to a more mutual exchange of languages where each speaks "their language" but everyone understands each other, which can be described as receptive multilingualism (Rehbein, ten Thije & Verschik 2012). This also aligns with Watson's (Cobbinah et al. 2017; 2019) idea of prototypical languages and language

[27] Confirmed through observations. Reported data is additionally available as in the case of the language diary.

[28] The quotes from VB's language diary are copied directly from the original. In French, Joola Banjal is often rendered orthographically as *diola bandial*. In standard French capital letters are not usually used for language names, but are for groups of people. These quotes are faithful representations therefore if VB used a capital letter, then it is replicated here.

use, where depending on context one can speak more or less prototypically and provides room for overlapping of forms and varieties. There is a lack of research and literature on Arame, which Pozdniakov & Segerer (Forthcoming) refer to as Erame. Segerer is currently working on this variety, which has been previously considered a variety of Bayot, which he now controversially includes in the Joola cluster:

> About Bayot, the very low rates of similarity with other Joola lects, along with a few phonological and grammatical peculiarities have lead Segerer (2016) to postulate a pre-Atlantic substrate largely replaced by Joola material after centuries of permanent contact.
>
> (Pozdniakov & Segerer Submitted: 11)

Although there is little evidence from linguists as to the status of Arame, from the description given in VB_{M68}'s language diary, one could see it pointing towards it being included within Joola. Certainly the language practices associated with Joola, as described in §6.2, and throughout the thesis, supported by participants and their reported practices in interviews and focus groups, would point to that: a degree of mutual intelligibility with other Joola varieties or each person speaking "their" variety, further supporting the concept of Joola as a way to communicate.

6.3. Default multilingualism of Joola (Eegimaa), French and Wolof

In many contexts where Joola (Eegimaa) is not dominant, for example in official contexts of the school or in church, the dominant pattern of linguistic practices that is present draws on resources from Joola, French, and Wolof. This was also found by Manga (2015) in a study of code-switching in Mof Avvi carried out in Séléki and

Enampor. However, there is a noticeable trend between groups of men and women[29]: women tend to mix Joola (Eegimaa) with Wolof and men tend to mix Joola (Eegimaa) with French. This is due to various factors, including education level and migration history. However, this does not mean that there are not borrowings from French in women's speech, but this all depends on the language acquisition situation, communication context, topic, etc. Alongside attitudes of monolingualism discussed above, where particularly considering the home domain participants report only speaking Joola (Eegimaa), many participants' discussion of multilingualism focuses around the use of Joola, French and Wolof. This includes reported code-switching, such as $RB4_{F42}$ saying she mixes languages: "*en parlant oui surtout le français le français le wolof le joola*" 'when speaking yes above all French French Wolof Joola' [ESS230216SG] or when discussing the threatened transmission of Joola Eegimaa due to the influence of Wolof, where particularly the younger generations are perceived of as having undergone a language shift towards Wolof. The topic of language transmission, particularly in the diaspora, is another topic of concern: how people who move to Ziguinchor or Dakar will stop speaking Joola to their children and will only speak Wolof and what will happen when they return to the village to visit, live, etc. This will be covered in the following section, with observations made in VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$'s household when their grandchild visited. This section will look at the ways in which multilingualism is constructed in participants' discourses: in particular attitudes towards French, the ex-colonial official language of Senegal, and Wolof which is widely perceived as the *de facto lingua franca* of Senegal, which alongside Joola, is one of the recognised national languages.

[29] This would benefit from more detailed future research

6.3.1. Joola (Eegimaa) and French

Joola (Eegimaa) and its relation to French is important in understanding how people communicate in Essyl, Mof Avvi and indeed the surrounding area. The relationship is complex and due to a variety of factors, including the late influence of Wolof on the Casamance as a region, religion and Wolofisation (§2.2.1). Not to be underestimated is the impact that the Catholic Church had, and has, in propagating the link between Joola and French (Juillard in Dreyfus & Juillard 2004) which will also be discussed in relation to key participants in §6.3.1.2.

6.3.1.1. School, education and teachers

One space where Joola Eegimaa and French dominate is in the school in Essyl. I observed in the classroom of RD_{M27*} who leads the CP class (see Appendix B). At first when he came to Essyl, he could not speak any Joola Eegimaa, but he had to learn quickly, as it was clear that the children needed to be able to understand the content of the lessons. However, he describes himself as Joola Buluf from near Oussouye. He grew up in Ziguinchor and states that he speaks the Joola from there, i.e. Fogny. As is common, the first couple of years at school are a type of informal transitional bilingualism, where the teachers use Joola Eegimaa to explain the French content, as many children have not been exposed to much French before this formal setting. All of the language written on the board was French, but Joola Eegimaa was constantly used to introduce topics, to explain concepts in the maths classes, to correct children and for humour. Joola Eegimaa was dominant in spoken conversation with the key French words being explained: for example, the children were learning the words: *matin, midi, soir* 'morning, midday, evening' as the times

of day that people eat. The only Wolof that was present was the occasional *rekk* or *de*, which tend to appear in whatever conversation regardless of language and can be seen as cross-linguistic areal emphatic markers. Even though as a linguist I would associate them with Wolof, transcribers do not routinely mark them as belonging to Wolof, but whatever language the preceding segment is in. For example this is how DS transcribed a segment from the clip of JAS_{F22*} and HB_{F24*} with their children and the language note that he ascribed to it: bj being Banjal (Joola Eegimaa) and Fr being French.

(6.9)

1 *ure aw afoh ró sambun ? Bare.....(pas compris)…* Bj-fr

2 *min gukan me* **bizar** *rek !*

‘Who was it who was at the fire here ? (not understood) look here just how strange those people are’

[ESS120116SGa – 00:21:52.540 – 00:21:55.254]

The example above is as transcribed by DS. He associated the word *bizar* with French and the rest of the segment with Joola Eegimaa, despite the fact I would analyse that *rek* is Wolof - and indeed he has occasionally marked this as Wolof in other transcriptions. Therefore if I were to rewrite the transcription with different fonts then I would display the transcription as such:

(6.10)

1 *ure aw afoh ró sambun ? Bare.....(pas* Bj-fr -w *compris)...*

2 *min gukan me* **bizar** rek *!*

‘Who was it who was at the fire here ? (not understood) look here just how **strange** those people are’

[ESS120116SGa – 00:21:52.540 – 00:21:55.254]

In the school classes observed, the only Wolof used, was similar to the examples above and it was not used to explain content to the pupils (in contrast to findings in Djibonker by Weidl 2018). Among the children at break Joola Eegimaa is the dominant language used. I further observed a class at the *maternelle* ‘nursery school’, where $RB4_{F42}$ teaches on a voluntary basis. There in class Joola Eegimaa is used with the children and some French is introduced. For example around December 2015, the children learnt a French Christmas song, *Papa Noël*, and many children were singing it, with only the words “*papa noël*” ‘Father Christmas’ clear and the verses were them simply repeating the tune with sounds that approximated French, but they clearly could not distinguish and recognise the separate words.

Sagna (2008: 45) reports children being told off for speaking Joola Eegimaa in class where children are sent home wearing *le symbole* ‘the symbol’, which is a small bone tied to a rope that children are given to wear around their necks if they

speak Joola Eegimaa during class. Juillard (2005: 34) describes the symbol as one of the most significant acts which serves to distinguish between codes. $DS4_{F49}$ described the practice from when she was at private school in Ziguinchor where the bone would be passed from child to child and the one wearing it at the end of the day had to go home with it on, and the other children would taunt them on the way home with "*<name> a parlé, <name> a pris le symbole*" '<name> spoke, <name> took the symbol (sung)'. This practice continues today, even though not all teachers participate in it; in 2015 $CB1_{F38}$ reported that one of her children had been sent home from school wearing the symbol for having spoken Joola in class. In 2017 I witnessed a child crying, because they were made to wear it at the end of the day in the schoolyard. Feelings of shame associated with formal language learning can have profound influences on children and the concomitant emotional experiences can affect their future language use, competency, confidence and willingness to report speaking a certain language (Busch 2015). This is similar to the case of GB_{F37}, who says that she does "not speak very good French, as it was years since she left the nuns", i.e. Catholic school, despite the fact that this was uttered during an interview that was being carried out in French with me. The impact of Catholic education in the Casamance on the learning of French and the interdiction of Wolof cannot be underestimated when discussing language use and French acquisition, particularly among the older generations who were educated in Ziguinchor when there was no secondary school in Mof Avvi. This is exemplified with the case of VB_{M68} (see his linguistic biography in §4.5) where Wolof was even prohibited outside of class time, whether at the break or in the dormitories where the boys boarded overnight. However, in Essyl, Wolof is generally not present during lessons or in the breaks, as many of the children have only begun acquiring it from friends who come back from

town or during the holidays. Even $CS2_{F15}$, who is the daughter of $PB2_{F39}$ and $CS3_{M55}$, states that she sometimes speaks Wolof with her friend who went to live in Ziguinchor when she was 7 and then moved to Badiatte (a neighbouring village to Essyl in Mof Avvi). As her friend did not understand Joola, $CS2_{F15}$ would sometimes speak to her friend in Wolof, and in turn helped her friend to learn Joola. In breaks $CS2_{F15}$ states that they speak Joola and French or Wolof, but only if someone speaks to you in Wolof first. However in school in Enampor where she was in the 4th grade at the time of the interview, English and Spanish were being used in the respective foreign language classes and by the time children move to the secondary school, only French is used as the medium of instruction in all classes, which is officially the case in primary school, however, as stated above a transitional bilingualism is more the norm.

In $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}' household, they have instituted a family language policy for the children. When the children are sat at the table to do their homework they have to speak French. $DS4_{F49}$ reports that she is usually the one to help with the homework as IS_{F44} does not speak French (nor did she go to school). IS_{F44} never tried to speak French with me and we did not establish that as a pattern of language use between ourselves – instead we spoke Wolof. $DS4_{F49}$ helps out with the homework for various classes such as history and French grammar. In the mornings $DS4_{F49}$ prepares breakfast for the children and revises their lessons with them in French [reported use 03/03/2017]. Even the younger children MB_{F7} (7) and $CB5_{F5}$ (5) integrate French into their language practices when together outside of supervised time with the adults in the house, as for example observed [04/03/2017]. The two girls were hanging around with a group of children at FS_{M42}'s boutique while most of the adults in the village were at a village meeting. FS_{M42} was at the shop for a

short time but then returned to the meeting. The two girls, along with KS (FS_{M42} and $CB1_{F38}$'s youngest girl), and OS_{M6} who was also there ($CS3_{M55}$ and $PB2_{F39}$'s boy) came to look at photos on my phone. Together the group of children spoke Joola Eegimaa to each other and MB_{F7} and OS_{M6} would try and translate for me into French when I didn't understand the Joola Eegimaa. I left with MB_{F7} and $CB5_{F5}$ to go back home and as they live next to us we walked together and they sat with me at my house for a bit. Together they mainly spoke Joola Eegimaa, but did also speak some French. MB_{F7} would make comments to me such as "**elle ment**" 'she lies' and $CB5_{F5}$ said "*ji jow boot* **ou bien**?" 'we are going home or are we?' Compared with other children their age, for example HS_{F4}, who is also 5 years old ($CS3_{M55}$ and $PB2_{F39}$'s youngest child), they use more French in their Joola Eegimaa.

One of the teachers, $BM1_{M29}$, who came to Essyl in early 2016, tends to use French with the children instead of Wolof as he finds that Wolof isn't very well understood by the younger children, although he readily uses it with adults. For example, with the young people in the village when he plays football, he chooses to use French instead of Wolof [ESS240117SG3]. He is still learning Joola, however, and many people tease him for not speaking it after having been in Essyl for over a year. Every holiday though and during the *grandes vacances*, the long summer holidays, he returns to his family in Dakar where they only speak Wolof and some French. $BM1_{M29}$ says that he has had problems with the linguistic barrier created as the children just speak their "*langue maternelle*" 'mother tongue' and do not necessarily understand French well, and he finds that Wolof cannot be used as a lingua franca with the younger children.

6.3.1.2. Religion: Catholicism

$PB2_{F39}$ volunteers as a teacher for the catechism classes after school on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 4pm. There are 3 classes in Essyl and she leads the class for the youngest children for the first two years of catechism classes which equates to the school years CI, CP, and CE. $CB6_{M55}$ takes the third year and AT_{M58} takes the fourth. As $PB2_{F39}$ leads the youngest class, much in line with how classes are instructed in schools, there is a lot of repetition and rote learning involved. Based on observations and reported practice, $PB2_{F39}$ mainly gives the children instructions in Joola Eegimaa, but the texts which they have to recite are in French. The children come to the front of the class and do the sign of the cross one at a time and have to pronounce "*le père, le fils, le saint esprit, amen*" 'the father, the son, the holy spirit, amen' clearly. The texts are read aloud in French by $PB2_{F39}$ and then are repeated back by the whole class; at the beginning of the text the children shout and are confident that they have mastered the beginning, but as the text continued they became quieter and I perceived that the words slurred together. However, there is no attempt at explanation nor a translation of the texts in Joola Eegimaa. The children had to recite one by one at the front of the class and while they did doing this the rest of the children chatted to each other in Joola Eegimaa, until one pupil interrupted a quiet girl with "*parle fort*" 'speak loudly' in French, which would be one of the instructions heard in school. In the third year class, the older children were better behaved, or know the rules of school better, and they were discussing baptisms with the teacher asking questions. The students were keen to get the teacher's attention so that they can be the one to answer the question, so they clicked their fingers and say "*inje, inje*" 'me, me' in Joola. In this class they were discussing a lot of content in Joola Eegimaa, including Bible stories and how to prepare for baptisms. One of the

pupils responds to a question about the stages to becoming a Catholic, which is asked in French and he responds in French. When the pupil cannot explain the concept in French, the instructor directs him "*ulob ni gusilaay*" 'speak in Gusilaay' (the Joola of Essyl), and the pupil then answered satisfactorily. In the catechism classes the same patterns of language use were copied from the school setting, with rote learning, particularly for French texts, and then using Joola to discuss content and to check comprehension of French texts.

The wider religious context comprised of the Catholic Church in Essyl and services is another where Joola (Eegimaa) and French are used and Wolof is absent. VB_{M68} is the President of "*tous les chrétiens de la communauté d'Essyl*" 'all of the Christians of the community of Essyl' and oversees the organisation of the members in Essyl as well as the daily running of the church. The data and information in this section come from observations, discussions with him and others, for example $RM1_{F61}$ or $DS4_{F49}$ and from an extended interview with VB_{M68} [ESS200217SG1a-e] about his role in relation to the church, the church's activities and language use in the church. Until as recently as 2003, there were no regular religious services in Essyl and the surrounding villages. Mof Avvi fell under the parish of Brin and for Catholics who wanted to attend a regular mass or for important dates such as Christmas or Easter then they would need to walk to Brin 6.5km away (or further for most of the other villages in Mof Avvi). In 2003 the parish of Enampor was created and regularly services were established in Mof Avvi. Two members of the clergy now live in Enampor and conduct services in the area: a priest and a curate. The services are rotated and the villages are grouped together: Badiatte, Batinghere, Essyl, Kamobeul form one group and the other consists of Banjal, Etama, Seleki and Enampor. Each priest conducts two masses per Sunday: one at 8am and one at 10am

in a different village: for example on Sunday 29th January 2017 at 8am one priest conducted mass in Seleki whilst the other conducted mass in Enampor. Then at 10am one held mass in Banjal and the other in Essyl. Before 2003 Essyl had a chapel constructed which now serves as a church for mass, but they are still waiting for a large church to be constructed in Enampor: the priests there use a small chapel for mass. VB_{M68} reports that both of the priests are Joola: one from Tobor to the north of the Casamance River and one from Kabrousse, but who has also lived in Youtou. Since the parish was set up, the associations insisted that the priests that come have to speak "*la langue locale*" 'the local language'; one of the previous priests was a Mancagne, who learned Joola. VB_{M68} explained how one of the priests has since learnt Joola Eegimaa and people understand him when he speaks Joola (Fogny), although he uses a mix of Eegimaa and Youtou, as he previously held a post in Youtou, which according to VB_{M68} nearly everyone can understand.

Language use in church and during the service is multilingual where French and Joola tend to be used during a service. I attended several church services throughout my field stay and observed the language use there [e.g. field notes 06/02/2016; field notes 17/03/2017, a.o.]. Although the two priests have lived in Enampor for a while, and both speak 'Joola', they do not necessarily speak Joola Eegimaa in a monolingual mode, but rather a reported Joola mix. When I attended church services in 2016 there were blackboards in the church with passages in Joola Fogny written on them. In 2017 the blackboards had French passages written on them, and VB_{M68} reported that the homilies are given in Joola Fogny. As there is now a translation of the New Testament into Joola Banjal, then readings are done from this version. VB_{M68} reports [ESS200217SG1a-e] that if there is a reading from the Old Testament, then the person reading will translate it on the spot into Joola Banjal from the French

text. Often this role falls to DS. During the service of 19/03/2017 [observations in field notes] which lasted for an hour and a half, the first half of the service was carried out in French by the priest. Two readings were in Joola Banjal: one from the Old Testament (interpreted) and one from the New Testament. After the readings the priest delivered the homily: the explanation of the readings and an interpretation to understand them and the significance of both. The homily was first given entirely in French. After the French explanation the priest then gave a similar explanation in Joola which includes a lot of lexical items from Joola Fogny [discussion with VB_{M68} 19/03/2017]:

(6.11)

> "*majoritairement le joola d'ici, le joola banjal, mais comme il est de Tobor il est obligé de prendre des mots de fogny, mais les gens comprennent"*
>
> 'mostly the Joola from here, Joola Banjal, but as he's from Tobor, then he has to use some words from Fogny, but people understand'

Furthermore, when delivering the homily in Joola it was not purely Joola, but rather Joola and French (from my perspective). The switches were often direct translations of the previous utterance, but in addition often the switches into French, as Joola was dominant, occurred mid-utterance. Many of the hymns were in French. All of the recitations and prayers were also given in French. At the end of the service a list of announcements of upcoming masses and their times and locations and other events was read out which is done in French, this is to be expected as French is regularly

used for days of the week, times and dates. The priest also announced in French the *Journée Mondiale de Jeunesse*, a religious gathering of young Catholics which was held in 2017 in Djembering. However, before he reached the end of the announcement he switched into Joola and re-explained the event.

VB_{M68}'s language diary dates from the week commencing 20/03/2017, and was recorded by him in writing, in a small notebook that was used specifically as a language diary which I later typed up – the full typed version with translation can be found in Appendix C. As mentioned in the introduction, the language diary fits nicely with previous analyses made on mobility and language use and confirms from a participants' viewpoint, these various aspects which have proved to be salient throughout the thesis. For example, on Thursday 23rd March 2017, I accompanied VB_{M68} to a pilgrimage site in Kamobeul where a group of men and one of the priests were clearing grass and vegetation. This event shows movement within Mof Avvi, for a purpose related to church activities, during which only men (except me) were present and the language use in this instance VB_{M68} reports as "*causerie en diola bandial, malgré quelque mot en français*" 'chat in Joola Banjal, despite some word in French'. I was there observing and as an overview of the language use I would concur. There were a couple of interesting additional observations to be made, however. One being that before the priest arrived there were two other men from Kamobeul present and between VB_{M68} and the others they exclusively spoke Joola Eegimaa. However, when the priest arrived then more French was initiated and also VB_{M68} responded by also using more French. Later in the morning two more men arrived one of whom introduced some Wolof turns, however, in one case VB_{M68} was directly spoken to in Wolof "*tonton VB_{M68} rafet na*" 'uncle VB_{M68} that's beautiful', to which he did not respond at all. Another key theme regarding language use that is

also found in VB_{M68}'s language diary is the use of Joola in the church. On 24th March 2017, VB_{M68}, $MM1_{F57}$, JEB_{M49}, FS_{M42} and CS and "*les enfants*" 'the children' took part in the 'Way of the Cross', a religious prayer ritual that takes place during lent. In the diary VB_{M68} states that this was conducted in "*diola bandial et fony* [sic]" 'Joola Banjal and Fogny', thereby indicating the dominant 'Joola' nature of language use in events related to the Catholic Church.

6.3.1.3. Language transmission

Interestingly, as a parallel to what is said about language transmission in the following section regarding Joola and Wolof, in an interview [ESS160316SG1b], $CS3_{M55}$ discussed language transmission among Joola people who move away from Essyl. He stated that instead of speaking Wolof to their children, those who move end up only speaking French: he refers to them as intellectuals. He describes how he has seen French being the only language used in the home as the children are able to pick up Wolof outside the home on the streets in Dakar or Ziguinchor. Here it is worth pointing out again that in Essyl and Mof Avvi it is not perceived as possible that children will simply acquire Wolof by socialising outside of the household in the village setting, in the same way that it is perceived possible to acquire Wolof in town through spending time with your neighbours. However, my colleague Tricia Manga, with whom I conducted the interview, offered some further insights into the use of Joola with French from her own experience. During the same conversation about the younger generations growing up without Joola, she said that when she returns to her village, Mlomp, she takes particular care not to mix too many French words into her Joola, otherwise people and particularly the older generations will think that she

takes herself for an intellectual and that if she uses too much French, that others will say of her that she has become uprooted and has even become another person. Here we can see the different standards that women are upheld to with regards to their language use and especially the use of French. Plenty of men freely mix French with Joola, even if they have not completed much education. However, the tendency to use French alongside Joola is more likely among women who have attended formal schooling (although as noted this is not the only route to acquiring French, see §4.6 for example). Women are perceived as thinking that they are somehow better than the others, although this depends on who is expressing this opinion. JT_{F50*}, who is VB_{M68}'s niece, came to prepare for the *xawaare* at Essyl [field notes 24/02/2017-25/02/2017] and has stayed at VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$'s house on a number of occasions. When describing the Catholic Women's association and the group of women who were assembled preparing lunch, she said that a lot of the women speak French because there are a lot of "*femmes intellectuelles*" 'intellectual women' among them. Here she was proud of the fact that many educated women form part of the association and although there are different attitudes towards women speaking French, they do all have an impact on people's language use. On the other hand, some women's informal acquisition of French is simultaneously seen as an achievement, as described by $CS3_{M55}$ about $PB2_{F39}$'s French. She did in fact attend school until the CM2 year, which is the last year of primary school at 11 years old and was, at the time, the end of compulsory education. The link with French as a language of prestige and education is clear, despite the fact that the reality of acquisition and use are much more nuanced and French is learnt in a great variety of settings. Many participants do express a preference for children to learn French in order to get ahead and $DS4_{F49}$ has also implemented this as a family language policy

regarding the children's homework. Furthermore, $DS4_{F49}$ shows a strong overall preference for Joola and French and does not perceive that French threatens Joola identity in the same way that Wolof might be perceived to.

(6.12)

1	SG	*et dans les réunions des femmes ça sera pas eh plus facile de parler en wolof*
		'and in the women's meeting won't it be uh easier to speak in Wolof'
2	$DS4_{F49}$	*non*
		'no'
3		*wolof moi je n'aime pas le wolof*
		'Wolof me I don't like Wolof'
4		*tu es joola il faut parler ta langue*
		'you're Joola you have to speak your language'
5		*ne laisse pas ta langue*
		'don't abandon your language'
6		*pour parler une autre langue*
		'to speak another language'
7		*si tu parles une autre langue*
		'if you speak another language'
8		*celui-là ne comprend pas ta langue*
		'that one there doesn't understand your language'
9		*à cause de ça tu as changé des langues voilà*

'because of that you've changed languages that's why'

10 *moi le wolof si c'était moi seule personne ne parlera wolof*

'for me Wolof if it was just me no one would speak Wolof'

11 *je préfère qu'on parle joola ou français*

'I prefer that we speak Joola or French'

12 *parce que français là tes enfants parleront le français couramment*

'because then French your children will speak French fluently'

13 *voilà*

'that's why'

15 *parce que si tu parles le wolof* rekk *ils laissent le français*

'because if you speak only Wolof they abandon French'

[ESS240216SG – 00:28:37 – 00:29:27]

French as the language of the official sphere of life is not seen as encroaching on the use of Joola as a language of identity in the same way that Wolof is perceived to. Indeed the use of Wolof is even perceived to threaten the acquisition of fluent French in $DS4_{F49}$'s opinion. A further participant who describes a family linguistic practice in relation to French is $CB1_{F38}$. Each year during the rainy season, a young man who is a relation of her husband often comes to stay with them and apparently drastically alters the family's linguistic practices and enforces the school's linguistic policy in the family and mobilises the children to speak French, even adopting giving the children *le symbole*, 'the symbol' (see §6.3.1.1), which they have to wear if they speak Joola in his presence. Apparently $CB1_{F38}$ doesn't take part in this, although

she thinks that it is important for the children to have their French reinforced. Her children all speak Joola, with French being added for the older ones, only the youngest born in 2010 does not yet speak French, although they have started to attend school and the oldest, FS2, has also added Wolof to their repertoire. ST_{F17}, who lives with them as a foster child speaks Joola, French, Wolof and also English, which she is learning at school. $CB1_{F38}$ reports that overall her children are spoken to in Joola and French.

