Wolof across borders:  
A reconceptualization of urban Wolof from a translanguaging perspective with a case study of Senegalese transmigrants

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to offer a reconceptualization of urban Wolof, the language of millions of Senegalese in Senegal and abroad, in the light of the translanguaging theory. Whereas most of the Urban Wolof literature is principally limited to how this languaging form is spoken in Senegal, the present study considers the effects of mobility on urban Wolof by establishing a correlation between transmigration and translanguaging. Going beyond the confines of Senegal, this study investigates how the Senegalese diasporans engage in their daily translanguaging practices, as they move across borders, in their capacity as mobile multilingual transmigrants.

The present investigation offers a more speaker-centred stance, a sort of bottom-up approach to language, the objective being to move away from the a priori assumptions that the urban Wolophone shuttles between languages, and away from the rigidity of code-based theoretical approaches through which scholars have thus far examined urban Wolof. To this end, the study employs linguistic ethnographic methodologies (with methods including observation and interviews), with a more decolonised approach in terms of participatory data collection and analysis, all of which were facilitated by the affordances of the ethnographic gaze of an in-group member.

Results indicate that what adepts of the code-based theories regard as alternations between languages are in fact the urban Wolophone monitoring her linguistic repertoire to produce from it a form of languaging she views as opportune, in response to the exigencies of her social milieu. It is in that regard that the term translanguaging pattern was adopted in this study to denote the many types of monitoring that the speakers deploy. Further results indicate that the monitoring is generally informed, at a macro level, by special events, but also, at a micro level, by the nature of the audience and specific addressees. The study also shows that the general language attitudes of the Senegalese transmigrants are different, in some respects, to the ones reported in Senegal. It has been found that they display positive attitudes towards some forms of languaging such as monolingual Wolof. This runs counter to the general attitude observed in Senegal.
DECLARATION
Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Thesis word count: 79,792
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DISSEMINATION


ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

UW = Urban Wolof
RW = Rural Wolof
MW = Monolingual Wolof

In transcriptions:
CAPITALS = shouting
… = interruptions or encroachments of turn spaces
Chapter 1. Introduction to the project

1.1 Introduction

This study is about urban Wolof across borders. Wolof is the language of millions of Senegalese in Senegal and abroad. Over the past decades, there has been much interest on urban Wolof (in Senegal) on the one hand, and on the ontology of Senegalese (trans)migration on the other. In my findings, these two areas have, to date, only been studied separately. I have a preference for the term “transmigrants” over “migrants” when typifying the Senegalese diasporans (see section 1.2, on page 9). I have made a compelling case that the urban Wolophone, rather than switching between codes as most of the urban Wolof scholars advocate, deploys instead “idiolectal features” (Otheguy et al., 2015, pp. 289-293) from his own idiolect comprised of “one linguistic repertoire” (Garcia & LiWei, 2014, p. 21). The foregoing statement constitutes, in essence, the basis of the theory of translanguaging on which this study rests and of which I will have more to say in subsequent parts. In looking at urban Wolof abroad, I endeavour to also bridge the gap between transmigration and translanguaging.

Proponents of the theory of translanguaging define it as an opportune use of different features derived from two or more socially constructed entities we call languages, to create a new communicative whole (Garcia & LiWei, 2014, p. 21). This birth of something new can be seen as a form of creativity, unconventional though it may appear to language policy makers. Multilingual speakers critique the status quo of what society views as language norms and go on to create novel ways of communicating. This is the process which LiWei (2011) calls “criticality” and “creativity”. In addition, because translanguaging is speaker-centred (Vogel & Garcia, 2017), contrary to codeswitching, it becomes at once a “practical theory”, as theory and practice are two sides of the same coin (LiWei, 2018). Put another way, theoretical principles are derived from observing language practices.

Speech is not only inseparable from its speaker but also, as Mazzaferro (2018, pp. 1-6) posits, both are equally inextricable with the space in which the speech occurs. This brings us to the notion of assemblage theorised by Pennycook (2017, p. 277) where linguistic, semiotic, and cognitive features become part of one whole, one communicative system of which what is called language is but a part. In fact, language is not an existent bound entity in its own right.
but it is a social convention (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, pp. 1-3). Therefore, the term *languaging* appears more opportune to typify the fleeting, dynamic nature of language whose production depends upon many other factors. To this end, Thibault (2017, p. 82) defines languaging as “an assemblage of diverse material, biological, semiotic and cognitive properties and capacities which languaging agents orchestrate in real-time and across a diversity of timescales.”

This chapter is structured as follows: in the next section, I present the background and the aims of the study. I then go on to discuss my analytical framework and research questions. I will also present my position as an insider researcher followed by a section dedicated to my interests. I then highlight the gaps that my research intends to fill in the ongoing debate on urban Wolof. The chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis.

1.2 Background and research aims

In the scholarship, Urban Wolof has, for the most part, up until now, been viewed through the code-based approach of language mixing. In this study, I will endeavour to offer a reconceptualization of urban Wolof in the light of the “unitary view” of translanguaging (Garcia et al., 2018, p. 8) and in the light of mobility. There is a considerable body of research on urban Wolof, where the Senegalese urbanites’ speech has been the object of scrutiny. The Senegalese city-dwellers have a rather relatively large linguistic repertoire which scholars have called by many names such as “Franlof”, “Francolof”, “Fran-Wolof” (Thiam, 1994, p. 13); “Dakar Wolof” (McLaughlin, 2001) and “urban Wolof” (Swigart, 1992; Calvet, 1994a, 1994b; Juillard et al., 1994; McLaughlin, 2008a, 2008c). What the scholarship is mainly concentrated on is how the Senegalese city-dweller languages in Senegal. What is missing is the aspect of mobility which my research considers. That is to say that I have taken Wolof outside the confines of Senegal and into the many cities of the Global North. As such, the dynamicity of languaging is observed not only at a micro-level (language) but also at a macro level, as speakers move across borders freely, the same way they appear to move across languages with ease, making the urban Wolophones’ language repertoires amenable to change, as they adopt novel features to widen their idiolect. This is where migration (migrating) meets languaging. In fact, the parallel between languaging and migrating constitutes one of the central tenets of my research. There are two main avenues that I am endevouring to explore.
On the one hand, there is the nonexistence or paucity of research on urban Wolof in the diaspora. As such, most of the urban Wolof corpora only reflects the languaging style of the indigenous Senegalese, on account of the fact that the bulk of the data was collected in Senegal. Most of the urban Wolof corpora is principally synchronic in nature. It is characterised by relatively small samples of speech data collected at one-off events. By contrast, the corpus that I examine in this study is six months’ worth of diachronic data, which, I believe, will be more amenable to ethnographic study (Smith, 2019, pp. 18-21) and more suitable for finding patterns of speech.

On the other hand, the theoretical perspectives underpinning the urban Wolof research has so far only been characterised by a dual linguistic system. That is to say that the urbanites’ capacity to shuttle between Wolof and French has so far been one of the most salient characteristics of urban Wolof studies. Therefore, my objective in exploring these gaps becomes at once twofold: (a) aside from looking at urban Wolof differently, away from the rigidity of codes and through the prism of translanguaging, (b) I aim to examine another dimension to the urbanites’ languaging system, which is the idea of a deterritorialized urban Wolof, that is, a languaging style not bound by the exigencies of nationality and policymaking, unfettered, as it were, by the notions of bound territories. This is in a bid to home in on the extra dimension of mobility mentioned above, which will allow me to discover whether, compared to the indigenous Senegalese, mobile multilingual speakers language differently and adopt different attitudes to language. Even the effect of mobility on languaging is, of itself, an understudied area (Blommaert, 2016, p. 4).

For convenience, I have elected to keep the appellation urban Wolof (henceforth UW) because it has been the most prominent in the literature. For the purpose of the present study, I think I cannot do better than to adopt the term which the scholarship has already widely popularised. I am not using UW as a named entity, as I am aware of the ideological assumptions underpinning “named languages” as “social constructions”, thus not having any ontological reality (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, pp. 1-3), but I am using the term to reference the set of linguistic practices, characteristic of urban areas, that the Senegalese migrants engage in, in the spaces that they create, irrespective of the part of the world in which they find themselves. I use “space” in the broad sense of the term to signify both the physical space and the linguistic affordances of multilingualism which allows speakers to create translanguaging spaces. I owe the term “translanguaging space” to LiWei (2011).
Over the last few decades, Senegalese transmigration has been extensively studied. Most of the research on Senegalese transmigration has been undertaken in the areas of economy, politics, racial identities, and religion. The latter has especially received considerable attention due, mainly, to the Senegalese endeavour to display another facet of Islam in the West known to some historians as “Black Islam” and which the Senegalese regard as “good Islam” in comparison to the “Moorish Islam” (Diouf, 2013, pp. 7-9). Whilst researchers have hitherto prioritised the aforementioned areas, they paid little or no attention to the linguistic aspect of the Senegalese migration pattern. Thus, in one aspect, my research supplements the substantial body of transmigration research by arguing for a more focussed attention on language. On the flip-side my study could also be seen as transmigration being the new lens through which to look at UW.

Through a linguistic ethnographic approach, I examine how the Senegalese migrants in the West engage in their everyday translanguaging practices. More specifically, I am looking to examine what patterns of translanguaging are discernible in the UW repertoire. That is, how urban Wolophones make use of different parts of their linguistic repertoire, either in response to the exigencies of a specific situation, or to tailor their speech to a specific interlocutor.

Before proceeding, I would like to bring some clarification on what I mean by patterns. There is no doubt that translanguaging is smooth and that speakers have a unified linguistic repertoire. However, the translanguager translanguages by making selections from what we traditionally know as languages; at least that is how it appears. Therefore, in my analyses of translingual utterances, I will avail myself of such appellations as French, Wolof, English, etc. to name the many discernible features that make up the multilingual language user’s repertoire, which, to Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 297), is nothing more than the speaker’s “idiolect”. I will therefore employ, following Otheguy et al. (2015), the term “idiolect” to denote the multilingual speaker’s linguistic system, which differs from that of the so-called monolingual speaker only quantitatively, for both have “unitary competence” (Garcia et al., 2018, p. 14).

Specific situations can make a speaker elect to control or “monitor” his idiolect (2015, p. 297), that is, choose which language to make more salient over others. In concrete terms, the UW speaker can find themselves privileging French linguistic features in some instances, or English in others. In other instances, they may also use the Wolof-English or Wolof-French conjunct or use what can be called a trilingual combination of French, Wolof, and English. In
yet other situations, the urban Wolophone may deploy what I have called monolingual endeavours (see section 5.2.1.4) by making special efforts to constrict their idiolect in a bid to produce the official, socially acceptable, version of a language. My aim is to examine when and in what situations the monitoring occurs. Besides, I aim to analyse the Senegalese urbanites’ language attitudes vis-à-vis their various, context-dependent, languaging styles.

Because translanguaging is a relatively new concept, one may require novel terms to express certain notions. However, I concur with Canagarajah (2013, p. 15) that sometimes, we cannot help but use existing terms to talk about new concepts because new paradigms spring from old ones. My argument, therefore, is that novel though translanguaging may be, I cannot refrain from employing terms that the proponents of the code-based approach to language have already employed, merely for practical reasons. It is in fact in that regard that I have kept the term UW as I mentioned earlier. To this end, in my analyses, I will be employing labelled languages, although, I will, following Canagarajah (2013, p. 16), view them as not having any “ontological status”. Although the urban Wolophones’ translingual speech is characterised by a certain fluidity and mobility, my ideological assumptions are that parts of the speakers’ idiolect, which, through situated practices, are made more prominent, get tagged with socially constructed appellations such as French, Wolof, or English.

Those labels may be considered to be social constructs by proponents of the translanguaging theory but the reality is that named languages, as Makoni and Pennycook (2007, pp. 2-3) posit, are real to the speakers. This is because the awareness of the existence of labelled languages has some relevance in their everyday life (Mazzaferro, 2018, p. 6). For example, most of my participants had to sit a “Knowledge of English” test to be able to live in the UK. Besides, even adepts of translanguaging do not refute the use of named languages (Garcia & Otheguy, 2020, p. 25). Like Canagarajah (2013, p. 16), I consider those labels to be relevant as far as the speakers’ identities are concerned. For instance, in the Senegalese diasporans’ identity work, speaking monolingual Wolof (henceforth MW) is associated with traditionality and with a sense of group membership, while a more Frenchified Wolof, in the West, is more a marker of global Senegalese identity.

I would like to come back to the notion of the idiolect monitoring, which constitutes the foundation of my study. Because my endeavour is to gain insight into how urban Wolophones regulate their idiolect to fit specific purposes, it is opportune to speak of patterns of translanguaging. However, because of the dynamicity of language, those patterns would
be constantly shifting centres. Besides, because of the smoothness with which one language flows into another, what could be seen as boundaries become at once blurred. As such, in my analyses and subsequent mentions, I will reason in terms of gradient, in some places. In the UW spectrum, a communicative event dominated by, say, English features, will be called the English gradient; a speech pattern dominated by Wolof features will be called the Wolof gradient etc. I privilege the term gradient because, just like in the colour spectrum, there is no clear-cut delineation between the colours as one fades into the other.

The foregoing illustration typifies how smooth translanguaging is despite the presence of discernible linguistic patterns. At the Language in Africa conference, at the university of Portsmouth, in 2019, I gave a presentation where I compared translanguaging to a smoothie. In a smoothie, one is able to tell, gustatively, how much of what fruit was used and which, of all fruits, is dominant, so to speak. This is a rough analogy but affords an illustration of my choice of the term gradient to reference the discernible language features that make up a particular translingual utterance.

In what follows, I will illustrate how the main named languages composing the UW repertoire cohere in the transmigrants’ translingual practices. The image below is in the public domain and was taken in March 2021, in London, as part of the series of demonstrations that the Senegalese diasporans were holding in the major cities of the Global North as well as in Senegal. Their objective was to attract the attention of the Senegalese and the international community to denounce the wrongdoings taking place in Senegal.

*Figure 1. English-French-Wolof Sign*

*Note. From Alamy.com 2021 Senegalese demonstration in London*

The poster reads: in English: [FREE SONKO]; in French: [MACKY SALL DEMISSION], and in Wolof: [AMUL SARAP NDEYAM].
In the image, all three languages are multimodally arranged together to convey a message made up of three pleas: 1-Free Sonko, 2-Macky Sall demission [Macky Sall step down], and 3-Amul sarap ndeyam [For fuck’s sake!]. The English sign serves to include onlookers and inquisitive passers-by. It is a way of opening up the home space to the other. The French sign, written in the most salient lettering, constitutes the central message. To understand the historical context against which the protests are set, a brief parenthetical precision is in order.

For the past few years, there has been a growing plea, from the diasporic Senegalese, on transparency in the oil business in Senegal. There have been corruption allegations, in the oil deals, involving Aliou Sall, the president’s brother (Take the Square, 2019). A few days prior to them staging the most recent demonstration in London, messages were being shared on Social Media under the hashtag name #SunuPétrole, a translingual term meaning our oil, in an effort to mobilise more demonstrators. These mass protests were being held nearly every week thereafter, synchronically, around the world.

On a Sunday afternoon, March, the 7th 2021, the Senegalese community decided to organise a mass protest against the president’s decision to arrest opposition leader, Ousmane Sonko, over a rape allegation. It is noteworthy, too, that Mr Sonko had been vociferous in denouncing what he called shady oil deals. Protestors gathered in Trafalgar Square in London to express discontent. As a way of condemning the demonstrations, Senegalese authorities further accused Sonko of disruption of public order after tens of thousands of frustrated Senegalese took to the streets to protest against what they saw as an excuse to bar him from running for presidency in 2024.

After Sonko’s arrest on March the 3rd, millions of supporters worldwide decided to take part in the demonstrations, after receiving electronic posters via WhatsApp. The Senegalese community in Southampton, where my data was collected, also received invitations to attend the protest. We, as Senegalese, are also part of the transnational WhatsApp group discussions where we discuss several issues related to development in Africa. Although we were at the demonstration, I cannot share some of the discussions held there for ethical reasons but I can share as much as the electronic invitation poster below (Figure 2).
Figure 2. Electronic poster via WhatsApp

[DOYNA !!! is Wolof for ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!!!]

What the Senegalese protestors are demanding is the immediate resignation of the president. Many activists find in Sonko’s arrest the opportunity to call on the president to step down. In Figure 1, the prominence of the French inscriptions steers the viewer’s eye to what the demonstrators consider to be the most important message. This is what is known, in visual semiotic, as “salience” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177). The Wolof sign appears to reflect the demonstrators’ emotions. It is a sort of verbal prominence marker. It could be said to be equivalent to a series of exclamation marks accompanying the French sign, thereby indicating the vehemence with which the central message (French sign) is expressed.

It is interesting to note that my entire dataset contains no such swear words in English or French. All strong emotions are generally verbally expressed in Wolof and the example in the image typifies that general tendency. The Wolof inscriptions, in small print, read: “Amul sarap ndeyam” [for fuck’s sake!] but they are only ancillary, judging from the small lettering, and could be said to add to the already emphatic French message. The assumption that Wolophones have a predilection for Wolof features when expressing emotion, and French features when expressing reason, echoes Senghor’s famous but controversial words that “L’émotion est nègre comme la raison est hellène” (“Emotion is Negro as Reason is Hellenic”) (1939, p. 25).

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1 First Senegalese president and poet. He was the co-founder, in the 1930s, of La negritude, a literary movement (Britannica, 2020).
Introduction to the project

In Figure 3 below, the protestors have narrowed their repertoire to just English in an apparent bid to let an Anglophone or non-Wolophone in on what is being said. This translanguaging strategy, designed to linguistically take into account the presence of an outsider, is one aspect of the Senegalese teraanga, which consists in opening up to, and interacting with, the other. The Wolof term teraanga has been translated by hospitality in many respects (Coleman, 2020), but as we will see in subsequent parts and throughout the dataset, the practice goes beyond the need to be friendly and welcoming. It is too complex to be summed up in a single word as it is best understood in its many situated uses. The multimodal sign below, bearing inscriptions in English is one example of teraanga or inclusion strategies deployed: [WE ARE FED UP!!!] and [FREE SONKO!]. This cultural and linguistic phenomenon is also overly prevalent among the Senegalese when they engage in their daily translingual practices.