6.3.1.4. Informal groups among men

Joola and French are often used when a group of men get together to chat, especially if there are no women present. On a number of occasions, I observed that certain groups of men will freely mix Joola and French. Observations undertaken across the period revealed this, but particularly a case documented in field notes [10/03/2017]. I had arrived at the shops in Essyl, the crossroads of Essyl, after having come straight from $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44}'s house, where I was meant to be recording a neighbourhood meeting, which didn't take place in the end, but led to interesting observations, also detailed below in §6.3.2. Present were VB_{M68}, JEB_{M49}, ND_{M63}, TT_{M48*} and PHB_{M40}; we were later joined by $CS3_{M55}$. The topic of conversation was construction and particularly the new health centre which was built in Essyl. The discussion concerned the best way to make bricks from sand, how often you should water them and therefore how many bricks you can get from one bag of sand. At the same time, VB_{M68} was having a house built for his older sister, but with the traditional mud bricks. French was used for discussing quantities and for terms associated with the medical centre. However, unlike when the women were discussing school and

French loans and incorporations were topic-focussed and did not initiate switches into French, when the men did this, there was a much more even mix between Joola and French, which was seemingly not topic-focussed, but rather was initiated by the previous speaker and the language that they had finished their turn in.

6.3.1.5. Commune meetings

Joola and French are used in other official settings, for example, $CB1_{F38}$ reports that Joola and French are the languages used during meetings of the *Commune d'Enampore* (administration of Enampore). The *Commune* encompasses all of the villages of Mof Avvi (therefore including Essyl), the other Crossroads villages of Brin and Djibonker, in addition to the neighbouring villages of Mamatoro and Medina. $CB1_{F38}$ is an elected councillor from Essyl and was voted in by people from across the *Commune* and therefore attends all of the meetings, including the annual budgetary meeting. Two other stakeholders representing Essyl also attend: the village chief and $MM1_{F57}$. $CB1_{F38}$ reported that during the meetings Joola and French are the languages used, even though representatives from Brin and Djibonker attend and the other villages. She states that Wolof is not generally used as not everyone understands Wolof. If it is used then it is translated into Joola. See also §5.2 for a further report on language use within *Commune* meetings.

In Table 6.4 below I summarise the various contexts of use of Joola (Eegimaa) and French, most of which have a relation to an institutional setting where French is closely associated with the institution itself, but also to Joola use. The settings have a focus on education and religion.

Named language(s)	Who	Where	When	Why
Joola (Eegimaa) & French	Teachers, e.g. $RB4_{F42}$, OS_{F36} ↔ pupils	*Maternelle*, Primary school, Essyl	In class, between teachers, breaks	French as language of administrative space; French as medium of instruction; Joola used for transitional bilingualism; Joola use also may be punished for older children
	$DS4_{F49}$ ↔ children in her household	In family home, around table	When children preparing homework	Help with revision and to strengthen French to help them at school
	MB ↔ $CB5_{F5}$ ↔ SG	Outside of compound	Talking to SG	Know that SG learning Joola Eegimaa; part of their linguistic practice
	$PB2_{F39}$ ↔ children in catechism classes	School in Essyl	In class	Religious texts in French; Joola for comprehension and instructions
	VB_{M68} ↔ priests Priests ↔ congregation	Catholic Church in Essyl	During services, meetings, talks	Priests using written French materials; services in Joola as mix own Joola; Joola enables understanding; lay members use Joola Banjal religious texts; hymns often French or some Joola
	Educated adults ↔ children	Diaspora	Language transmission to children	Reported use of French (in addition or in place of Joola); higher educated perceived to speak more French
	E.g. VB_{M68}, $CS3_{M55}$, ND_{M63} ↔ friends (mostly men)	Shops in Essyl	Informal conversation at end of day among men	French used for numeracy; topic focused such as construction and medical centre
	$CB1_{F38}$ ↔ other councillors	Enampore	Meetings of the *Commune d'Enampore*	Exclusion of Wolof to enable most understanding Joola used; French used as administrative space

Table 6.4: contexts of use of Joola (Eegimaa) and French

6.3.2. Joola (Eegimaa) and Wolof

Two participants in particular cite the use of Wolof as a practice that excludes people: VB_{M68} and $DS4_{F49}$. VB_{M68} is head of the Christian association of Essyl and $DS4_{F49}$ is the president of the Women's Catholic Association. They are both important people in Essyl and are in considerable positions of power and privilege acting as go-betweens from the priests to the members of their respective organisations. Moreover, both express a dispreference towards the use of Wolof in general and particularly when it concerns their roles and organisations. When asked if people understand church services in Joola and French, and whether more people would understand if Wolof was used as well, VB_{M68} responded that if that happened, then he would not understand [ESS200217SGa-e]. Obviously, as the head of the association and liaison with the priests, it is vital that he understand. Despite what I perceive to be a competent level of understanding Wolof, evidenced through interviews in which he assisted as a research assistant, VB_{M68} maintains a very complicated relationship with Wolof through his experiences and Catholic education, which have been reinforced through his continued involvement with the church. $DS4_{F49}$ also expresses a dispreference for Wolof, although in contrast to VB_{M68} she does actively use it in many situations and particularly will use it with outsiders who come to the village, as when technicians come to fix the solar panel [field notes, observations 02/03/2017]. In contrast, VB_{M68} actively avoids its use with itinerant traders for example [field notes 22/02/2016]. In a similar vein to VB_{M68}, $DS4_{F49}$ also disregards the use of Wolof in official meetings, if suggested that it could be easier to include more people. As shown in §6.3.1.3, when $DS4_{F49}$ is asked whether it would be easier if they spoke Wolof in the meetings of the Catholic Women's

Association, she responds in the negative citing that she, personally, doesn't like Wolof and then this spurs her to discuss the importance of maintaining your own language, and the possible threat to not only Joola, but also French, if Wolof is to be spoken. The importance of this is so strong that even in this particular domain, where French and Joola are highly associated with it, it is not conceivable to use a different language in the aim of inclusivity. For example, LMB said she would prefer it if people spoke Wolof during the women's meetings, as she moved to Essyl when she married and does not feel as competent in Joola Eegimaa as she does in Joola Fogny or Wolof [field notes 25/02/2017].

Therefore, by virtue of being heads of their respective organisations VB_{M68} and $DS4_{F49}$ are able to exert substantial influence over language use in these organisational settings, through their personal preferences. These are due to their own personal histories, and further exist in a self-constituting relationship in the settings: because they do not want to use Wolof it is, therefore, not used and Joola and French are preferred, which are dominant in settings associated with Catholicism and further creates a setting in which Wolof is not assumed to be a default choice and which does not interact on the local level with the attempt at an inclusive language space. In the following subsections I outline other contexts in which multilingualism including Wolof is used, or discussed.

6.3.2.1. "Outsiders": the teachers

The school brings together teachers from various different areas, although not all the teachers have remained constant throughout the research period. In 2016, there was a change in staff, which resulted in a changed sociolinguistic setting. OS_{F36}, the

teacher who left, had been at the school for a number of years and had spoken Joola Eegimaa well. When I carried out participant observations at the teacher's house in 2016, Joola Eegimaa was dominant and was used not only with JAS_{F22*} and HB_{F24*}, who prepared lunch for the teachers and who were both from Essyl (see also §6.1.2 and §6.3.3 for recorded observations), but also with children who called in, and it was used among the teachers. Yet with the change in staffing, both teachers and cooks, the language use has changed. Now the shift is towards Wolof between the teachers themselves and to JAS_{F22*} and GS_{F38} who were cooking for them in 2017. In 2016 one of the teachers who was a new arrival, $BM1_{M29}$, tended to be left out of the conversations as the rest of the group spoke Joola Eegimaa and although he would speak in Wolof with people, if the other teachers were talking among themselves then they tended to use Joola Eegimaa. In 2017, he said that he began to understand Joola Eegimaa, but it was difficult to learn. However, another new member of staff, AD, also didn't speak any Joola languages, and with her arrival Wolof has become the default for the teachers when speaking with each other and with the cooks. When speaking of work, French is present, which is to be expected as the official language of the educational sector. Specifically $BM1_{M29}$ states that among the teachers they speak French and Wolof, and no Joola is spoken, due to it being an "*espace administratif*" 'an administrative space', therefore excluding Joola from being used there: this in turn is reinforced in the eyes of students by some teachers' use of a symbol to discourage the use of Joola, despite none of the teachers claiming to participate in said practice.

6.3.2.2. Language transmission

The use of Joola Eegimaa and Wolof in the diaspora, those who have moved to Ziguinchor or Dakar, is widely discussed by participants with many noting that those Joola people who move to town do not transmit Joola to the younger generations. This then reinforces Essyl and Mof Avvi as a space where Joola Eegimaa is preserved, although when family members or friends return, there is a concomintant influence on the sociolinguistic setting. One interesting case study to look at is VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ and their attitudes and practices towards Wolof in relation to Joola Eegimaa. From the first time I met VB_{M68}, he repeatedly said that he does not speak Wolof, he does not like Wolof and he does not even understand Wolof. He states that this is quite common especially among men in Essyl, but not the women as they all speak Wolof, although this is ostensibly not the case. This is likely related to the fact that men are carriers of the patrimonial identity and concomitant identity language (Lüpke 2016a). Although many of the men might not have as varied repertoires as some of the women, many still do understand and speak Wolof. One of the clues to this attitude lies in his linguistic biography. VB_{M68} for example, studied until 4th grade and for the last two years of his education he studied at the Catholic seminary school in Ziguinchor. Despite there being children from all over the Casamance at the seminary, VB_{M68} claims that they only spoke French with each other. Wolof was prohibited not only in class, but also among the children at break and overnight. Juillard states in Dreyfus & Juillard (2004: 278), that Catholic education in Ziguinchor heavily promoted the use of French and strictly prohibited the use of Wolof. As this was the only period of his life when he lived outside of Essyl and was not permitted to acquire Wolof in the one place where many other people learn this language, one can begin to see why he does not speak Wolof. He

has also spoken about feeling “left behind” by his age mates as well, when many left the village and went to Ziguinchor or Dakar or even other villages. This also contributed to the fact that he felt he did not have the opportunity to learn other languages, which helps in his opinion to construct Essyl as a monolingual setting, contrasted with the multilingual opportunities presented outside of Mof Avvi. All of his three children are now grown up. The two oldest, AB is a Spanish teacher in Kolda and PB is studying for a Masters in English at UCAD, *Université Cheikh Anta Diop* in Dakar. Both grew up in Essyl and then moved away. His youngest daughter, TRB_{F28}, currently is a French teacher at a *lycée* ‘high school’ near Dakar. RTB was fostered and grew up with VB_{M68}’s younger sister, FB_{F61}, and her family in Dakar. FB_{F61}’s husband did not come from Essyl, however, but from a village near Afiniam on the north bank of the Casamance River, where reportedly a very closely related Joola language is spoken, although participants did not name it and indeed VB_{M68} describes this as the same language as Joola Eegimaa. From a researcher’s perspective, it is likely to be *Gufiñamay* ‘the Joola of Afiniam’ with a lexical similarity of 74% between the varieties (Sagna & Bassène 2016: 43). PB has a girlfriend and a daughter, RB_{F5}, who was 5 years old in 2016 and they all live in Dakar. RB_{F5} lives with her mother in Dakar, although the couple are not yet married (although the expectation is that they will and may move back to Essyl, as VB_{M68} would like). Whilst I was staying with $RM1_{F61}$ and VB_{M68}, their grandchild RB_{F5} ($RM1_{F61}$’s namesake) and PB’s girlfriend FS3 came to visit as unfortunately she had to come back to Enampor for her brother’s funeral. When they visited the house RB_{F5}, the child, was incredibly chatty and used exclusively Wolof. FS3 addressed her most of the time in Wolof and every now and then Joola, although the Joola felt like an afterthought or sometimes for VB_{M68}’s benefit to demonstrate that she is

transmitting Joola to her child. RB_{F5} however spoke with $RM1_{F61}$ in Wolof and $RM1_{F61}$ answered her in Wolof too. VB_{M68} refused to answer in Wolof although the child clearly didn't understand Joola yet. What was obvious to me as a participant observer is that he was following conversations between FS3 and RB_{F5} in Wolof. The presence of FS3 and RB_{F5} had already made $RM1_{F61}$ alter her linguistic behaviour and she began to use Wolof more frequently, yet with VB_{M68} it seems that his language choice is restricted and becomes marked through his refusal to speak Wolof, which he repeated "*imangut*" 'I don't like it' [observations 20/02/2017] when speaking with visitors to Essyl. The visitors were teasing him about the fact that he wouldn't speak Wolof although he understood and was answering the visitors' questions in Joola, which were posed in Wolof.

When the little RB_{F5} was visiting, one of $PB2_{F39}$ and $CS3_{M55}$'s children came to play with her, HS_{F4}, also 5 years old at the time. RB_{F5} solely addressed HS_{F4} in Wolof and HS_{F4} spoke Joola Eegimaa and neither seemingly understood each other and $RM1_{F61}$ frequently had to interpret for them whilst they were playing their games. Although they are both still very young and clearly in the process of language acquisition, VB_{M68} held it up as indicative of the lack of language transmission in the diaspora. Those who move away speak Wolof to their children (including his own child and grandchild) and those who stay in the village speak Joola Eegimaa to their children. In other situations he is very vocal about the fact that this is a bad thing and will discuss these metalinguistic situations with others, without making reference to the linguistic practices within his own family. Interestingly in an interview with $CS3_{M55}$, VB_{M68}, Tricia Manga and myself, $CS3_{M55}$, VB_{M68} and Tricia were involved in a discussion about language transmission among Joola people with relation to those who move to Dakar and speak Wolof and French.

It is posited as a problem with Joola people particularly who are giving up their language and not passing it on to their children – $CS3_{M55}$ contrasted this to Fula people, who he perceives will always speak Peul to their children and Mandinka people who will speak Mandinka. They said that Joola people are *complexés* 'hung up' about their language use [ESS160316SG1b] and that people who move away to town and then come back speak more Wolof. Furthermore, they call those Joola who move to Ziguinchor or Dakar and who do not speak Joola "*déracinés*" 'uprooted'. This was particularly evident during the circumcision ceremony which was held in 2004, where people came from Paris and Dakar (also discussed in §6.1.3). They stated that there were people who attended whose parents were both Joola who did not speak a word of Joola and were not able to sing any of the traditional songs required by the ceremony. During the ceremony nothing was translated and those who did not speak Joola had to ask friends what was being said. Furthermore, the participants emphasised the seriousness of the initiates not being able to sing songs on their exit from the sacred forest.

6.3.2.3. $DS4_{F49}$ and IS_{F44} – initiators of language change

The combination of two languages, the mix of Joola and Wolof, defines the linguistic relationship between two of the key participants, $DS4_{F49}$ and her sister-in-law – IS_{F44}. They live together in the same house and are married to two brothers, who are VB_{M68}'s cousins. $DS4_{F49}$ reports that between the two women they mix Joola and Wolof, as IS_{F44} has not even been in Essyl for more than two years. IS_{F44} and even $DS4_{F49}$ can be described as catalysts who affect the linguistic contexts (much as with myself towards Joola §5.1.2). Although this is highly dependent on

participants present, it is nonetheless striking how they often trigger a switch away from “monolingual” Joola Eegimaa towards more fluid practices, incorporating other Joola languages and Wolof. As IS_{F44} and $DS4_{F49}$ are neighbours to VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$ they often pop round or pass by on the way to other houses in the village. If $RM1_{F61}$ is around then often there is a Joola/Wolof practice observed, however, if she is not, as VB_{M68} refuses to speak Wolof, then Joola is dominant. However, even if just IS_{F44} and VB_{M68} are speaking then IS_{F44} will often switch into Wolof which does not necessarily present any difficulty in comprehension from VB_{M68}, as happened during the week when $RM1_{F61}$ went to Dakar to visit her eldest daughter [observations 02/03/2017-05/03/2017].

During my second fieldtrip, TRB_{F28}, the youngest of VB_{M68}’s and $RM1_{F61}$’s daughters came to visit. She only stayed for one night, but her presence also markedly altered $RM1_{F61}$’s language use [observations recorded in field notes [16-17/02/2017]. During the visit, IS_{F44} and $DS4_{F49}$ passed by the house and the four of them greeted and held a conversation almost exclusively in Wolof, in which I also participated. Generally with IS_{F44} I have developed the habit to speak Wolof rather than Joola Eegimaa, and she is one of the very few people who speaks Wolof to me, despite the fact that most people can speak Wolof. The next day I went with TRB_{F28} to greet IS_{F44} and $DS4_{F49}$ at their house and we sat in the living room with their mother-in-law MTT. From participating and observing, the majority of the conversation was in Wolof and Joola was used to interpret some towards MTT. Little French was used apart from to occasionally translate for me if I did not understand the Wolof used. I was not necessarily that involved in the conversation, however, as it mainly revolved around relations and mutual acquaintances who lived in Dakar who I did not know. With this constellation of participants in this situation

Wolof was the dominant language used, which stands out among observations across the village and contexts.

Wolof is not only associated with those people who have moved either to Ziguinchor or Dakar and then returned to the village. It is also associated with spaces outside of Essyl and Mof Avvi and strangers or outsiders. For example, in an interview $JB1_{M26}$ makes a distinction between the languages he uses when travelling within Mof Avvi and in other locations (following transcription and translation my own):

(6.13)

SG *et par exemple quand tu voyages aux autres villages normalement tu parles quelles langues*

'and for example when you travel to other villages which languages do you normally speak?'

$JB1_{M26}$ *donc quand tu dis dans un autre village c'est à dire les villages du royaume ou bien hors du royaume?*

'so when you say in another village do you mean the villages of the kingdom or outside of the kingdom?'

$JB1_{M26}$ *bon quand je voyage dans le Royaume je parle le joola banjal mais quand je sors hors du royaume là-bas les Joolas sont pas les mêmes voilà donc là-bas on parle le wolof*

'well when I travel in the kingdom I speak Joola Banjal but when I leave the kingdom there the Joola (people) aren't the same so there we speak Wolof'

[ESS120116SG4a]

However, this does not necessarily extend to contexts and meetings with other Joola people outside of Mof Avvi, where Wolof may be used instead. Although Juillard (2001) states that Joola is most often the base intra-group language among Joola people, sometimes the differences, whether linguistic or perceived, are too great to engage in meaningful conversation and Wolof will be chosen as an intermediary language instead. For example, $DS4_{F49}$ reports that she often uses Wolof with outsiders who don't speak Joola. However, this is also the case with people who do speak Joola too, or at least certain varieties. During observations [02/03/2017] which she also reported as part of her language diary, two electricians came to her house to look at the solar panel. They were known to her as old students of her husband's from Djembering. She said that she never learnt Joola Kwaataay, despite having lived in Djembering on-and-off for 5 years and that Kwaataay speakers did not want to speak their Joola to her either. With the two electricians she reported only speaking in Wolof, which I also observed as I was present at the house at the time of their visit. The following day in her round-up of her language use [field notes 03/03/2017] she reported that another electrician came in the morning to check up on the work of the previous day. This electrician came from Ziguinchor and as he was Fula, and as $DS4_{F49}$ stated he didn't speak Joola, they spoke Wolof together. The association of the use of Wolof with strangers and outside locations also applies to the perception and acquisition of Wolof in spaces outside of Essyl and Mof Avvi. Many participants state that they did not begin to learn Wolof until they arrived in Ziguinchor or Dakar, for example $RB4_{F42}$ states that she only started to learn Wolof in Ziguinchor and not in Essyl [ESS230216SG]. This is also the case with $DS4_{F49}$'s reported acquisition of Wolof. She states that she learnt it with children at school and

they would speak it during the breaks or outside of the house. She lodged with her uncle and cousins and her uncle's wife forbade the use of Wolof in the home. The link of Wolof with the outside space, whether outside the classroom, outside the home or outside of Essyl is further reinforced through family language policies in the case of $DS4_{F49}$.

In Table 6.5 below I summarise the contexts of use of Joola (Eegimaa) and Wolof. A common theme throughout the situations described is that Wolof and its use is associated with outsiders and newcomers to Essyl, or indeed outside of Mof Avvi itself.

Named language(s)	**Who**	**Where**	**When**	**Why**
Joola (Eegimaa) & Wolof	e.g. $DS4_{F49}$, $RM1_{F61}$ (and others) ↔ "outsiders"	Essyl	Service encounters	Itinerant traders or technicians from outside Mof Avvi who do not speak Joola (Eegimaa)
	AD, $BM1_{M29}$, and other teachers ↔ JAS_{F22*}, GS_{F38}	Teachers' house, Essyl	Informal discussions among teachers, and cooks	New arrivals AD & $BM1_{M29}$ do not already speak Joola and are both learning Joola (Eegimaa)
	$RM1_{F61}$ & FS3 ↔ RB_{F5}	Essyl & Dakar (indicative of diaspora)	Language transmission & child-directed speech	RB_{F5} predominantly speaks Wolof
	$DS4_{F49}$ ↔ IS_{F44} ; $DS4_{F49}$ & IS_{F44} ↔ TRB_{F28} & $RM1_{F61}$	Home; Essyl	Between themselves; informal chats	Mix of Joola & Wolof as IS_{F44} learning Joola; other participants, e.g. TRB_{F28} who live in Dakar and predominantly use Wolof
	IS_{F44} ↔ SG	Essyl	Most contexts	Preference as both learning Joola (Eegimaa) and more proficient in Wolof; also for practice for SG

	$JB1_{M26}$ ↔ other Joola people	Outside Mof Avvi	Travelling	If difference between Joolas is too great; with certain Joola people Wolof is chosen to help understanding

Table 6.5: contexts of use of Joola (Eegimaa) and Wolof

6.3.3. Joola (Eegimaa), French and Wolof

The use of Joola Eegimaa, French and Wolof, in various mixtures, constellations, in different contexts, times and places and with different interlocutors, could be considered the three minimal languages in a person's repertoire in Essyl from a researcher's point of view. This holds despite the fact that participants hold differing opinions on whether this mix is a positive or negative aspect or whether it is a highly marked mode of speech. However from many participants' perspectives Joola Eegimaa is the unmarked form and any switch into a different pattern of language use is highly marked.

As seen in the section above Wolof is ideologically linked to outsiders and to perceived ways of communicating outside of Mof Avvi. However when reporting on language use, participants do not often consider their language use to strangers who come to Essyl or if they talk with people who are geographically removed, for example when making a telephone call as will be seen in the following example, which is extracted from an observed communicative event that I assisted in as a participant observer. In January 2016, JAS_{F22*} and HB_{F24*} were preparing lunch for the teachers. This was just after $BM1_{M29}$ had arrived, but OS_{F36} was still working there and Joola Eegimaa was the unmarked language of interaction. The conversation between JAS_{F22*} and HB_{F24*} had been conducted primarily in Joola

Eegimaa and the extract presented below occurs about 30 minutes after having turned the camera on. HB_{F24*} is busy pounding leaves for lunch and her phone starts ringing; JAS_{F22*} runs into the house to find her phone for her. JAS_{F22*} thinks it is HB_{F24*}'s husband calling, but she misses the call. It was in fact a friend who she calls back and begins another conversation with. In the example *Joola Eegimaa* is in Italics, **French** in bold and Wolof is underlined:

(6.14)

1	HB_{F24*}	to	JAS_{F22*}, *telefonom !*
	JAS_{F22*}		
			'JAS$_{F22*}$, my phone'
2	JAS_{F22*}	to	*Uela ?*
	HB_{F24*}		
			'where is it?'
3	HB_{F24*}	to	*uyu n'***epocet** *yay !*
	JAS_{F22*}		
			'it's in the clutch bag'
4	JAS_{F22*}	to	*dëime ?*
	HB_{F24*}		
			'where's that?'
5	JAS_{F22*}	to	*N'ekadar yay ?*
	HB_{F24*}		
			'in the bedroom?'
6	HB_{F24*}	to	*Ey !*

	JAS$_{F22*}$		
			‘yes’
7	JAS$_{F22*}$	to	
	HB$_{F24*}$		*Pok, jamb’ufontuom dé !*
			‘Pok (a nickname for HB$_{F24*}$), don’t mess with me huh’
8	JAS$_{F22*}$	to	*unamo babu nuŋar e***portabl** *ubaŋ boube !*
	HB$_{F24*}$		
			‘you you’re over there and you leave your phone here!’
9	HB$_{F24*}$	to	*mufaŋe ?*
	SG		
			‘are you tired?’
10	HB$_{F24*}$	to	**Dakor !**
	JAS$_{F22*}$		
			‘Ok’
11	JAS$_{F22*}$	to	*Aíni* **qui t’appelle !**
	HB$_{F24*}$		
			‘it’s your husband calling you’
12	JAS$_{F22*}$	to	*aíni F--- !*
	HB$_{F24*}$		
			‘your husband F---’
13	JAS$_{F22*}$	to	*Bu júe urobo nuŋar e***portabl** *ubaŋ boubu ?*
	HB$_{F24*}$		
			‘how can you be here and leave your phone in there?’
14	HB$_{F24*}$	on	salaam aleikum tutti

phone

'hello tutti'

15 HB_{F24*} on phone A-a, hol ma dé, sama harit mo ko andi

'no I didn't see, it's my friend who brought it to me'

[ESS120116SGb 00:05:41.655 - 00:06:52.982]

Although HB_{F24*}'s sociolinguistic space has changed in the context of answering the telephone call, which calls into use different resources in her repertoire from those being used in the previous conversations, the location has remained the same, a simple fact which is often not considered when participants report on language use inside Essyl and therefore for many does not contribute to the perception of Essyl as in fact being multilingual. The change of interlocutor, topic and context, has prompted a switch to Wolof. This use of exclusive Wolof does not align with perceived traditional language use in Essyl, rather it represents a "move" outside of the communicative context or sociolinguistic space which are often geographically activated, such as when a participant moves outside of Essyl. The mobile phone as another version of the mobility of communication is an important factor to consider for example with language maintenance in the diaspora (Pauwels 2016). Yet this conversation does not necessarily contradict the link between this ideological perception of a one-to-one relationship between language and place, as through the medium of a phone call the speaker is "transported" to another location or rather sociolinguistic space.

The one-to-one ideology between Essyl as a Joola Eegimaa speaking village does not stand up to observations even if examples such as the one above are excluded

where the participant speaks to someone in a different sociolinguistic space and context (see §7.2). Many participants acknowledge the mix of Joola, French and Wolof, even if at the same time they hold at first glance contradictory views regarding the dominance and purity of use of Joola Eegimaa. These should not be taken as contradictions, but rather merely as two facets of complex multilingual language use. During the field season 2017, the men's football Africa cup was held and in Essyl DS set up a TV in the *foyer* 'village hall' so that people could come and watch it. On one occasion I had the opportunity to attend a screening although it was not recorded. The event and observations are written up in my field notes [01/02/2017]. Before the football started he showed cartoons for the children who all watched them attentively – it was mainly *Tom and Jerry* and therefore in the main did not contain any dialogue in any language. After the cartoons, there were Wolof adverts and the children became noticeably restless and didn't appear to understand the Wolof (or rather they were just bored with the adverts). Among themselves and with DS they used Joola Eegimaa. During the first half there was very little talking and a lot of concentration directed at the match on the TV. Towards the end of the first half I left to change and when I returned the children had all left and DS was there with $AB4_{F50}$ and they were watching the news in French at half-time. They were speaking to each other in Joola Eegimaa. Then $CS3_{M55}$ arrived to watch the match. After his arrival Joola Eegimaa was mixed with French especially when the topic being discussed was football and the matches. At one point $AB4_{F50}$ took a phone call in Wolof and after that point when she came back to watch the match she was observed using more Wolof when she was discussing football. The match was being commented on in Wolof and French and also likely had an effect on their language use, as participants are used to watching matches and discussing them in

those languages. However, this had a carried over effect on $CS3_{M55}$ and DS' language use when talking about other topics too, such as $CS3_{M55}$ discussing his nephew's recent trip abroad. As the match progressed they became more and more excited and the three languages were being mixed at a very high pace, in fact too quickly for me to follow even the French and Wolof sections, let alone Joola Eegimaa.

Overall, I found that the various communicative contexts observed where the combination of Joola (Eegimaa), French and Wolof used together were fewer than originally anticipated at the outset of the research. Both of the situations described seem to have a phone call with someone outside of Mof Avvi, using Wolof, as a trigger towards a change in sociolinguistic space where the 3 languages are more often used. This is summarised in Table 6.6 below.

Named language(s)	**Who**	**Where**	**When**	**Why**
Joola (Eegima) & French & Wolof	JAS_{F22*} ↔ HB_{F24*} HB_{F24*} → friend calling on mobile phone	Essyl at teachers' house whilst working	Conversation about a phone call; during a phone call	French isolated related to loanwords; Wolof as separate conversation with friend i.e. change of sociolinguistic space
	DS ↔ $CS3_{M55}$ ↔ $AB4_{F50}$	*Foyer* in Essyl	Chatting whilst watching football match	Match shown in Wolof and French; $AB4_{F50}$ takes phone call in Wolof leading to greater use

Table 6.6: contexts of use of Joola (Eegimaa), Wolof and French

6.4. Multilingualism including other named languages

The occurrence of languages other than those of the Joola cluster, French and Wolof, are rarely observed in natural discourse data from my corpus, despite participants

having varied and extensive repertoires. However, in the corpus there are a few instances of these being used which will be discussed below alongside the other languages which are present in participants' repertoires. Furthermore, observed (and not recorded) instances of language use will be examined to investigate how these create new sociolinguistic contexts which are highly dependent on interlocutor and the intersecting available linguistic resources in participants' repertoires.

6.4.1. Mandinka

Mandinka (also called Sose by those who don't identify as Mandinka) is a Mande language, and is reported by some participants in their repertoires, which they have acquired in different situations according to their life histories. Mandinka is recognised as one of the national languages of Senegal. It is a transnational language and has a wide speaker base in the Casamance and plays an important role as a language of Islam (Lüpke 2016a; 2018). In The Gambia, Mandinka is the most widely spoken language, is used in mass media, carries significant prestige and functions as a *lingua franca* in towns and villages across the country (Juffermans 2015: 335). For example, $RM1_{F61}$ learnt Mandinka both in Ziguinchor in the local area with neighbours and contacts (she worked for a French family). In The Gambia the wife of the couple she was a domestic worker for spoke to her in Wolof (the husband was English although after a few years she says he picked up Wolof) and she also acquired some Mandinka with neighbours and when interacting at the market or in her neighbourhood. $FT1_{F66}$ is not a main participant and her detailed linguistic biography is not known, yet her reported repertoire consists of "*gujoolaay, guwolofay, gumandingay*" 'Joola, Wolof, Mandinka'. In the example that follows, a group of women are working in the rice fields for $RM1_{F61}$. In total there are 14

women in the group. The 5 women speaking in the extract have fallen behind the others in their harvesting. Regarding the topic, as they work they are also singing songs. As there is not intra-turn switching, according to the transcriber, the language name appears next to the segment as described by the observer-transcriber:

(6.15)

1	DS4$_{F49}$ to	*Injé íjuenen mat'ujugom iilo iegul ma,*	Joola Eegimaa
2	PB2$_{F39}$	*uogal me gafóñ man ujaal ni go,*	
3		*ujaal go pe !*	
		‘if I knew how to sing I wouldn't be urging you to sing, if we decide to sing a song, let's sing it completely’	
4	PB2$_{F39}$ to DS4$_{F49}$	*Fétcé !*	Wolof (?)
		‘leave me alone!’	
5	DS4$_{F49}$ to	*A-a, jiannen bugaa boube, gúuba*	Joola Eegimaa
6	the larger group	*gúbbañul*	
		‘no, help these ones over here, two of you come back over here’	
7	PB2$_{F39}$ to DS4$_{F49}$	*Ee!*	Joola Eegimaa
		‘Hey!’	

8	$RM1_{F61}$ to the small group	*Ñer elob yay etoge !* 'You've done enough talking!'	Joola Eegimaa
9	$FT1_{F66}$ to $RM1_{F61}$	*Al numbara... numbara...numbara !* 'work hard…work hard…work hard!'	Mandinka
10	$FT1_{F66}$ to the small group	*$RM1_{F61}$ n'gandala aa !* '$RM1_{F61}$ is the boss!'	Wolof
11	AB2 to the small group	*Tey mo ko yor !* 'today she's the one that has everything!'	Wolof

[ESS1501116SGb]

Only $FT1_{F66}$ and $RM1_{F61}$ reportedly share the resources of Mandinka in their respective repertoires and in addressing $RM1_{F61}$ only, $FT1_{F66}$ is showing that she is working hard unlike the others and therefore creates a smaller sociolinguistic space where the others are excluded. In the following line 8 she then addressed all in the smaller group with the use of Wolof, a more inclusive move taking a stance as $RM1_{F61}$'s supporter encouraging the others to work for her as all the women in the smaller (and larger group) have Wolof which forms part of the spatial repertoire of the group in the rice field. Although many participants share Mandinka in their repertoires, it was not often observed among people who grew up in Essyl and Mof Avvi. This contrasts to those who learned Mandinka in the "outside" sociolinguistic areas, such as The Gambia or Ziguinchor. The example above represents a rare

occurrence in the corpus, although it still illustrates the potentialities of participants to add to the latent possibilities of multilingualism in Essyl.

$RB4_{F42}$ is one of those participants who learnt Sose (her term of choice) whilst she lived in Goudomp, a town to the east of Ziguinchor. (See Ndecky 2011 for detailed description of the multilingual linguistic practices there.) She attended school there for the 3rd grade, the last year in the first cycle of secondary school. $RB4_{F42}$ reports that in Goudomp there are Fula and Sose people, who speak Pulaar and Sose, as well as Joola speakers (although she reported that she spoke Joola Fogny with the other Joola people). She reports acquiring Sose informally through the medium of Wolof. Others who speak Sose are people who come from “outside” of Essyl and Mof Avvi, for example $BM1_{M29}$ who is one of the teachers and $MD3_{M24}$, who although not a key participant, is useful for illustrating the difference in language use which is brought about by the presence of an “outsider”. In an observed event, some of the men of the village assembled to help build a shelter which would house the new rice-pounding machine. $MD3_{M24}$, who is a mason, had been hired for the task and came from Ziguinchor to lead the construction work. Throughout mostly Joola Eegimaa is used between the men, with French particularly for numeracy. There are a few instances of Mandinka used, in reference to the camera filming by $MD3_{M24}$ and PHB_{M40}. Apart from this $MD3_{M24}$ uses Wolof and French. $RB4_{F42}$ reports Sose (Mandinka) in her repertoire and was present for some of the recording, but was not analysed as having spoke Sose during the observation.

6.4.2. Kriolu

Kriolu, a Portuguese-based creole, was once considered the *lingua franca* of Ziguinchor and surrounding areas, particularly among the older generations in town.

Biagui et al. (Submitted) describe the neighbouring Crossroads villages of Djibonker and Brin as traditional Casamance Creole speaking villages, however, no village within Mof Avvi is included in their designation. A possible link is due to the presence of Baïnounk in Djibonker and their shared history with Brin. Lüpke (p.c.) explains that Baïnounk people, especially to the east of Ziguinchor, are often associated with double patrimonial identities. This is likely due to the history of the slave trade in the area and the promixity of villages and towns to the east and south of Ziguinchor with the inland ports of Cacheu and São Domingo in Guinea-Bissau, where a related Portuguese-based creole is also spoken. Some participants distinguish between the two creole varieties whereas others do not. For example, $JB1_{M26}$ learnt Kriolu in Ziguinchor and in 2016 reported that he had recently been on a trip to Guinea-Bissau and was able to speak Kriolu there as he considered the two creoles to be mutually intelligible. He also stated that when travelling in Guinea-Bissau it is essential to know Kriolu in order to be able to communicate with people there [ESS120116SG3]. Although its use was widespread in the Casamance, despite contact with people in the areas described by Biagui et al. above, for the majority of participants Kriolu does not form part of their linguistic repertoire, unless they have gone to live in Ziguinchor or Guinea-Bissau and interacted with Kriolu speakers. With Kriolu, all participants who cite this as part of their repertoire state that they learned it in Ziguinchor, so the language use has a strong connection with the town, even if they don't consider that they speak it well, as with $RM1_{F61}$ for example. There have been no instances of Kriolu in my personal corpus of recordings of natural data. But I do have mentions of it in repertoire descriptions and have also made observations of it being used between certain participants, as detailed below. I have also observed it being talked about in discussions about languages and creoles –

meta-linguistic discourses. For example, I observed an informal debate around languages and creoles [field notes 13/01/2016], where a group of mainly unknown participants were discussing the differences between languages and creoles and a distinction was made between the languages spoken in Senegal and Kriolu spoken in Ziguinchor and Guinea-Bissau; it was also noted that there were no French creoles in West Africa. They also discussed the necessity of using Kriolu when travelling to Guinea-Bissau, which is a further association of further multilingual practices with an outside space, in this case, either Ziguinchor or another international linguistic space in the neighbouring country of Guinea-Bissau. It is worth remembering that the border with Guinea-Bissau is very close to the Crossroads area: you can reach the official border checkpoint from Ziguinchor in approximately 30 minutes and there are many other border villages which can be reached on paths from Djibonker. These villages are where some people travel to on bicycles and cross in order to buy cheap *caña* ‘rum’ and red wine to then sell on in Senegal to make a profit.

The observations of Kriolu being used were with “outsiders”, who were indeed from Guinea-Bissau. The event described below took place on 04/03/2017 [observations recorded in field notes], and involved DS and $CS3_{M55}$ who were at VB_{M68}’s house as I had set up a focus group with $CS3_{M55}$, VB_{M68}, IS_{F44} and $DS4_{F49}$ with DS leading the discussion at the house around languages, Joola and multilingualism (see §6.2.4 and §7.3). When I arrived at VB_{M68} and $RM1_{F61}$’s house that day ($RM1_{F61}$ being absent in Dakar visiting her son and daughter), there were two other people there – KT2 and AT2 – niece and nephew to VB_{M68}, who he refers to as ‘cousins’. They were building VB_{M68}’s older sister a house next to VB_{M68}’s and $RM1_{F61}$’s house as at the time she lived in Battinghere, but as she is getting older and her children have moved away, there was no one there to help her out. In order to

build the house, AT2 employed three masons who came to live at the main house whilst they built the new one. Only two of them arrived that day. They were MJ_{M40*} and SD_{M40*}, and were from Guinea-Bissau. They both speak Kriolu, Joola Susaana, Arame and Wolof. When I was setting up the camera for the focus group MJ_{M40*} arrived and said he spoke Kriolu and asked me if spoke Portuguese or Spanish. I replied in Spanish saying I speak Spanish and can understand some Portuguese, to which he replied in Kriolu "*Si si*". Later when $CS3_{M55}$, VB_{M68} and DS were chatting whilst waiting for the other participants to arrive, MJ_{M40*} came back into the house and introduced himself to $CS3_{M55}$ and DS. They are both Kriolu speakers and they had a conversation in Kriolu, with $CS3_{M55}$ using some Wolof too. The masons stayed for approximately three weeks. They did not wish to participate in all aspects of the research – only informal observations and conversations – and there are, therefore, no recorded events or interviews with them. I generally observed that the three masons between themselves tended to speak Kriolu and "Joola". With other members of the household they spoke "Joola" and Wolof. With $RM1_{F61}$ they sometimes spoke Kriolu and she would answer in Joola (Eegimaa) or Wolof. On the first couple of evenings there was a negotiation between the speakers of the different Joola varieties with the household members vs. the masons asking each other how to say certain phrases or checking if certain lexical items were similar in the different varieties, which was also a great source of entertainment. Once again, the presence of outsiders and those who have extensive repertoires after travelling outside of Essyl alters the sociolinguistic space (see §7.2) and creates a spatial repertoire in which VB_{M68}'s participation is sometimes restricted as he does not have these linguistic resources in his repertoire, therefore when he is present in the group, the tendency was towards using Joola varieties.

In addition, looking at the natural language data collected for the Crossroads project in Essyl, we do a find a handful of instances of Kriolu. The key male participant for the study in Essyl was $CS3_{M55}$. He states that he learnt Kriolu whilst he was living with Kriolu speakers whilst in Ziguinchor for his studies, as detailed in §4.2 and §5.1.2. As a key participant in the Crossroads study he wore a small portable recording device and his natural language use was recorded throughout the day. In the recording he meets a new group of people. The Kriolu surfaces when he greets someone who cannot be heard on the recording:

(6.16)

1	$CS3_{M55}$ to unknown	*yermoŋ* 'my brother'	Kriolu
2	$CS3_{M55}$ to unknown	*ŋsaboŋ* 'I'm good'	Kriolu

[ESS290316SGCSa_CUT2 – 00:06:00.195-00:06:05.540]

Interestingly he greets each new person in the group in a different language: he begins by greeting someone in Wolof, then there is a new person who is greeted in the example above, then the next person is greeted in French, a fourth person is greeted in Joola Eegimaa. This could be due to established habits of communication, but it is also indicative of a practice which has been found by Heil (2013) to be typical of the Casamançais perception of conviviality. He discusses how greeting is important across the region, in villages, as well as in towns, and that when people from the Casamance move abroad they retain this ritual, whereby it is considered polite and respectful to greet your friends, neighbours and acquaintances in a

language that they appreciate being addressed in. He describes this as akin to Blommaert's (2010: 9) "truncated multilingualism", where participants may not know "all" of a language, but rather have fragmented repertoires. Yet people are able to fluidly and fluently use certain registers or parts of the language which suits their purposes. Therefore, even though I find the choice of the term "truncated" problematic, especially when regarding repertoires, it does however point in the right direction regarding the fact that no one is competent or proficient in all domains, areas, etc., of their "native" language, even if it is one which is standardised, written, etc., such as Dutch in Blommaert's context. Blommaert states that "truncated" language repertoires mainly consist of "spoken, vernacular and non-native varieties of different languages" (Blommaert 2010: 9). Of course, this is indeed the situation with most of the languages and varieties in people's repertoires particularly with regard to the Casamance sociolinguistic setting. Further, Heil demonstrates how truncated multilingualism can also be described as participants using limited yet creative practices, when people can "please each other by showing familiarity with ritualised exchanges specific to the other's language" (Heil 2013: 108). This is important to note, because these convivial greeting rituals do form part of participants' everyday lived multilingual practices in the region, but may be overlooked in people's perceptions of languages they have in their repertoires. Yet if asked rather about their practices, for example how they greet, then these do form part of their multilingualism and their perceptions of such. See also §5.1.2 and §6.4.4 for $CS3_{M55}$ and how he partakes and perceives of greeting.

6.4.3. Pulaar

Pulaar, which Mc Laughlin (1995) describes as the Senegalese dialect of Fula, is a language in the Fula-Sereer grouping of the North branch of Atlantic languages (see Figure 1.1). It is a transnational language, spoken by approximately 10 million people across numerous West African countries, including Senegal, The Gambia and Burkina Faso, among others. It does not surface in any of the natural language recordings, either in my personal corpus or in the Crossroads corpus' data from Essyl. There are a few participants, however, who report it as part of their linguistic repertoires, whether they refer to it as Pulaar or Peul (often when using French). One of these is $BS1_{M37}$, one of the teachers at the school in Essyl. $CB1_{F38}$ is the other participant who states that she learnt Pulaar with friends when she was growing up in Ziguinchor and likes to practice it with outsiders who can speak it when they come to Mof Avvi, for example itinerant sellers [field notes 09/03/2016].

6.4.4. Sereer

Sereer, also in the same language grouping of Fula-Sereer as Pulaar above, does not appear in my own natural language corpus data. Sereer is spoken across Senegal, The Gambia and Mauritania, but is generally associated with the region to the north of The Gambia. There is only one instance of Sereer which appears in the natural data collection of $CS3_{M55}$ which was conducted as part of the wider Crossroads project. $CS3_{M55}$ does not claim to speak Sereer as part of his repertoire. But as presented in §5.1.2 whilst working in Rufisque he lived with Sereer people in the same household and although he originally reported not to speak Sereer, he does say that he is able to greet in the language, which as Heil (2013) says is important for cohabitation and convivial relations. The instance of Sereer indeed surfaces as a

greeting: $CS3_{M55}$ is in the middle of a conversation in Joola Eegimaa and 'Jean' passes by. One aspect of greeting rituals is to state that someone has come when they arrive and when you take leave you state that they are going. The following transcription and language identification is according to one of the transcribers:

(6.17)

1	$CS3_{M55}$ to Jean	*jean gara* 'Jean came'	Sereer
2	$CS3_{M55}$ to unknown girls	*wa jiŋese baúbú* 'what are you looking for over there'	Joola Eegimaa
3	$CS3_{M55}$ to unknown girls	disquettes *jioge wáh gúwech* 'hip girls what did you say wild fruits'	Joola Eegimaa

[ESS290316SGCSa_CUT2 - 00:04:16.000 – 00:04:25.968]

The conversation and $CS3_{M55}$'s tone is joking and light-hearted as he teases the young girls. Introducing token greetings in other languages is a playful way of greeting people and here $CS3_{M55}$ uses Sereer without claiming it forms part of his linguistic resources. Furthermore, this clip was reviewed with $CS3_{M55}$ and he listened back to it, but did not want to categorise it as Sereer, but rather he preferred to say he was making a nickname for 'Jean' as he passed by. This reviewing of the

clip then led to a discussion about Sereer and more details on his linguistic biography, including when he stayed in Rufisque, this formed part of §5.1.2. Further to considering this as an instance of truncated multilingualism, it could also be considered as similar to crossing (Rampton 2009) where people use "formulaic" parts of speech in languages that do not necessarily form part of their repertoire, but a part of the repertoire of their friendship group or space and are used in a playful manner, particularly greetings, as in the instance above. The only participant who reports Sereer as part of his repertoire is $BS1_{M37}$, who is one of the teachers at the school in Essyl and claims a Sereer ethnic or patrimonial identity and Sereer as the language he identifies with.

6.4.5. Arame

IS_{F44} is the only key participant to report the use of Arame. This is her identity language, as she identifies as Arame. It is spoken as a patrimonial language predominantly in Guinea-Bissau, where IS_{F44}' family orginates from. In one participant observation event, it was actively used as she was teaching me and the palm wine collector who lodges with them, CS7 and a friend, TT_{M48*}, from Badiatte, the greetings in Arame [field notes and language notes 10/03/2017]. Other than that the use of it is reported in a very interesting way by VB_{M68} in his language diary, which also forms part of the discussion in the Joola section on the conception of language and languages in §6.2 (VB_{M68}'s language diary can be found in full in Appendix C). There is little to no extant literature on Arame. Segerer is currently conducting fieldwork and research on documenting Arame in Guinea-Bissau. He states in his recent paper on Atlantic classification, with Pozndiakov, that Arame is likely related to Bayot, which is itself controversially placed in the Joola cluster,

likely due to extensive historical contact (Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming). Interestingly, some participants refer to Arame as Joola Arame, but state that they do not understand it at all.

6.4.6. Spanish

Spanish is taught in the first cycle of secondary school, at the middle school in Enampor where many of the older children attend. Those participants who have finished schooling to the higher levels tend to claim Spanish as part of their repertoire and indeed the formal learning of French sets the groundwork for the acquisition of Spanish in school. Many participants enjoy learning other languages and $CS2_{F15}$ ($CS3_{M55}$ and $PB2_{F39}$'s daughter) often speaks Spanish with her friends on the way to school in Enampor, where she learnt Spanish. They also often speak in Wolof and French on the way, but enjoy speaking in Spanish to practice.

Other instances of Spanish occurred in participant observations. In conversation with the mason, as described in §6.4.2, I spoke Spanish and he responded in Kriolu. In addition, on 02/03/2017 when visiting $DS4_{F49}$, she had two electricians come to check her solar panel. One of them was chatting to me and misunderstood that I was English, he thought I was Spanish and greeted me in Spanish, to which I replied, and we had a short exchange of greetings. They turned out to be ex-students of JB8 from Djembering (see §6.4.2). $CS3_{M55}$Not only is Spanish used in school, but there is increasingly more Spanish and Catalan funding and charity/government investment in the Casamance and many Spanish tourists visit a *campement* in Séléki and often pass through Essyl on the way.

6.4.7. English

English is a compulsory subject in the Senegalese school system. Many parents are understandably very keen for their children to improve or learn English. During my time in Essyl, I sometimes ran extra English classes for the children to practice after school, which was appreciated by the adults and were well attended by the children who seemed to enjoy the mixture of games and songs. In a less formal setting English is also used, and is heavily influenced by my presence as a researcher. One of the teachers at the school, $BM1_{M29}$, studied linguistics and languages and then studied for a Masters II in American literature studies. When I visited him we would often speak in English. In addition, we also spoke French together or Wolof as I wanted to practice my Wolof. Although he has now taught at the school for over a year his Joola Eegimaa is minimal although he has greatly advanced in his understanding of the language.

Generally, the use of other named languages apart from Joola (Eegimaa), French and Wolof, is highly dependent on the people involved in the conversation and whether the languages are shared in their repertoires. Participants may also use other languages to establish friendly relations with other people through greeting and joking. The contexts in which other named languages were used are summarised in Table 6.7 below.