Figure 3. English Sign: Deployment of Inclusion Strategies

Note. From Alamy.com 2021, Senegalese demonstration in London

The aforementioned illustrations epitomise the Senegalese diasporans’ language practices. My intention in presenting these illustrations is to show a general representation of how urban Wolophones language, and to offer, at the same time, a preamble to the data which I am going to analyse. My curiosity and my interest in multilingualism made me follow my participants to the demonstration venue. However, for ethical reasons, as mentioned earlier, I refrained from collecting data in that environment where many other individuals were present. Because the language of activism well deserves some consideration, in future studies, one of my interests will be to examine that area, and venues like this can afford solid authentic data. Not all protestants live in the UK. Some of them, upon receiving the details of the demonstration via our WhatsApp discussions came over from Italy; some others came from Spain. This leads me to the idea of transmigration. In this research, I characterise the
Senegalese community in the West as *transmigrants*, a term I owe to Glick Schiller et al. (1995, p. 48).

Because the Senegalese movement across nations is characterised by a certain fluidity, and, in many cases, by a blurred sense of national borders, their transnational mobility is best described as transmigration. They almost view borders as artificial, animated, as they are, by a strong sense of community membership, a community which cannot be reified as it spans across many “named” nations. However, it is important to stress that, although they see beyond national borders, they do acknowledge the existence of nations, and, as a general rule, respect the laws set out by lawmakers. With what precedes, I cannot help but draw a parallel between what the Senegalese diasporans do physically (as they move across nations, looking beyond national borders) and what they do linguistically (as they move fluidly between languages). I may even venture the conjecture, as I do later in the analysis, that *trans*migration is the physical translation of *trans*languaging, to a certain extent.

**Table 1. Parallel between transmigration and translanguaging**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Senegalese) <strong>transmigration</strong></th>
<th><strong>Translanguaging</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blurred sense of national borders</td>
<td>No clear divide between languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluid movement across nations (and borders)</td>
<td>Fluidity in the movement between named languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their movement goes beyond just a shuttle between receiving countries and home country.</td>
<td>Translanguaging goes beyond the mere shuttle between named languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blurred as the borders may be, they acknowledge the existence of nations for reasons of practicality.</td>
<td>Translanguaging experts and translanguagers do not refute the existence of named languages.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What I am endeavouring to articulate, in setting up this comparison is that the diasporic Senegalese *trans*languaging in the same fashion as they *trans*migrate. This is all the more reason why I believe the translanguaging model to be better suited for the analysis of UW (I demonstrate this more fully in section 3.4). The same fluidity that characterises transmigration and translanguaging can be said about the notion of community. The Senegalese community as a bound, reified, entity, can be seen as incongruous on account of its dynamicity, but, at any given moment, through situated practices, one can consider it to be an entity in its own right. This is because the members of the community share cultural beliefs and practices that have sedimented over time into a collective identity which is hard
not to label. The next sub-section will treat of the analytical framework, including the methodology I employed.

1.3 Analytical framework and research questions

With the background of the study thus elaborated, I am now going to present the research questions that undergird my thesis, prior to my briefly outlining my methodological approach. The questions are separated into two sections: one relating to language practice and another to language attitudes.

Language practice:

Question 1: Do the diasporic urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices follow patterns of language use?

Sub-question 1.1: What patterns of language use are exhibited in the Senegalese diasporans’ multilingual practices during their weekly gatherings?

Question 2: What are the determining factors underlying the patterns of language use in the urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices?

Language attitudes:

Question 3: What attitudes do the urban Wolophones adopt towards translanguaging and their speech style as Senegalese diasporans?

Sub-question 3.1: Are the language attitudes displayed by the diasporic Senegalese different to those reported in Senegal?

To answer the questions, I adopted linguistic ethnography, which I have explained in more detail in section 4.4, as my main methodology for collecting data. Before proceeding, I would like to say a few words on terminology. Linguistic ethnographers generally employ interviews and observation as part of their data collection process (Heller, 2008, p. 250). I therefore use the term methodology to reference linguistic ethnography as the science behind methods of actual data collection. As such, in my research, observation, interviews, and field notes are called methods. The answers to questions 1, 1.1, and 2 will allow me to identify the
language practices of the Senegalese transmigrants in their daily interactions within and across nations. More precisely, it will allow me to discern patterns of languaging and what ontological realities underpin those patterns. In asking question 3, I am aiming to investigate what beliefs the speakers hold regarding their own way of languaging. There has already been much mention, in the UW literature, of the language attitudes of the Dakarois (refer to section 2.3). Answering the sub-question 3.1 will allow me to compare the language attitudes of the Senegalese transmigrants with those of their co-nationals back home. As mentioned earlier, I needed to collect a substantial amount of naturally-occurring communicative data for a relatively long period of time to allow for patterns to emerge. After the data was computerised, I uploaded it onto NVIVO 12 (NVivo qualitative data analysis Software; QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 2018) ready for an initial thematic analysis, and subsequent micro analysis using the translanguaging model. Refer to section 4.6 for a thorough explanation of the dataset. In what follows, I will explain my position as a researcher, which is bound to have an influence on the data analysis.

1.4 My position as a researcher

It would be unwise for me to overlook my position as a mobile, multilingual, Senegalese transmigrant. Understandably, as a researcher, I must endeavour to reduce bias as much as possible. This is in a bid to better describe certain linguistic and social phenomena. However, my findings will, I am sure, be informed by my preconceived notions of the ontology of the Senegalese transmigrant. I will take this opportunity, before I proceed, to be forthright about my potential biases. I am a multilingual Pulaarophone (speaker of Pulaar\(^2\)), born and raised in Dakar, Senegal, therefore Wolophone by default. I was schooled in the French institutions of Senegal and acquired English later at secondary school and at university. In addition to those four languages, I was also surrounded by other languages such as Bambara, the language that my parents spoke with each other, and many more languages which members of my extended family spoke in my vicinity. Already, what constitutes my native language becomes at once problematic. The whole notion of native speakerhood is a tricky situation and often does not mean much for many an African. My case is similar to that of many of my participants. Therefore, my analysis of the data will, to some extent, be informed by my identity as a multilingual languager. I doubt that an outsider monolingual researcher would reach the same

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\(^2\) Pulaar (or Fula or Fulani or Fulfulde) is one of the many codified national languages in Senegal.
results as I did. This may be because for me, and for my participants, multilingual multilingualism, as Makalela (2021) calls it, is the norm in African contexts, and what is called monolingualism is a rarity in African communities.

On top of substantial amount of work already executed by Western linguistic ethnographers on UW, my capacity as an insider and Wolophone will, I believe, bring in a different perspective, a decolonised way of looking at African languages, in terms of participatory data collection and analysis. My indigenous gaze will inevitably afford a different understanding of certain cultural concepts. This insider viewpoint is particularly important in an African context because in the Senegalese culture(s) at least, the unsaid is overwhelmingly prevalent. In many communicative interactions, speakers generally resort to inferences to understand each other. This is because, sometimes, asking questions is not always the best move, for fear of causing discomfort. In fact, the unsaid is part of the African art of oratory. Let us take, for example, proverbs, which my participants cannot help but use profusely. It is viewed as more elegant to only utter the first part of a proverb, leaving the hearer to complete the rest, either audibly or in the form of backchannelling, to acknowledge understanding.

One of the many advantages for me in this research is my latitude to apprehend some concepts or situations without having to ask. Some utterances, which might be classed as inaudible by an outsider researcher, in some instances, are easily detectable by the native ear. Things that are mumbled, or concepts expressed with a single “verbal gesture”3 (Grenoble et al., 2015), for example, are easily discerned by the native researcher. There are yet many advantages of group membership. Its affordances even facilitated my choice of research participants. Indeed, one of my selection criteria was that the participant must be free of immigration restrictions. This was in an effort to see their identity as mobile transmigrants be reflected in the study. The fact that I only selected mobile Senegalese transmigrants was informed by my pre-knowledge of their status in the UK. An indigenous position is not, however, without disadvantages. Over familiarisation with the researched may cause a certain number of concerns. One may, for example, run the risk of taking certain things, which would require deeper analysis, for granted, on grounds of mere assumptions. Additionally, one could also risk not abiding by the ethical considerations because of over-relaxedness. I must stress, also, that the position of a insider researcher does not automatically afford better analysis of communicative data and this is not what I am claiming. It is just that it can

3 There is a thorough explanation of what constitutes “verbal gestures” on page 15 below.
Introduction to the project

constitute an advantage if used properly and if the researcher is constantly aware of potential biases. As such, to the best of my ability, I endeavoured to abide by the ethical rules and refrained, as much as I could, from making vague assumptions. I have treated of my position of insider in some length in section 4.4, where I enumerate more of the advantages. In the next section, I will touch upon the main areas that spurred me into undertaking this research.

1.5 My interests

My interest in UW and translanguaging was born from a project I did on codeswitching in Dakar, Senegal, as part of my Master’s programme at Portsmouth, UK. My review of the literature then led me to discover the many theories behind the code-based approach of looking at bilingualism. I was first fascinated by such theories as developed by proponents of codeswitching such as Myers-Scotton (1993a) and MacSwan (1999, 2005, 2009), both of whom have elaborated a certain number of language mixing rules. MacSwan, for example, contends that some morphemes from different languages are incompatible with each other (1999, 2005, 2009). Such views are born from the idea that multilinguals mix languages in specific ways that obey set rules. But, as Garcia and Otheguy (2020, p. 17) have observed, multilinguals such as Africans and others have been known to use translingual practices in manners that are not consistent with how named languages are defined. For more on those hypotheses, refer to section 3.3.1 where I discuss some of the theories of the dual view of codeswitching.

Whilst I found those findings interesting, they did not fully reflect how urban Wolophones speak as they defy most of the so-called ground rules of code mixing. My UW data reflects many instances where speakers speak in such a creative way as to flout many of the codeswitching precepts. And I believe those counter-examples are too prevalent in the Senegalese speech community for those codemixing precepts to be considered rules. Very early on, Swigart (1992), one of the earliest UW scholars, was emphatic in her stance that the smoothness with which the Dakarois⁴ speak is dissimilar to what is normally observable in codeswitching, reasoning, in addition, that UW, although a product of seemingly two codes (Wolof and French), should be viewed as “one code” (1992, p. 97). This idea of one code, as opposed to two codes, was what later led me to translanguaging. In subsequent investigations into the concept of translanguaging, I came across much research, the central argument of

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⁴ Inhabitants of Dakar, Senegal.
which was that the multilingual language user has “one linguistic repertoire” (Garcia & LiWei, 2014, p. 21). Looking at this principle closely, I made the argument that Swigart’s (1992) idea of UW being “one code” is not far off from the central tenets of the theory of translanguaging. Armed with that background knowledge, I set myself the task to look at UW differently, as per the present study. Needless to say, in addition, that my interest in UW is informed by my own cultural background as a Senegalese transmigrant and Wolophone. The innovative aspects of the research are to follow in the next sub-section.

1.6 Contribution to translanguaging

There are three areas which reflect the innovative nature of my study. The first is that it takes UW out of Senegal where most of the studies have hitherto concentrated. In doing so, the dynamicity of UW is highlighted. The second innovation is of a methodological order. Indeed, in connection with the dynamicity of languaging, I have elected to collect diachronic data spanning across six months. This is because diachronic data is better suited for revealing patterns of speech (Poplack, 2018, pp. 18-21). Thirdly, this study aims to examine UW from the translanguaging point of view, taking the speakers as occupying a central position. My objective is to add to the debate on the Senegalese urbanite’s languaging style which, to date, has been dominated by the dual view of language and codes. Even in the most recent research, UW is viewed through the theoretical perspective of codeswitching and code mixing (Smith, 2019; Tramutoli, 2021).

In my analysis of the UW data, I have also endeavoured to include verbal gestures as part of the urban Wolophones’ language repertoire. Studies devoted to the topic of Wolof verbal gestures hardly exist, nor has there been much attention on how Wolophones, especially urbanites, use them in their daily language practices. Grenoble et al. (2015, p. 111) say the following about Wolof verbal gestures: “In Wolof we can define verbal gestures in terms of a set of linguistic criteria: (i) they consist of elements not in the phonemic system; (ii) they do not take inflectional or derivational morphology; and (iii) although they can serve as full turn sequences in conversational structure, they are not part of any morphosyntactic frame. The class of verbal gestures is thus defined negatively, i.e., in terms of what they are not: they are not phonemes, do not take morphology, do not occur in morphosyntactic frames”. In my findings, Grenoble et al.’s (2015) study is the only research conducted on Wolof verbal gestures. The researchers have examined those elements among rural Wolophones in
Senegal. Therefore, multilingual studies on urban Wolof have given comparatively little or no attention to this aspect of languaging which occupies a central role in most African languages. Amputating such verbal gestures as clicks or humming from the Wolof phonemic repertoire will majorly affect the communicative effect.

Those prosodic elements, which I theorise in section 3.3.2, are too prevalent in Wolof to be expunged out of the Wolophones’ linguistic repertoire. In deciding to include verbal gestures in my study, I allowed myself to also be inspired by works of a few authors who conducted research on multimodal translanguaging (Perera, 2019; Adami, 2019; Adami & Sherris, 2019; Goodchild & Weidl, 2019) which can be said to be a relatively new field. I have dealt with the use of multimodality in translanguaging in sections 2.4.3 and 3.3.2. In this connection, I included the Senegalese visual culture as being an integral part to the speakers’ communicative resources. This can range from how they dress to the décor which composes their habitat. The combination of both multimodal signage and verbal gestures makes my data more representative of what the Senegalese transmigrants do in their daily life, for it is a known fact now that language, or more precisely, languaging, goes beyond the use of just words.

1.7 Outline of thesis

1.7.1 Urban migrations and linguistic landscapes

To understand the Senegalese transmigration and their languaging style, it is important to consider how the migration started within Senegal, from the rural areas to major cities of the country. This rural exodus has had a significant impact on the language of the city. In fact, UW was born from a mixture of rurality and urban ways. To this end, an understanding of the Senegalese linguistic ecology is somewhat crucial. Hence, this chapter looks at the process of Wolofisation that Senegal has undergone, but above all, the process of urbanisation that the Wolof language has gone through ever since the 17th century. I have shown in this chapter that, unlike many urban African languages, UW is not (just) a postcolonial phenomenon but was present early on during the precolonial era as a language of trade along the coasts of the Atlantic. This is what confers to UW its unique status because in most Francophone African countries, a form of French Creole developed from the early 1960s, when, in Senegal, Wolof emerged as the de facto vehicular language (McLaughlin, 2008, p. 80).
This chapter also provides an overview of the migration pattern of the Senegalese in the cities of the global North. It has been reported that the adepts of the Mouride Sufi order in Senegal were among the first to travel to the West (Babou, 2002; Ross, 2011). The Mouride brotherhood or Mouridiyya was founded by the Senegalese spiritual guide Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba who lived from 1853 to 1927 (Ross, 2011). Part of their identity work in the West is framed through their involvement in what is known as dahiras, which are tightly-knit cultural and religious brotherhood organisations (Babou, 2002). Dahira membership is of such importance to the transmigrants as to be pivotal in defining who they are. The notion of dahiras started in Senegal, more particularly in the holy city of Touba. Touba is today the global holy city and capital of the Mouride Sufi order, situated in the heart of Senegal and founded, in 1887, by the Senegalese religious leader Ahmadou Bamba (Ross, 2011, pp. 2930-1). The global nature of the city of Touba is equally of such importance as to be instrumental in the Senegalese transmigrants’ identity. Section 2.4 offers a comprehensive account of Touba as a global city and of what constitutes a Mouride transmigrant. The complex movement of the Senegalese transmigrants is also accompanied by a complex language pattern. As such, this chapter also highlights the transmigrants’ linguistic landscape. It is in this chapter that the first gap that I am endeavouring to fill is revealed. Indeed, the review of literature showed a preponderance of research on Senegalese transmigration from the historical, cultural, and economic perspective. What is missing is the linguistic aspect which my research offers.

1.7.2 Urban Wolof in the multilingualism research

This section examines the many studies conducted on UW. It highlights the many theoretical assumptions which undergird the Wolophones’ translingual practices which has always been of interest to the African urban languages scholarship. This chapter’s importance lies in the fact that it shows where my research begins and fits in the growing body of the UW research. After I have enumerated the different approaches to data collection thus far adopted, I go on to explore the different perspectives on UW data analysis, which are mainly dominated by the theories of codeswitching and codemixing. The review of this part of the literature reveals a prevalence of the code-based view of multilingualism in the study of UW. This is the second gap that my research explores by offering a hitherto untapped methodological approach to UW data analysis, using the unitary view of the translanguaging theory. The reason for the preponderance of the dual view appears to be due to the fact that scholars gave comparatively
little or no attention to UW potentially constituting one languaging form. Additionally, studies devoted to the effect of mobility on language (language across borders) is almost nonexistent. As such, the third gap I intend to explore is how UW is spoken among the diasporic Senegalese. The chapter concludes with a justification of my adoption of the translanguaging model.

### 1.7.3 Methodology

After a review of the literature, three main themes emerged: a) **UW in Senegal** (including codeswitching), b) **Senegalese transmigration**, and c) **translanguaging**. Because these three areas do not intersect, as mentioned earlier, my task is to bridge the gaps between them. Before proceeding with a synopsis of my methodology, here are, highlighted, the three principal gaps I identified:

- UW is mostly only studied within the confines of Senegal
- The UW literature prioritises the code-based approach and pays no attention to the unitary view of language
- The linguistic aspect of the Senegalese transmigration has been neglected

With my paths clearly paved, the choice of my methodological approach becomes clear. I start with a presentation of hermeneutic phenomenology (theorised in section 4.3) as constituting part of the philosophical underpinnings of my research. There is no denying that I am describing a phenomenon, which happens to be of a linguistic ethnographic nature, seemingly having an existence out there. As phenomenology is about describing outside phenomena (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 43), its affordances can be useful in describing linguistic phenomena. However, because I am part of the phenomena I am describing, my study cannot be merely descriptive (phenomenology). It is fundamentally interpretive (hermeneutics) in kind. My emic approach of the study confers to it its interpretive approach. It is this interpretive side of phenomenology that is known as hermeneutic phenomenology (Gadamer, 1975/2013; Polkinghorne, 1983) which is said to be better suited for qualitative methods (Cohen, 2000), as it is interested in “understanding how people interpret their world”, and, more particularly, how “people use language to tell themselves and others about their experiences” (Steeves, 2000, p. 46). Cohen (2000, p. 8) reports that one of the ethnographer’s objectives is the study of people’s language practices and their beliefs about language. As such, I have adopted linguistic ethnography as a methodological approach for collecting and
analysing UW data. Section 4.4 is dedicated to the presentation and justification of my choice of linguistic ethnography.

In section 4.5, I speak about the data collection process. This is where I present, in detail, the selection of my informants, the participants’ profiles, and the ethical consideration, prior to my presenting the data collection proper. This preliminary phase allowed me to conduct participant observations in order to be able to collect naturally-occurring data. I used one-to-one and group interviews in conjunction with my field notes, with the view to shedding more light on the observational data. The interviews were means of triangulating some of the data collected during observation. The last section of this chapter deals with transcription, translation and storage of the data post-collection. It also explains how the data was thematically coded and analysed using the translinguaging model.

1.7.4 Language practice

My results are twofold and they are presented in chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 5, I present the findings resulting from the observational data collected during the transmigrants’ weekly gatherings. First, I started by giving accounts of how my participants define themselves. This preliminary section is crucial in the understanding of nit ku ŋuul (blackness), the principal and most recurring theme throughout their discussion. My informants frequently insist that a line must be drawn between them and their co-nationals back in Senegal. They stress that their mentality (as multilingual transmigrants) is of a different order. This is why in most of the discussions relating to African development (section 5.2.1.5), the language is quite infantilising towards their fellow Africans who, they think, need sensitizing. But this is not all. My informants also make it clear that they are not to be confused with the Afro-Europeans or African Americans, reasoning that these groups have not really made the most out of the many opportunities that being born in a First World country can offer.

From what precedes, we can see that my informants have defined themselves negatively, in the mathematical sense of the term, in terms of what they are not, a sort of neither-this-nor-that type of definition. It is this in-betweenness of self-identification, vital to the understanding of the theme of blackness, that section 5.1 introduces. The rest of the chapter is divided into two main parts. The first deals with Life in Africa topics where the dominant theme is undoubtedly the theme of Nit-ku-ũuul which subsumes the notions of blackness, Africanity, and Senegaleseness. The issue of development in Africa, good governance,
corruption, etc. are the main areas that discussants engage in. It is also well to mention that the majority of these issues are framed negatively, making the umbrella theme of \textit{Nit-ku-ñuul} rather bleak as discussants castigate some aspects of Africanity such as mentality and, more practically, bad governance. The second part treats of the Life in the West topics which are predominantly of a positive order. This is where discussants relate stories of their own lives as hardworking and exemplary transmigrants, in contradistinction to the two aforementioned groups, namely the Senegalese back home and the Euro-Western blacks.

1.7.5 Language attitudes

In chapter 6, I present the ethnolinguistic and metalinguistic discussions that the participants engage in. It is also in this part that I analyse my informants’ interview talk and the various language attitudes they display. The ethnolinguistic discussions cover topics related to the ontology of Wolof: who is Wolof and what is Wolof. There are many ontological assumptions surrounding Wolof as an ethnic group and Wolof as a language. In Africa, language is generally mapped to ethnicity. Therefore, the Joola speak Joola, the Sereer speak Sereer, etc. However, my informants are emphatic in their stance that Wolof is not an ethnic group, that the Wolof language cannot be mapped to an ethnic group called Wolof. Section 6.2, entitled \textit{What, who is Wolof?} treats of that topic at length.

Discussants also engage spontaneously, as they do, in discussions about translingual practices. This is where they get overly critical of what they call language mixing, which I have used as a direct translation of the term they use for translanguaging: \textit{jaxase-làkk} (literally, mixing-languages). They unanimously regard translanguaging as a form of acculturation. In fact, the terms they have for UW (see section 6.3) denote the idea of Wolof having been polluted by Western languages. Discussions along those lines usually coincide with talks about Africanity and the return to African roots by cutting the umbilical cord, so to speak, between Africa and its colonial powers. This political plea is translated, linguistically, by a need for the Wolophone to speak what they call Wolof piir (pure Wolof), which is one of the many appellations my informants employ to characterise a more restricted Wolof repertoire. For them, UW, the polluted version of Wolof, needs purifying. What is interesting to note, however, as I argue in section 6.3, is that this attitude they adopt runs counter to their everyday language practices. This is one of the cases where a discrepancy is noted between reported and behavioural data. Ironically, even to express the purity of Wolof without foreign
linguistic features, they require a translingual term Wolof piir, where piir is the Wolofised pronunciation of the French pure. Needless to say that translingual speech appears to be what they are most comfortable with. It is part of their normal, everyday practices. However, in their attempt to monitor their idiolect in order to produce what they believe to be pure Wolof, devoid of, as they say, any foreign influence, they set themselves the task to avoid French and English in special situations where traditionality is being evoked. This is what I have called monolingual endeavours and which I have theorised in section 5.2.1.4. In those situations, participants were homing in on issues of inferiority complex that they believe is what is holding Africans back. And in framing those situations, their Pan-Africanist views are often reflected in their speech, in the form of MW. But because producing a “pure Wolof” has proven strenuous for them as they have admitted in subsequent interviews, I have called this attempt “endeavour”. Interestingly, the same monolingual endeavours are also practiced with English, in situations where the speakers need to include a non-Wolophone who is within earshot of the conversation. This linguistic way of acknowledging the presence of the other is an integral aspect of the teraanga (Smith, 2019, pp. 134-5; Heil, 2020, p. 278; Coleman, 2021). The cultural practice of teraanga is central to how the Senegalese speak. In fact, many linguistic exchanges and discursive practices are informed by this notion which goes beyond just “hospitality”. According to Heil (2020, p. 68) teraanga, a unique and distinctive Senegalese practice, ensures cohesiveness between ethnic groups and allows for guests and strangers to feel at home in situated interactions with receiving parties.

1.7.6 Discussion and conclusion

The thesis concludes with chapter 7 where I present the conclusions reached after the analysis of the UW data. After a brief reminder of the aims of the study, I go on to offer answers to the questions posed in this chapter (section 1.3). In section 7.3.1, I explain that the urban Wolophones’ speech presents discernible patterns which are informed by specific circumstances that are apt to influence the general mood of the verbal event. I also found that those patterns are informed by who the speaker’s interlocutor is. As such, I have established a correlation between this phenomenon and what Bell (1984) calls “audience design”, where a speaker is apt to tailor (design) his speech to a specific “audience” or “addressee”. Section 7.3.2 explains the rationale behind the various patterns in more detail. The discussion culminates with a general conclusion, implications, and directions for further studies.
Chapter 2. Urban migrations and linguistic landscapes

2.1 Introduction

With the foundation of the study sketched in the previous chapter, I will now, in what follows, survey the UW and transmigration literature. The background of this research is principally connected to the historicality of UW and how, as a set of linguistic practices, UW has grown to become widespread both nationwide and outside the country, to ultimately become the main vehicular language of the Senegalese diasporans. In this chapter, I first present the history and the origins of UW, from the precolonial era up to the present day. I then highlight some of the ideological assumptions surrounding the use of UW and rural Wolof (henceforth RW). I make a point that the general attitude of the Senegalese towards UW contributed to the dissemination of urban ways of speaking nationwide. The third part will treat of the ontology of the Senegalese transmigrants in connection with their mobility and multilingual abilities, in contradistinction with their less mobile compatriots back in Senegal. Additionally, I highlight how the Senegalese emigration to the global North has helped propagate UW in the West and how the Senegalese diasporans have come to adopt UW as their de facto vehicular language, irrespective of their linguistic or ethnic background. I also demonstrate how the notion of territorialised nations is virtually non-existent in the Senegalese transmigrants’ imaginaries, as they move freely across nations and continents, driven by the need for cultural and spiritual togetherness, as well as by the all-important cultural notion of Senegalese teraanga (conviviality or hospitality). In that connection, I provide accounts of international cultural organisations which connect large numbers of Senegalese migrants from various European nations and North America.

By and large, studies on UW have failed to account for transmigration and mobility as key variables in understanding the Senegalese multilingual practices. In this review, I will argue that mobility not only has a bearing on how the Senegalese transmigrants speak, I also intend to compare, in Chapter 6. the language attitudes of the transmigrants and those of their co-nationals in Senegal. Where studies on transmigration and those on UW have hitherto been

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5 I use the term rural Wolof to reference the type of Wolof that tends to be monolingual and which resembles the one spoken in the rural areas of Senegal. As such I tend to employ both rural and monolingual Wolof interchangeably.
kept apart, I seek, in this study, to bring those together, with the view to shedding more light on how the Senegalese diasporans engage in their daily translanguaging practices. To render that possible, I intersect the Senegalese transmigration literature with the UW literature. I also make a compelling case that the Senegalese diasporans are best described as transmigrants, as I mentioned previously, by virtue of the global nature of the Senegalese holy city of Touba which acts as a common denominator between all Senegalese of Mouride faith. The commitments and responsibilities incumbent upon Mouride adepts make it almost obligatory for them to fluidly move between nations and continents and sojourn in different nations sometimes for several weeks or months at a time. Consequently, the Senegalese community in the West becomes translocal. This phenomenon of mobility greatly influences the Senegalese diasporans’ translanguaging practices, which, as mentioned earlier, I have elected to still call UW for convenience, but an UW enhanced beyond measure by several other factors which I will examine later in the study. For now, though, a brief review of the history of UW is in order.

2.2 History of urban Wolof

In 1960, Senegal gained its national sovereignty from France (Jones, 2013, p. 1) after centuries of exploration and conquest, ending 144 years (2013, p. 42) of political, economic, cultural, and linguistic domination. When the French approached the coasts of the African continent, they first established their trading posts in Saint-Louis, Senegal, the then most important dominion which was to also become the first capital of the country (Colvin, 1981, pp. 251-2). However, as early as 1677, the Island of Gorée, mainly inhabited by the Wolof and situated a few miles off the coasts of Dakar, was already in the hands of the French (1981, p. 185). Needless to say, therefore, that the cohabitation between the French and the Wolof dates back from before the colonial era. Jones (2013, p. 1) writes that Senegal became the official colony of France in the year 1816. As a result of this centuries-old culture contact between the French and the Wolof of Gorée and Saint-Louis, there developed a new communicative system characterised by the adoption, within the Wolof linguistic repertoire, of French terms. This is because many of the objects and practices that the French introduced to the Wolof did not have local equivalents. As such, the French term was systematically employed in Wolof. To that effect, Faidherbe (1864, p. 3), the then French general and colonial administrator said the following:
“Beaucoup d’objets introduits par nous, dans le pays, sont désignés, en ouolof, par le nom français estropié, et n’ont naturellement pas de nom dans les langues de l'intérieur”

[Many objects that we (the French) introduced into the country do not have a local equivalent. They are therefore designated, in Wolof, by the distorted French name].

This same form of languaging is known today by many scholars as UW (Swigart, 1992; Juillard et al., 1994; Calvet, 1994a, 1994b; McLaughlin, 2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2014, 2015). Therefore, one could argue, as does McLaughlin (2008c, p.714), that there is reason to believe that the urbanity of the Wolof spoken in the major cities of Senegal is not just a postcolonial phenomenon, unlike most other African urban languages which have developed well into the second half of the 20th century, following the independence years. This is what gives UW its unique status in Africa. We could therefore view the Wolof of Saint-Louis as being the ancestor of UW. In fact, judging from Descemet’s (1864) handbook of French and Wolof phrases, written in the mid-19th century, and which inspired McLaughlin’s (2008c) work on the origins of UW, there are no differences between the then Wolof spoken in the ancient capital and the modern Wolof spoken in the major cities of Senegal. Consider the following examples from Descemet’s (1864) book. The French features are in bold:

“Benn ouokhtou passé-na” (1864, p. 23)

[It is past one o’clock]

“Damay régler sama i compte ak sama négociant” (1864, p. 30)

[“I’m setting my account with my agent”]

The linguistic brassage was also aided by a local cultural practice then known as union libres (Johnson, 2005, p. 143), a sort of non-contractual marriage between French men and the signares who were powerful local businesswomen from Gorée and Saint-Louis islands (Colvin, 1981, p. 185). As a result, a large community of Franco-Senegalese started to populate the Islands. Therefore, with the dynamics of contact, a new, more urbanised Wolof was birthed. In that respect, Saint-Louis emerged as an “urban Wolof town” Jones (2013, pp. 19-22). With the help of local Franco-Wolof boatmen who acted as translators, this new way of languaging reached other major cities such as Rufisque and Dakar and beyond the
Wolophone parts of the country (McLaughlin, 2008b, p. 93). A factor worth noting is that since Senegal gained independence, a large proportion of the population has concentrated in the capital Dakar. As such, the Wolof language, including other urban ways of speaking it, has become subsumed into what McLaughlin calls the “Dakar Wolof”.

2.3 Urban Wolofisation nationwide

Wolof is Senegal’s most spoken national language. UW is a variety of Wolof spoken in the capital, Dakar, and in all the major cities of the country (Swigart, 1992; Calvet, 1994a.). According to the proponents of codeswitching as a theory for multilingualism studies, one of the characteristics of UW is its extensive lexical borrowings from French. To that effect, this form of languaging has been called “Franlof”, “Francolof” or “Fran-Wolof” (Thiam, 1994, p. 13), denoting the heavy presence of French lexical elements that the language exhibits. Copious amount of studies have been conducted on UW, most of which are limited to Wolof in Senegal. The very apposition of the prefix Fran- to the word Wolof testifies to the crucial role that the French language plays in the Senegalese urban speech patterns. As Chandler (2007, p. 95) writes when explaining the principles of markedness, two elements may be paired or juxtaposed but often enter into an asymmetrical relationship as one may be seen to have ideologically more weight than the other. In this case, the hegemonic nature of French in relation to Wolof confers to the former the dominant role of an influencer. This is also valid for various other terms such as Françafrique for example.

In Senegal, speaking French is seen as prestigious (Diop, 2006, p. 128), therefore, Wolof, interspersed with French lexical items, is perceived as trendier than the RW which tends to remain free from French. In fact, the term “kaw-kaw”, denoting the unsophisticated country dwellers (Calvet, 1999/2006, p. 26; McLaughlin, 2001, p. 164), references rural dwellers, conversant only in RW, and who are referred to by many as uncultured and uneducated (Heil, 2020, p. 240). In many respects the kaw-kaws are regarded as untrendy, simple, and artless individuals (2020, p. 278). In Dakar and other big cities, RW is reserved for some cultural and religious ceremonies. Outside those services, the general behavioural (as opposed to reported) attitude of the Senegalese towards RW is rather negative. This is why country dwellers arriving in Dakar find it necessary to quickly adopt urban ways of speaking Wolof, if they are to stand any chance of being accepted in the society. Swigart (2000, p. 112) reports that most rural Wolophones are often taken advantage of in public places because they are
viewed as unintelligent. What is worth noting however, is the way urbanites characterise RW in contradistinction to UW when reporting their views on those two forms of languaging. They claim, officially at least, that UW is an unacceptable, deteriorated type of Wolof (Swigart, 1992, p. 97) because of the presence of what they consider to be borrowings from French, and that what they call “pure Wolof” (i.e. RW), a Wolof with no or very little French (Smith, 2019, p. 9), is a more appropriate form of speech (Irvine, 2011, p. 63). In this connection, they refer to RW as wolof bu xoot (McLaughlin, 2001, p. 160), meaning “deep Wolof”; or as Wolof bu set or Wolof piir (Swigart, 1992, pp. 89-90), which can both be rendered, respectively, as “proper Wolof” and “pure Wolof”. They tend to associate RW with linguistic purity. However, in real life situations, where they are not researched, city dwellers in Senegal continue to associate RW with lack of intelligence and backwardness (Heil, 2020, p. 240), despite their acknowledgement that it is the most acceptable way of speaking. As such, they continue to privilege UW in their daily practices. Therefore, the epistemic biases surrounding UW are only ever reported.

UW has received much attention from scholars over the past decades, and constitutes, to date, the lingua franca of almost all the Senegalese, including those in the diaspora. I will treat of the dissemination of Wolof in the West in the next part of this chapter. This urban way of speaking, which marks the territory of the Dakarois identity (Calvet 1994b, pp. 174-6; Versluys, 2008, p. 287), invariably dwarfs all the other national languages, including RW. In fact, speakers of other Senegalese national languages are often branded by the urbanites as “lakk-kat”, a “Wolofocentric”, “metalinguistic” term denoting speakers of languages other than Wolof (McLaughlin, 2015, pp. 142-6). According to Diouf (2003), the term lakk literally means to mumble unintelligibly. This is because the Wolof have, according to UNESCO (1974, pp. 20-21), always looked down on other ethnic groups such as the Fulani, the Mandingo, the Sereer, etc. Incidentally, at a macro level, this attitude is similar to the general Senegalese attitude which consists in referring to other Africans as “niak”, meaning unsophisticated bush people (Heil, 2020, pp. 238-239 and p. 326). It is all too likely that this negative form of othering was born from the large scale Wolofisation process, which has led other non-Wolophone Senegalese to also have this Wolofocentric attitude towards the rest of the Africans. This prestigious status, tacitly conferred to UW, makes it the de facto national language. It has become the language of urban integration for many rural migrants migrating to Dakar (Dreyfus & Juillard, 2001, p. 669) and oversees (Smith, 2019). The prestigious nature of UW as well as its rapid dissemination is also enhanced by its adoption, as the language of
commerce, by traders from foreign countries. UNESCO (1974, pp. 15-17) reports that Cape Verdean and Lebanese traders living in Dakar have a vested interest in learning to speak UW, unlike the French who normally exercise more senior or administrative positions (where French is the medium of communication), and as such have never needed to speak Wolof. This lends more weight to the aforementioned theory that the prefix *Franco* in the hyphenated term Franco-wolof is ideological and is indicative of French hegemony over Wolof. The same appellations can be observed in other terms used in Senegal such as *les écoles franco-arabes*, where the term franco is systematically the first term “annexing” the second one, to employ a political term. Conversely, as Smith, noted, it is the Wolophones who take pride in speaking French (2019, p. 6) despite the anti-Francophone stance that they seem to display on the surface when framing ideological views on traditionality and Africanity.