Named language(s)	**Who**	**Where**	**When**	**Why**
Mandinka	$FT1_{F66}$ → $RM1_{F61}$	Rice fields, Essyl	Harvesting with work group	Known that $RM1_{F61}$ has Mandinka in repertoire
	$RB4_{F42}$	Repertoire (not observed used)	Learnt in Goudomp	One of languages spoken there
	$MD3_{M24}$ ↔	Building site,	Discussion	$MD3_{M24}$ is outsider

	PHB_{M40}	Essyl	about filming	and has Mandinka in repertoire
Kriolu	DS & $CS3_{M55}$ ↔ MJ_{M40*} & SD_{M40*} (masons from Guinea-Bissau	$RM1_{F61}$ & VB_{M68} house	Greeting masons, introductions and conversation	Dominant language used by masons; DS & CS3 $_{M55}$ both have Kriolu in repertoires
	$CS3_{M55}$ → unknown interlocutor	Shops in Essyl	Greetings	Maintaining convivial relations through greeting and joking
Pulaar	$CB1_{F38}$ ↔ itinerant sellers	Essyl (reported use)	Service transactions	To practice her language skills in Pulaar
Sereer	$CS3_{M55}$ → 'Jean'	Shops in Essyl	Greeting	Maintaining convivial relations through greeting and joking
Arame	IS_{F44} → CS7, SG	Palm grove, Essyl	Conversation and language learning whilst drinking	IS_{F44}'s identity language
	IS_{F44} → children of household	Essyl	Language acquisition	IS_{F44}'s identity language
	MJ_{M40*} ↔ SD_{M40*} (masons from Guinea-Bissau	Essyl (reported use; not observed)	General conversation	Purportedly (Joola) Arame as MJ_{M40*} and SD_{M40*}'s identity language
Spanish	$CS2_{F15}$ ↔ her friends (unknown)	Essyl & Enampor	In school and whilst travelling to and from Enampor	Learning Spanish in school; to practice
	SG ↔ outsiders	Essyl: $DS4_{F49}$'s house & $RM1_{F61}$'s house	Greetings	Convivial and fun greetings
English	SG ↔ children	School in Essyl	During class	SG ran extra-curricula English classes; English as school subject
	SG ↔ $BM1_{M29}$	$BM1_{M29}$'s & Teachers' house	Visiting for tea and conversations	Both share English in repertoires; $BM1_{M29}$ for practice

Table 6.7: context of use of other named languages

This chapter described the practices and perceptions of language use in Essyl. Starting with the practices which most align with the perceived monolingual use of Joola Eegimaa, it was found that participants use Joola Eegimaa in a wide variety of contexts, but is particularly prevalent in household settings, with children and for certain ceremonies. The relationship between monolingual use of Joola Eegimaa and the location of Essyl will be further discussed in the following chapter (§7.1). Other patterns of language use were described, including a presentation of Joola and related varieties including participants' perceptions. Situations of multilingual language use were also prevalent, with Joola (Eegimaa), Wolof and French being the most commonly used languages in various contexts (also found by Manga 2015) and dependent on interlocutor. Furthermore, situations of multilingualism including other named languages were also described, although occurring less frequently than Joola (Eegimaa), French and Wolof. Participants consistently drew links between language and location: Joola Eegimaa and Essyl (and Mof Avvi) vs. other languages and other outside spaces. In the following chapter I discuss these findings and the implications they have for processes of language territorialisation, sociolinguistic spaces, and how participants' perceptions of language use challenge existing theoretical frameworks.

7. Sociolinguistic spaces and multilingualism

In this chapter, I bring together analyses from the preceding chapters to discuss the theoretical underpinnings for the patterns observed, both with regards to participants' practices and perceptions of multilingualism in Essyl. I begin by considering the territorialisation of Joola Eegimaa and move on to discuss how this is related to concepts of sociolinguistic space and spatial repertoires. Following that, I discuss perceptions of Joola and multilingual linguistic practices and what the analyses contribute to current approaches dealing with multilingual settings. This is in response to research question (e) What is the contribution to approaches for analysing complex situations of multilingualism, for example the translanguaging approach and spatial repertoires? I conclude the chapter with a reflection on what the near future might bring for the sociolinguistic setting of Essyl.

7.1. Pointing towards language, practices and space

In chapter 4 I presented the linguistic repertoires of the key participants. It is clear from the data presentation in said chapter and the ethnographic information on participants' mobility in chapter 5 that an individual's life trajectory plays an influential role in shaping their linguistic repertoire. Despite the high degree of individuality in the repertoires according to the places of residence during a participant's history of mobility, there are, however, some similarities which bear discussion in a wider framework. I will consider what the data on repertoires contributes to an understanding of language use (which will be further discussed in

the following sections) and how this ultimately relates to how multilingualism is conceived.

Firstly, the most obvious similarity between all key participants' repertoires is the presence of Joola. All repertoires of the participants minimally consist of a Joola variety, whether the participants choose to specifically name a variety or to use the term Joola. (I list them here without mentioning reported competency, which is not a particularly useful concept in this research setting. The order listed does not have any significance.) See Table 7.1 below.

Participant	Joola varieties self-reported in repertoires
$CB1_{F38}$	Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny, Joola Kaasa de Oussouye
$CS3_{M55}$	Joola, Joola Banjal, Joola Kaasa
$PB2_{F39}$	Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny
$RB4_{F42}$	Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny
VB_{M68}	Joola Banjal
$RM1_{F61}$	Joola, Joola Banjal
$DS4_{F49}$	Joola, Joola Fogny, Joola Banjal
IS_{F44}	Joola, Joola Kaasa

Table 7.1: Joola in participants' repertoires

Another commonality presents itself in Table 7.1, namely that, barring IS_{F44} all other participants report Joola Banjal (Eegimaa) as part of their repertoire. Here it is important to consider that IS_{F44} is the most recent newcomer to Essyl, having only moved to the village in 2015.

Indeed, what can be observed in the data is the expectation of newcomers to the area, such as IS_{F44} or $DS4_{F49}$, to learn how to communicate in Joola Eegimaa or an accepted way. However, the nuances of the various designations which are used to refer to Joola as spoken in Essyl varies, as has been seen throughout the thesis and as will be discussed further in the following section, for example Joola Eegimaa, Joola Banjal, Gussilaay, Gusinaay, etc., and furthermore these do not feature as an important marker of this expectation to acquire and use Joola Eegimaa in Essyl (see further explanation of the link between place and language naming in §6.2.4 on Esiin and Gusiinay), meaning that regardless of the variety name or category, one is expected to predominantly use Joola Eegimaa in Essyl. As has been shown in the previous chapters there are many speakers of other Joola varieties who live in Essyl, both those Joola people who identify with Mof Avvi as part of their patrimonial identity (on whichever grounds, but including using prototypical linguistic features, i.e. they consider they speak a Joola that is emblematic of Mof Avvi) and those who are newcomers to the village and surrounding area. These newcomers are expected to acquire Joola Eegimaa, albeit through a transitional period using existing Joola practices. However, as with all language learning, for most, this transitional period of using Joola or another Joola variety as a precursor to acquiring Joola Eegimaa, does not necessarily end. This is the case of $DS4_{F49}$, who, as we have seen, states that for her, the effects that the languages of Joola Eegimaa and Joola Fogny have had on each other in her repertoire mean that she perceives she no longer can speak in a monolingual mode. To account for this type of practice, which Blommaert (2010: 11) describes as “extreme mixedness” it is imperative to look at

> "*what counts as language* in particular contexts: what is ratified and recognized as a valid code for making oneself understood. The key is, in other words, *the indexical value that particular linguistics resources have* in certain spaces and situations [o.e.]" .
>
> (Blommaert 2010: 12)

DS4$_{F49}$ has lived in Essyl for 16 years and reports that she is still learning Joola Eegimaa, and that she cannot speak Joola Fogny or Joola Eegimaa without mixing one or the other [interview ESS240216SG]. What can be considered then a transitional period of Joola use towards acquiring another Joola variety does not necessarily end as the attainment of a defined goal is not clear, i.e. it is never possible to learn all of a language. If people have a receptive competence in Joola Eegimaa, even if they do not actively use prototypical Joola Eegimaa forms all the time when speaking in Joola, the orientation towards using Joola is considered as more important than the variety used (also found by Juillard 2016). Even if participants use linguistic resources from other Joola varieties, they are still indexing a shared Joola-ness, and in communication create a macro-Joola (Eegimaa) sociolinguistic space. Furthermore what counts as language in many of these contexts, is Joola, which is considered by the vast majority of participants as being a valid code to enable the greatest amount of people to understand. Even if participants are using the recognised validity of Joola for communication, then what they may be able to do, dependent on their repertoires and past experience, is to make "gestures towards" Joola Eegimaa (Juillard 2001 discussing Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), which could be seen as stereotypical, prototypical or emblematic of the language and will be discussed further in §7.3. Consequently, a linguistic feature which could

index belonging to the Joola Eegimaa territory, area, or sociolinguistic space (in all its incarnations) such as using voiced velar plosives or appropriately using "*eegimaa*" in discourse, could be sufficient, i.e. a gesture, towards claiming part of that space for yourself.

7.1.1. Territorialisation of mono- and multilingualism

One reason given by various participants on numerous occasions as to the use of Joola (Eegimaa) in many different domains, contexts, and situations, is one of inclusivity. This is always in comparison to another named language being exclusive as not everyone understands it. This is most generally applied to French and Wolof. Both in different ways, different contexts and with different underpinnings, yet the overt message is the same: not everyone understands these languages, therefore we use Joola as everyone understands it. As shown by the data above in Table 7.1 concerning the key participants, it is certainly the case that all participants do speak Joola and it is the one uniting aspect of their repertoires. In fact, among over 100 participants who have participated in the study, whether they are key participants or bystanders in a recording, for whom basic metadata and repertoire data are available, only 2 report not speaking Joola or a Joola variety. In both of these cases there are specific reasons worthy of mention, because they underline the patterns across participants, and the importance attached to acquiring and using Joola (Eegimaa) in Essyl. The participants in question are either outsiders, for example $MD3_{M24}$, who came to Essyl from Ziguinchor, employed on a building contract and would not be staying in the village beyond the length of the work, or they are newcomers, for example $BM1_{M29}$ who is a teacher and was newly arrived on first interview in early 2016. As he is considered a newcomer, he is expected to learn Joola. However,

$BM1_{M29}$ states that because of the dominant linguistic situation where Joola is expected and as “everyone” speaks it, he encountered *une barrière linguistique* ‘a language barrier’ [interview 02/02/2017] as he did not speak Joola. He contrasts the situation with Dakar, where he moved from, saying that in Dakar everyone speaks Wolof which is the only national language. In reality there are more national languages in Senegal than Wolof (see §1.3), including Joola. However, I believe that he was referring to the inclusivity of Wolof in Dakar (and beyond) and the fact that prior to arriving in Essyl, he also assumed that he would be able to use Wolof as a *lingua franca*, in much the same way as in Dakar and many other parts of the country. This suggests that outsiders to Essyl expect that Wolof should be able to be used for communicative practices especially in situations where they do not share other languages in their repertoires. Although Wolof is used in various situations as seen in the preceding chapters, it is not a given, especially with children. This also ties in with “insider” participants expecting to leave Mof Avvi to acquire Wolof, some of this in relation to children’s language use is discussed in §5, §6.3.2.2 and further in this section and in §7.2. When examining language use in Essyl, it is useful to consider how the attachment of Joola Eegimaa to the geographical location that is Essyl is construed by participants and how this is indexed.

To fully consider the implications of the indexicality of the above relation, it will be helpful to discuss the data in relation to concepts such as language (de)territorialisation (Blommaert 2010)[30] (in this sub-section), patrimonial language deixis (Lüpke 2016b; 2018) (in §7.1.2) and Auer et al.’s (2013) levels of spatial indexicality (in §7.1.3), mentioned above. Essyl, as a physical space, or location,

[30] Some of the following discussion is based on Goodchild (Forthcoming), particularly with regards to discussion of sociolinguistic space in Auer et al. (2013) and their levels of spatial indexicality.

acquires social meaning through activities that take place there and are ascribed values by people who interact in the physical space. Therefore, the more Joola Eegimaa is used in interactions within Essyl, and the more frequently it becomes associated with interactions in the space, then it in effect becomes a self-constituting relationship. If this indexical relationship is to be analysed as a one-to-one correspondence (as many participants allude to in their meta-discursive practices) then when considered apart from other data and analyses, it most neatly aligns with what Auer et al. (2013: 8) refer to as the first model of spatial indexicality. This is the “traditional” model, where there is “a strict one-to-one relationship between spoken language and geographical location”. This implies that how someone uses language can reveal their place of origin or residence, yet this concept of drawing a distinction along lines of language and place also exists in an “othering” relationship with people and spaces outside of the defined geographical location, i.e. “others are those who live in another place” (Auer et al. 2013: 8), and speak “other” language(s). In discussion about Essyl and language use, this is often echoed by participants who contrast Essyl (and the wider area of Mof Avvi) as a Joola (Eegimaa)-speaking area, defined by a “monolingualism”, where in moving into the outside area people are able to acquire other languages, such as Wolof. This is exemplified through participants’ opinions in interviews and in focus groups, as discussed in example (5.1) where $RB4_{F42}$ concurs that only once people leave Essyl (and Mof Avvi) can they learn other languages. In the interview $RB4_{F42}$ uses the term “*banjal*”, however the choice of language name is not important in this instance. The key is that she delineates a geographical area with a language, i.e. Mof Avvi and Joola Eegimaa/Joola Banjal. Thus she simultaneously creates an outside space, where

other languages are learnt and multilingualism is practiced, thereby adhering to the traditional model of spatial indexicality.

This indexical relation can also be analysed in terms of a process of language territorialisation (Blommaert 2010: 45–47). People may imbue the concept of a language with certain values, yet according to Blommaert, these have "awkward relations to space" of which the main relationships are territorialisation or deterritorialisation. As was presented in §2.4, processes of language territorialisation are often linked to those languages which are routinely perceived, and often not problematised, as being people's first language. On the other hand, languages such as *lingua francas* or standardised varieties are seen as transcending the localised and having much wider, possibly even international reaches, i.e. not belonging to one place in particular. Of course, this process can work in opposite directions simultaneously, as Blommaert presents in the case of English in Tanzania: whereby using local varieties of English can index deterritorialisation and be associated with transnational identities, opportunities and also possible mobility trajectories. Yet when these more localised varieties have the norms of the deterritorialised "standard" applied to them, then they once more become territorialised as they become "*only* meaningful locally, they do not count as "English" [o.e.]" (Blommaert 2010: 195). Then instead of taking on values such as high mobility, these localised varieties are then in fact associated with low mobility and locality: "they only count as English in that particular environment" (Blommaert 2010: 195). One could apply these processes to some of the languages in the Casamance context and that of Essyl, such as French and Wolof, which will be explored in the following paragraphs. Although it may be helpful to use terms such as territorialisation to discuss the perceptions of language and space for Joola Eegimaa, the reverse process of

deterritorialistion does not necessarily work. Indeed it might be more pertinent to discuss how the perceptions of monolingualism are territorialised and multilingualism is deterritorialised.

Joola Eegimaa is territorialised in that it is given values associated with a particular territory (Mof Avvi), is used in predominantly oral modes, although written conventions do exist (see §1.4 for more details). It is not associated with mobility: other practices are and these include Joola and other Joola varieties, in addition to other named languages (including French, Wolof, Kriolu, among others). If speakers when using Joola practices wish to index a more local Eegimaa perspective, then in using their linguistic gestures towards prototypical Eegimaa, do these only have meaning within the space of Mof Avvi? More research would be needed outside the physical space of Mof Avvi to fully determine the answer to this question, yet due to a fairly high regional awareness of various varieties of Joola, one could venture that Joola Eegimaa does indeed have meaning outwith Mof Avvi, in a regional context of southern Casamance within the region of Ziguinchor, but that it indexes origin and locality, i.e. Mof Avvi, and is thereby territorialised. In greeting practices, as seen in the thesis (§6.4.4), and as described by Heil (2013), especially when greeting in Joola, part of the ritual involves working out where your interlocutor is from, to see if you have any relations in common and to establish which varieties or languages may be used in the ensuing conversation. However, in engaging in these practices, the other languages used are also simultaneously associated with derritorialisation, considering that Joola is used across many different spaces, in different contexts, with different interlocutors. Consequently being able to use Joola (including related territorialised varieties) as a *lingua franca*, on a wider regional scale, indexes a possibility to be mobile. However other

meanings, such as associating language use with a standard, are not necessarily indexed by speakers. Although as shown in §6.2.1 Joola Fogny is often associated with being "Standard Joola" by researchers (Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming). Therefore, the use of Joola Eegimaa among wider Joola practices within Mof Avvi simultaneously indexes both territorialised and deterritorialised linguistic practices.

7.1.2. Patrimonial languag-e/-ing deixis

One of the dominant ideologies among participants, and which can be found in a number of interviews, is that there is a strong link between the physical location of the village of Essyl (and the surrounding area of Mof Avvi to a certain extent) and the use of Joola Eegimaa, thus territorialising monolingualism as discussed above. This process of indexicality through which a language is associated with a village or an area, can be seen as an instance of "patrimonial deixis" (Lüpke 2018: 187), whereby the "language is currently seen as the firstcomer language of the location". However, patrimonial deixis in the way that Lüpke (2016b; 2018) refers to it does not necessarily apply to the name "Joola Eegimaa", but would generally be applicable to glossonyms which reference the location in themselves, for example *gubanjalay* or *gussilaay*, i.e. 'the language of X' – 'the language of Banjal', 'the language of Essyl' (see §7.2 for further discussion of productive language naming practices). Yet, as Lüpke notes, the patrimonial language of the area may change and indeed in the case of Essyl and Mof Avvi there are competing perceptions of who the firstcomers to the peninsula were and how they entered. Some participants claimed that Essyl was the founding village of Mof Avvi with people having come from the area around Brin into the peninsula. Others claim that Banjal would have been settled first as people came from across the Casamance River from the north bank. In

some participants' opinions this is supported by the fact that a related Joola variety is spoken to the north of the river around the village of Thionk Essyl, and is often referred to as *gusilay*. Barry (1987: 108) notes that "religious links also show that the village of Thionck-Essyl […] has its origin in Essyl" and that until 1941 people from Thionk-Essyl would go to the shrine of the king in Essyl to give sacrifice. Note these similarities are evident in both place and language name – *gussilaay vs. gusilay*. Regardless of who the firstcomers to the area were, if we follow Lüpke (2018), then it still stands that Joola Eegimaa is currently perceived as the named language of the firstcomers, therefore the patrimonial language of Mof Avvi and by extension Essyl.

Lüpke (2016b; 2018) equates this process of territorialisation to what she terms "patrimonial identity deixis" or "patrimonial territorialisation", where the patrimonial identity which is indexed, generally speaking in the Casamance context, is that of the firstcomers, i.e. those who founded the village, and their descendants and is related to an ethnolinguistic identity. This is in the context of the landlord-stranger relationship described by Brooks (1993), which may still explain land rights in some villages today where newcomers (strangers) may be ceded land by the firstcomers (landlords). The founding clan, or their descendants, then will allocate land to strangers, or people who settle in the village, but political and other rights may not necessarily be equal. Furthermore, as Lüpke (2016a) points out this process of linking land to language is only one of a number of dynamic processes which are simultaneously at play when discussing language ideologies and practices in the Casamance context. Her notion is founded on the premise that in the Casamance the land was settled in an African Frontier space (Kopytoff 1987) where historically "small, family-based, groups continuously broke off to reconstitute and relocate in order to avoid conflict and find subsistence" (Lüpke 2018: 186), where strategic

alliances based on the indexical dialectics (Silverstein 2003) of sameness and difference were necessary in order to establish lineages of founding families of villages and solidarity between neighbouring peoples (often in response to slave raids). However she puts forward that frontier processes may have had less of an influence in larger polities beyond the village level, as for example in Mof Avvi whose 10 villages fell under the larger polity of the Kingdom; Kopytoff also agrees that "larger polities, which were usually called kingdoms, transcend Frontier dynamics to some extent" (Lüpke 2018: 200). She concludes, however, that "a dualism between sameness and difference is running deep through all areas of social and linguistic organization in Casamance" and that this dualism is the language habitus in the region (Lüpke 2018: 202). It is this aspect encompassing the differences and dualism between practices and perceptions, when coupled with patrimonial deixis, has strength in partly explaining how the space of Essyl and Mof Avvi become associated with the patrimonial language of Joola (Eegimaa).

As was demonstrated in §5.1.1, participants related their perceptions of their ancestors' immobility to monolingualism, both historical (i.e. the ancestors) and present-day (the participants and people in Essyl). This was while participants also acknowledged that people today are highly mobile, which inevitably leads to increased individual multilingualism. Although, as Lüpke (2016b) notes, it may well be an idealised scenario in which sedentary men pass on their language to their descendants, it is not without basis in my data set. As shown throughout §4.5, §5.1.1, §6, the perceived link between immobility and monolingualism is strong and represented through the example of VB_{M68} who mainly lived in Essyl throughout his life and who has the self-reported repertoire of Joola Banjal and French. Participants also frequently state that their ancestors were less mobile and more monolingual than

the present day (§5.1). This was also noted by Lüpke (2010b) and as described in §5.1.1 her participants stated that their ancestors were monolingual, whilst also stating that their ancestors would have had no problems communicating when presented with contextualised multilingual scenarios. In a sense, this is representative of the dualism between sameness and difference: our ancestors were the same because they were monolingual; our ancestors were different because they were monolingual. If, as I posit in the remainder of the chapter, that participants perceive, describe and use Joola (Eegimaa) as a languaging practice, a way of speaking, which is inclusive, then the monolingualism in a named language inherent in the concept of patrimonial language deixis, may also be practice-oriented and therefore, could simultaneously exist as patrimonial languaging deixis. Although as stated above, the concept of patrimonial language deixis does not fully suit the context of Essyl, particularly with regards to the language naming strategies often lacking a spatial location, in fact the plethora of language names present for describing Joola Eegimaa, may well also indicate such a practice-oriented approach. This does not mean that indexical links to space and mobility are absent however nor indexical links to identity and language ideologies. I posit that present-day practices combined with perceptions of the ancestors, aligning with the differing notions of space (the physical location of Mof Avvi), social space (ethnolinguistic identity), and sociolinguistic space (linguistic practices), all come together making Mof Avvi the ideological home base for Joola Eegimaa. This is represented in the diagram below where practices are depicted in red, perceptions in black, with arrows showing mutual influences between the practices and ideologies, which all work together to centrally form an ideological monolingual homebase for Joola Eegimaa:

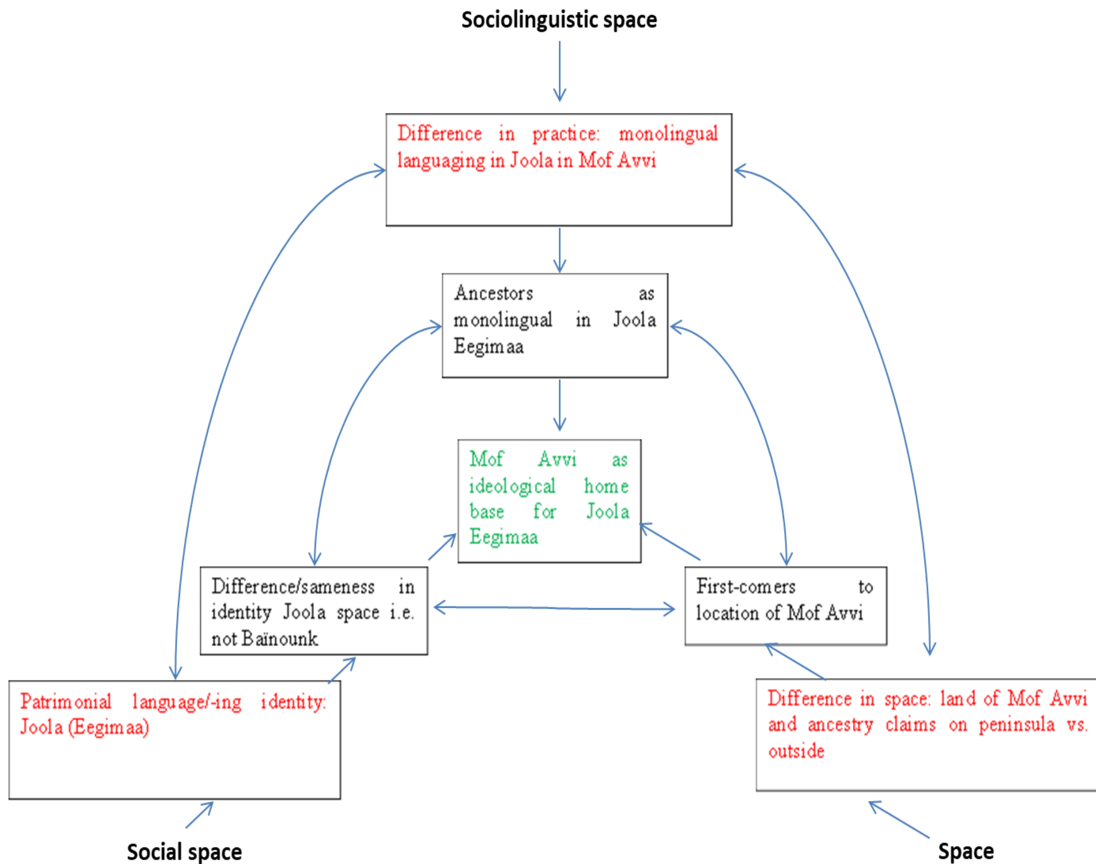


Figure 7.1: practices and perceptions associating Mof Avvi as ideological homebase for Joola Eegimaa

However, these indexical relationships tend towards erasing or glossing over many other identities which are present, and particularly those of women who may have married into the village, strangers/outsiders, children, or visitors, who may well be present in a household for large portions of the year. Even though the patrimonial identity deixis is generally focused on the virilocal identity language, whether or not it is spoken by the person in question, may only be relevant in certain contexts and even though these ideologies are constructed as indexical, "they are taken to be essentialist and applicable to all […]. Any practice that deviates from the ideologies is taken as an indicator of language shift" (Lüpke 2016a: 28). Individual

multilingualism is thereby erased from the territory, whilst the use of Joola Eegimaa takes on an iconic status when associated as the patrimonial language of Essyl and Mof Avvi (Irvine & Gal 2000). This is relevant to the conception of Essyl and Mof Avvi as being monolingual in Joola Eegimaa, particularly with regards to French and Wolof as official and national languages, respectively. Participants' perceptions of these linguistic practices which take place within Mof Avvi may be seen as threatening to the perceived monolingual status of a Joola Eegimaa sociolinguistic space and thereby the patrimonial language identity indexed by the monolingual use of Joola Eegimaa. The use of Joola Eegimaa is clearly indexed to the area of Essyl and Mof Avvi for many of the participants, and may represent the patrimonial identity of the village for many people. Furthermore, it represents Mof Avvi as being the ideological home base (Lüpke 2016a: 9) for the use of Joola Eegimaa. As has been described in Chapter 6 participants engage in a wide range of linguistic practices using various named languages, creatively access their linguistic repertoires and also actively create new language labels which may align to geographical locations. Indeed, as has also been shown, many of these linguistic practices deviate from the ideological perception of Essyl as monolingual, and as shown in Lüpke's citation above, some of these have indeed been interpreted as harbingers of language shift, particularly with regards to Wolof (see §6.3.2.2). Therefore, these same processes of territorialisation or indexicality, that is, the relationship between language and (sociolinguistic) space, cannot be analysed apart from other named languages and linguistic practices present in the repertoires of the participants and the sociolinguistic area.