This tacit, unreported love for French can be said to be principally due to the symbolic capital that the French language carries. It is this special distinction given to French that seems to confer to UW its supremacy over the other national languages. In addition, during colonial times, the Wolof collaborated with the French more than the other thirty or more ethnic groups did. This collaborative nature of the Wolof allowed the French to establish settlements in the Wolophone areas (Smith, 2019, pp. 7-8), making those spaces more economically prosperous. The direct corollary of this phenomenon was rural exodus, as rurals migrated in search for better living conditions. This resulted in an increase in the number of Wolophones because when rurals arrive in the cities, they tend to enlarge their idiolects to adopt more urban ways of speaking (Versluys, 2008, pp. 285-286). According to Thiam (1994, p. 32), rural migration has played a crucial role in the propagation of UW and its vehicularisation. The author argues that even in some parts of the rural areas, UW has become the languaging style of many, due to economic migrants returning back from Dakar with new dictions informed by long sojourns in the capital city. Therefore, social mobility is a key factor in the dissemination of urban ways of languaging. This is why the emergence of Wolof as the main vehicular language throughout the country and beyond was “an urban phenomenon” (McLaughlin, 2001, p. 159; Thiam, 1994, p. 32).

In African societies and in Senegal in particular, men tend to be more mobile than women as they are considered the de facto breadwinners of the family. To this end, Griffiths (2011, pp. 146-151) posits that the dissemination of urban ways of speaking was mainly provoked by
male migrants, reasoning, as Thiam (1994, p. 23) did, that, in a Senegalese context, men tended to engage in translingual practices more than women did, although, in modern times, women are becoming increasingly more mobile and adopting more urban ways too. Indeed, over the last few decades, there has been a growing number of women coming to Dakar from the rural areas in search for work. The same phenomenon is also observed on the international scene, where an increasing number of independent women are, like their male co-nationals, emigrating to the Global North mainly for economic reasons (Présentation de la diaspora sénégalaise, 2021; Babou, 2002, p. 162). The Senegalese mass emigration to the West has inevitably contributed to the rapid growth of the number of the Wolophones in the diaspora. This is the object of the following part.

2.4 The Senegalese migration pattern in the cities of the Global North

The previous section explored how the nationwide Wolofisation was principally due to rural migration to the capital city, Dakar. This section will treat of another type of migration: the Senegalese emigration to First World cities. I will seek to explicate complex migration patterns which are characteristic of the Senegalese transmigrants’ mobility throughout the global North. It is essential, therefore, to place my study in a context of what Smith (2019, p. 25) calls “global Senegality”, a term she coined to refer to certain personality traits that the diasporic Senegalese share. The display of their multilingual abilities, coupled with their international mobility, affords them a somewhat higher social status than that of their compatriots back home. Mobility is, for many Senegalese, one of the most cherished factors in migrant identities. There is a certain symbolic capital in being a well-travelled individual as it is often equated with being cultured and sophisticated and thus being able to speak out against the many issues that hamper the development of Africa, the most prominent of which is undoubtedly bad governance. This is where “diasporism”, to borrow Band’s (1996) term, confers to migrants a more authoritative status than their co-nationals back home.

Because of these advantages that the Senegalese migrants have over their compatriots, it is not uncommon for the diasporic Senegalese to infantilize the indigenous Senegalese not only in the way they refer to them but also in the way they speak to them. For example, the diasporans believe that nearly all Senegalese are oblivious of what is going on in the country because the leaders keep them in the dark. This is one of the most recurring topics that is
most prevalent in my data (see section 5.2.1.5). As such, they regularly portray the population in Senegal as unenlightened, misinformed in regard to how the elite treat them. Of late, especially since the turn of the century, there has been a growing number of Senegalese activists in the diaspora (Ceschi & Mezzetti, 2014, pp. 11-15). The authors report that after Wade was appointed president of Senegal, he called on all Senegalese diasporans to actively take part in the country’s development (2014, pp. 11-15). The current plethora of Senegalese activists in the West stems perhaps from this plea. In this connection, Senegalese diasporans actively galvanize their compatriots back home, through regular contact, as part of their participation in the promotion of development and fight against bad governance (Datola, 2014, pp. 60-61). It appears, therefore, that such traits of global Senegality as multilingualism and mobility, being the main identity markers for the migrant, also constitute the principal differentiating factors between the indigenous Senegalese and the diasporic Senegalese. In this regard, returning migrants are held in high regard in the Senegalese society (2014, p. 60), because they have returned enhanced by the two main characteristics of a transmigrant: mobility and multilingualism.

In African contexts, when multilingualism is spoken of as a symbolic and cultural capital, what is generally referenced are Western languages such as French, English, Italian, Spanish, etc. McLaughlin (2015, p. 143) reports that some researched Senegalese referred to the Western languages as “langues” and the local Senegalese ones as “làkk”. In addition, because, in the Senegalese imaginary, làkk has a derogatory connotation of unintelligibility (Diouf, 2003), as mentioned earlier, one could venture the conjecture that the Senegalese regard the European languages as more prestigious than their local vernaculars. This could explain why returning migrants engage in translilingual practices involving Wolof, Italian, English, etc. In a heated parliamentary debate in Dakar, Mame Diarra Fam, the member of parliament representing the diaspora, was vehemently denouncing how the elite are treating the masses (Dakaractu, 2018). She did so by engaging in a translanguaging strategy using Italian features to address a Wolof audience who started clapping cheerfully in response to her use of Italian (2018). This display of her multilingual ability can be seen as her way of hoisting herself above the masses, thereby signifying and indexing her identity as a mobile transmigrant.

It merits noting here that the Senegalese emigration to Europe is no longer limited to mainly France. According to Profil Migratoire du Sénégal (2018, pp. 32-35), the early 1990s saw a
mass migration to Italy and Spain, as a result, in 1986 and 1991, of mass regularisation campaigns of illegal immigrants. Consequently, by the mid-1990s, the number of Senegalese living in Italy rose to almost 35,000, and the number in North America was anywhere between 10,000 and 20,000 approximately (Riccio 2001, p. 584; Babou 2002, p.158; N’Diaye & N’Diaye, 2006, p. 97). Understandably, these figures did not account for the illegal immigrants who could number in the thousands. Most of the migrants in Spain and Italy are Wolophones from the Mouride brotherhood. Although the largest community of Senegalese migrants is in France, the number of migrants in the other two destinations are slowly catching up (González-Ferrer et al., 2012, pp. 113-4), as many Francophone Africans are starting to increasingly shift their interests away from the country of the former coloniser. Moreover, more and more Senegalese are emigrating to Anglophone parts of the world such as North America (2018, p. 37).

As far as Anglophone countries are concerned, America is more of a destination for Senegalese migrants than the United Kingdom is. Whilst data on the demographics of Senegalese living in the UK is virtually non-existent, as far as I am aware, it is nonetheless documented that large numbers of Senegalese came to settle in the UK in the 1980s, when emigration to France had become increasingly difficult (Ross, 2011, p. 2936). Smith (2019, p. 29) writes that in the aftermath of Senegal’s independence from France, and especially in the 70s, many Senegalese started travelling to America for economic reasons. Until now, their main destination has been New York. However, it was not until the mid-1980s that the emigration to the United States came to a head (Babou, 2002, p. 159). There is even a place in Harlem called Little Senegal (Smith, 2019, p. 29; Sheff, 2009, p. 43) where most of the Senegalese there are predominantly members of the Mouride sect. The Mouridiyya (Mouride Sufi order), therefore, constitutes a common denominator for almost all the diasporic Senegalese living principally in North America, Europe, and many other cities of the global North. Irrespective of their location, the Senegalese diasporans are connected by strong religious and cultural ties which iron out national boundaries. In that regard, they often organise rotating visits to all Western cities inhabited by Senegalese migrants. Those visits are organised within the framework of closely knit spiritual and cultural associations known as dahiras. I will come back to the concept of dahira further below. This fluid, international and intercontinental movement between the diasporans, motivated, as they are, by religious or business commitments makes them more than just “migrants”, as “migration” denotes a
bilateral movement between home and receiving country. The Senegalese diasporans’ movements are more complex than just a mere shuttle between two points.

### 2.4.1 The Senegalese Mouride transmigration

I will look at the Mouride diasporans as the epitome of the Senegalese diasporans. I will, in some places, use both interchangeably. This is because the great majority of the Senegalese abroad are adepts of the Mouride Sufi order (New York University Development Research Institute, 2015; Sheff, 2009, p. 42), adding to the fact that, in my nearly two decades of living in the West, I am yet to meet a Senegalese who does not claim to be a Mouride. My analysis will later demonstrate that even if an individual was not a Mouride in Senegal, they are likely to embrace the Mouridiyya in the West or at least adopt Mouride ways such as the Mouride grammar of civility which can be subsumed into what Diouf (2013, p. 15) calls the “Wolof grammar of civility”. This could take many forms such as dressing like a Mouride or speaking like a Mouride with the view to gaining acceptance. The Mouride speaks a particular type of Wolof which is characterised by a certain rurality both in terms of lexical content and accent. Conversing like a Mouride in certain situations affords the speaker certain privileges. As it is difficult, as a Senegalese living in the West, to succeed without adhering to one of the many Mouride associations, which offer many privileges such as providing loans, lawyers, or housing to Senegalese migrants (Bava, 2004, p. 138), being or becoming Mouride becomes almost imperative. Because the Mouride associations are known to be economically successful, they attract other non-Mourides who feel ostracised in the West. Those groups often systematically just convert to embrace the Mouridiyya (Diagne, cited in Diop, 1993, p. 280).

In the West, national borders and territories do not seem to have any existence for the Senegalese diasporans as they view their compatriots around the world as just one community bound together by shared cultural beliefs. One common denominator to all Mouride adherents is the idea that migrating is viewed as a religious act, where adepts are invested with a mission to replicate the trajectory of the founder Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba who was exiled from Senegal by French authorities during the colonial era (Bava, 2017, p. 245). Migration, then, is, for the Mouride transmigrant, a mystical experience.

In this section, I will be employing terms like the Mouride transmigration to reference the fluid movements of the Mouride between nations, either for business or for cultural or
religious commitments. The Senegalese in the diaspora, more particularly the Mouride, irrespective of the Western nation in which they reside, view themselves as having a set of common cultural and religious practices which should inevitably keep them together as one community. However, the notion of community can be just as problematic as the notion of language can be. On the one hand, we speak of borders not having existence in the eyes of the transmigrant, with what we call community being constantly on the move, dynamic as it is. On the other hand, when we label it as community, we are almost reifying it into a bound entity.

However, as mentioned in section 1.2, it would be unwise to shy away from labels for the purposes of analysis, because the idea of a community as a thing is important for the Senegalese transmigrant, especially as far as their identity work is concerned. Thus, the notion of community, though apt to be problematic, in view of what has been said above, can be useful for members who nonetheless appreciate collective, translocal identities, based on what they have in common Canagarajah (2013, p. 16). Before proceeding, let me make a brief parenthetical remark: it is because of this dynamicity of the transllocal Senegalese community that I intend to employ the translanguaging model to investigate the Senegalese transmigrants’ languaging practices as they move across nations and beyond national borders. Note that the highlighted terms above are somewhat reminiscent of translanguaging, but this will be the subject of other sections (see chapter 3, section 3.4, and chapter 4, section 4.6.2).

In studying the Mouride transmigrants in Italy, Riccio (2006, p. 108) observed that the latter felt a great sense of belonging to a common terroir, a strong identity which linked them back to the holy city of Touba, although they also feel and behave like citizens of the world. Stavans and Hoffman’s (2015, pp. 69-70) quote on group membership best describes the ontology of the Senegalese transmigrant: “Common beliefs, shared traditions and rituals, forms of cultural expression, patterns of social organisation and racial features, or an attachment to a particular place through ancestral links, all contribute to feelings of groupness or ethnic identity”. I owe the term “transmigrant” to Glick Schiller et al. (1995, p. 48) who employ it to denote a member of a transnational community who is not bound to just one nation. More broadly, the authors define transmigrants as migrants who are residents of a given nation but then are actively linked to other nations by virtue of their economic or
political activities in their everyday lives (1995, p. 48). This, in fact, is what characterises the Senegalese diasporans.

I will keep referring to the dynamic movements of the Senegalese diasporans as transmigration but will move slightly away from the term transnationalism and its associated conception. In that regard, Riccio makes an important point that: transnationalism, appropriate as it sounds, may not fully translate the complex and dynamic displacements\(^6\) of the transmigrants (2001, p. 585). The author believes that transnationalism still appears to put a label on those communities as “reified transnational networks”, that the “dynamic process of constantly networking with transnational spaces” (2001, p. 585) affords an appellation which should go beyond the concept of going between nations. Additionally, the nature of the Mouride transmigration also transcends the idea that they are merely building bridges between their communities of origin and the receiving ones (Riccio, 2006, p. 96). In this connection, Sheff’s (2009) view on the activity of the Mouride in the global North and beyond is also consistent with the aforementioned idea. The author observes that the network of the Senegalese Mouride is highly complex and needs to be seen as beyond just moving back and forth between one part of the global North and Senegal, reasoning that other commitments may spur them to move between countries and even continents, away from Senegal (Sheff, 2009, p. 43). As such, they appear to be floating, so to speak, unfettered by state or national ties. And, because they are “neither here nor there” (Sheff, 2009, p. 43; Grillo et al. 2000), they are also emancipated from notions of nation-states in their capacity as transmigrants living in “deterritorialized” spaces to employ Warriner’s (2007, p. 204) term (see also Peth et al., 2018, pp. 456-7). Their movement could more or less be described as “border-transgressing”, as Faist (2000, p. 13) calls it. It is in this context that Smith’s (2019, p. 25) newly coined term “global Senegality” fits in.

I would like to bring in the idea of “translocal spaces” (Warriner, 2007, p. 204), in relation to Riccio’s (2006) idea of “transnational spaces” mentioned above. The idea of translocality and the notion of spaces herein presented would, together, be comparable, in linguistics, to the concept of translanguaging, which, according to many of its most prominent proponents, goes beyond just a to-and-fro movement between languages (Garcia et al., 2018; LiWei, 2018; Garcia & LiWei, 2014), much the same as the Mouride complex displacements could

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\(^6\) I will keep this term because it is closer to the French “déplacements”, which best describes the idea of moving around freely, although I am aware that “displacement” can have a negative connotation of being compelled to move.
not just be characterised by a mere shuttle between geographical spots. I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters that the physical pattern of the Senegalese diasporans’ movements between and beyond nations is very similar to how they use their set of language practices in terms of fluidity, creativity, and going beyond perceived linguistic norms. I will also show that the idea of *translocal spaces* is not dissimilar to the notion of *translanguaging spaces* (LiWei, 2001). As such, I could not help but be drawn to the concept of *trans*locality in order to later create a rapprochement with *trans*languaging, thereby bridging a gap between ethnographic narratives of the Senegalese diasporans and their linguistic practices. This is because, in my findings, the diasporic Senegalese have received much attention in contemporary ethnographies but the group is rarely studied in relation to their language practices. Pushing the analysis further, I can even venture to affirm that the *translocal spaces* that the Mourides occupy are the physical representation, so to say, of their *translanguaging spaces*, a term about which I will have more to say later.

One of the biggest catalysts which spurs the Senegalese Mourides to mobilise their forces worldwide is a concept known as *hadiyya*. Hadiyya is a form of remittance collected during the regular Mouride gatherings which is then sent back home to one of their spiritual guides (Kane, 2009, p. 214; Sheff, 2009, p. 15; Bava, 2004, p. 138; Ross, 2011, p. 2931; Buggenhagen, 2012, p. 1028). This is why one of the strongest ties that bind all the Senegalese diasporans together is the sense of belonging to the same spiritual school known as *dahira* (see sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 further below). Dahiras are Mouride associations where adepts observe religious services (Diop, 1981, p. 80), but, as I will show in the following part of this review, dahiras in urban contexts take on new roles outside religious services. Before examining the Mouride dahiras in the West, let us first look at what constitutes the spirit of a dahira in Senegal and its origin back during the colonial era.

2.4.2 The ontology of the Mouride dahiras

There is a sense of conviviality and brotherhood that links all the Senegalese diasporans in the Global North, especially in Europe and America, and it is mostly encouraged and rendered possible by the high number of what is known as the “*dahiras*”. *Dahiras* are closely-knit gatherings of members of the Mouride Sufi order organised in various parts of Europe and America (Babou, 2002, pp. 153-4; Bava, 2017, p. 17). They meet regularly to sing praises of the Senegalese religious leader, Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, the founder, in the
1850s, of the Mouride Sufi order (also known as Mouridiyya) (Ross, 2011). Although the principal aim of those gatherings is religious, they look more like social get-togethers where adepts practice the virtues of conviviality and teraanga (Wolof for hospitality) (Smith, 2019, pp. 134-5; Coleman, 2021). According to Diop (1981, pp. 79-80), the dahiras have two main functions: an internal logic which consists in ensuring a cohesive relationship between the disciples and their guide and an external logic consisting in drawing the attention of non-Mourides. In the latter case, dahiras appear to reinforce the Mouride propaganda (1981, p. 80). As such, the Mouride version of Islam becomes almost like a commodity which the transmigrants expose to the West (Bava, 2017, p. 17) through the medium of visual representation (see section 2.4.3, on page 38). In addition, those dahiras also offer platforms where the political and socio-economic situation of Senegal and issues of bad governance are discussed. However, as I will show in the next section, topics of that nature are more the predilection discussions of the diasporans. Although most of the Senegalese emigrants are men, as mentioned earlier, theses dahiras, especially the ones in New York, have grown to also include a large number of female adepts (Babou, 2002, p. 162).

Because the dahira is generally the sole reason why diasporans come together, amid the hustle and bustle of the Western lifestyle, it is seminal to highlight its ontology and its origins. Among the Mouride disciples, the sense of togetherness and conviviality is of such importance that adepts are organised into large circles, with a designated spiritual leader at the apex. The tradition of the dahiras is that adherents hold weekly gatherings (O’Brien 1971, p. 255). This pattern is still practiced both in Senegal and in the West, as my ethnographic fieldwork reveals. Those are moments when the khassaides (Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba’s poems) are chanted, in unison, by the disciples. Looking at its origins in the rural areas of central Senegal, those circles, then called daaras, were operational every day except on Wednesdays, a day reserved for labour in the marabout’s fields (Diop, 1981, pp. 79-80). In the aftermath of the country’s independence in 1960, the Mouride leaders deemed it necessary to extend the daaras in the urban areas where they will take on the name dahiras (1981, pp. 79-80). In other words, the dahiras are daaras enhanced by the effect of urbanisation and migration (Villalón 1995, p. 158). To that effect, Ross (2011) writes that the daaras are the very precursors of the urban dahiras because they are animated by the same spirit of togetherness and conviviality. Only, in the city, other factors come into play.

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7 Spiritual guide
During the colonial era, the disciples’ main activity outside the religious get-togethers was groundnut farming, the country’s main export. However, towards the beginning of the 1970s, when the price of groundnut plummeted and when, by ricochet, a generalised famine hit the rural areas, many Mouride disciples began to migrate to the urban centres in search of better living conditions (Buggenhagen, 2012, p. 41; Sheff, 2009, pp 40-41). However, this rural exodus was not to stop that spirit of togetherness and work ethic acquired from the daaras of Touba. In fact, it was in the marabout’s best interest to organise the disciples, now settled in the cities, into dahiras (Diop, 1981, pp. 79-80) to ensure, amongst other things, that the khassaiades are still chanted regularly, and that disciples continue to serve their spiritual guide in the form of remittances that they send back regularly to Touba. The money is first collected during the dahira sessions and then presented to the marabout in Touba as a gift. Those offerings, known as hadiyya, are, to the Mouride, key to salvation (Sheff, 2009, p.36), and are as good as obligatory for any Mouride disciple.

It is this monetary dimension which has conferred to the daara the new name of dahira. It is a well ingrained belief, among the Mourides, that the more hadiyya you give to the marabout the more prosperous you get in this world. On top of the hope for everlasting wealth, the disciple also hopes to earn baraka by giving generously to his spiritual guide (Buggenhagen, 2012, p. 45). This, amongst other things, is the type of relationship, vertical in kind, that the Mouride disciple strives to maintain with his marabout. At the horizontal level, the dahiras allow the disciples to practice the virtues of solidarity (Riccio, 2006, p. 100).

However, some dahiras are more powerful than others. For example, dahiras in Dakar and in other major cities tend to yield more remittances than those in small towns or suburban areas. And, in turn, dahiras in Italy or North America are still more powerful and tend to attract more attention. In the West, the dahira networks acquire more prestige. So prestigious are the dahiras in the West that they receive special treatment from the marabout back home. For example, in Senegal, it is always the disciples who go to pay the marabout a visit; and yet, it is common to see the spiritual guide himself fly to Europe or North America to pay his disciples a visit and return with large sums of money collected for him as offerings (Bava, 2004, p. 135; Kane, 2009, pp. 210-211; Riccio, 2001, p. 596; Babou 2002b:165). Those are

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8 Those religious sessions often turn into social gatherings in an urban context.  
9 Blessing
opportune moments for adepts to renew their vows to the marabout who can spend up to several weeks with his disciples (Kane, 2009, pp. 210-211).

As Diop (1981, p.80) explains, the dahiras are a lucrative source of income. As such, it is in the marabout’s interest to keep them controlled and ensure members maintain a cohesive relationship. The following part will treat of the network of the Western dahiras as an important aspect of the Senegalese Mourides’ identity as transmigrants. As observed by Villalón (1995, p. 158), Babou (2002b, p. 156), and Bava (2004, p. 135), the diasporic dahiras play a pivotal role in creating large networks of Mouride migrants in the global North, whilst, at the same time, preserving the umbilical cord that links the adepts to the holy city of Touba. I may therefore coin, in apologies to Orwell, the phrase: *all dahiras are equal but some are more equal than others.*

### 2.4.3 The diasporic dahiras

Although, as evidenced earlier, the original purpose of a dahira was to maintain the bond between the disciples and their marabouts, in the West, the dahiras take on other roles that confer to them a certain autonomy. In this new diasporic context, the traditional roles between disciple and marabout appear to have been reversed. For example, rather than the adepts regularly reporting to the guide, as it is customary in Senegal, Mouride diasporans receive regular phone calls from the marabout enjoining member to stay united. The latter also could avail himself of those moments to ask the disciples to contribute a sum of money towards a particular matter that the community has need of. For example, dahira leaders in London were recently working towards the acquisition of a new, bigger establishment in Wanstead, London. To that end, all Mourides worldwide were called upon to raise £100,000 towards a mortgage deposit, as this poster below illustrates.

*Figure 4. Fundraising for a new dahira in London*
As Kane (2009) observes, it is almost as if the marabout views the Mouride diasporans as his corporate customers, all the more so when he regularly flies over to the West and returns with generous sums of money from the disciples (2009, p. 210-211). It is all too likely, therefore, that this new trend is principally due to the fact that dahiras in the West are more income generating for the guide. In addition, the disciples have much more freedom of action than the ones back home. For example, they informally elect their own local representative or kilifa rather than it being designated by the main spiritual guide (Sheff, 2009, p. 49). Often, it is the most successful traders who claim this leadership which is tacitly accepted by all other adepts (Bava, 2004, p. 138). What makes those dahiras attractive to prospective members and non-Mourides alike is the types of services that the dahiras provide to its adherents. Bava (2004, p. 138) reports that the Mouride associations offer immigration services to newcomers, provide general practitioners and even lawyers as and when required. As such, for the thousands of Senegalese in precarious circumstances, membership to the group is almost a matter of urgency. This is one way that the dahiras grow in number. Adherence to the Mouridiyya now becomes driven not so much by a religious impetus as by socio-economic conditions.

Membership to a dahira comes with corollaries which can be manifold, one of which being the adoption of what Diouf (2013, pp. 7-9) calls the “Islamo-Wolof model”. This is particularly more relevant if the new adherent is traditionally from another Sufi order. To show that he is fully integrated, the adherent may start using new discursive practices which are normally, as I will show in the analyses, consonant with Mouride ways. One of the ways that the Mourides make themselves distinctive is their multimodal display of the Touba visual culture, ranging from the wearing of pendants showing the picture of their spiritual guide, to special forms of greeting only observable among the Mourides. One popular example of Mouride greeting is the mbëkk, illustrated in the image below, where one puts one’s forehead on the back of another person’s hand.

*Figure 5. Mouride way of greeting*

The caption on the image reads: [MY MOST SINCERE GREETINGS]
This image is a WhatsApp emoji that Senegalese people, regardless of their religious denomination, use to greet each other. That the Mouride visual culture is gaining ground is a fact to which this sign bears this remarkable testimony. Furthermore, attendance, just like in any institution, is paramount. Members must be seen to attend regular gatherings whenever possible. They are often held once a week when poems of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba are chanted and current affairs discussed (Bava, 2004, p. 138).

The Senegalese are generally very proud of their type of Islam and are quick to display its characteristics in the West. According to Diouf (2013, pp. 7-9), the Senegalese diasporans want to be seen as peaceful Muslims who draw the line between “Moorish Islam” and “Black Islam” in an effort to reflect what they consider to be “good Islam”. They strive to convey messages of peace and tolerance to the West, an Islam tinged with blackness and Africanity (Salzbrunn, 2004, p. 481). It is in that regard that the annual Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Day congregation is held in New York, where thousands of Mourides parade in the streets of New York, chanting praises of Ahmadou (Kane, 2009, p. 216). They march peacefully and often brandish placards with messages of peace inscribed on them (Africana Digital Ethnography Project, 2016). This annual celebration and religious festivities of this kind are special moments when all the dahiras collect the offerings to be handed to the visiting marabout (Kane, 2009, pp. 212-213). The celebration is held simultaneous in July, in many other Western cities such as in Atlanta, Georgia (Salzbrunn, 2004, p. 483), or Birmingham, England (Khadim Vision 24, 2018). So important is this event that it has been officialised in the West (See Appendix L for authorisations signed by the Mayor of Atlanta and the President of the Borough of Manhattan, respectively).

With these annual parades in the major cities of the global North, as well as the annual Mâggal ¹⁰ celebration worldwide, not to mention the occasional celebrations held as a result of a Marabout’s visit, the Mouride transmigrants make the receiving global cities their own, creating spaces as they navigate throughout the West. Before, every Mouride strove to go back to Senegal for the annual Mâggal pilgrimage in Touba, but nowadays, because Touba has become a global city and that the visual reproductions of religious and cultural objects from Touba abound in the western cities (Ross, 2011, p. 2933), adepts can hold celebrations in any parts of Europe and North America. Multimodal arrangements of artefacts from Touba can be seen in places owned or run by the Mourides. This is part of a “global diffusion of

¹⁰ Pilgrimage of Mourides to the holy city of Touba.
images of Touba” such as pictures of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, prayer mats and beads, DVDs, and the famous aromatised café-Touba\textsuperscript{11} which all Mouride disciples drink at every gathering (2011, pp. 2945-6). As part of the global diffusion of Touba, the programme *Touba ca kanam*, which can be rendered as Touba Worldwide, plays a pivotal role. The programme has been around for the past 18 years and covers a total of 66 countries, and adepts around the world participate monetarily to help build more establishments in the West (Walfadji TV, 2021). This also contributes majorly to the dissemination of the Touba visual culture.

These Senegalese signs, set against the backdrop of Western cultures, are consonant with the relatively new trend which consists in including multimodal signage in the translanguaging research. If multimodal signage such as the Touba visual culture is a form of language, their deployment in foreign environments may be seen as a form of translanguaging or, to be more specific, “trans-signing”, to adopt Adami’s (2019, p. 44) term, on account of the fact that those signs of Senegalese origin cohere with Western features with which they enter into a syntagmatic relationship to create new meanings in new translocal spaces. The trans-signing can also be linguistic, that is, multimodal signs can be accompanied with inscriptions of some description. Ross (2011, p. 2942) reports that the majority of businesses owned by the Mourides in the West bear the prefix Touba as the first part of the business name. Touba Cleaning Ltd in Birmingham (Cylex, 2021), or Touba London International Ltd (Gov.uk, 2020), specialised in the sale of textile and clothing, are examples of such Mouride-run companies. There are also other Touba-prefixed organisations which combine business and religious education such as the Touba Charity in Bristol, UK, whose mission is: “building community togetherness and citizenship, nurturing enterprise and community development, and promoting Islam through Mouridism” (Touba Community Bristol Charity, 2021). This promotion of Islam through Mouridism is in keeping with the previously mentioned notion of “good Islam” (Diouf, 2013) that the Mouride transmigrants endeavour to publicise in the West and which has the Islamo-Wolof doctrine as a central tenet.

This Islamo-Wolof model will be instrumental in shaping, or at least influencing the Senegalese diasporans’ language practices and attitudes. The linguistic repertoire of the Senegalese transmigrant in the West is much more complex than that of the less mobile Senegalese back home. During the campaign of the year 2000 presidential election in

\textsuperscript{11} “Café Touba is a spicy blended coffee which first became popular in Touba itself in the late 1980s and which is now closely identified with the Mouridiyya both in Senegal and abroad” (Ross, 2011, p. 2946).
Senegal, Wade, the former Senegalese president flew to the United States to address the diasporic Senegalese there. The speech he delivered best epitomises how the Senegalese diasporans speak. According to Salzbrunn (2004, p. 493), Wade strove to replicate their speech style by deploying a translingual languaging form which involved Wolof and several other languages including Arabic, French, and English, a strategy he deemed would be more poignant for the messages he wanted to convey. This was unlike the campaigns he had held in Senegal where his use of UW involved principally the use of Wolof and French (Swigart, 2000, pp. 121-122). In the West, UW takes on new, more complex forms, and Wade seemed to have been aware of that. The linguistic repertoire of the Senegalese transmigrants is the object of the following part.

### 2.5 When translocals translanguage

Having highlighted the Senegalese migration pattern in the West in the previous section, I will, in this section, attempt to intersect the Senegalese transmigration literature with that of their everyday language practices. My findings suggest, as mentioned in the introductory part of this review, on page 22, that the two narratives have almost always been studied apart. As adumbrated in section 2.4.1, this section will aim to draw the parallel closer between how the Senegalese diasporans move in their translocal spaces and how they create spaces in their everyday translanguaging practices. As previously mentioned, most studies on UW were limited to how the language was spoken in Senegal, with emphasis on the Wolophones’ propensity to switch between French and Wolof. There are however a couple of recent studies (Smith, 2019 & Tramutoli, 2021) which have examined how Wolof is spoken in the West. However, both authors still view the Senegalese translingual speech through the code-based approach of codeswitching (2019) and code-mixing (2021).

Whilst the studies have their merit in the multilingualism literature, they do not seem to fully account for how the Senegalese transmigrant really speaks. Smith’s (2019) work was more transnational as she examined samples of communicative data by urban Wolophones in Rome, New York, and Paris, while Tramutoli (2021) studied the Senegalese community in Italy. Both studies are innovative in that they have taken Wolof outside the boundaries of Senegal and into the non-Francophone world, where the language is bound to undergo changes due to contact with other European languages. Smith’s research is, however, centred, in the main, on racial issues and on the formation of transnational and postcolonial identities.
rather than on linguistic theories (2019, p. 9). Tramutoli’s (2021) work was more of a linguistic order. I will come back to the theoretical approaches employed by both authors in Chapter 3.

UW has become the main vehicular language among the majority of the diasporic Senegalese (Irvine, 2011, p. 64), owing to the fact that the main marker of Senegaleseness is Wolof (2011, p. 62) and more specifically UW, even if they are originally from rural Senegal. Therefore, one can see that the desire for urban integration that the rurals exhibit in Dakar are as if transposed to the urban cities of the West. McLaughlin (2008b, p. 95) observes that most Senegalese arriving in the West, irrespective of their ethnic origins, bond as one community through the use of Wolof. In some parts of the West, such as in New York, most Senegalese immigrants are originally from the rural areas of Senegal (Perry, 1997, p. 230). The same can be said about the Senegalese in other European countries like Italy and Spain where large communities of rural Senegalese are found (Smith, 2019).

The Wolof culture is so generalised in Senegal that, in the international scene, being Senegalese is equated with merely speaking Wolof (Perry, 1997, p. 254). This is why, in the many discussions held by the Senegalese about Africanity and the return to African roots, they refer to Wolof as our mother tongue, even if they are Bambara, Sereer, or Fulani. Irvine (2011, p. 62) writes, to that effect, that any seeming dissensions between ethnic groups tend to be ironed out in the diasporic context where being Wolof is mapped to Senegality. In fact, the first mass of Senegalese to emigrate to America were not Wolof. They were a group of Fulani and Soninke originating from the North-Eastern parts of Senegal (Babou, 2002, p.157) but, despite that, the linguistic landscape has, since, undergone a process of Wolofisation. Furthermore, this Wolofisation is also accompanied with an inevitable urbanisation where rural Senegal comes into contact with “urban First World cities” (Perry, 1997, p. 230). What is clearly happening, therefore, with regards to the Wolof language, is a two-tier urbanisation system occasioned by migration.

On the one hand, the migration from the rural areas of Senegal to Dakar causes rurals to embrace urban ways. And, with French still being a prestigious language in the Senegalese imaginary (Diop, 2006, p. 128), rural Wolophones and non-Wolophones alike start at once to speak a more urbanised Wolof, characterised by the occasional use of relatively long stretches of French in their linguistic repertoire. Because, in Dakar, urban integration is synonymous with being conversant in UW, some well-to-do rurals marry city women,
initially for prestige (Babou, 2002, p. 162), but also to help accelerate their own urban integration process. On the other hand, the same phenomenon is observable on the international scene where First-World cities play the same role in the urbanisation of the Wolof language as does Dakar, in Senegal.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the history as well as the different appellations of UW throughout the centuries. It has been established that UW is not a postcolonial phenomenon like most African urban languages on account of the fact that there is evidence of a form of UW in the precolonial era. This chapter has also explored ways that UW has evolved, throughout the years, to become the lingua franca of the Senegalese urbanites in Senegal but also abroad. I have reviewed the Senegalese migration history to the global North where UW has become their main vehicular language, irrespective of whether they are originally from urban or rural areas in Senegal. The dissemination of UW in the West was thus largely occasioned by the process of urbanisation that RW undergoes in the European and North American cities. In addition, UW, as conceived of in Senegal, also undergoes a change. This change is due to several factors, the most salient of which is mobility which contributed to the enlargement of the diasporans’ linguistic repertoire. From the above review, there emerge the themes of transmigration and translocality undergirded by the porosity of transnational borders. I will attempt to intersect both themes with the notion of translanguaging, which I will speak about in the following chapter.
Chapter 3. Urban Wolof in the multilingualism research

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the literature on UW from its beginnings in 19th century Senegal to the present day, including how this languaging form has spread throughout Senegal and abroad through a process of urbanisation. This a priori review sets the foundation for the purpose of this study, which is to re-evaluate UW through different theoretical perspectives. I also examined the literature on the Senegalese transmigration and the translocal spaces which they move across. Having observed that what the Senegalese transmigrants do physically (i.e., moving across nations with no notion of physical boundaries) is somewhat similar to what they do in speech, I have made the initial assumption that transmigrating is the physical counterpart of translanguaging, as far as their linguistic practices are concerned. Because the Senegalese migration pattern, complex as it is, goes beyond just the movement between bound spaces with a name, drawing the parallel with the theory of translanguaging becomes at once irresistible. In this chapter, I will explore the multilingualism literature where translanguaging fits in, in relation to other theories, my objective being to demonstrate and make a compelling case that the Senegalese diasporans’ languaging style is more germane to translanguaging than any other theory. This study can indeed be a vast topic but the space at my disposal will allow me only to touch upon the most conspicuous points in the multilingualism literature, especially those relevant to how UW has thus far been studied.