7.1.3. Intersecting levels of spatial indexicality

If we follow Auer et al.'s (2013) levels of indexicality, then after the "traditional" one-to-one model (which many participants' ideologies subscribe to), Auer et al. propose a second level of indexicality, the "national language space", which they associate with modernity and nation-state building. Their levels of indexicality are also assumed to follow different periods of history and how these relate to modernity, yet as will be shown, these are not fine-grained enough to fully account for the sociolinguistic space of Essyl, within the Casamance and within Senegal. They put forward that the national language space is not a geographical location as in the first-level, but rather "an imagined space with borders that mainly exist on paper, above all in the format of maps, and which is defined by a new type of language variety, the standard" (Auer et al. 2013: 9). Although maps and borders may be ideology-making exercises, these do clearly have important ramifications for people's lived experience, and even if they begin as imagined spaces, border crossings are meaningful in myriad ways. Many participants have lived in different national language spaces throughout their lifetimes, notably in The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau, where English and Portuguese may be working on the second level of indexicality. However, the focus on Senegal and whether this is a fitting framework in such a context raises some issues that must first be considered. It is worth remembering that French is the official language *de jure* of Senegal and that there are numerous national languages, which in theory, adhere to the Senegalese orthography for writing in national languages (see §1.3). Although Joola is recognised as a national language of Senegal, the most widespread language is Wolof. In the second level of spatial indexicality, the national language space, there

are numerous languages at play in Senegal, on different levels (including with regards to standardisation) in Auer et al.'s national language space.

Firstly, I explore the official language status of French and how speaking French is construed as an exclusive form of language use. This is due to various reasons which have been partially explored throughout the thesis and which I now consider from a gendered perspective, although it is inherently difficult to separate this aspect from other intersecting factors which contribute to French being seen as exclusive. Foremost is the recurrent theme across female participants to be reticent towards speaking French. The key participants also mainly subscribe to this pattern, although there are exceptions ($RB4_{F42}$). This is not a phenomenon which is purely limited to Essyl and the Crossroads, but can be found across the Casamance and Senegal more widely and is tied up with educational attainment, employment and mobility, for example (Juillard 1995; Dreyfus & Juillard 2004; Juillard 2005). In her study about the use of Urban Wolof and French in Dakar, Swigart (1990: 48) noted similar findings among men and women and their confidence in speaking French, with men being over-confident and women "exhibit[ing] a marked lack of confidence when it comes to speaking the official language." Furthermore, she found that even among men and women of comparable levels of education women spoke less French than men. Some of the reasons behind this apparent lack of confidence are explained by Swigart thusly:

> It is not surprising that most women are conservative in the use of their linguistic repertoire, preferring to speak Wolof in many more situations than men do, for there is considerable pressure for them to do so. A woman who speaks French "too much" is seen by most as

pretentious, uppity, or a social climber, and even if this opinion is not voiced directly, it is sure to be felt.

(Swigart 1990: 50)

The women in the present study have various levels of formal education, ranging from none (IS_{F44}), through adult literacy classes in Joola Eegimaa ($RM1_{F61}$), through to the end of the first cycle of secondary school ($RB4_{F42}$). The level of formal education is not the only factor that plays a role in French acquisition. It is, however, hugely influential especially when the education is Catholic based. As was discussed in §6.3.1.3, French is strongly linked to a concept of being an "intellectual" and can have either positive or negative connotations depending on the context, speakers and their opinions. It seems very difficult in the Casamance (and wider Senegalese context) to separate French as the official language - and therefore the formal language of instruction - from level of educational attainment. This, in turn, has ramifications for how French language use and acquisition trajectory are perceived. French, as the "standard language variety" which one can clearly link to indexing the national language space of Senegal, does then create an imaginary national language space, but one which is particularly tied to literacy and formal education (see §1.3). French, or standard French (i.e. based on metropolitan French), is then a deterritorialised language *par excellence* following Blommaert (2010). It operates at a higher scale and indexes mobility, education, a standard and literacy, among other socioeconomic and sociolinguistic features. Furthermore, these concepts are shown to be working on different scales simultaneously. Blommaert refers to this as "orders of indexicality": "systemic patterns of authority, of control and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion *by real or perceived others* [o.e.]" (Blommaert 2010: 38).

As women tend to have lower levels of education than men, this therefore engrains a perception that only formal French acquisition is a valid form of learning that language, despite the fact that linguistic forms or tokens associated with French form parts of speakers' repertoires and that many people acquire French informally, in much the same fashion as they learn "other" languages. This is the case of $RM1_{F61}$ as described in §5.1.3, who learnt French whilst working for a French family as a domestic worker, looking after their children. Due to the manner in which French is acquired, level of education, personal emotions and feelings of confidence, French is considered by many negatively and therefore for many can index exclusion. This means that women feel excluded if French is used. This is also one of the reasons why many people, particularly women, choose not to mention French when talking about their linguistic repertoires. French therefore operates on a different scale level and on a different conceptual level of language use than Joola, for example, which for many participants indexes inclusion. However, these perceptions surrounding inclusion and exclusion highly depend on the expectations that participants hold about their possible interlocutors' repertoires, and which languages in interaction would include/exclude the most people. Of course French, according to participants' perceptions, does therefore align with this "national language space" and indexes factors such as educational attainment. Yet although it is perceived as an exclusive linguistic practice, the use of what is perceived as French in a range of contexts within the area indexed as "patrimonial" (Lüpke 2018) or "traditional" (Auer et al. 2013) or "territorial" (Blommaert 2010) is in fact not perceived to be threatening Joola Eegimaa, or indicating language shift. Rather Wolof, another language which indexes the "national language space", is perceived to represent language shift within the local scale of sociolinguistic space.

Despite the status of French as the official language of Senegal, the most obvious candidate for being considered part of the "national language space" is Wolof. On the macro-scale of national language space, it is important to consider how it interacts not only with French, but also with other more localised and territorialised languages, such as Joola Eegimaa. It is important to consider the role of Wolof and how perceptions of language use and their indexical meanings interact together on a macro- or national scale. The national scale does have important implications for a more localised personal scale of individual repertoire and life trajectory across geographical places and sociolinguistic spaces. Due to the preponderance of Wolof and its wide-spread use across Senegal (Thiam 1994; Mbaya 2005; Mc Laughlin 2008, a.o.), and its role as *lingua franca*, language of wider communication, vehicular and vernacular language, depending on speaker, context, etc., it must be considered to interact with French on the same macro-level, which intersects with and influences personal spheres of language use. As presented in §6.3.2, speakers vary in their perceptions of Wolof as an inclusive or exclusive language, based on personal experience, life trajectory and also emotional factors, all of which play important roles in discussions of repertoires and perceived, and actual language use (Busch 2015). Regardless of personal opinion on Wolof, most participants recognise the important role that Wolof plays in the daily lives of people in Senegal, and most, if not all participants engage in meta-discourses around the use of Wolof. As GS_{F38} said during an interview which was mostly conducted in Wolof: everyone in Senegal understands it, "*moo gën a populaire*" 'it's most popular' [ESS240117SG2]. Those who come from outside Essyl, for example $BM1_{M29}$, expect that as Essyl and Mof Avvi form part of what they perceive to be the same "national language space", Wolof will be used as default if someone does not speak Joola, for example.

However, some of those participants who come from or live in Essyl, take the opposite view that Wolof is also an exclusive language in the village context. The use of Wolof discussed with reference to the transmission of languages and often to the perceived detriment to Joola. This aligns with Lüpke's (2016a) discussion of how the use of other linguistic practices can be seen as threatening the territorialised, localised variety. This, however, is also relevant when participants discuss their perceptions of language use in the diaspora (by which they take to mean outside of Mof Avvi: whether Ziguinchor, Dakar or France for example), with participants worried that Joola (Eegimaa) is not being used and is being replaced with Wolof and French. More research is needed in order to fully investigate language practices of those with Joola Eegimaa in their repertoires who live in Dakar or other areas. Concerns regarding Wolofization are also traceable to historical and political reasons, namely the north-south divide and the separatist conflict, legacies of colonialism, among others. The use of Wolof, or in the case of Essyl its non-use, can index various identities or issues which interact on numerous scales simultaneously, especially when considering how language works in interaction and what sociolinguistic spaces are created by it. The use of Wolof may index a broader transnational and thereby deterritorialised language practice, following Blommaert's (2010) concept as above, especially as the use of Wolof is ideologically linked to mobility. However, if participants have acquired Wolof predominantly in the Casamance, then by using this variety, which differs in numerous respects from northern or Dakar Wolof (for example in the number of noun classes used, Heil 2013; Lüpke 2018; Weidl 2018), then they can simultaneously index a more localised practice. Although Wolof is not the *de jure* official language of Senegal, it is essentially the *de facto* official language despite not being used officially as a medium of education. Therefore it is not

submitted to the same standardising processes as French, although orthographic standards do exist (see §1.2.2 and Lüpke 2018 for further details). It is, nonetheless subject to many similar discourses from participants who place it on a similar indexical level as French. Moreover, it is used at all levels of various governmental institutions, by politicians and even in universities, where even if not used as a literacy form, it is becoming less marked for oral communication between students and faculty (Nunez 2015: 27). Furthermore, its positioning on the national level of language space associates its acquisition and use with ideas of inclusion and exclusion, and contexts of mobility, particularly removal from the local language space - the traditional Joola Eegimaa area. This is despite the fact that fluid linguistic practices co-exist in this space.

The fluidity and heterogeneity of actual linguistic practices could be seen to align with Auer et al.'s (2013) third level of spatial indexicality in their model of the language-space continuum. They believe this third level to be a product of post-modernity in globalised contexts where "former limits on travel and communication beyond the local community have largely disappeared. […] Place making activities abound" (Auer et al. 2013: 9). On this third level, new media play an important role in communication and in helping people construct local or fluid identities which coincide with the inherent linguistic heterogeneity of the space. However, for the Casamance context, and also for Essyl, although for example, mobile phones and smart phones have facilitated communication between people in Essyl and those elsewhere, there were not exactly "former limits on travel" as has been demonstrated through the study of participants' life trajectories. This is not to say that transport and infrastructure have not improved (to a certain extent). However it is necessary to recognise that mobility trends have been ongoing in the region for many centuries, as

demonstrated in research such as Linares (1992; 2003), Baum (1986), Hamer (1983) and Mark (1976), and more recently Lüpke (2013; 2016a; 2016b; 2018) among others.

Participants do align, however, with the third level of spatial indexicality in the way that younger people are perceived to be more mobile than older people and older people more mobile compared to their forebears, despite participants' own experiences. Although it is true that many young people do leave for cities, it was also the case with older generations, but in participants' ideologies, mobility is linked to modernity, education and therefore linguistic heterogeneity, although not necessarily in the space of Essyl. Interestingly, for the Essyl and Casamance context, this is where ideologies of languages and spaces do not necessarily align with the various frameworks discussed above. In participants' meta-discourses around language use and space there remains a focus on the contrast between the first level, where a one-to-one relationship exists between language and space, and the latter two levels. Yet it should be evident that even if participants' ideas about language and space can be analysed according to these three different levels, they overlap and intersect with each other, so that all levels work concomitantly, whilst also interacting with other issues such as mobility, repertoire, gender, etc., to create a highly complex and varied array of language use and ideologies. Blommaert (2005) highlights how numerous ideological layers belonging to different orders of indexicality tend to either be collapsed into one overarching concept such as ideology, or be treated as one and the same synchronically. As discussed in Chapter 2 Blommaert has long advocated for scalar representations of language use and ideologies. Yet it is the case that the different scales of indexicality which participants represent both through their linguistic practices and through their

perceptions of said practices do exist together synchronically. Rather, what may have been taken to be a higher level scale, such as either a transnational or national language space, with fluid linguistic practices, is also part of the more localised space. This holds, however, from some people's viewpoints and demonstrably so from the researcher's perspective when considering linguistic practices. Indeed, the complexity and heterogeneity of language use is evident across many different scales and intersects with these perceived indexical levels of language-space relations. The diversity of language practices, and the relations to mobility, which is a common factor across many different places and sociolinguistic situations in the world, in fact permeates all levels of ideology and daily life, from the national to the personal and the multilingual to the monolingual.

Participants not only construct their own scales according to language use and mobility using scalar concepts such as comparison (Gal 2016), but they also move across scales of perceptions, creating sociolinguistic spaces indexing all manner of spatial relations associated to their language use. Despite the fact that some of the participants' perceptions could be analysed according to the above frameworks concerning language territorialisation, this only goes part-way to explain how these perceptions of monolingualism or multilingualism become associated with different spaces, when fluid practices occur across all levels, particularly when considering Essyl and its relationship to Joola Eegimaa.

Within all spaces and conceptions of languages and their uses, there is a complexity and diversity which is inclusive of varying ideologies and practices. The different ideologies around language which for example the heterogeneity of practices index, must be further explored, as has been shown above, concepts surrounding language territorialisation are difficult to examine separately from other

spaces, concepts and mobility practices; all of which influence linguistic practices, and ultimately perceptions of multilingualism.

7.2. Sociolinguistic spaces and spatial repertoires

Migration and mobility are an important vehicle of repertoire expansion in the context of Essyl and daily life in the Casamance. As was discussed in Chapter 5 migration to other towns and villages is instrumental in participants' acquisition of other languages, in particular other Joola varieties and Wolof. Such migration has been a long standing practice in the Casamance, especially among Joola people (Mark 1976; Linares 2003; Foucher 2005, a.o.). At the same time, mobility practices and the perceptions of these combine with perceptions and ideologies surrounding languages and language use, particularly with regards to (patrimonial) language territorialisation (Blommaert 2010; Lüpke 2016a; 2018), and in themselves merit further discussion. Some languages and their acquisition are associated with towns and cities, such as Wolof and its urban varieties, which is a common finding across Senegal (Mc Laughlin 2009). Other languages are associated with villages through processes of patrimonial deixis (Lüpke 2016a; 2018). As was presented in earlier chapters, most participants associate all languages other than Joola Eegimaa with spaces outside of Essyl and Mof Avvi. Although turnaround migration (Linares 2003) means that participants have the possibility of bringing back new extended repertoires to Essyl and the creation of diverse sociolinguistic spaces is always possible, the activation of different aspects of an individual's repertoire is highly dependent on context and interlocutor, for example, whether these latent possibilities (Juillard 2016) translate into changed patterns of language use.

The discussion presented here aims to examine how space and migration can aid in theorising the different levels of people's language use. In each person bringing their own repertoires to a space where communication happens, a wide variety of linguistic possibilities and varieties is created. However, when the choice is vast and people have acquired different resources, in different contexts and for different purposes, what sort of power relations then come into play in the moment of communication? The fact that repertoires are self-constituting with each new interaction in different contexts leads me to further consider the concept of a spatial repertoire (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), which is constituted in interaction, but also through processes of indexicality in a space, whether physical or sociolinguistic. The spatial repertoire is imbued with its own possibilities of linguistic choices, practices, traditions or expectations (Agha 2003) and thus will be discussed in relation to Essyl and Mof Avvi.

In his discussion of multilingualism in ex-colonised countries, Stroud (2007: 509) states that "linguistics […] constructs multilingualism as particular relationships of inclusion and exclusion of linguistic systems, or in terms of overlapping and distinct networks of communication." I can add that not only does linguistics consider the inclusion or exclusion of linguistic systems, which can be codes or named languages, but those who work in sociolinguistics look further at the exclusion or inclusion of the person, in relation to power, that the inclusion or exclusion of a linguistic variety or named code has. Those who maintain positions of power, then, have the ability to choose which linguistic resources will be used in a given space and mean that the repertoires which individuals have, when they are brought together, are therefore necessarily restricted in certain contexts and usages. This is evidenced in the data with regards to $DS4_{F49}$ (and VB_{M68}, but in the following I will use $DS4_{F49}$ as an

example). Contrasting two separate communicative events which take place on the same day, ostensibly both forming part of the activities of the Women's Catholic Association, the linguistic choices of a person of power are shown to be crucial for the languages used in different contexts. $DS4_{F49}$ is the president of the association who disprefers the use of Wolof in official contexts. In the morning before lunch, $DS4_{F49}$, LD_{F29}, $RM1_{F61}$ and LB_{F38} are cooking at $RM1_{F61}$'s house and conduct their conversation using translanguaging practices (to be further discussed in the following §7.4), that is drawing on the resources in their various repertoires, fluidly, using signs pertaining to Joola, Joola Fogny, Joola Eegimaa and notably Wolof [ESS080217SG2a-d]. LD_{F29} and LB_{F38} have a habit of using Wolof with each other, but $DS4_{F49}$ also joins in, and when the discussion moves onto drinks that they all like, and the topic of Vimto comes up, which is widely drunk in The Gambia, Wolof can be seen as the default choice. Here we see a link between an outside place – The Gambia – and a language – Wolof. Many participants who travelled to and lived in The Gambia report using predominantly Wolof there, although other languages are also reportedly used, such as Mandinka. The physical location of the kitchen, in $RM1_{F61}$'s house, the context – preparing food for the women's lunch, the expected generic chit-chat, the participants and their shared repertoires allows for the inclusion of Wolof. As all participants bring Wolof to the physical space, the kitchen, where gossip and chit-chat happen, a sociolinguistic space is created where fluid language use is accepted by all, and Wolof is used fluidly and particularly for certain topics, such as discussing preferred drinks, i.e. Vimto, in The Gambia. Within the sociolinguistic space of the kitchen and these participants, Wolof is used as a language which all share in their repertoires, and could be said to form part of the spatial repertoire of that communicative context.

This stands in contrast to what happens after lunch, in files [ESS080217SG3a-d], when the physical location of participants has changed, that is they are now located in a clearing to the front of $RM1_{F61}$'s house, and are stripping palm leaves to make brooms to sell to raise money on behalf of the Catholic Women's Association. They discussed topics to do with the association, their meetings, and plans for the coming *xawaare*. $DS4_{F49}$'s position of power comes into play and the possibility to use Wolof is removed from the spatial repertoire. Despite the fact that all participants do bring Wolof to the space in their diverse repertoires, due to the established norms of the communicative context, the spatial repertoire which is created and constructed in the interaction excludes Wolof. The networks of communication remain the same, but due to a separate physical location, i.e. a place according to Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2013), which signals the start of a different sociolinguistic space (Juillard 2013; 2016), the meeting and related topics, an exclusion of individual repertoires is created with relation to Wolof and a more inclusive practice is proposed, that of using Joola varieties. It is evidenced in LD_{F29}'s use of Joola Youtou, which forms part of the communicative repertoire of the context, where Joola and Joola practices are expected to be used. This is contrasted with her fluid use of language previously, which notably included Wolof, which is now excluded in the name of overall inclusion.

The above examples demonstrate on a micro-level what I take to be happening in Essyl across contexts and participants on a wider macro-societal (or intermediate) level. That is, participants all have their own linguistic repertoires, which they bring with them to each communicative context. Each communicative act takes place in a physical location, with different participants. The sociolinguistic space itself then through interaction becomes associated with a certain type of linguistic practice,

which varies according to context, participants and power relations, among other factors. This happens through processes of indexicality (Agha 2003; Silverstein 2003). The spatiality of a given interaction leads to sedimentation of expectations of language use over time and creates its own spatial repertoire from the possibilities in the individuals, and the resources in a given space. In the following I will draw this out in a discussion of the spatiality of language use and repertoires. In §7.4 I will consider the theoretical orientations, i.e. structuralist vs. post-structuralist, using, among others, the concept of spatial repertoires, in order to examine why the diversity of individual repertoires and linguistic practices does not necessarily translate into societal multilingualism.

The study of language and space has long been a tradition in linguistics, in particular the relation of dialects and geography, in other words, dialectology (Johnstone 2009). However, there has largely been a theoretical shift in the way that space and spatiality are conceptualised and studied, much the same as with language, and indeed the relation between the two. Considering space as mediated by humans in their interactions and how they create social spaces, sociolinguistic spaces and how they imbue places with values and meaning (Auer & Schmidt 2009; Auer et al. 2013:3) has enabled a new focus on language and spatiality which is rather inclusive of multilingualism and diverse linguistic practices as situated within their numerous contexts, one of which is spatial. Furthermore, as will be shown, such conceptualisation of language and space seems to be able to account for the differing perspectives on language use and mono- vs. multilingualism in Essyl, at least from the researcher's perspectives[31]. The shift towards a new concept of spatiality can

[31] Participants' and transcribers'/observers' perspectives have been previously dealt with in Chapter 6 though they will be recapped here as part of the analysis and concomitant discussion where relevant.

partly be attributed to wider theoretical shifts across numerous academic disciplines, namely a move from structuralism to post-structuralism. Although post-structuralism has been important in numerous aspects of linguistics in recent years, for example in sociolinguistics, semiotics, language pedagogy, etc., there are various sub-fields which still adhere to and were certainly formed in a structuralist framework.

> Structuralism motivated linguists to consider language as organized as a self-defining and closed structure […] set apart from spatiotemporal "context" (which included diverse considerations such as history, geography, politics, culture, and society)
>
> (Canagarajah 2017: 2)

This still persists in many areas, in particular language documentation, where a language is assumed to be a "closed structure" that can be documented apart from other languages, regardless of the actual linguistic practices of people (despite the fact that many language documenters have long called for a comprehensive record of the communicative practices of a community, see for example Himmelmann 1998). Although many researchers do take into account such issues as geography, history and society, situational language use is still often analysed separately from "spatiotemporal context", that is the time, location, reason for the data collection, participants present, etc. Full contextualisation includes not only a discussion of the context of the communicative event itself, but also the context on a personal level of the participant and the spatiotemporal contexts of their linguistic biographies. As Canagarajah states, including diversity is concomitant with a spatial orientation:

> Treating spatiality as significant means understanding every practice as situated, holistic, networked, mediated, and ecological, thus integrated with diverse conditions, resources, and participants. Spatiality does not mean that we abandon all considerations of order, pattern, or norms, but reformulate them beyond abstract, homogeneous, and closed structures.
>
> (Canagarajah 2017: 3)

As has been shown in the preceding chapters, communicative events are complex to understand and analyse due to the above factors that Canagarajah points out. However, adopting a post-structuralist approach does not mean that there are no patterns or structures to be discerned. Rather, they are constructed through situated and contextualised language use over time where norms are established through participants and situations, and use becomes associated with space through processes of indexicalisation (Agha 2003), as has been shown above in §7.1 with regards to the ideological territorialisation of linguistic practices. This is also how prototypical instances of language use (Watson in Cobbinah et al. 2017: 91–94; Watson 2019) become associated with sociolinguistic spaces, and ultimately places. When people repeatedly use prototypical instances of Joola Eegimaa, e.g. /g/ in interactions in Essyl, then these become indexically linked to the place over time. Mæhlum (2009: 30) believes that "values [ascribed to language varieties] are important components in the mechanisms that regulate linguistic interaction[…] they […] are taken for granted, they have a *conserving* function – that is, they contribute to consolidating current conditions and practices [o.e.]". This does not discount the fact that these values could still be challenged, and change over time.