In what follows, I will explore some of the various methodologies employed in UW studies to collect data both in Senegal and abroad. The focus, in the second part, will be on the theoretical approaches underpinning the analysis of UW corpora, most of which were dominated by the theory of codeswitching, code-mixing, the idea that urbanites shuttle between socially constructed linguistic entities which are generally French and Wolof. As such the UW literature shows the preponderance of the code-based approach with the focus on languages rather than on the speakers and their creativity. In spite of the paucity of research on novel, speaker-centred approaches in the UW research, I have endeavoured to build on the existing analytical approaches to UW to offer a new theoretical approach to UW research. I will contrast the dual view of language mixing with the unitary view promulgated by the translanguaging experts (Garcia et al., 2018), with the view to demonstrating why UW
should be viewed more in the light of translanguaging than through the rigidity of codes. The chapter concludes with a synthesis of the various theoretical methods gleaned, culminating with an elaboration on the choice of the translanguaging model as the framework for this study, and a justification of why it constitutes, in my view, the best theory in analysing UW data.

3.2 Methodological approaches to data collection

Whilst there are many studies on Wolof in general, its grammar and orthography (Torrence, 2013), UW has proven to be a more popular target for scholars. It merits noting here, too, that most of such studies are concentrated in Senegal. Very few studies were conducted on UW as spoken in the diaspora. One of the most popular methodologies of collecting UW communicative speech samples are those ethnographically-informed, involving, principally, observation and interviews. In his research in Saint-Louis, the former capital of Senegal, NGom (2003) set out to examine the situations in which Wolophones included French, Arabic, and English features in their daily conversations. In order to analyse their various motivations for which they used each of those languages in their translingual practices, he used structured interviews, with a set of questions designed to elicit such specific topics as politics, religion, and culture from two-hundred randomly selected informants.

Most linguistic ethnographically-informed methodologies use interviews mainly as a way of triangulating observational data from naturally-occurring conversations. In that regard, such data as the one collected by NGom (2003) can be said to lack spontaneity, as far as what Poplack (2018, p. 18) calls “good data” is concerned. According to Poplack’s (2018, pp. 18-21) variationist methodology, good data should not only be representative of the informants but also be varied enough to allow for enough patterns of speech to emerge from the corpus. As such, in collecting her bilingual Wolof-French data, she privileges large corpora of quantitative data whilst employing linguistic ethnographic means (2018, p. 82). NGom’s (2003) approach differs with other ethnographically-informed methodologies in the sense that his data was collected within the framework of pre-established themes he wished to see as emerging from the data. In other words, he was interested in how specific, pre-existing themes were linguistically framed by those UW speakers. I will demonstrate in sections 3.3.2 and 3.4 that this approach runs counter to that employed by proponents of translanguaging, whose methodologies tend to be more speaker-centred.
Adepts of translanguaging prioritise the exploration of themes that emerge, spontaneously, from the multilingual corpora, with the speakers and data as a starting point. As such, this stance will inform their data collection procedure. In Casamance, South of Senegal, where Joola, Wolof, and French are among the dominant languages, Goodchild and Weidl (2019) examined the translanguaging practices of multilinguals’ daily practices. The data was comprised of several hours of video-recorded speech samples of naturally-occurring conversations collected between 2014 and 2017. Their principal objective was to look at how the speakers used their varied linguistic repertoires, including multimodal features, in their daily interactions. Therefore, their focus was more on collecting spontaneous speaker samples. Their approach can be seen as novel in the respect that they have moved away from code-based methodologies, which they have found to be too rigid.

It is well to note that most African languages are not predominantly written, although some, like Wolof, have been codified, and have a grammar and an orthography (Republique du Senegal, 2005; Torrence, 2013). It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the source of data is to be found in orality. In addition, because of the epistemic biases and stigma attached to translingual practices (Swigart, 1994, p. 181, Irvine, 2011, p. 63), the Wolof found in print is generally the monolingual, rural type and, as such, does not reflect the true way that the Senegalese urbanites language. However, more recently, with the advent of social media, the ethnographic research has spread beyond just real-life situations to encompass virtual interactions. The new technologies have helped spread the use of UW beyond the confines of Senegal, as diasporans engage in discussions relating to unemployment and poverty back home. I will concur with Irvine (2011, p. 60) that those topics are one of the most discussed among the Senegalese diasporans, as my data also shows.

This deterritorialization of UW, occasioned, in part, by the development of online networks, has triggered the interest of many UW scholars whose main works had so far been limited, in the main, to Wolof in Senegal. In that regard, McLaughlin (2014) examined various ways in which the Senegalese, including the diasporans from Europe and America, use the social media platforms to engage in daily digital practices, using unconventional orthography. Most urbanites use the French orthography to write in Wolof. This is most observable nowadays with the advent of texting. McLaughlin (2014) contends that her approach for collecting digital UW data is nothing short of ethnographic, basing her argument on Blommaert and Jie’s (2010) view that language, being dynamic, is inseparable from the many situations in
which it occurs. One of those situations was the comments section of the New York-based Senegalese “Web portal”, Seneweb (2014, p. 30). As a digital platform for the diasporic Senegalese, it constitutes a medium for the dissemination of UW abroad, echoing Smith’s (2019) “Senegal Abroad”. In her latest work, Smith (2019) was interested in the Senegalese transnational identities. Her sojourns in Dakar, Rome, Paris, and New York allowed her to collect ethnographic communicative data from Senegalese informants. She examined how the Senegalese frame notions of identity and blackness in real life multilingual interactions from an UW corpus she had compiled over a period of three months, with observation and interviews as her main methods of data collection.

By and large, UW scholars employ fairly similar methods of collecting data, which, for the most part, are linguistic ethnographically informed. However, in my findings so far, there does not seem to be long-standing immersions with the researched from the researchers’ part, in order to allow for patterns of speech to emerge. Whilst it may be a valid approach to work with synchronic data, for, say, other analytical purposes, certain theoretical assumptions are best made with diachronic data, collected during a long period of cohabiting with the informants. This is where, according to Poplack (2018), in-group membership is fundamental for the collection of “good data” (2018, p. 18). I tackle the topic of in-group membership later in Chapter 4. Irvine (2012, p. 58) notes, to that effect, that a long sojourn with the subjects, “an intensive, long-term ethnography” is key in the data collection process. It is in that regard that being one of them can be highly beneficial.

In-group membership can facilitate understanding of certain practices observationally. It also enables the researcher to grasp intertextual references made by the group during their discussions without having to ask for elucidations. This is particularly important because, as I will show later in my analyses, observational and reported data do not always tally. In other words, what an informant reports to a researcher (especially to an outsider) may not reflect the truth, though truth is relative. In addition, with ethnographic research, there is the risk of exoticizing the research participants (Smith, 2019, p. 15; Perry, 1997, p. 230) by looking at them through the lens of accepted stereotypes. This is not to say that outsiders cannot become in-group members for the duration of the research. For example, some Westerners who are interested in African urban languages do endeavour to look beyond the long, overworked clichés.
In studying the Senegalese immigrants in the United States, Perry’s (1997, p. 230) aim was to “transcend media-produced stereotypes of exotic otherness in order to describe how and why Wolof immigrants engage in the cultural production of difference”. Smith (2019) also made a conscious effort to immerse herself in Senegalese communities in Senegal, in Europe, and in America, in an effort to better understand how the Senegalese frame certain ideological concepts such as race (and issues of identity) in their everyday language practices. Smith’s (2019) and Tramutoli’s (2021) works are not only some of the latest on Wolof, but they are also among the most original, in that they look at the Senegalese translingual practices outside Senegal. Both authors collected data in a context of migration, with mobility as one of the variables. It is in this context of the multilingual debate that my study is placed.

The difference, however, is that the aforementioned studies look at UW from a code-based perspective. In Italy, Tramutoli (2021) views Italian as an added code to the Senegalese language repertoire, approaching her data from the code-mixing perspective, while still Smith (2019) approaches hers from a codeswitching perspective. In any case, the fact that they both examine UW in the Global North, rather than in Senegal only, like the mainstream research, makes their research innovative. The following chapter will treat of the theoretical perspectives through which the UW data have been analysed in the scholarship.

### 3.3 Theoretical perspectives on data analyses

#### 3.3.1 The dual view of codeswitching

On account of most urban languages being a postcolonial phenomenon, the post-independence era saw a flux of interest in the study of urban languages in Africa. One of the most frequently studied urban languages is undoubtedly UW. It was Wioland and Calvet (1968) who, for the first time, spoke of Wolof in terms of it being the main vehicular language of Senegal (Calvet, 1994a, pp. 91-92) but it was Swigart (1992, p. 84), Calvet (1994a, 1994b), and Juillard et al. (1994) who highlighted more thoroughly the urban qualities of the language. They are perhaps the earliest authors to have used the appellation “urban Wolof”. The term was later popularised by subsequent authors such as McLaughlin (2008a, 2008c) who had also spoken of “Dakar Wolof” (2001) previously.

Most of the theoretical perspectives elaborated in the study of UW are principally based on the presupposition of the existence of what is known as codes between which the urban
Wolophone is supposed to switch. This is why many UW scholars saw the necessity to view UW through the lenses of codeswitching (Dreyfus & Juillard, 2001; NGom, 2006; Smith, 2019) or code-mixing (Tramutoli, 2021). For the proponents of this theory, the French features in UW are seen as additions to the Wolof language, thereby looking at this mode of languaging as a mixture of two languages, much the same as in the phenomenon García and LiWei (2014, p. 14) call “additive bilingualism”. Even the most recent scholars that looked at UW outside Senegal have adopted this view (Tramutoli, 2021). Whilst this is a valid point, adopting this view is tantamount to compartmentalising the linguistic repertoire of this speech community into bits of politically charged appellations like Italian, English, or French. On what, for example, do we base the appellation “Spanish” to “name” the speech of people living in Chile or Cuba, for example. This preceding remark, though apparently disconnected from my line of reasoning, affords nonetheless a rough illustration for what I mean by “politically-charged”. In fact, and still in this connection, it is these socially constructed appellations that occasioned the adoption of terms such as Francolof, Franlof or Fran-wolof (Thiam, 1994, p. 13), where the urban Wolophone’s translingual practices are merely seen as a forward and backward movement between two named languages.

Incidentally, the fact that the prefix “Fran” is the first part of the term is not fortuitous. In semiotics, the first part in such annexed terms constitutes generally the ideologically more “dominant” part (Chandler, 2007, pp. 110-114). This is also valid for appellations like La Françafrique. Françafrique is supposed to be a “cordial” relationship between France and its African colonies. It is in that regard that the latter are known by “Les amis de la France”, a friendship which could easily be the object of criticism in view of the visible imbalance in this relationship (France vs Francophone Africa). It is this imbalance which is also translated linguistically when translingual speakers are viewed as waltzing between a local vernacular and a more politically dominant one, thereby making the divide even more entrenched. Perhaps, looking at what is termed “Francolof” as one unified linguistic repertoire could offer a new platform from which all languaging forms are seen as equal. This will be the object of section 3.3.2; for now, however, let us explore more UW studies with the code-based approach as the main theoretical perspective.

With codeswitching as the most popular theory in the UW scholarship, a few distinctions are often made regarding the way speakers switch codes. In their study of the Wolof spoken in
Dakar and Ziguinchor12, Dreyfus and Juillard (2001, pp. 674-676), make the distinction between three modes of codeswitches: intrasentential, intersentential, and extrasentential, where intrasentential refers to the occurrence of a French feature within a Wolof sentence; intersentential, to the alternation between relatively long stretches of French and those of Wolof in one utterance. Extrasentential switches occur in dialogues, where one speaker makes a monolingual utterance in a given language and the interlocutor replies in another. Prior to this, Poplack (1988) had already elaborated on the distinction between intrasentential codeswitches and borrowings. More recently, she extended the theory and applied it to her study of UW, arguing that borrowing is a more appropriate term to reference the presence, within Wolof, of French lexical items (Poplack, 2018). However, she speaks of codeswitching to reference the alternation between stretches of French and Wolof. The latter would be equivalent to Juillard et al. (2001)’s intersentential switches mentioned above. These theories, applied to the study of language mixing over the intervening years, will reveal that some of these theoretical precepts are flouted by speakers of UW as we will see further below.

The study of UW has gained popularity over the past decades on account of the fact that some scholars have considered it to have a unique status among the African urban languages. It has evolved to become the national language of Senegal, despite the attempt, by the French and the Francophile elite in Senegal, to promote the French language. For example, in other neighbouring African nations like Côte d’Ivoire, a form of Creolised French popularly known in Senegal as le français ivoirien emerged in the post-independence era. In many other Francophone African countries like Gabon, Togo, or Benin, urbanites tend to mainly speak French, whereas the Senegalese somewhat resisted this French domination. Wolof is instead more popular throughout the country. Despite the long-standing relationship between France and Senegal, only around 10% of the Senegalese speak French (Smith, 2019, pp. 7-8). It is instead the “shadow politics of Wolofisation” (O’Brien’s, 1998) that took root and hoisted Wolof to the state of de facto national language. To that effect, much research has been conducted on UW and the Senegalese linguistic landscape.

The popularity of this dual view of codes spans across decades and is, to date, the preferred theoretical approach for many in the UW scholarship, with codeswitching as the most popular theory. This is observable even in the most recent studies on UW (Smith, 2019; Tramutoli,

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12 One of the 14 departmental regions of Senegal.
2021). One of the most prominent frameworks in codeswitching is the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) theorised by Myers-Scotton (1995). The theory stipulates that the bilingual does not just mix languages randomly, but that in a postcolonial African context of codeswitching, the European language constitutes the embedded language, and the local vernacular represents the matrix language. The embedded language is, as if, housed in the matrix language. Furthermore, the author argues that it is the matrix language which defines the grammatical rules of the translingual utterance. This theory echoes Dumont’s (1983, p. 153) view that the Wolophones’ extensive use of French verbs has not altered the Wolof verbal system because all French verbs are inflected in accordance with Wolof grammatical rules. The MLF model has inspired many proponents of the dual view of codeswitching, including Muysken (1997, 2000, 2013) whose theories have, in turn, inspired Tramutoli’s (2021).

Tramutoli (2021) found that the code switches that the Senegalese migrants in Italy engage in are generally of an intra-sentential nature, that bits of Italian are inserted to the already existing UW repertoire. Looked from that angle, the findings seem to support the MLF notion of embeds within another language. However, despite the existence of rules which characterise codeswitches and code-mixes, including those supported by the MLF model, many of them are violated by UW speakers, as I will demonstrate later in the analysis. To cite an example, scholars like MacSwan (1999, 2005, 2009) have argued that some forms of language mixing do not occur because of some grammatical constraints proper to the codeswitching theory, echoing Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) Blocking Hypothesis which stipulates that some morphemes are incompatible with other morphemes from other languages, or that the use of a given morpheme is inhibited by another to which a codeswitcher attempts to juxtapose it.

The aforementioned precepts are based on the assumption that the hosting language (matrix) dictates the morphosyntactic rules. Therefore, linguistic elements that do not comply are inhibited or blocked. For example, urban Wolophones can equally say: “My laax” (my millet porridge) or “Sama porridge” (my millet porridge). According to the Blocking principles, the former should not be allowed because the grammatical elements should come from Wolof and not from English. Sama porridge would be acceptable according to this principle because porridge is a lexical term, and thus can be borrowed (the Blocking Hypothesis prohibits grammatical items from being borrowed). However, my analyses will reveal that the urban
Wolophones are not bound by any of those rules. Even if they are, for the sake of argument, they flout them on a daily basis (see analysis of Extract 2, on page 103).

Several decades later, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2017) refined the MLF model to include a reinforcement of the distinction between grammatical elements (system morphemes) and the lexical elements (content morphemes) in a codeswitching utterance. The authors contend, for example, that definiteness (definite articles, possessives, etc.) are part of the system morphemes (2017, p. 344) and should, according to their codeswitching precepts, come from the matrix language, but our example above (my laax) seems to infirm this assumption, where the definiteness or determinacy is framed in English instead. Other authors have been inspired by the MLF model and elaborated many other rules.

Regarding precepts and rules of language mixing, Schindler et al. (2008) and Legendre and Schindler (2010), in their analysis of their UW data collected in Thiès, the second largest city in Senegal, found that the speakers flouted many of those precepts of language mixing, including, principally, the ones theorised by MacSwan (1999, 2005, 2009). It merits noting, too, that the dual view of bilingualism can be valid to a certain extent, when the language practices of multilingual language users are viewed from the outside, but I will agree with Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 298) that the researcher must not assume, from the outset, that multilingual speakers are just adding languages together. It is those assumptions which are at the very heart of most, if not all, UW studies. It is the insistence that languages must be viewed as distinct named entities that is also at the very heart of the codeswitching theory and is related to what Garcia et al. (2018, p. 5) call the “dual correspondence view”. Many of the prominent authors of bilingualism such as MacSwan (2017) still support this theory, or, at least, view translingual practices through this theory, but a relatively more recent view on multilingual languaging based on the theory that the multilingual multilinguals possess one unified linguistic system has emerged. Garcia et al. (2018, p. 8) call it the “unitary view” which is a fundamental aspect of the notion of translanguaging.

### 3.3.2 The unitary view

In the previous section, I have looked at UW as viewed by the majority of the scholars, with the theory of the code-based approach as its theoretical underpinnings. I have established that one of the recurring themes in the study of UW is the Wolophones’ propensity to mix languages (French, English, Wolof, etc.). I also examined some of the most recent studies.
which have looked at the urban Wolophones’ languaging style in non-Francophone communities as a trilingual code mixing. The proponents of those theories, who champion the enumerative approach to language, reason that a new language has been added to the existing UW repertoire. In this section, I will examine a different perspective on UW where scholars have questioned the legitimacy of the dual view. Even some of the proponents of codeswitching acknowledge that the Dakarois’ translingual practices exhibit a certain fluidity and ease to the point where early appellations of UW such as “Francolor”, “Franlof”, or “Fran-Wolof” (Thiam, 1994, p. 13) have now become virtually outdated, so to speak.