Therefore, using Joola (Eegimaa) is seen as an inclusive linguistic practice (explored above in §7.1) and Wolof can be seen as exclusive within the space of Essyl. This, then, accounts for the norms which are established in the various contexts of the Women's Association meetings. The structures in the two different contexts described above both include linguistic resources that can be identified and associated with Joola structures. However due to repeated use and common knowledge of the expectations of the women's meeting, the spatial repertoire of one context is restricted. Yet both are able to incorporate diversity, in using Joola and or other languages. Interestingly, the restriction on Wolof is an attempt to incorporate the most diversity and to facilitate understanding in the communicative context, for the widest number of participants. I argue that this process is replicated across situations and contexts in Essyl, so that an ideological, indexical link is established between language use and physical space, which constitutes a macro- or societal-level sociolinguistic space with its own "default" repertoire.

The space of Essyl, then, is clearly associated with the default linguistic repertoire of Joola Eegimaa, Joola, French, and then to lesser degrees Wolof and other named varieties and languages. This is not to say, however, that the repertoire associated with the space is static or constructed solely of resources which are associated with language use. Indeed, the spatial repertoire can, and does, encompass all that Canagarajah has put forward, yet most of the concepts are beyond the scope of this thesis, and may be explored further in future research. Yet, in conceiving of a spatial repertoire, Pennycook & Otsuji (2015) stress that individuals bring their repertoires to the space, and then the repertoires are activated or not, according to the context. However, Canagarajah (2017: 7) stresses that individuals may not, in fact, bring their repertoires to the space in question, but assemble the repertoire *in situ*, emphasising

that the newly assembled repertoires "may not be part of one's existing proficiency". Here it is worth remembering that in speaking of proficiency, he does not necessarily refer to the traditional concept of proficiency in a language, but rather to a communicative proficiency, which can include various languages and practices. I agree that repertoires are constituted in space among interactants and are situated, networked, among other factors. However, I would go further to say that spatial repertoires are fluid and self-constituting, they influence individuals' repertoires and vice versa. People necessarily bring their repertoires to the communicative space with them. These individual repertoires have been constructed through all previous encounters in all previous spaces, encompassing their mobility and trajectory history and concomitant emotional experiences (Busch 2015). The movement of people in space and time among sociolinguistic spaces constantly develops new and evolving spatial repertoires, which may also construct new spatial repertoires in interaction, in turn influencing individuals' repertoires then taken to other spaces. This can be understood when considering participants and their various repertoires and the spatial repertoire of Essyl (on a macro-level). For example, let us take the case of $DS4_{F49}$: throughout her life before moving to Essyl she had not used prototypical instances (see §7.3) of Joola Eegimaa, although she may have encountered them on a sporadic basis. The reader should note that people have a relatively high awareness of prototypical features of other Joola varieties spoken in the wider Casamance area (Rachel Watson, p.c.). However, she never reported them to me, but did in fact claim other Joola varieties and concomitant communication strategies in her repertoire. Furthermore, it is worth remembering that many linguistic resources are shared between Joola varieties. When engaging in the sociolinguistic space that is Essyl, $DS4_{F49}$ through her interactions constitutes part of the spatial repertoire of Essyl,

encountering semiotic resources to which she is not accustomed, that is Joola Eegimaa, and thus in each new interaction expands her personal repertoire, thus developing the repertoire of Essyl. $DS4_{F49}$ also influences the spatial repertoire of Essyl, through using Joola as a communicative practice, which forms a key part of the spatial repertoire of the village. She bring in linguistic forms associated with other Joola varieties, namely Fogny, which affects and draws upon the repertoires of her interlocutors in interaction, using more Fogny, which many of them also bring to the space in their individual repertoires. Also, over time these repertoires are reconstituted and norms are established or developed, such as in the Women's meetings, which have their own prototypical spatial repertoire heavily focused on the usage of Joola, which contributes to reinforcing the spatial repertoire of Essyl. Furthermore, $DS4_{F49}$ then will influence other spatial repertoires and sociolinguistic spaces outside of Essyl, as her individual repertoire has been influenced by all these interactions, for example the fact that she states she is no longer able to speak Fogny without mixing it with Eegimaa, clearly demonstrating that her repertoire is influenced by the space in which she interacts and communicates most often. Importantly, using spatial repertoires accommodates these different norms of communication. As "space is expansive, it provides resources for participants to construct alternate space within bounded and hegemonic places, to suit their interests" (Canagarajah 2017: 17), which is what $DS4_{F49}$ does within the various spatial repertoire and sociolinguistic settings as detailed above. Furthermore, it is important to recognise that the spatial repertoires and sociolinguistic spaces may indeed include these hegemonic tendencies. But by using a spatiality lens and considering indexicality and norms of communication, we can account for how a monolingual space can be influenced by, and encompass, other linguistic practices.

These practices, which may in other contexts go against the norm, are here considered in an inclusive manner. The two act together and are influenced by each other so that through the spatial repertoire, using individual repertoires, participants are able to "resist the territorialized norms of bounded places by constructing alternate spaces that accommodate diversity" (Canagarajah 2017: 20). The spatial repertoire of Essyl and surrounding territory of Mof Avvi is expanded by including diverse linguistic practices in the space of Essyl. Essyl is ideologically meant to subscribe to the hegemonic norms of territorialised language use with Joola Eegimaa (Blommaert 2010). However, if you label the linguistic practices as Joola, which inherently accommodates a certain amount of diversity, even extended to include Wolof and French, then this further accommodates others and expands the spatial repertoire of the whole territory.

If we include space, spatiality of interactions and sociolinguistic spaces in our analysis and discussion of communication in Essyl, it becomes apparent that the focus of our analyses and discussion must be on the linguistic practices of participants in interaction. All of these associations between people, place, land, language, etc., have come about through processes of indexicality (Agha 2003). If we take one of the key determining factors to be the spatial repertoire, then this entails discussion of situated linguistic practices. What that means for concepts such as codes and languages when we consider the monolingualism or multilingualism of Essyl will be explored further in the following sections.

7.3. Perceptions of Joola and linguistic practices

As has been shown throughout the thesis, but particularly in §6.2, Joola is a complex concept, with little agreement from linguists about the extent of the cluster. In order

to understand how participants perceive it and use it, it is important to analyse various types of data using the three different levels of analysis as established in §3.5 – participant, observer and researcher. This is crucial for comprehending the complexity of linguistic practices as presented and discussed above, particularly in Chapter 6, regarding sociolinguistic contexts in which Joola is dominant. In the previous sub-sections it was discussed how participants perceive the use of Joola to be an inclusive linguistic practice, as not everyone understands, for example, French or Wolof. Joola means different things to different participants, and as discussed in Goodchild (2016) it is important to represent participants' own designations for their linguistic practices, as this can provide further insight into how they perceive these practices and the reasons behind them, thus revealing language attitudes which can influence language use. For instance, many participants state that they speak Joola, in addition to Joola Eegimaa or Joola Fogny for example, or indeed that they only speak Joola. As shown in the above two sections, where layers of spatial indexicality and layers of repertoires can be discerned, so too can many layers of linguistic practices be found. Indeed Sapir (1971: 59) describes how especially south of the Casamance River, the concept of mutual intelligibility is often not relevant due to linguistic or social reasons:

> In any one area what one tends to find is a "layering" of speech forms: a "home" dialect that is very particularistic, an area dialect used by adjacent villages, then one of the regional dialects, Fogny or Kasa, and finally a kind of Kasa-Fogny pidgin […].
>
> (Sapir 1971: 59)

Layers of Joola and Joola practices seems an apt description of how participants conceive of Joola and the different distinctions which they make, which can be as fine-grained or as broad as needed, by actively creating names for varieties, which may often be linked to location (see §6.2.3). As noted, one of the key participants describes Joola as a way of speaking [VB_{M68} in ESS040317SGa_CUT1]. If Joola, then, is seen as a way to communicate rather than as a separate, distinct, language with clearly defined boundaries (further discussed in the following sections, particularly §6.2.4) nor as smaller clearly defined languages, then how participants associate different forms with different Joola varieties should be discussed. Moreover, I will examine how these layers correspond to observed linguistic practices, documented and described in the previous chapters (see for example §6.2) and the relation to language use in other areas of the Casamance.

Often when participants engage in conversation, neither they nor the transcribers, always perceive when linguistic elements from other named languages are used. For example, the researcher might be able to identify a Wolof or French lexical item in what could be analysed as a predominantly Joola utterance. As Mc Laughlin (2009: 72–73) points out when discussing urban Wolof, other researchers have described it as code-mixing or switching (Swigart 1992; Poplack & Meechan 1995, respectively), but “speakers […] are not necessarily able to isolate […] French loans or identify them in their own speech” and this is despite being aware that urban Wolof does extensively borrow from French. Therefore, Mc Laughlin prefers not to categorise urban Wolof as instances of code-switching, for example, but adopts a “speaker-based approach” instead of an “externally imposed classification” (Mc Laughlin 2009: 72–73). This approach is also suited to other linguistic practices in Senegal, as discerned throughout the thesis, whereby the linguistic practices of

participants seem to resist categorisation along the lines of traditional pre-defined bounded languages, and more can be gained by also adopting a speaker-based approach. Particularly for Joola, such an approach leads to a clearer representation of the layered linguistic practices, which may index certain other layers of identity or spatiality, for example. In describing multilingual linguistic practices in Ziguinchor, Juillard (2001) takes an alternative view of the term "language shift" and does not discuss what the more widely accepted meaning, particularly in Anglophone literature has come to mean, i.e. generational language shift from a heritage language to a language of wider communication, (cf. Pauwels 2016). Rather Juillard (2001) focuses on shifts which either :

> *postule une délimitation a priori des codes et formalise les éléments qui les clôturent, ou bien qui postule une indétermination des frontières et une grande variabilité de l'usage. [...] cet événement peut également être décrit et interprété sur un autre plan, celui de la coconstruction, identitaire et linguistique, en situation.*
>
> postulate an *a priori* delimiting of codes and formalises those elements which fence them, or which postulate a vagueness of borders and much variability in use. […] this occurrence can equally be described and interpreted on another level, that of co-construction, both of identity and linguistic, in context.
>
> (Juillard 2001: 6)

As Juillard has worked in the Casamance, in Ziguinchor, the nearest town to Essyl, for over 30 years, there are many similarities and parallels between her work and this thesis. Much of what she observed and analysed is the basis for current investigation in other settings and can be adapted to current linguistic practices observed in Essyl. Her view on shifts was informed by fieldwork in Ziguinchor, where she noted that for young people in the south of Senegal, making a "gesture" towards Wolof in their speech, even if not "correct", has meaning for them with regards to urbanity and how they want to present themselves, than them not using it. Furthermore many young people who did not attend formal education would frequently make shifts towards French in a group of people who had attended school (Juillard 2001: 16). These shifts, or "gestures", towards another named language can be read from all three perspectives: participants', observers' and researcher's and exist not only on the linguistic plane, but also in terms of identity and the topic at hand and how meaning is constructed in interaction. This does not mean that someone necessarily needs to have acquired a language before making these shifts, and they are noticeable or not depending on context. Furthermore, in discussing her previous work on Joola in Ziguinchor from 2001 Juillard noted that:

> *la distinction entre différents manières de parler joola (joola rural, joola urbain, joola d'apprenant, etc.) ne faisait pas toujours l'objet de catégorisations, stigmatisations, reprises, en discours.*

> the distinction between different ways of speaking Joola (rural Joola, urban Joola, learner's Joola, etc.) wasn't always the focus of categorisations, stigmatisation, repairs, in discourse.

(Juillard 2016: 16)

Juillard found that in discourse young Joola people who are from the same *quartier* did not make distinctions in Joola or between Joolas. Therefore I would argue that the "language" being spoken is of little relevance (in line with Mc Laughlin's 2009 take on urban Wolof). Rather it is "Joola" to which participants orientate. They may make gestures towards linguistic forms, which for them may or may not have some other salient meaning in interaction. Furthermore, Juillard goes on to say that:

> *Si aucune catégorisation n'est exprimée en discours par les acteurs, leur espace sociolinguistique personnel aussi bien que collectif peut se manifester par différents mouvements interactionnels, par exemple vers une convergence temporaire en ce qui se donne pour du joola (joola mélangé de français), ou bien, soudainement, par l'adoption d'une nouvelle manière de parler (en oulof).*
>
> If no categorisation is expressed in discourse by the actors, their personal, as well as collective, sociolinguistic space can manifest itself through different interactional movements, for example towards a temporary convergence which people take for Joola (Joola mixed with French), or even, suddenly by adopting a new way of speaking (in Wolof).
>
> (Juillard 2016: 16)

This is of particular relevance to how participants, and transcribers, perceive of language use in discourse in the data explored in the previous sections of the thesis. Many participants do not comment on the differences in Joola being spoken, yet their sociolinguistic spaces and repertoires are evident, and how people perceive of Joola, when they also take a convergence of Joola and French to be Joola. This also applies to some Wolof lexical items in Joola discourse. This is most evident in the reports of the participants, many of whom frequently discuss or list Joola as a language. It also occurs in the transcribers' reports, yet in my personal corpus of recordings for the present study, in no instance do the transcribers simply mark the language of a segment as "Joola", but will specify a localised variety, such as Joola Banjal. This is likely due to the expectations which were initially placed upon them by us, the researchers of the Crossroads team. Heavily influenced by previous research on languages in the area and the legacy of language documentation, which despite Himmelmann's (1998) claim to document the linguistic practices of a community, have widely resulted in documentation of bounded languages. The documentation was not reflective of actual linguistic practices and at the beginning of the project in 2014, it was primarily focused on named languages already known to the researchers. (For a discussion about how previous research in the area influenced the early stages of research and concomitant issues, see Goodchild 2016). In this case, it meant that transcribers would always mark which Joola variety they perceived was being spoken. As detailed in the methodology (Chapter 3), their perceptions of these varieties can depend on many different factors, for example, their linguistic biographies and repertoires i.e. which Joola varieties they have had previous contact with, which ones they speak or understand, and general knowledge, i.e. metapragmatic knowledge, about other Joola varieties which they may not have had

contact with, and importantly their knowledge of the participants in the recording and whether they know the participant's linguistic repertoire or biography. It is worth remembering, however, that the transcribers generally concentrated on files from a particular researcher or area[32]. This then resulted in the case that every instance of a Joola segment would usually be qualified by adding on the variety, so for example Joola Banjal (mostly this term was used instead of Joola Eegimaa), or Joola Fogny or Joola Youtou, etc. One of the most remarkable differences, at least from the researcher's perspective concerns the labelling of Joola linguistic practices, and often the lack of agreement among transcribers. Of particular interest was how the transcribers mark $DS4_{F49}$'s language use. I will consider here the differences in perceptions of her language use and look at various designations of Joola and how this may be (partially) accounted for using Watson's (Cobbinah et al. 2017; Watson 2018b) conception of language as prototype, yet if one takes into account concepts of language territorialisation and space, it does also partially aid in understanding the different perceptions discussed below.

One occasion of differential Joola labelling regards the transcription of $DS4_{F49}$'s linguistic practices. She reports her own repertoire as consisting of French, Joola, Joola Banjal (Eegimaa), Joola Fogny and Wolof. It is worth noting that $DS4_{F49}$ is also one of the participants who categorises Joola in addition to qualified Joola varieties Fogny and Eegimaa. Most of the transcriptions of recorded observations in which she features were transcribed by DS: DS knows $DS4_{F49}$ and has known her for a long time, as they both live in Essyl, are both actively involved in the church and village activities, and DS has a good idea of $DS4_{F49}$'s background, knows that she is

[32] For example mine were predominantly transcribed by DS, but others who also spoke Joola Eegimaa, for example LS and JFS, also often transcribed my files.

originally from Tangiem (to the north of the Casamance River) and has his own perception of her repertoire and language use, namely that she comes from a Joola Fogny speaking background. In the transcriptions, DS marks $DS4_{F49}$'s language use differently depending on the segment. There could be, for example: French and Joola Banjal; Joola Fogny, Joola Banjal and Wolof; Wolof and Joola Fogny, etc. But one common occurrence across transcriptions of $DS4_{F49}$ done by DS is the repeated inclusion of Joola Fogny as a frequent label, on its own or among other language names, which, given the information above, could be expected. However, in the transcription of a 30 minute recording of a meeting of the Women's Catholic Association where $DS4_{F49}$ is president and thus participates frequently throughout the recording, I noted that only one segment was marked for Joola Fogny and all other instances of her speech were marked as Joola Banjal, or French when French was used for business purposes such as the agenda, etc. It turned out that the transcription was carried out by ACB who does not usually transcribe files from Essyl or Mof Avvi. In this instance, the meeting in question took place in Kamobeul, which is a neighbouring village to Essyl and is one of the villages which makes up Mof Avvi, therefore is arguably part of the same sociolinguistic space (as explored above in the chapter). Nevertheless, it was still striking that only one instance was marked as Joola Fogny. The transcriber had recurred to a "default" of Joola Banjal for communicative events taking place in Mof Avvi (note that the first three initials of each file name refer to the location of the recording, so it is obvious to the transcriber where it took place) and only those instances which diverged from the default were marked differently, whether French, Wolof or Joola Fogny. Thereby the transcriber ascribed language use to location according to their expections about the patrimonial language of the place. Whilst transcribing what are fluid linguistic

practices, they only annotated those instances where there was a divergence from the default expectation:

(7.1)

taŋ key kubaje communion

'so who is it that is meant to be doing the first communion'

One of the distinguishing features of Joola Eegimaa (Banjal), as opposed to other Joola varieties, is that it uses the voiced velar plosive /g/, whereas other Joola varieties use the unvoiced velar plosive /k/. The similarities and differences between the varieties and the (dis)agreement between speakers in the Crossroads area has led Watson to consider languages as categories, based around prototype theory (Watson in Cobbinah et al. 2017; Watson 2019). According to the theory that Watson describes, humans naturally create categories and these are often defined around a conceptual core to a category. Therefore, a linguistic item can be considered more or less central to a language category. Where these items are generally agreed upon by most speakers to be part of the language they take on an emblematic value, or even a stereotypical value, associated with that language. Then, there are other items whose affiliation is possibly debated by speakers or is unclear, or may also form part of the concept of another category of another language. Therefore, when considering the different Joola varieties, in which there is much overlap between linguistic forms, syntax, noun classes, phonology, etc., observers in particular only notice when something appears to deviate from what they consider the default and is part of the core concept of another variety, but is perhaps liminal in another language. This simultaneously results in DS marking many of $DS4_{F49}$'s utterances as both Joola

Banjal and Joola Fogny and ACB only marking one instance as such. When discussing with DS how he identifies certain segments as containing Joola Fogny or not, he would often pick out single lexical items, particularly those which he perceives to be emblematic, i.e. near the conceptual core, or prototypical of Fogny. For example, the lexical item *jakum* 'not' is used as a negative particle which occurs 4 times in one transcription, and each of these instances results in the utterance being marked at Joola Fogny, as *jakum* does not occur prototypically in Joola Eegimaa. Furthermore, other differences occur in the labelling of other varieties, which relate to the specificity of location of assumed prototypes. Therefore, one of the few instances of Joola Youtou, in my corpus, was marked as such by one of the transcribers, LS, who is familiar with the variety of Joola spoken in Youtou, a village close to the border with Guinea-Bissau. The participant in question was LD_{F29}, who is in fact from Youtou, but as far as I am aware, LS does not know LD_{F29}. On revision of the transcription with DS, he altered the labelling of LD_{F29}'s Joola Youtou to Joola Kaasa, despite knowing that LD_{F29} and her husband, with whom DS often socialises, come from Youtou. I assume that LS had identified a prototypical emblem in LD_{F29}'s speech, which she related to the location of Youtou. Without this knowledge, DS glossed it as the Joola which he perceived was spoken, one which is not tied to locality. Therefore, in these instances the prototype theory of languages proposed by Watson can account for both of these divergences and convergences, regardless of level of knowledge about the speaker, which demonstrably plays a role in the labelling of linguistic practices. This once again demonstrates how Joola practices can be perceived as multi-layered and simultaneously index sociolinguistic spaces, which participants can name accordingly. A linguistic item can be both stereotypical, emblematic or near the prototypical core of the conception of a

language, but this can also be a feature shared by a lexical item perhaps further away from the centre. This approach also counters the *a priori* assumptions of codes by linguists and also can account for the vast discrepancies in the number of Joola languages or dialects within the cluster which various researchers have posited (see for example Sapir 1971; Carlton & Rand 1993; Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming; see §2 and §6.2 for more detailed presentation). In this view, speakers of Joola have various levels of knowledge about different Joola varieties and categorise their knowledge around known prototypical instances of language use often associated with specific places. The assignment of such prototypical instances varies according to experience.

What this means is that our data, taken together with other sociolinguistic studies carried out in the Casamance and in Senegal, show that abstract labels for linguistic practice cannot be assumed *a priori* without consultation from speakers themselves. This can also provide insight into their linguistic practices, which some participants describe as a "way of speaking", although they may also refer to a set of bounded languages. For example, Mc Laughlin (2009: 75) also found that in an attitudinal study towards urban Wolof, older speakers "expressed the attitude that urban Wolof was simply a way of communicating and that it served its purpose well so there was no need to critique it". This sub-section has explored various concepts and conceptions around the term Joola. These concepts play a major role in all of the above sections and are also prevalent throughout the thesis: Joola as language; language as category; language as entity; language as way of speaking; language as communication; language as related to identity; language as practice and language indexed to place and space. Some of the numerous different designations for language names and varieties have been explored alongside their relationship to

place, particularly looking at the prototype theory and the fact that making "gestures" towards a certain prototypical use of a linguistic resource can be used to index a certain variety of Joola. However, the fact that at least one Joola variety is present in nearly all of the participants' repertoires (all except 2) is also likely to contribute towards the perception of Essyl as a monolingual area, with caveats, where Joola Eegimaa is dominant. Yet the above sections, and this one in particular, have important ramifications for how languages and linguistic practices in Senegal are investigated and interpreted, which will be further extrapolated in the following section.

7.4. Codes, languages, or translanguaging? Ways of speaking.

In order to answer the research questions, it has been necessary to take a spatial and situated approach to the study of interactions, considering that the object of study is defined by space. The data and analyses presented also necessitate a wider theoretical discussion about the implications that they have for present theories of linguistic interaction, languaging and languages. In this section I will discuss the motivation and implications of having analysed the language use observed and reported in Chapter 6 according to named languages, and how when taking into account different scales and perspectives (Irvine 2016) on the language use analysed there, it necessitated a turn back towards repertoire as a core principle of investigation, in line with Ducos' (1983) work and more recent work by Lüpke (2016a, 2016b, 2018), in addition to taking a spatial approach to linguistic practices. There are significant ramifications of not being able to decide what a "code" in fact is, or which code certain linguistic features "belong to". I will further discuss what the findings may mean for the study of multilingualism in Africa, sociolinguistics

and the wider field of linguistics in general. This is the main impetus for using the translanguaging approach to account for the data and analyses presented in the thesis, but it also has important implications for the approach itself, as a widening of the approach to account for sociolinguistic settings, such as those described above. In §6.2 and §7.3 the concept of Joola as a linguistic practice was put forward, after triangulating analyses from different perspectives, below I will expand this to account for a wider variety of linguistic practices across Essyl, discussing how most of the communicative contexts which were encountered in Essyl during the fieldwork can best be described in terms of linguistic, indeed translanguaging practices, in line with other recent studies on multilingual linguistic practices in the Casamance and The Gambia (e.g. Ndecky 2011; Nunez 2015; Juffermans 2015). Having conducted the research described in the thesis, and having considered language and language use, I believe that named languages should not be the starting point for analysis, although they are useful for an overview of linguistic context at first glance. Rather the situated-ness of people and the interaction should be paramount to investigate what communicative practices, including linguistic ones, are utilised to negotiate meaning in the moment of interaction.