UW on its own is a translingual languaging system. In addition, the mere fact of viewing it as a variety of Wolof, i.e., one integrated system under one name, should be a reason to shift to a more unified communicative system. The urban Wolophones' daily translingual practices resemble more what Pennycook & Otsuji (2015, p. 19) call “the dynamic interrelationship between language practices and urban space”. Because UW is the language of the city-dwellers, Pennycook & Otsuji (2015)’s metrolingualism is, in my view, a potentially acceptable theoretical approach for studying UW, all the more so because metrolingualism, like translanguaging, is about understanding crystallised or spur-of-the-moment languaging forms in a specific space (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, pp. 86-87). I would consider Swigart (1992) to be the closest, of all the UW scholars, to the concept of the unitary view.

Swigart (1992, p. 84) agrees that the urban Wolophone seems to be putting two codes together but, rather than remaining dual, the linguistic system thus obtained is transformed into a new, unified entity she calls “third code”, thus concluding that UW is “one code” (1992, p. 99). This concept of third code is somewhat analogous to (Bhabha, 1990)’s notion of “Third space” where something new is birthed from a combination of elements. In line with this theory, UW can be viewed as a form of languaging creatively improvised in a space of language and culture shock as a response to specific communicative needs. This move is, however, not without social tensions due to the epistemic biases surrounding translingual practices.

This is where, according to LiWei (2011, p. 1223) translanguagers need spaces where existing rules are apt to be defied, and new concepts creatively coined (see also LiWei, 2018, p. 15). This “criticality and creativity” (LiWei, 2011), which is observable in the urban Wolophones’ translingual practices, was adumbrated in the previous section. Swigart (1992, p. 84) contends that the fluidity with which the urban Wolophones speak makes this way of
language “the norm”, the unmarked form of speech for the Dakarois, suggesting that the author adopts, in that regard, a more speaker-centred view to be able to see their repertoire as the default way of languaging. She is therefore moving away from the ideas of shuttling between languages. Although some of her statements still sound like duality, her theories on UW are nonetheless consistent with one of the three principles of the translanguaging theory elaborated by Vogel and Garcia (2017, p. 3), that translanguaging “…takes up a perspective on bi- and multilingualism that privileges speakers’ own dynamic linguistic and semiotic practices above the named languages of nations and states”. Similarly, García and LiWei (2014, p. 22) spoke of the linguistic practices of the bilingual languagers as being “the norm”. Furthermore, Swigart’s (1992) assumption that UW is “One code” is also not very far off from the theoretical foundations of translanguaging of the “unitary linguistic repertoire” (Vogel & García, 2017, p. 3).

Additionally, what draws Swigart’s (1992) views even closer to the theories of translanguaging, at least as far as UW is concerned, is her insistence that the Dakarois urban Wolophones are not switching between codes, reasoning that their languaging pattern is, in essence, different from patterns observable in code switches (1992, p. 84). These findings attest to the theory that UW, though resultant from different “languages”, if viewed from the inside, constitutes a unitary whole. This theory is in keeping with the one championed by some of the proponents of translanguaging such as García and Li Wei (2014, p. 21) who speak of “new whole” to refer to the bilingual’s linguistic system.

The newness of the whole appears to suggest that something has been added. This is what it looks like from the outside but translanguaging experts insists that the reality within the multilingual speaker’s mind is otherwise (Otheguy et al., 2015), that despite the fact that, from a social perspective, multilingual languagers may be said to be using more than one named language, they are still producing speech from a “unitary” linguistic system (Garcia et al., 2018, pp. 8-9). Put another way, what is seen as additions by proponents of the dual correspondence, or of the enumerative approaches to language, is only an enlargement of the one linguistic repertoire. Only, even in describing the unitary nature of the bilingual’s repertoire, the use of certain terms is sometimes inevitable, even if they evoke duality.

The aforementioned translanguaging experts, and perhaps others, do account for that fact. Because of the language planning and policies that have been forced on to us, some of us may have to use terms such as, say, “language features”, rather than what Otheguy et al. (2015)
rightly call “idiolectal features”. It is therefore not rare for even scholars who champion the unitary view, like Canagarajah (2011a, p. 401), to use terms which evoke duality such as “shuttling between languages”. But the merit the use of such terms has is that it can concur towards explicating the notion of translanguaging, especially after we have so long been exposed to the theory of the code-based approach.

Before proceeding, let me bring a brief parenthetical clarification, regarding apppellations of multilingualism. Makalela and Dhokotera (2021) make the distinction between “monolingual multilingualism” and “multilingual multilingualism”. The former is more in line with enumerative approaches of multilingualism, denoting rigid boundaries with languages. They insist that African multilinguals who engage in multilingual language practices are multilingual multilinguals and not monolingual multilinguals because their translingual practices do not consist in an aggregation of separate named languages, but goes beyond that, in keeping with the theory of translanguaging.

However linguistically diverse a society can be, one can observe a certain fluidity in the way people translanguage. This is especially true in an African context where people are born multilingual only to later acquire, at school, additional languages often viewed, wrongly, as more prestigious. In any case, my point here is that with a plethora of languages, viewing the so-called shuttling between them in terms of switching codes can prove somewhat of a difficult endeavour. Sometimes, the linguistic system may comprise up to five or more named or nameable languages. I would strongly align my view with that of Otheguy et al. (2015, pp. 286-9; see also LiWei, 2018, pp. 18-19) that, in the mind of the African multilingual speaker, switching between languages or codes is exactly what is not happening. They are simply deploying idiolectal features, housed, as it were, in a large repertoire that knows no boundaries, unfettered by linguistic rules and precepts. It is an expression of linguistic freedom which can appear as a threat, for lack of a better term, to the language policy makers.

This is why more recent scholars regard the unitary view as the most suitable to analyse translingual practices in some African contexts where translanguaging is what many Africans naturally do as multilingual multilinguals. What is noteworthy, additionally, is that in Senegal, many of the 30 or so languaging forms are still not codified. Where, then, would one start, to view those as codes? This is exactly what Goodchild and Weidl (2019, pp. 133-149) stumbled upon in Senegal. Using the translanguaging model, they analysed video-recorded multilingual conversations in Casamance, South-Eastern Senegal. The linguistic ecology of
this part of Senegal is one of the most diverse and people from different ethnic backgrounds with highly varied linguistic repertoires engage, fluidly, in daily language practices. They found several local languages such as Joola, French, Mandinka, Wolof, Kriolu, etc. that composed the local linguistic system.

The authors demonstrated how, with a code-based approach, it would have been impractical to analyse this highly multilingual setting. The reason is that specific codes could mean different things for different locutors and there can be confusion in the apprehension of some lexemes. As such, because some of the languaging forms do not yet fully have an official name, one can only obtain a vague idea of what a code could be in those circumstances. They also found that speakers may not always report all the languages that they speak. What is innovative about the study is the inclusion, in the data analysis, of multimodal features as part of the speakers daily translanguaging practices. In fact, there is a growing interest, within the translanguaging scholarship, in multimodality.

More recently, multilingualism has grown to include social semiotics to create larger linguistic systems that would include semiotic repertoires. Some of the most eminent scholars in multilingualism such as Vogel and García (2017, p. 13) agree that multimodality and social semiotics could add to the understanding and furtherance of translanguaging (see also García & Otheguy, 2020, p. 25). In this connection, Adami and Sherris (2019) reason that multimodality is a form of communication that can be said to comprise language and other prosodic features not often accounted for in linguistic analyses. To this end, Perera (2019) examined how translanguaging repertoires have come to include visible corporeal actions such as gestures, gaze, etc. Because gestures can complement the meaning-making process and can direct an interlocutor to a desired meaning (LiWei, 2018, p. 21; García & Otheguy, 2020, p. 25), sometimes even before words are uttered (Perera, 2019, p. 129), it is well to take them as integral multimodal features of the translanguager’s linguistic repertoire.

Whether it is multimodality that is part of language, or the other way around is an object of debate. But what is clear is that proponents of translanguaging adopt such terms as multimodal translanguaging or multimodal languaging (Adami, 2019, pp. 36-38). In the production of a multilingual repertoire, lexical items seem to be playing the same role as do signs in a semiotic repertoire. This is also consistent with Pennycook’s (2017, p. 273) observation that, in translanguing practices, the language features are important, but, of equal importance is also the semiotic repertoire against which the linguistic signs are set. The
setting of the author’s research was a Bangladeshi-run corner shop in Sydney. In the study of multimodal translanguaging, shops and businesses have proven to be a rather popular setting.

Banda et al. (2019), for example, examined how Chinese signage harmoniously blends with local signs in Zambia to create new meanings. Similarly, Shiohata (2012, pp. 274-283) observed that, in Dakar, shopkeepers designed a rather ingenious way of attracting customers. They inscribe Wolof multimodal signs, using an unconventional orthography (i.e., the French alphabet), on their shop fronts with the name of their revered spiritual leader juxtaposed to the product they are selling to attract other adepts who follow the same marabout (spiritual guide) to visit the shop (2012, pp. 274-283). All the works cited above concur to support the idea that the semiotic space in which the languaging happens is of paramount importance. In fact, one can even argue that there is no space (apart) in which translanguaging occurs because, according to Mazzaferro (2018, p. 3), this notion of space is, in and of itself, part and parcel of the multilingual language users’ linguistic resources (see also Otsuji & Pennycook, 2015, p. 85).

The multimodal design can also be bodily. For example, when two Senegalese people meet and shake hands, as they systematically do, if one of them prostrates on the back of the hand of the other, the latter understands the message conveyed, and the ensuing conversation will inevitably be marked by this gesture which is characteristic, as explained already in the previous chapter (section 2.4.3), of the Mouride way of greeting. Garcia and Otheguy (2019, p. 8) posit, in this connection, that our corporeal actions also participate in the “meaning-making” of our communicative process. The same is equally valid for signage involving types of garments but also of signage outside the body such as special decorations which marks the communicative system. We saw in the section entitled The Senegalese migration pattern in the cities of the Global North, how fundamental the Touba visual culture is in the Senegalese transmigrant identity work. In such environments of semiotic assemblage, the speaker’s speech and actions become inseparable from the semiosis within which everything happens, and, language, rather than being just a tool, is now part of the setting, as an entity birthed within this semiotic décor (Pennycook, 2017, p. 277).

If we consider the concept of text in the general, semiotic sense of the term, to also include multimodal signage, then hermeneutics, as "the study of human cultural activity as texts with a view towards interpretation to find intended or expressed meanings” (Laverty, 2003, p. 24, citing Kvale, 1996), fits the framework of this study. In fact, hermeneutic phenomenology,
which will be addressed in section 4.3, constitutes the philosophical underpinnings of my research as well as the justification of my choice of a qualitative approach. This view of translanguaging within the speech-speaker-environment continuum affords a fresh perspective on language as being something humans do, echoing the notion which the gerund form -ing encapsulates. Note, in passing, that it is from the perspective of languaging that LiWei (2018, p. 16) initially developed his views on trans-languaging.

Another fundamental aspect of language not fully accounted for, and which can be said to be part of the Wolof prosodic elements, are verbal gestures. In their study of the Wolof language in rural Senegal, Grenoble et al. (2015), inspired by the works of Dialo (1985), examined what they call “verbal gestures”, which they define as “a group of sounds that stand outside of the basic phonemic and lexical inventory of Wolof, but are a core part of the Wolof communicative system” (2015, p. 110). Common Wolof verbal gestures are, for example, “walis”, “piis”, or “ciipetu” (or cipetu). The most common of them all is the ciipetu, characterised by a lateral sucking (long or short) of the teeth which produces a fricative sound. Grenoble et al. (2015, p. 115) describe “ciipetu” as a “bilabial-dental click” produced by an “elongated sucking” which carries the illocutionary force of “I don’t like this!”.

To avoid confusion, a precision is in order: the Wolof verbal gestures are not gestures. They are sounds. Contrary to what LiWei (2018, p. 21) refers to as “manual gestures” in multimodal translanguaging, verbal gestures are sounds that are in the same order as what Gil (2013) terms “paralinguistic clicks”, used in some parts of Senegal, which carry meanings of affirmations or negations, depending on the production of the sound. They also convey disagreement, sadness, despondence, etc. Grenoble et al.’s (2015) work was centred principally on how those verbal gestures are used in RW. As such, in my findings, there does not seem to be any studies which account for verbal gestures as used in translingual practices in urban contexts.

3.4 Conclusion and rationale for the choice of the unitary view of translanguaging as a theoretical framework

The general aim of the above chapter was to highlight some of the theories developed throughout the years in multilingual languaging studies. I have endeavoured to focus on
urban Wolof studies as it would be beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to critique the plethora of works available in the field of multilingualism. From the previous review, it has emerged that UW has mostly been studied through the dual correspondence view of theories such as codeswitching (Smith, 2019; Swigart, 1994, p. 175; Dreyfus & Juillard, 2001; NGom, 2006), codemixing (Tramutoli, 2021) and borrowings (Poplack, 2018), etc. The analysis of UW almost always involved looking at the Senegalese urbanite as switching between pre-existing codes, principally Wolof and French. The code-based theory regarded one language as the recipient and the other as the donor (Poplack, 2018), echoing Myers-Scotton’s (1995) MLF model of matrix and embedded languages.

However, it was observed that the urban Wolophone’s shuttle between the two so-called codes was so smooth that Swigart (1992) considered the resultant of that “new” linguistic mixture to be just “one code”, a “third code” created in a “third” space. Furthermore, new research into the Senegalese linguistic ecology, namely in the South, has revealed that a code-based method of studying multilingualism in this part of Senegal was almost an incongruity on account of the fact that what a code can signify in one language could connote a different thing altogether in another (Goodchild & Weidl, 2019, pp. 133-149). In light of the reasons thus enumerated, I allowed myself to be inspired by the work of Swigart (1992), initially, at a time when my conception of translanguaging was at its fledglings, resting solely on the idea of the smoothness of language mixing.

Realising, after Otheguy et al. (2015), that translanguaging goes beyond the notion of smoothness, and that speakers do not produce languages but their own idiolect, I learnt that scholars of the dual correspondence theory not only view multilingual speakers from the outside, but some of their assumptions on bilingualism can be said to be unfounded if we adopt a more speaker-centred approach. The fact, in addition, that translanguaging is a bottom-up phenomenon, with the speakers occupying a central position (Garcia & Otheguy, 2020, p. 24), makes it more appropriate for my line of study. Indeed, rather than assuming how urban Wolophones speak, I will approach my UW data as an insider, by adopting a more emic and indigenous stance, to analyse the translingual practices of my study participants.

In addition, what makes this model more amenable for UW studies is that the multilingual languager’s thought process is different to that of the monolingual speaker. LiWei (2018, p. 18) posits that even when the multilingual decides, momentarily, to be in a “monolingual mode”, he or she still does not think along the lines of monolingualism as a social
construction. As such, and in accordance with the findings of Goodchild and Weidl (2019) in the south of Senegal, codes do not seem to exist in the imaginary of the Senegalese multilinguals.

With the genesis, of late, of multimodality in the study of multilingualism (Adami & Sherris, 2019; Perera, 2019; Adami, 2019; Banda et al., 2019; LiWei, 2019), I have been moved to also include the analysis of Wolof verbal gestures in my study. The study of Wolof verbal gestures will, I believe, play a major part in the understanding of the UW speaker’s translanguaging practice, much the same as the understanding of translanguaging will be enhanced by the inclusion of multilingual multimodal analysis. With all these elements in play, it would be malapropos or at least discrepant, in my view, not to consider the urban Wolophone’s linguistic repertoire, comprising Wolof, English, French, verbal gestures, and multimodal gestures as constituting one linguistic system, in accordance with the translanguaging theory.

Moreover, even such entities as Wolof, English, French, etc. politically considered to be monolingual languages can be said to carry the vestiges of multilinguality even if we reason in terms of codes. For example, what is officially considered MW has had influences from various other languages such as Arabic (Diop, 2006; NGom, 2006, p. 104) and even Portuguese because the Portuguese had been in Senegal centuries before the French (McLaughlin, 2008b, p. 83). In addition, as early as the 11th century, some parts of the Senegambia area were already Islamised (NGom, 2003). As such, it was inevitable that the indigenous people’s languaging practices be impacted by Arabic. So “established” are some of the Arabic terms in Wolof that many Senegalese, including my participants, see them as “original” (as in “of origin”) Wolof terms per se. Whilst the linguist can detect the appurtenance of a term, it is less evident for the common Senegalese. Therefore, in a code-based approach, the question of where a code belongs becomes problematic. The same could be said about French, Italian or English.

All the reasons enumerated above concur to solidify my choice of the translanguaging approach which coheres also with the notion of translocality (see section 2.5). The central theme of translocality, which emerged from the present review, is consonant with the concept

13 Proponents of codeswitching use the term to denote lexical items from a so-called donor language that are so frequently used that they are now considered part of the so-called recipient language (Poplack, 2018; NGom, 2006).
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of translanguaging in many respects. People from a particular linguistic community in a given locality engage in languaging practices that they have in common. The fact, in addition, that they can go beyond the official or political forms of languaging (translanguaging) and carry that across borders (translocality) to enlarge their languaging spaces (and thus linguistic repertoire), makes me want to reason in terms of translanguaging when dealing with transnational communities and their languaging styles. Translocality, therefore, I will argue, is the (physical) space, dynamic as it is, in which translanguaging (as a theory) occurs. Put another way, transnational processes such as transmigration and translocality are the macro-level contexts in which the micro-level context of translanguaging occurs.

What needs more attention in translanguaging studies is whether speakers follow special patterns in their choice of language features in their daily translanguaging practices. There does not seem to be many studies that focus on patterns of translanguaging. This may be due to the fact that, in translanguaging, some scholars tend to focus more on the unitary nature of the speakers’ repertoires. Understandably, the unitary view is fundamental in translanguaging but it does not preclude the potential presence of patterns of speech informed by the languagers’ various motivations, spurred, as it were, by the desire to tailor their speech to a specific interlocutor or to comply with some societal or social restrictions which causes them to frequently alter their speech style. I am fortified in this idea by Otheguy et al.’s (2015, p. 297) view that translanguagers do not translanguage in the same fashion every time, that they may be in situations where they do not use their “idiolects” freely or fully. Put another way, they may have to “monitor” their repertoire with the view to adapting “to the interlocutor and social situation at hand” (2015, p. 297).