The analysis presented in Chapter 6 describes the perception of Essyl as a monolingual Joola Eegimaa-speaking area in §6.1, but the remainder of the chapter is devoted to "other" named languages and their use, and to how these intersect or not with Joola Eegimaa. The chapter was divided according to named languages and different combinations of these, which may not seem to align with the claim in the above paragraph about the moment of interaction as the starting point for analysis. However, it is necessary to include these as important points of analysis, for when considering different perceptions and scales (Carr & Lempert 2016), it becomes

evident that there are categories, with meaningful (social) significance for participants, and also for observers, and indeed also the researchers. Hence the justification for using named languages, which can also be accounted for using the triangulation of analyses. When discussing named languages and their use, I have been guided by participants' emic designations of their linguistic practices, the transcribers' opinions on the language use and have sought to align this with previous literature and academic linguistic studies from the area. Yet, in many cases, it is evident that no one really agrees on which tokens are associated with specific named varieties. This is the case when no one can agree on what a code really is, or indeed the most that we can say is that many people agree on the prototypical signs associated with a named variety (Watson in Cobbinah et al. 2016; Watson 2019). This is most evident in the case of Joola (see §7.3 above), that is looking at the different varieties, languages, etc., which are variably named and numbered by previous researchers, it is obvious that participants' and others' opinions should be included to see if there is more behind the "discrepancies". However, many linguists are still concerned with enumerating and naming varieties, and categorising them according to historical precedence, for example the most recent re-grouping of Atlantic (Pozdniakov & Segerer Forthcoming). Yet these are endeavours which remain firmly within a structuralist theoretical framework, and indeed the focus still remains on language contact, rather than people. When researchers conduct fieldwork for eliciting data that they can use for their historical and phylogenetic analyses, taking into account speakers' perceptions may in fact help to assign categories and provide clues as to the structures found in participants' linguistic practices.

Yet because this was the dominant framework of much linguistic enquiry, indeed structuralism was influenced by much linguistic work, and the field of linguistics and language documentation is deeply connected to the organisation of data and analyses according to the structures apparently observed in said languages. Consequently, it is difficult to discuss your work without alluding to and using concepts from the previous theoretical positionings (a point also noted by Canagarajah 2013). Indeed it is how we begin to understand and conceptualise new takes on the data. Although other approaches, such as code-switching, could be used to explain the patterns of language use seen throughout the thesis, the complexity of the data and analysis demands a further look using another approach: if there is a disagreement regarding which codes are in use, then who are the researchers to label these linguistic practices according to pre-determined structures? Although there is evidently scope for participants' own perceptions to be included within a code-switching analysis, often explained by the adage that "people don't do what they say they do", this is a disparaging stance to take as it assumes that only in objective observation, which only the researcher may be able to perform, is the truth of linguistic practice evident. This completely erases the subjective from the situation and therefore overlooks much of the complexity and situated-ness of communicative practice, as well as participants' own voice and opinions and devalues them. Therefore, it is evident that in order to gain a more holistic view of multilingual linguistic practices, the concept of assumed languages must not be the starting point, but indeed what is needed is a move towards (or back towards) the concept of repertoire and spatiality. Yet the assumed languages should not be excluded from the analysis, but incorporated, without them being the foci or the starting point.

Therefore, if the starting point for analysis is not which languages are present in an interaction, because there may be divergent opinions and analyses regarding their categorisation, then it is to the communicative event itself that we must turn. This must be fully contextualised including detailed background about participants in order to discuss how they communicate. In other words, our focus should be on the communicative practices. Considering that this thesis retains a language-focused outlook (despite the holistic, multi-faceted, and multimodal nature of communication), the translanguaging approach which will now be considered in light of the data and analyses presented in previous sections. And what the data and analysis can bring to the approach itself.

As with much sociolinguistic study, the translingual practices (Canagarajah 2013), or translanguaging approach (García 2009; García & Li Wei 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid 2015), enables the focusing on meaning in interaction, but also the effects of such fluid practices for identity and ideologies, for example. For some, indeed most, scholars using such an approach, the important aspect of the "new terminology" and orientation is the "trans" aspect: that language use may transcend, transgress or transpose bounded languages, meanings, and ideologies all associated with communicative practices. In the transcending aspect of translanguaging practices, it is often to language attitudes and ideologies that people are referring to, frequently in relation to standard languages. Speakers may, or may not, orient towards perceived standard language practices in conversation, dependent on context. For Canagarajah (2013: 188–189), "what is more important in every case is a reflective *awareness* of the potential of language resources and the negotiation of meanings, transcending the limiting monolingual and normative ideologies of society or classroom [o.e.]". Although Canagarajah comes from a pedagogical

perspective, as do the original studies on translanguaging, and thus discusses the classroom and monolingual ideologies which are typical of many northern settings, we still see similar forces at work in Essyl, despite the fact that many of the languages present, apart from French (which still has a diglossic aspect in Senegal with Senegalese French) are not standardised. There are, however, monolingual ideologies with regards to the normative use of Joola Eegimaa in the sociolinguistic space and physical place of Essyl. Yet there is a collective awareness that in using other resources from individual or spatial repertoires the linguistic practices that this diversity represents does transcend the dominant monolingual ideology and the norms which are widely held as expectations of language use in Essyl. However, in transcending these ideologies, participants can at once adhere to the inclusive monolingual ideology if choosing to use forms associated with other Joola varieties. Due to the expansive and flexible nature of the resources and practices associated with Joola, they can simultaneously transcend the monolingual whilst perpetuating the perception of Essyl as a Joola-speaking space.

A site of transgression of linguistic normative expectations is the classroom, however, the awareness of pupils in making their transgressive acts using Joola in class is debatable, especially when much shame is attached to it, and *le symbole* is still actively used in punishing these students (see §6.3.1.1). However, among the older pupils, there is awareness that in using other resources from their repertoires, they will have transgressed the expected. Unfortunately, they are not always supported in their language use, as with much schooling and education across the world. Evidently, the school is a site where French is used, but as it is a defined, bounded, sociolinguistic space, in which French is expected to be used, neither does this fall foul of the Essyl-as-monolingual ideology. The school is another place, and

represents another layer of space, and scale, in which many participants do not interact.

However, as with other sociolinguistic spaces and the translanguaging practices associated with them, the spatial repertoire which is formed in interaction then affects the individual repertoires of the children who take them into new sociolinguistic spaces outside of the normative environment of the school, and into the monolingual space of Essyl. Thereby also transgressing and transcending the monolingual outlook by introducing resources associated with French and thus perpetuating the link of French and Joola, to the extent that linguistic practices that incorporate resources associated with the different named languages, as identified by the researcher, are not identified as such by either participants or other stakeholders. This phenomenon of children taking French learnt in school and using it in other settings, particularly among the family, leading to increased acquisition of French by parents who have received little schooling with mothers in particular benefitting, has also been described by Juillard (2007: 238). French is therefore incorporated into the default spatial repertoire of Essyl and is included in Joola practices.

The practices observed in Essyl thus expand the "traditional" conceptions of terms such as monolingualism. The reality of linguistic practices in this setting demonstrates that codes are indeed in flux, expansive, and inclusive. In Essyl performative competence (Canagarajah 2013) in Joola using emblematic signs indexically linked to Joola Eegimaa is more apt than discussing competency in a named language, which has little analytical or theoretical use in similar contexts. The monolingualism of Essyl transcends and transgresses traditional, structuralist takes on language use, as previously described (even among some of the earlier works on translanguaging). Although traditional conceptions of monolingualism represent the

exclusive use of one bounded named language, translanguaging practices, which are inherent to everyday communication from a researcher's perspective, are conceived as subscribing to a monolingual ideology.

Furthermore, the data shows, in line with some of the most recent papers on translanguaging and related practices (e.g. Canagarajah 2017), that participants make use of resources in communication and in interaction, which may not be part of their individual repertoires. This has been described above in §7.2 as forming part of spatial repertoires and is a further expansion of translanguaging practices. One of the main advantages of using the translanguaging approach, and the one with the possibility for expansion, is that there is no need to have pre-established labels for languages, or linguistic practices, since they are not defined *a priori,* but are fluid and changing[33]. This is one of the more interesting aspects of the sociolinguistic setting in Essyl, Senegal and indeed in many other African and world-wide settings. Despite the fact that much of the analyses using a translanguaging lens carried out thus far take place in settings quite different from Essyl and Senegal, there have however been recent studies in the Casamance and The Gambia, in addition to the studies carried out by the Crossroads team (Lüpke 2016a; 2016b; 2018; Hantgan 2017; Cobbinah et al. 2017; Cobbinah Forthcoming; Watson 2019), which also come to the same conclusions about the unsuitability of other approaches, such as code-switching, demonstrably making the case for translanguaging based on similar multilingual data.

Nunez (2015) concludes that previous approaches to contact linguistics are not suited to analysing multilingual data. In particular, frameworks by Myers-Scotton

[33] See also Goodchild & Weidl (2018) for a discussion on the usefulness of the translanguaging approach to account for complex multilingual settings in the Casamance.

(1998 cited in Nunez 2015) and Auer (1999) fail to take account of complex, highly multilingual situations, such as the Casamance, where numerous named languages of different families are in contact. (Nunez' focus was Casamance Creole, a Portuguese-based Creole which is no longer in contact with Portuguese.) He concludes that the most apt approach for analysing the linguistic practices of his participants is polylanguaging proposed by Jørgensen et al. (2011). This is due to the fact that his participants use linguistic traits associated with numerous languages, without being beholden to standards or norms, and moreover some languages which they do not "master", such as English or Portuguese (Nunez 2015: 259). Similarly, Ndecky (2011) concludes his study of the practices and perceptions of Mankanya in Goudoump. He states that after looking at the analyses, approaches such as Myers-Scotton (1995) with concepts such as the matrix language are not applicable. In such a highly multilingual situation it is often difficult to state where one variety begins and another ends, therefore he also prefers to let speakers choose how to designate their linguistic practices. These practices are "*la somme des connaissances acquises et intériorisées par le locuteur aboutit à un seul parler comme c'est le cas des parlers mancagne* […]" 'the sum of acquired knowledge internalised by the speaker [which] leads to one way of speaking as is the case with the Mankanya ways of speaking[…]' (Ndecky 2011: 294). Ways of speaking, instead of multilingualism in numerous languages, are also what Juffermans (2015: 152–153) chooses to refer to after studying literacy and linguistic practices in The Gambia. He had to "describe them [literacy and linguistic practices] without assuming the existence of languages", particularly after conducting a focus group where participants described their own linguistic practices, which he terms "languaging".

The data and analyses in this thesis, backed up by findings from similar regional settings, have important implications for the study of language, languages, and multilingualism, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. The point is, namely, that the starting points for research in similar settings should be based around an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach, led by emic categorisations of language use. As my and others' data have shown, the applicability of bounded languages has as much worth as speakers assign them, and can index numerous different aspects of their lives, across many different scales. When so many previous approaches do not seem to be applicable to multilingual African settings, whether considering linguistic practices, the delineation of languages, norms of standards, ideologies of language and space, it becomes apparent that new research must start in a different place and encompass place, space and mobility in all their permutations. As Juffermans (2015: 153) concludes, ethnography must include all spaces and scale levels, from the house or compound to the world. These are imperative in order to understand how people are communicating across the globe.

If we take Fardon and Furniss' (1994) claim that the *lingua franca* of Africa is multilingualism, then it would be interesting, and indeed prudent, to apply the translanguaging lens to a wider variety of sociolinguistic settings. Indeed, I do feel that it could be applied to any setting in the world. As even in "monolingual" settings, as has been shown in the thesis above, there is great variety and fluidity between registers, domains, and even those people who are relatively immobile and relatively monolingual are influenced by the mobility and multilingual translanguaging practices of those they come into contact with. Furthermore, in a move away from traditional code-switching approaches, using approaches such as translanguaging, coupled with concepts such as spatial repertoire, allow for different

affordances in meaning which are co-constructed by the multimodality of interaction. As I mentioned before, despite this thesis' focus on language, I acknowledge the importance of other modalities, and indeed analyse these where relevant, as in §6.2.4. Essentially, with analysing data according to a relatively new approach such as translanguaging, it is important to remember that even though a very specific communicative context has been studied, the practices which are used could be considered to be widely generalisable to many sociolinguistic situations. In order to understand the range of human communication, it will be imperative in the coming years, to further investigate a wide variety of sociolinguistic settings using this lens.

7.5. The future

In conclusion, although it is often difficult with such micro-level ethnographic case studies of a handful of key participants, during specific time periods, to engage in generalisations or predictions, I would, however, like to offer a few thoughts as to what the near future might hold for Essyl and the sociolinguistic setting there. Many participants and researchers are concerned broadly with language shift. In the context discussed here, this means shifting from Joola Eegimaa to French or Wolof, for example, at the detriment of Joola Eegimaa. However, these concerns cannot be considered without including a discussion of mobility practices. Sagna (2016) discusses how Joola Eegimaa is an endangered language, with the biggest contributing factor to its endangerment being a break in intergenerational transmission in the diaspora (that is outside of Mof Avvi), due to most speakers living in cities or villages outwith Mof Avvi, i.e. non-Joola Eegimaa speaking spaces (also observed by Bassène 2006). Although turn-around migration (Linares 2003)

has been a feature in the Casamance, and is also described for some participants in this thesis, it is unclear how many of the younger generations are intending to come back to Essyl. However, many people do return during different parts of the year, such as during the long summer holidays (which were not observed as part of the current study), in order to visit relatives, or help out. They also send their children to visit family or to do linguistic residencies, which, as has been discussed earlier, also represent a Casamance tradition (Calvet & Dreyfus 1990). For those people arriving in Essyl without knowledge of Joola Eegimaa or how to engage in linguistic practices suited to the sociolinguistic space, there is still an overriding expectation to acquire and use Joola Eegimaa, as it is still the predominant identified named language spoken in Mof Avvi. As has been demonstrated, Essyl and Mof Avvi are perceived as being monolingual sociolinguistic spaces, although multilingual practices do occur there. The actual linguistic practices can be perceived of as being as inclusive as possible. This means using other named languages such as Wolof, but retaining a preference for Joola Eegimaa and Joola linguistic practices.

Currently, it seems that the majority of linguistic practices which take place within Mof Avvi are not seen as threatening to the maintenance of Joola Eegimaa. However, practices which take place at the school, such as the denigration of the use of languages other than French, in particular Joola Eegimaa, and the practice of still giving out *le symbole* to children (see §6.3.1.1), clearly has long-lasting negative effects on children and their attitudes towards the language (Sagna 2008; Sagna 2016). Yet outside of the school space, children are seemingly still using Joola Eegimaa among themselves and there are still strong feelings of support for the language, including among teenagers such as CS, who dislikes unequal multilingualism, that is, friends who do not make an attempt to learn her language,

when she speaks theirs. I argue that the strong indexical link between the sociolinguistic space of Mof Avvi and Joola Eegimaa has been cemented through processes of language territorialisation. In addition, "ways of speaking" Joola (Eegimaa) come from a drive to include people rather than exclude them with language use. Furthermore, as Mof Avvi is considered the ideological home base for Joola Eegimaa, then I predict that Joola Eegimaa will be positively equated with Essyl for the foreseeable future. Links between place and practices are further reinforced through ideological processes explored above where multilingualism is equated with other spaces and with people moving into Mof Avvi who have extensive repertoires. When people move outside of Mof Avvi to other spaces it is assumed they will expand their repertoires, although they will likely find that Joola Eegimaa becomes latent in many of their new sociolinguistic spaces.

Furthermore, there is clearly a growing awareness among participants and people in Essyl about the need to promote and maintain Joola Eegimaa, a project which Sagna is actively involved in, including producing Joola Eegimaa radio programmes (for more information see Sagna 2016), and liaising with teachers in the school. As I have discussed before in Goodchild (2016) there is a high level of awareness among participants about language endangerment, and many people use terminology associated with the field and discuss issues such as 'mother tongue' and intergenerational transmission as can be seen in the descriptive parts of the thesis. This, I argue, is in part influenced by the long history of research (linguistic and otherwise) in the area; this also includes SIL's literacy activities and Bible translation into Joola Banjal, which now means that at least part of church services can be delivered in Joola Eegimaa. Therefore, taken together with the points above, I do not think that in the foreseeable future there will be a shift in linguistic practices

in Essyl, as long as the link between sociolinguistic space and linguistic practices strongly, but inclusively, orients towards Joola (Eegimaa). What happens outside of Mof Avvi is a topic for future research (see §8.3).

Lastly, as has been shown in the above discussion, the data and analysis presented are not particularly singular for the region, with many studies including by the Crossroads team in the neighbouring villages of Brin and Djibonker (Cobbinah et al. 2017; Cobbinah Forthcoming; Hantgan 2017; Watson 2019; Weidl 2018), the nearest town of Ziguinchor (Juillard 1995; Nunez 2015) and other villages/towns in the Casamance (Lüpke 2016a; 2016b; 2018; Ndecky 2011), showing similar data with regards to practices and perceptions of multilingualism. Furthermore, much of this research calls established paradigms of analysis into question, particularly regarding frameworks for analysing multilingual linguistic practices, particularly along the lines of code, which all of the above work calls into question, supported by Juffermans (2015) in The Gambia. As recent papers from *Globalising Sociolinguistics* (Smakman & Heinrich 2015) have pointed out, Western sociolinguistic models may not be applicable to a wide variety of African settings, where multilingualism is a given, linguistic repertoires are highly diverse, diglossia based on prestige may not play a role in language use, and where "code-switching" between more than two languages is the norm, so much so that the concepts on which these terms are founded are called into question. Importantly, these insights into language use do not come purely from functional linguistics, but from ethnographically informed sociolinguistics, which seek to include multiple analyses and acknowledge that speakers' designations, descriptions and perceptions of their own practices must be taken into consideration if a holistic view of the diversity of multilingualism is to be attempted. Our work could form the foundation for aiming

towards new theorisations of language due to the inability of previous work to account for similar African settings.

8. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I firstly summarise the main findings of the thesis in §8.1 in response to the research questions, before discussing in §8.2 the significance of the main findings and assessing the contribution that this thesis makes to the study of multilingualism in Africa and to sociolinguistic theory in general. Finally, in §8.3, I present some promising avenues for future research, considering the limitations of the present study, and thus questions which have arisen from it which would benefit from further study.

8.1. Summary of main findings

This thesis sought to investigate perceptions and practices of multilingualism in Essyl, a village in the Basse Casamance region of southern Senegal. This was achieved by considering participants' mobility trajectories, linguistic repertoires and language use in interaction, using a qualitative ethnography of case studies and triangulating analyses of both elicited (e.g. interviews) and observed conversational data. Using frameworks such as the territorialisation of language and translanguaging, the thesis discussed the processes by which participants interact in sociolinguistic spaces and how these relate to perceptions of mono- or multilingualism. The main findings can be summarised thusly:

a. Participants were found to have extensive and diverse linguistic repertoires, with various linguistic resources associated with different named languages or varieties, which varied according to life experience. I presented

participants' repertoires according to named languages, using the designations which most closely matched those used by the participants themselves. As outlined in the introductory chapters of the thesis, participants in Essyl are multilingual while the village (and surrounding area of Mof Avvi) is associated with monolingualism in Joola Eegimaa (a.k.a. Banjal). As expected 7 out of the 8 participants report "Joola Banjal" as part of their repertoires, which also reflects the increasing popularity of the glossonym (Sagna 2016). Contrary to expectations, not all of the key participants reported Wolof in their repertoires; the same applies to French, both being named languages which function as the national *de facto* lingua franca and the official language *de jure* of Senegal, respectively. All of the key participants, and all other participants barring 2 out of over 100, reported some form of Joola in their repertoire: this surfaced by naming Joola as a language in itself, or naming varieties of Joola, which could also be referred to as languages: the significance of the naming practices and ideologies pertaining to these are recapped below. The most common constellation of named languages in participants' repertoires was Joola (Eegimaa), French, Wolof - with other named Joola varieties and other named languages largely dependent on mobility history.

b. Participants in the main had lived in various villages, towns and other countries, for various reasons, and generally expanded their linguistic repertoires in each place, thereby accounting for the variety and individuality of linguistic repertoires which were largely dependent on their mobility trajectory. Various patterns of mobility were discerned. There were participants who had mainly resided in Essyl. This is exemplified by the case

of VB_{M68}, who had stayed in Essyl excepting a few years at boarding school. He subsequently has the most restricted reported repertoire – Joola Banjal and French. The second most common pattern was "turnaround migration" (Linares 2003). This is exemplified by $CS3_{M55}$ who grew up in Essyl, left for educational and economic reasons and lived in Ziguinchor, Dakar and Guinea-Bissau among other places. He expanded his repertoire throughout his life and reported different language use patterns with different places before returning to Essyl to settle. The most common pattern among key participants, and which many other participants adhered to, was exogynous in-marriage migration (Linares 1992; Lüpke & Storch 2013). 5 out of the 6 female participants moved to Essyl upon marriage. Many of them had also participated in a form of turnaround migration and all had extensive repertoires expanded before coming to Essyl. In different periods of their lives, different parts of their repertoires could be considered active or latent, depending on the sociolinguistic spaces in which they interacted. Participants also travelled to other towns and villages throughout the time of the study to attend ceremonies such as weddings or funerals or to visit family. Participants overwhelmingly reported languages and varieties of the Joola cluster in the Atlantic grouping of languages, due to mobility to other Joola speaking areas, whether associated with a variety used as *lingua franca* or a more localised variety. Although many participants also reported French and/or Wolof, among other possible constellations, the predominance of shared Joola varieties was evident and was found to have an influence on both perceptions of language use and language use itself.

c. In line with previous and current findings from the nearby villages of Brin and Djibonker, and as detailed by Cobbinah et al. (2017), Krajcik (2018), Lüpke (2019), and Weidl (2018) the analysis of language use in interactions based on named languages was inherently difficult, due to the fluidity of practices and the difficulty of assigning participants' language use to one or more *a priori* defined codes. Furthermore, when triangulating analysis including speakers' and transcribers' perspectives (which Cobbinah et al. 2017 state is necessary for a new epistemology concerning multilingual language use) there was often little agreement on what language or code was being spoken in discourse. Furthermore the naming strategies which participants use were shown to associate different places with different languages or language use patterns. Yet general tendencies could be discerned: Essyl, and the surrounding area of Mof Avvi, was perceived as a monolingual space where only Joola Eegimaa/Banjal was spoken and spaces outside of Mof Avvi were associated with mobility and hence multilingualism. However the perception of and use of Joola Eegimaa in Essyl did not exclude the use of other named codes, such as French or Wolof, or other Joola varieties in a wide range of contexts, even if they were variably identified by speakers, transcribers and researchers. Participants also expressed their attempts to use inclusive linguistic practices, to ensure that as many people as possible will understand, which often means using Joola (Eegimaa or other varieties). Furthermore, some participants described their linguistic practices and "Joola" as a "way of speaking", which aligns with other research from nearby areas (e.g. Ndecky 2011; Nunez 2015). Overall, participants engaged in fluid multilingual linguistic practices which had to be

analysed alongside their perceptions on language use in order to account for a holistic understanding of language use in Essyl.

d. Participants engaged in fluid linguistic practices, yet the sociolinguistic space of Essyl was continually and consistently perceived as being monolingual. In order to account for what some might consider to be a contradiction, various scales of analysis were discussed (Gal 2016; Irvine 2016), highlighting how through various conceptions of space and language, numerous levels can be discerned using language territorialisation as an anchor for theorising the relationship between space and language use. Through processes of patrimonial deixis (Lüpke 2016a) or indexicality (Agha 2003) certain places are associated with named languages and language use, therefore Joola Eegimaa is seen as emblematic of Mof Avvi. Yet participants interact in sociolinguistic spaces (Juillard 2016), which are constantly evolving and are related to other sociolinguistic spaces, networks, preferences and active or latent aspects of their repertoires. In addition to the concept of individual repertoire, spatial repertoires (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015) were discussed; I analysed the two concepts of repertoire as mutually influencing each other, proposing that the broad default spatial repertoire of Essyl consists of Joola (Eegimaa), Joola, French and to lesser degrees Wolof and other named languages. Even though many people in Essyl are highly multilingual, mainly due to their individual mobility trajectories, they still orient towards Joola linguistic practices, as many of them will have previously acquired a Joola variety. Due to the perception of Joola as an inclusive linguistic practice, it was discussed how the use of other Joola varieties or named languages does not threaten the perception of Essyl as monolingual, finding that participants

are able to make “gestures” towards emblematic uses of Joola Eegimaa (Juillard 2001; Cobbinah et al. 2017), and how the layered use of Joola and the adaptability of naming practices represent numerous scales, spaces and practices.

e. The analyses presented above were further discussed in terms of linguistic practices, whereby in line with other studies carried out in the Casamance and The Gambia (Ndecky 2011; Nunez 2015; Juffermans 2015; Cobbinah et al. 2017; Weidl 2018; Lüpke 2019) the unsuitability of previous approaches to contact linguistics and frameworks for code-switching were presented, concluding that terms such as languaging, translanguaging or “ways of speaking” may better describe how people communicate in highly multilingual settings, where the concepts of bounded languages are called into question. Speakers have numerous ways of referring to the ways they speak which may divide language use into named languages or suggest a more practice-oriented description. Languages are still important as social, identity and space-making constructs, yet the data presented shows the flexibility in naming practices indicating different scale-levels on which language use operates. Furthermore, rather than defining bounded languages with clearly constructible borders, participants may use language which can be closer to a prototypical or emblematic core of a variety that they choose to name (Cobbinah et al. 2017). As Lüpke (2019: 8) points out, we must distinguish between two levels of representations for language: that of social identity and linguistic representation. Therefore, the starting point for studying multilingual, highly diverse settings such as those found in the Casamance and across Africa, must be a wide range of contextualised

linguistic practices, rather than starting with *a priori* assumed codes, and include both languages and languaging (Lüpke 2019: 8) in order to further understanding of the range of human communication.

Moreover, there is a further significant methodological finding to arise from this study. Namely, that in order to describe, document and analyse complex multilingual settings, such as those detailed in the thesis, it is preferable to collaborate and to work following ethnographic methods in order to achieve detailed and fine-grained case study data. Furthermore, it is necessary to triangulate not only the methods used in data collection but also the analyses, and to ensure that participants' and others' (for example transcribers' or research assistants') opinions are included as a central part of the analysis, in order to work towards a more holistic understanding of the boundaries of languages and the complexities of multilingual language use.

8.2. Significance and impact

This study contributes to the body of research on Joola languages and linguistics and constitutes a first look at language use in the village of Essyl from a sociolinguistic perspective using observed natural language data of everyday linguistic interactions. It fills a current gap in the literature, which was heretofore dominated by linguistic documentation and description, focused on one named language, historical and phylogenetic reconstruction, a trend which was sedimented in the 1960s and which continues today (Nekesa Barasa 2015; Goodchild & Weidl 2018b). Other literature reported on wider sociolinguistic studies using mixed methods, or survey style studies in rural areas (Ducos 1983; Carlton & Rand 1993), and did not focus on natural language data. Alternatively, where similar studies on multilingual language

use from a qualitative perspective were carried out, they have been focused on urban centres (e.g. Juillard 1995; Juillard 2007; Dreyfus & Juillard 2004). This has also been the case for much of sub-Saharan Africa, with few studies on rural settings. Although the current study is far from comprehensive, being based on ethnographic case studies, by focusing on daily interactions and participants' lived experience from a qualitative perspective, this study adds to our knowledge of how people communicate in rural settings in the village of Essyl. In the literature on multilingualism, and particularly those studies which concentrate on African settings, the focus remains on urban settings. Whilst I find it difficult to consider the two settings as separate, due to the high levels of mobility of participants to and from various urban centres – both currently and in the course of their lives – it is nonetheless a study that was carried out and based in a rural village location. Indeed, the inclusion of a spatial approach to situated language use and the indexical relations that participants construct between Essyl as a sociolinguistic space and language use, make important contributions to the literature on rural multilingualism.

Finally, this study contributes to the literature on translanguaging. As a study which expands the use of the approach away from pedagogical and urban settings, and as one of the few to look at sub-Saharan African settings, and moreover, a rural setting, it has shown that the diversity of linguistic practices used by people may be adequately accounted for using such an approach. It shows that more studies are needed which take into account the concept of languages as meaningful abstractions through which speakers can productively index numerous identity strategies, for example, whilst also investigating how people language in numerous and diverse interactional contexts. It also expands the approach, and an approach to sociolinguistic study in general, by attempting to move away from starting the

analysis with *a priori* defined codes – indeed the communicative events themselves should be at the forefront for analysis. Coupled with other studies in similar settings, it seems that a languaging approach can more readily account for linguistic practices in African settings, yet a more robust framework seems to be called for. This study, along with similar ones, can be seen as a step towards a more encompassing view of linguistic practices across all scale-levels of the world.

8.3. New angles

One of the main areas which would benefit from future research would be a widening of the modalities of communication to be studied. That is, not solely concentrating on spoken language in communication, but including signed languages, gesture, eye gaze, objects and other resources that are used in communication and what strategies are used if participants do not share all the same resources in their repertoires. Although Krajcik (2018) carried out a multimodal study focusing on gesture in placement events and the concomitant lexical semantics of such events, it would greatly benefit from being extended to incorporate all of the languages and linguistic resources that participants used, as her study mainly focused on French and Joola Kujireray. Furthermore, a future study such as this should incorporate many more aspects of the multimodality of human communication.

Another area which would be particularly fruitful would be a systematic study of language use and transmission in diaspora settings. Especially considering that claims made about the endangered status of Joola Eegimaa are currently, reportedly, linked to members of the diaspora who have gone to live in Dakar and further afield, yet to date and to my knowledge no systematic study exists of Joola (Eegimaa) language use or multilingual practices, specifically focusing on language

transmission in Dakar or in Europe (although Heil 2013 does focus on Casamançais people in Catalonia and Kristin Vold Lexander examines literacy practices in Norwegian-Senegalese families). Not only do many participants comment on this as one of the main causes for declining numbers of Joola Eegimaa speakers (which is of course linked to one of the main themes of the present thesis, i.e. the perception of Essyl as monolingual and other spaces as multilingual) but it was also put forward as the reason for declining communicative competence in rituals in Essyl, in particular participation in the men's initiation rites (also referred to in §6.1.3). This avenue of research could be further extended to look at the transmission and maintenance of multilingual practices in migratory, specifically Senegalese-European contexts. Although there are many studies of heritage languages and their transmission in the UK and European contexts, few deal with Senegalese languages and even fewer with such diverse multilingual people.

One of the main limitations of the present study is the lack of robust data to engage in a thorough discussion of identity processes at work in multilingual linguistic practices and the normative orientation towards inclusive monolingualism in Joola (Eegimaa) in Essyl and Mof Avvi. What is evident is that linguistic practices, language naming practices and their relation to the creation of meaningful sociolinguistic spaces by participants do have profound effects in the maintenance of a relatively monolingual space. For many participants speaking Joola (Eegimaa) is strongly related to their identity as a Joola person in the sociolinguistic spaces created in Essyl. I hypothesise that use of Joola linguistic practices may index an inclusive patrimonial language-identity relationship (Lüpke 2016a; 2018), whereas prototypical Joola Eegimaa use may index a more ancestral deictic relationship with regards to firstcomer status (i.e. landlord-stranger relationship, see Brooks 1993) to

the geographical area of Mof Avvi. In order to enable a full investigation and discussion, supplementary data would need to be collected. The most fruitful analysis would come through using the triangulation method as detailed in §3.5 and in comparing with other Crossroads villages, in relation and possibly collaboration with Cobbinah's (Forthcoming) multi-layered approach to identity strategies of language use.

As mentioned above, the communicative competence in rituals could be an avenue for further research. This could be further expanded to incorporate a study into ceremonies, specifically the contextualised language use pertaining to funerals and mobility. As stated throughout the thesis, funerals were culturally salient events, attended not only by my participants but also people travelling from other villages, towns, countries and even continents. Furthermore, a study of this ilk should attempt to include language use with spirits or ancestors to investigate the importance of language transmission of Joola Eegimaa in order to participate and communicate with ancestors for those that adhere to that pathway. One of Di Carlo's most recent studies (2015) shows the importance of including other parameters as important to language choice such as gaining magical protection and solidarity through social alignment. Further he has suggested that he would like to investigate social networks in the "invisible world" and language choices that participants choose for negotiating this (Di Carlo, p.c. 2016). A study of the importance of ceremonies and funerals should also be open to including social networks for communication outside of "visible" realms.

A further shortcoming of the thesis, which could be allayed by further study, is the fact that the research presented all took place during approximately the same times of year, i.e. the dry seasons. As alluded to in the thesis, the make-up of the

village is very different during the *hivernage,* the rainy season and the rice planting. As it coincides with the long school and university holidays many young people, who may be living elsewhere and particularly Dakar, return to the village to help with the rice tasks and to visit family and friends. The village is much fuller and there are more social events to attend, such as discos, sporting events and *xawaare.* A study which concentrated on the hypothesised multilingual linguistic practices brought about by a different constellation of participants with different repertoires would greatly complement the current study and would enrich the sociolinguistic study of language use, and indeed mobility, in Essyl and the surrounding area.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Participant code	Male/female	Linguistic repertoire
$BM1_{M29}$	Male	French, Wolof, English, Spanish, Sose, Joola (learning)
$MD3_{M24}$	Male	Balanta, French, Sose, Wolof, Kriolu
DS_{M}	Male	Joola Banjal, French, Wolof, English, Kriolu
VB_{M68}	Male	Joola Banjal, French, Wolof
$JD2_{F49}$	Female	Joola Essyl, Wolof, Joola Hitou
$RM1_{F61}$	Female	Joola Eegimaa, Wolof, Mandinka, Kriolu, French
FD_{F43}	Female	Joola Buluf, Mandinka, Wolof, Joola Banjal
ST_{F17}	Female	Joola Banjal, Wolof, French
$JB1_{M26}$	Male	Wolof, Joola Fogny, Mandinka, Joola Banjal, French, English, Spanish, Kriolu
$RB4_{F42}$	Female	French, Joola Banjal, Wolof, Sose, Joola Fogny
$MM1_{F57}$	Female	Joola, Joola Fogny, Wolof
$FT1_{F66}$	Female	Joola, Mandinka, Wolof
$DS4_{F49}$	Female	French, Joola, Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny, Wolof
$PB2_{F39}$	Female	French, Joola Banjal, Wolof
HB_{F24*}	Female	Joola Banjal, Wolof, French
JAS_{F22*}	Female	Joola Banjal, French, Wolof
$AB2_{F*}$	Female	French, Joola Banjal, Wolof
EGB_{M43}	Male	Joola
$GD1_{F69}$	Female	Joola Banjal
$AS6_{F70*}$	Female	Joola
GS_{F38}	Female	Joola (Mof Avvi), French, Wolof, Pulaar, Kriolu
AB_{F54}	Female	Joola, Wolof, French, Joola Kaasa, Joola Fogny
JS_{F*}	Female	Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny, Wolof, Joola Oussouye, Joola Kujireray
JB_{M56}	Male	French, Joola Banjal, Wolof
GB_{F37}	Female	Joola, Joola Banjal, Wolof, French
$CS2_{F15}$	Female	Wolof, Joola Banjal, French, Spanish, English
HS_{F4}	Female	Joola Banjal, French
AT_{M58}	Male	Joola Mof Avvi, French
$CB6_{M55}$	Male	Joola, French, Wolof
FS_{M42}	Male	Joola, French, Wolof
GD_{F24}	Female	Spanish, French, English, Joola, Wolof, Joola Kaasa
OS_{F36}	Female	Mandinka, French, Joola Fogny, Banjal, Wolof, Joola Karangou
$BS1_{M37}$	Male	Wolof, Sereer, Joola, French, English, Mandinka, Joola Banjal, Joola Buluf, Pulaar

Participant code	**Male/female**	**Linguistic repertoire**
LB_{F38}	Female	Joola Banjal, Joola Fogny, Wolof, French, Mandinka
PT_{M}*	Male	Joola Banjal, French, Wolof
LD_{F29}	Female	Joola Youtou, French, Wolof, Joola Banjal
FB_{F61}	Female	Joola, Gussilay, Wolof, French
MNS_{M68}	Male	Wolof, Kriolu, Joola, Joola Banjal, Mandinka
MTT_{F70*}	Female	Joola, Wolof
$JD3_{M30*}$	Male	Joola, Joola Youtou
PHB_{M40}	Male	Joola Essyl, French
MJ_{M40*}	Male	Kriolu (GB), Joola Susaana, Arame, Wolof
SD_{M40*}	Male	Kriolu (GB), Joola Susaana, Arame, Wolof

Table Appendix 0.1: Participant repertoires

Appendix B

Senegalese school system and English school system equivalents

		Senegalese system		English system	
Secondary school	2nd cycle Senegal	Year	Age	Year	Age (start of year)
		Tle (Terminale) BAC 'baccalaureat' exam	18	Upper 6th form or year 13 A-level exam	17
		1re	17	Lower 6th form or year 12 AS-level exam	16
		2nde	16	11 GSCE exam (end of obligatory school)	15
	1st cycle - Senegal	3e BEPC: *brevet d'études du premier cycle* 'exam at end of first cycle'	15	10	14
		4e	14	9	13
		5e	13	8	12
		6e	12	7	11
Primary school		CM2: cours moyen 2 – CEPE (*certificate d'e'tudes primaires et elementaires*) exam	11	6	10
		CM1: cours moyen 1	10	5	9
		CE2: cours élémentaire 2	9	4	8
		CE1: cours élémentaire 1	8	3	7
		CP: Cours	7	2	6

		d'enseignement primaire			
		CI: Cours D'Initiation	6	1	5

Table Appendix.0.2: Senegalese school system equivalents

Appendix C

VB_{M68}'s language diary

Note that I have attempted to faithfully reproduce the original version in the typed version, for example underlining where VB_{M68} underlined and also the orthography. Names have been removed – represented by "xxx". A translation into English follows.

Original version (French)

Lundi 20.03.2017

7H30 J'ai rencontré les maçons qui sont à la maison avec lesquels j'ai cause avec eux, mais ils ont parlé leur langue qui n'est pas diola bandial.

8H30 J'ai été chez xxx que j'ai trouvé avec sa femme xxx. J'étais parti payer les billets du hawaré qui aura lieu au mois de mai à Lyndiane. Notre causerie a tourne autour des dépenses occasionnées par ce hawaré ; transport aller retour, repas, boisson. Et autres chose

9H Italie était venue à la souhaiter bon voyage à ma sœur xxx qui doit rentrer le mercredi soir DAKAR Elles ont cause en ouolof que je ne comprend pas.

10H30 Rencontre avec xxx concernant la pèche, car il pèche, diola bandial sur la rareté du poisson, et la manque de pirogue pour la pèche

11H30 J’ai rencontré xxx qui construisait des tombes au cimetiere. Causerie en Bandial, difficultés pour le transport du sable et du ciment, et de l’eau aussi.

13H Causer avec xxx et xxx qui a amené des planches pour les maçons, causerie en diola Bandial, et un mélange langue aramé avec les maçons.

16H Italie est venue à la maison pour ensuite aller à l’eglise pour le catechiste avec xxx, xxx Diola bandial

18H xxx, xxx, et xxx sont revenues d’Enampor où il y avait un ~~duil~~le deuil, de xxx. Commentaire de ce décé en diola bandial.

19H30 descente des maçons on a causé en diola Aramé pour eux et diola bandial pour nous, mais on s’est compris.

Mardi 21.03.2017

8H30. Nettoyage du champ des anakandieu où je me suis rendu. J’ai renconté là-bas, xxx xxx, xxx

One a parlé diola bandial, comment gérer les pommiers, le travail qui sera fait par les femmes à tour de role. Kadikaye et Essyl centre.

13H/14H Je me suis rendu à Kamobeul pour les funerailles de xxx femme de xxx chef du village d'Essyl. Il y a eu des gens d'Essyl hommes et femmes et de Kamobeul aussi.

18H Retour au village Essyl où je suis venu avec xxx jusqu'aux où on a parlé de bandial avec ceux qu'on a trouvé sur place xxx, xxx, xxx.

(The following excerpt on separate slip of paper)

Mercedi 22 mars 2017

8H30 Renion de tout le village d'Essyl au foyer où étaient presents – xxx

On a parle du Hawaré villageois qui devait se faire le 29 mars, mais malheuresement cette data coincide avec l'inauguration de la case de santé des femmes de la commune d'Enampor alas cette date a été reporte au 6 mais prochaine. C'était en diola ban (illegible)

Then the rest is back in the notebook

Mercredi 22 mars 2017

8H30 Reunion de tout le village d'Essyl Hommes et femmes, au foyer. Etaient presents à cette reunion

xxx

Tout le monde n'était pas présent, cause décè et funérail,

Ordre du jour – Hawaré villageois d'Essyl - mais malheureusement cette date coincide avec l'inauguration du siège de la mutuelle de santé à Kamobeul, voilà la raision du report de ce Hawaré au 6 mai prochain.

Tour cette causerie s'est faite en diola bandial.

16H30 J'ai aidé le maçon xxx à celle une fenetre chez nous. Dialogue en diola bandial

Jeudi 23 mars 2017

9H45 on s'est rendu à Kamobeul – Jilé Henou Samantha et moi, pour le nettoyage du cite Fithiguy où aura lieu le pèlerinage paroissial le lundi pentecote – on n'était pas nombreux à faire ce travail

xxx

En presence de Samanta.

11H30 descente – on a fixé une autre seance de travail pour le mercredi prochain 29 mars. Causerie en diola bandial, malgré quelque mot en français

16H30 Je suis allé faucher la paille où j'ai rencontré xxx où on causser en bandial, sur certains sujet sur tout les dépenses occasionnées par les funérailles.

Vendredi 24 mars 2017

J'ai rencontré les maçons qui sont à la maison – Ensuite je me suis rendu au lieu du chantier où on construise le dispensaire pour marchander des chargements de sable pour xxx.
J'ai causé avec xxx responsable du chantier, tout cela en diola bandial.

10H30 Je suis allé faucher de la paille. J'y ai rencontré xxx de Enampor, et xxx lui aussi d'Enampor. On a cuase en diola bandial, sur les difficultes de travial surtout pour eux qui ne sont du village d'Essyl, il faudrait transporter ensuite cette paille jusqu'à Enampor on a travaillé jusqu'à 11H30 retour à la maison

16H30 chemin de croix à l'eglise d'Essyl. Il y avait xxx, xxx, xxx, xxx et les enfants. Le chemin de croix a été fait en diola bandial et fony et cela jusqu'à 18H

Samedi 25 mars 2017

Travail de tout le village au champ d'anacartier, champ situe entre Kadikaye et Essyl. Suaf les femmes qui ne sont pas impliqués. Ce travail a dure jusqu'à midi. A la descente il fallait fixer une date pour ce meme travail, car le champ est nettoyé à moitié. On a causé en diola bandial.

16H30

Je suis parti fauche la paille où j’ai rencontré xxx. On a causé en diola bandial. J’ai rencontré aussi xxx qui allait cherche du bois. On a parĺé aussi le diola bandial sur les activités au village car il faut reconnaitre qu’au village les gens n’ont pas de repos.

18H J’ai suis revenu à la maison – mais je suis passe par les boutiques où j’ai rencontré quelques gens – xxx, et autres, on a parlé diola bandial

Dimanche 26. 03. 2017

9H30 On avait messe à 10H à Essyl president par xxx originaire de Tobor.

Il a commente l’evangile de ce dimanche qui parlait de l’aveugle né, gueri par Jésus, et que les pharisieurs voulaient le condamner lui et Jésus, parceque pour eux Jésus n’avait pas le choit de le guerir le jour de Sabbat, parcequil ~~la o~~ l’a ouvert les yeux le jour du Sabbat pour eux, il est interdit de travailler et même soigner quelqu’un le jour de sabbat

Le soir vers 15H je me suis rendu à Enampor chez xxx pour les funerailles d’une de ses parents qui est musulmane. J’ai rencontré beaucoup de gens qui sont venus de tous les villages pour presenter les condoleances à la famille. Il y avait sont venus de Ziguinchor.

On a causé en diola bandial.

18H Je suis revenu au village. Je suis passe par les boutiques pour tuer le temps.

Translated version (English)

Monday 20.03.2017

7H30 I met the masons who are at the house with whom I spoke with them, but they spoke their language which isn't Joola Banjal.

8H30 I went to xxx house who I found there along with his wife xxx I went to pay for the tickets for the hawaré [all-day party] which will take place in the month of May in Lyndiane [neighbourhood in Ziguinchor]. Our chat centred around the expenses incurred by this party: return transport, meals, drinks. And other things

9H IS_{F44} had come to wish 'bon voyage' to my sister xxxwho has to go back to DAKAR on Wednesday afternoon They spoke in Wolof which I don't understand.

10H30 Meeting with xxx about fishing, because he fishes, Joola Banjal about the scarcity of fish and the lack of pirogues [canoes] for fishing

11H30 I met xxx who was building tombs in the cemetery. Chat in Banjal, difficulties in transporting the sand and cement, and water too.

13H Chat with xxx and xxx who had brought some planks for the masons, chat in Joola Banjal, and a mix Arame language with the masons

16H xxx came to the house to then go to church for the catechism with xxx Joola Banjal

18H xxx, xxx and xxx came back from Enampor where there was a bereavement, of xxx. Commented on this death in Joola Banjal.

19H30 the masons finished work we chatted in Joola Arame for them and Joola Banjal for us, but we understood one another

Tuesday 21.03.2017

8H30 Clearing of the field of cashew trees where I went. There I met, xxx, xxx, xxx, xxx, xxx.

We spoke Joola Banjal, how to maintain the apple trees, the work which will be done by the women taking turns. Kadikaye and Essyl centre.

13H/14H I went to Kamobeul for the funeral of xxx wife of xxx the village chief of Essyl. There were people from Essyl men and women and from Kamobeul too.
18H Return to the village Essyl where I came with xxx until we got there we spoke Banjal with those who we found there xxx,xxx, xxx, xxx.

(The following excerpt on separate slip of paper)

Wednesday 22 March 2017

8H30 Meeting of the whole village of Essyl in the meeting hall where the following were present –

We spoke about the village party which should have been the 29th March, but unfortunately this date coincided with the inauguration of the health centre for the women of the Commune of Enampor alas this date has been postponed until 6th May. It was in Joola Ban (illegible)

The rest continues in the notebook

Wednesday 22nd March 2017

8H30 Meeting of the whole village of Essyl men and women, in the meeting hall. Present at this meeting were:

xxx

Not everyone was present because of a death and funeral,

Agenda – Essyl village party – but unfortunately this date coincides with the inauguration of the cooperative health centre in Kamobeul, thus the reason for postponing the party until the 6th May.

All of this discussion was done in Joola Banjal.

16H30 I helped the mason xxx with this a window at ours. Dialogue in Joola Banjal.

Thursday 23rd March 2017

9H45 We went to Kamobeul – Jilé Henou Samantha and me, to clear the Fithiguy site where there will be a Parish pilgrimage on Pentecost Monday (Whit Monday) – there weren't very many of us doing this job

xxx

In the presence of Samanta.

11H30 finished word – we fixed another time for work for the Wednesday coming the 29th March. Chat in Joola Banjal despite some words in French

16H30 I went to cut down the straw where I met xxx where we chatted in Bandial, about certain topics above all the expenses incurred by funerals.

Friday 24th March 2017

I met the masons who are at ours – Then I went to the building site where they are building the health centre to bargain for loads of sand for xxx. I spoke with xxx the person in charge, all of this in Joola Banjal

10H30 I went to cut down straw. There I met xxx from Enampor, and xxx, he is also from Enampor. We chatted in Joola Banjal about the difficulties of work especially for them who aren't from the village of Essyl, they would then have to transport this straw to Enampor we worked until 11H30 went back home

16H30 Way of the Cross at the Church in Essyl. There was xxx, xxx, xxx and the children. The way of the Cross was done in Joola Banjal and Fogny and this was till 18H

Saturday 25th March 2017

Work for the whole village in the cashew tree field, the field located between Kadikaye and Essyl. Apart from the women who weren't involved. This job lasted until midday. When we stopped working we had to fix another date for the same job, as the field was only half cleared. We spoke in Joola Banjal.

16H30

I went to cut down the straw where I met xxx. We spoke in Joola Banjal. I also met xxx who was going to look for wood. We also spoke Joola Banjal about village activities as you have to recognise that for people in the village there is no rest.

18H I came back to the house – but I went past the shops where I met some people – xxx,xxx, xxxx, and others, we spoke Joola Banjal

Sunday 26th March 2017

9H30 We had mass at 10H in Essyl president by (sic) xxx who is originally from Tobor.

He commented on the Gospel for this Sunday which spoke about the person who was born blind, cured by Jesus, and the Pharisees wanted to condemn him and Jesus, because for them Jesus didn't have the choice to cure him on the Sabbath day,

because he had opened his eyes the day of the Sabbath for them, it is forbidden to work and even to heal someone on the day of the Sabbath

In the afternoon around 15H I went to Enampor to xxx's house (her family's house) for the funeral of one of her relations who is Muslim. I met lots of people who had come from all of the villages to present their condolences to the family. There were even some who came from Ziguinchor. We spoke in Joola Banjal.

18H I came back to the village. I passed by the shops to kill some time.