The above idea echoes Bell’s (1984) “Audience design” where speakers appear to design their speech, depending on the circumstances at hand, to a special “audience” or “addressee”. Let me offer an illustration of the phenomenon that Otheguy calls “monitoring”: as a young boy, when I deployed my full language resources to speak to my father, I was systematically chided for doing so. This is because, as a Fulani, my father had some epistemic beliefs about the Wolof language which he considered to be an “invading language”. Whereas he was allowed to translanguage, that is, speak Fulani (because speaking so-called monolingual Fulani or any other language is translanguaging in a sense), I was not allowed to translanguage. I have my idiolect; he has his, but I am not allowed to use mine fully as he does his. He is allowed to finish his drink. I am not, just because I have a bigger cup. That is
a rough analogy but nonetheless affords an illustration to the notion of monitoring one’s idiolect.

The above observations by Otheguy et al. (2015) have been most inspirational for me in designing my research and I think more needs to be said about this self-monitoring of one’s idiolect, imposed by the language policy gendarmes. For the urban Wolophone in the West, for example, the monitoring of his idiolect can take multiple forms. Sometimes the UW repertoire can be deployed to (or close to) a maximum. Sometimes it is constricted to appear like MW, French, Sereer, Fulani, or English. It may also appear that they are only selecting one of the language pairs. Finally, it may also look as if they are using their whole idiolect but that one of the languages is more salient in a specific moment. My aim is to examine how the monitoring is done and in which specific situations certain choices of specific linguistic features occur to the exclusion of others. In short, I aim to examine in which types of interactions or social situations are certain parts of the speaker’s repertoire more, or less, prominent. I am aware that everyone has their own idiolect (Otheguy et al., 2015), nonetheless, collective patterns of speech are discernible in the deployment of the UW repertoire. In the following part, I will discuss my methodological approaches.
Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This research is concerned with understanding language utterances in specific situations, which almost sounds like a tautology as there can be no speech without the situation in which it arises (Hymes, 1968, p. 105). Sometimes, speakers, that is, translanguagers, are having to “monitor” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 297) their speech, that is, “watch” which part of their linguistic repertoire they should suppress or make more prominent because of some societal constraints that they need to take account of. Because the norm, for multilingual speakers, is to use their linguistic repertoire to the full, the abovementioned monitoring can only be of a restrictive order. As such, because there are as many types of self-restrictions as there are social situations and types of interlocutors, my primary aim in this study is to explore the types of patterns that this monitoring takes; which communicative situations correspond to which languaging style. To examine what patterns of language use are discernible in translanguaging, I propose to study the speech of the Senegalese transmigrants. In doing so, I also aim to reconceptualise UW by moving beyond its current conception by the mainstream UW scholars, approaching it from the perspective of the speakers, away from imposed linguistic norms.

My main methods for collecting speech events will be borrowed from linguistic ethnographic data collection techniques. They include interviews and participant observation (Heller, 2008, p. 250). Linguistic ethnography as a methodology is grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology, which stems from the interpretivist paradigm, or, to put it like Cohen (2000, p. 8), hermeneutic phenomenologists may adopt ethnographically-informed methodological research. Most ethnographers adopt an interpretivist stance and are interested, amongst other things, in a) how people use language and b) what they believe about language (2008, p. 250). Point a) accounts for my analysis chapter entitled Results: language practice and point b) for the chapter entitled Results: language attitudes.

Because languagers do not always report things that can be of interest for the linguist, it is vital to intersect the reported data with the observational. As an in-group member, I have had to go further in my analysis, by involving my participants, in a form of follow-up questions regarding points on which I needed clarification, as part of the participatory data analysis (see
part 4.6.2). Including my participants in the analysis process is seminal because they are inseparable from the reality I am looking to analyse. The hermeneutical phenomenological perspective undergirding my methodology theory, developed by Heidegger (1927/1962) and later extended by Gadamer (1975/2013), holds that no pre-packaged reality exists on the outside for the researcher to decode, that the truth we are seeking only emerges when we engage with what we call the world out there (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 224). As LiWei (2018, pp. 10-11) would agree, to solely look at speech data and not take account of the speakers would be against the very nature of applied linguistics.

Therefore, involving my participants becomes at once obligatory. If I fail to include my informants, I could find myself thinking for them when in fact it is their speech data that I am analysing, data which is not an objective reality. It is highly subjective (to them). In the following parts, I will explain the methodology I have adopted to collect and analyse my data. This chapter is structured as follows: I begin by outlining the rationale for the research questions which have emerged from the literature review and which I seek to answer. I then discuss, in some length, why I adopted a qualitative approach. I emphasize, in particular, the notions of phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology, culminating in the discussion, in the third part, of my data collection methods within the framework of linguistic ethnography. I then go on to discuss the data collection process from the selection of participants to ethical considerations. The last part is reserved for the dataset post-collection, from digitalisation to analysis. I conclude by a roundup of the main points covered in the chapter.

4.2 Rationale for the research questions

In order to examine the language practices and attitudes of the Senegalese transmigrants, I surveyed three principal areas of the literature as shown in the above literature review (Chapter 2. and Chapter 3. . I first examined the existing UW literature pertaining to works conducted in Senegal and abroad. Another area which I looked at was the Senegalese transmigration literature. This part is fundamental as it takes account of who the speakers of UW are. What is worth reminding is that from a translanguaging perspective, speech and speaker are inseparable. Therefore, I am looking to bridge the gap between the Senegalese transmigrants’ translanguaging practices with their identity as transmigrants. It has emerged earlier, in the review, that whilst there is a plethora of studies on the Senegalese
transmigration, my findings reveal that virtually nothing has been said about their translingual practices.

I believe that an individual’s identity cannot be dissociated from how they speak, that is, how they translanguage. It is in that regard that I have decided to draw a parallel between transmigration and translanguging. The third logical move, therefore, was to explore the translanguging literature. However, I soon found out that, if I am to look at UW from a translanguging perspective, I will have to bridge a second gap between this novel stance and the multitudes of theories which have thus far undergirded the UW literature.

Rather than looking at these urbanites as switching between languages, I will assume that they are using one idiolect, but that depending on certain situations, speakers are having to block, so to speak, parts of their language resources, thereby creating patterns of speech which are situation-dependent. This is what justifies my first research question: *do the diasporic urban Wolophones’ translanguging practices follow patterns of language use?* Although I have assumed it a priori, my objective is to see it confirmed in the data. If translanguging follows patterns, despite the unitary nature of the speakers’ repertoire, the next objective is to examine what those patterns are. Thus, as a sub-question, I posed the following: *what patterns of language use are exhibited in the Senegalese diasporans’ multilingual practices during their weekly gatherings?*

Because, in addition, those patterns are not generated randomly, I also want to see what specific situations, contexts, or interlocutors triggered the production of specific speech patterns (as part of the monitoring). Therefore, I have posed a second question: *what are the determining factors underlying the patterns of language use in the urban Wolophones’ translanguging practices?*

This study also aims to consider the language attitudes of the speakers. It is important to look at languging from the speakers’ perspective by also considering what their thoughts are on the way they speak. My aim in conducting one-to-one as well as semi-structured group interviews was in a bid to collect my informants’ thoughts on multilingual language usage, especially in their capacity as transmigrants. This is because Senegalese transmigrants appear to have different language attitudes to those of their co-nationals back home.
I have also had the privilege to attend spontaneous metalinguistic discussions about language use and language policies, all of which have allowed me to answer the following question: what attitudes do the urban Wolophones adopt towards translinguaging and their speech style as Senegalese diasporans? In this connection, I have also considered comparing the language attitudes of the Senegalese diasporans with those of their co-nationals back home. Before presenting my methodological procedures in section 4.4, I would like to justify why I have elected to adopt a qualitative approach by elaborating on the philosophical underpinnings of my research.

4.3 Hermeneutical phenomenology: a qualitative approach

Hermeneutic phenomenology constitutes the philosophical underpinnings of my data analysis techniques. Because I am interested in analysing language use, the communicative data becomes my starting point if I am to stick to the precepts of the translinguaging model at the micro level analysis. However, it bears pointing out that the analysis is not objective but interpretive in nature. That is, I am not trying to examine a bound linguistic entity as an objective reality independent of the speakers and their environment. I will therefore agree with Mazzaferro (2018, pp. 2-3) that speech is not an isolated, finite, entity, but is dynamic and constantly (re)fashioned, as speakers enter into an interactional relationship with one another and their environment. The communicative events are then birthed within a semiotic assemblage, of which the speakers can be said to be a part.

As Cohen (2000, p. 5) notes, in hermeneutic phenomenology, “the object of research is both language and the individual user of the language”. This inclusive view suggests that speech is inseparable from the speaker, which, understandably, requires speech to be dynamic as we can no longer see it as a standalone sign. This idea is consistent with the constructivists’ theory that reality, being constantly changing and ungraspable, is constructed in the spur of the moment, fleeting as it is (Heller, 2008, pp. 250-2). Many scholars who adopt more indigenous research methodologies also support this theory (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 40-41). Those methodologies approach reality from an emic perspective, that is, the researcher is part of the reality he or she is examining.
It is this approach to reality that is at the heart of hermeneutics where a person’s background and life history are bound to at least influence his perception of reality (Heidegger, 1927/1962, pp. 37-38). This is in contradistinction with phenomenological theories which advocate that the researcher should put his beliefs and historicality on hold to better apprehend the reality at hand. This is what Husserl (1913/1931) calls the “phenomenological reduction”, where the researcher “brackets out” the reality he is observing as being an independent entity (see also Polkinghorne, 1983; Laverty, 2003, pp. 22-23). As a Senegalese transmigrant and Wolophone, it would be unwise to bracket out my research participants and their languaging practices as an external reality to me, approaching the whole phenomenon as a scientist would an experiment.

My ontological assumptions, following the interpretivist’s theory, is that as an in-group member, I am part of the this constantly unfolding languaging form, seemingly independent of its speakers, yet (re)constructed at every moment alongside associated factors which subsume at once the speakers, the speech, and their environment. In hermeneutic studies, interactions will involve interpretations that are contingent upon the interactants’ prior knowledge or historicality (Laverty, 2003, p. 27), as such, my bias as a Senegalese transmigrant will, to some degree, inform the outcome of my research. However, as Kvale (1996, pp. 286-7) puts it, what is of critical importance, is for the researcher to acknowledge his bias; failure to do so may hamper the research findings.

Furthermore, I will not assume that what I interpret will be representative of reality but a series of snapshots of it, so to speak. This is because the language practices that my participants engage in are as diverse as are the many connections that they make with one another and with their ever widening linguistic and semiotic repertoire. It should be the researcher’s objective, as Kahn (2000a, p. 86) states, to constantly endeavour to reduce bias for a better representation of reality. According to Kahn (2008, p. 86) the “goal of the hermeneutic phenomenological researcher is to be able to report things as they appear to be encountered in the field…, rather than as the researcher would have them be”.

Languaging, therefore, is context-dependent and situational. This is why I privilege spontaneous vernacular speech. In my analysis, rather than approaching the speech data from the premises of existing theoretical assumptions, I will instead look at what themes emerge from it. However, every theme identified will be checked against subsequent speech data, which, in turn becomes a fresh starting point for the analysis for new emerging themes. It is
this backward and forward movement from the parts (data) to the whole (theme), which is known by “the hermeneutic circle” (Polkinghorne, 1983, pp. 226-7). Incidentally, the toing and froing movement is consonant with the abductive reasoning that I adopt in the analysis. The movements between parts and whole have to be repeated enough for the researcher to augment his understanding of the relationship between data and theme. But this circular movement must at some point come to an end. Kvale (1996) proposes a solution. He posits that the circular movement can be interrupted when “one has reached a place of sensible meaning, free of inner contradictions, for the moment” (1996, p. 47), or, as Gadamer (1975/2013, p. 304) puts it, when the meaning of the data at hand is fully grasped.

To clarify the relevance of the hermeneutic circle to my research, consider the following illustration. Say, I, as a researcher, am interacting with a Senegalese transmigrant in an interview. To understand what he is saying, I must start by analysing his current utterances, that is, I must not start, a priori, by filtering his words from my preconceived knowledge of Senegalese culture. The key, here, then, is to start with the data, although this initial move only affords the researcher a tentative understanding. However, having had an initial glimpse of the data at hand, I can then zoom out, as it were, and re-examine the bigger picture, to adjust my understanding of the ontology of a Senegalese transmigrant. After which point, I can return to more instances of language use to again be compared to the whole. This is in harmony with the hermeneutic principle that “we must understand the whole in terms of the detail and the detail in terms of the whole” (Gadamer, 1975/2013, p. 302). To this end, a substantial amount of data is needed, in view of the number of toing and froing required to arrive at an understanding.

My data is diachronic in kind and spans across several months. One could draw conclusions from synchronic data but their foundations would not rest on solid, verifiable assumptions that only diachronic data can afford. Synchronic texts could serve the purpose of analysing isolated instances of language use such as grammatical analysis or even codeswitches where languages are looked at from an external point of view. As the present study is interested in examining speakers’ idiolects, that is, speakers’ linguistic repertoires, which, as mentioned earlier, include the speakers’ semiotic system, isolated bits of language would not be representative of what speakers are doing. Therefore, by taking account of the communicative system made up of speaker, speech, and environment, I hope to get as close as possible to
what the Senegalese transmigrants are doing in their capacity of mobile multilingual speakers.

Furthermore, it is also important to mention that the reason communicative events should not, in my view, be seen as isolated events is that they are co-constructed, on the spot, amid an interactive relationship between the speakers and the in-group member researcher as well. I believe that only when all those interdependent factors are fused together can the researcher reach some kind of understanding of the data at hand. As such, even the data collection itself is dynamic. Jensen and Auyero (2019, p. 73) state that “fieldwork…entails data production rather than perfect, neutral all-encompassing data collection”. This co-construction of meaning is consistent with Koch’s (1995, p. 835) idea of what constitutes understanding as far as analysis of data is concerned. The author argues that “understanding occurs through a fusion of horizons, which is a dialectic between the pre-understandings of the research process, the interpretive framework and the sources of information” (Koch, 1995, p. 835).

There are several reasons that indicate that languaging is dynamic. The aforementioned statement sounds almost like a pleonasm in view of the fact that the very gerund form of the word “languaging” suggests dynamcity, leaving one to imagine how to even begin to capture this fleeting reality. But as with the capturing of several satellite images of the rotating Earth provides us with an approximate view of its rotundity, the capturing of several speech events in a speech community will afford us an approximation of the linguistic reality herein. In order to obtain a large corpus of genuine vernacular speech, sojourning with my participants becomes imperative. To this end, I borrowed ethnographically-informed data collection methods, the details of which are to follow after I have said a few words on linguistic ethnography as a methodology.

4.4 Linguistic ethnography

In the above section, I looked at hermeneutic phenomenology as the philosophical underpinnings of my data analysis techniques. In this section, I will be addressing linguistic ethnography as the science behind my data collection methods. As stated in the introductory part of this chapter, hermeneutic phenomenologists may employ ethnographic methodological approaches to collect speech samples. In this study, I will combine some aspects of indigenous research methodologies (Chilisa, 2012) with linguistic ethnography as understood by modern scholars such as Creese and Copland (2015), De Fina (2020), etc.
Among the indigenous affordances are the African “talking circles” which Chilisa (2012) speaks about and which I will address in section 4.5.4. But I must stress that my data collection techniques, which I will address in the next section, will be principally linguistic ethnographically inspired. My interest in speech and insistence that speakers be accounted for in the study of language makes this study more amenable to linguistic ethnography. My position as a Senegalese and Wolophone, coupled with my being an in-group member somewhat afford me with a slightly different perspectival approach to that of an outsider linguistic ethnographer. As such, I will avail myself of the indigenous research methodological affordances, with the sole view to enhancing understanding.

Linguistic ethnography can be said to be a relatively new research methodology, although, it could also be argued that it is a mere continuation of linguistic anthropology (Shaw et al. 2015, p. 3). As such, its relative newness suggests that it cannot be viewed as an infallible methodology (2015, pp. 1-3). I hope that this extra dimension that I am bringing to ethnography as an in-group member will not make this study any less of an ethnographic research. However, I am aware of the disadvantages that being an in-group member may present. There is the risk, for example, that the researcher may take certain things for granted and thus not analyse them fully (Timmermans, & Prickett, 2019, p. 55). Nonetheless, the advantages are manifold. As a member of the community I am researching, I will not risk “exoticizing” or otherising my participants (Smith, 2019, p. 15; Hanson, 2019, p. 184) or engage in what Perry (1997, p. 230) calls “stereotypes of exotic otherness”. Perry (1997) was saying that in relation to his study of Wolof immigrants in New York.

I showed in the literature review, namely in section 2.4, that mobility is a key factor in the Senegalese transmigrants’ identity work. Therefore, an insider position provides the researcher with such affordances as being able to move around with the participants in their many displacements. As members of the same dahira (see literature review section 2.4.2), my participants tend to stick together as they move around and engage in various cultural activities. The displacement can also be a mental one and this refers to intertextual mentions of when we were in Senegal, or mentions of dahira ceremonies we have attended someplace in Europe. These intertextual references could prove to be challengingly unfathomable for an outsider, especially if the latter never witnessed the mentioned events first hand. This is particularly important because an entire communicative event, lasting several hours, can be based on those intertextual events.
In the many discussions I took part in, my objective was to explore what patterns of speech were available on the ground, in what contexts, and how, where, and when they occurred. This is consistent with Hymes’ claim that speech is situational (1968, p. 105); that is to say that the context surrounding the communicative events informs the nature of the speech produced. Initially, my decision to approach UW from an ethnographic stance was inspired by the works of Hymes (1968, 1972) who spoke of “ethnography of speaking” (1968). This concept was later adopted and developed by various other authors such as Blommaert and Jie (2010), and, more recently, Creese and Copland (2015). According to Creese and Copland, linguistic ethnography regards language as speech acts uttered in specific circumstances in people’s everyday lives (2015, p. 26), where the linguistic notion of language [general] is filtered through the ethnographic notion of discourse [specific] (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 8; Tusting, 2020, p. 1). Furthermore, if, as Timmermans and Prickett (2019, p. 55) put it, "ethnography is the study of people as they go about their daily lives", then it is logical that linguistic ethnography be the study of people as they go about their daily linguistic practices.

I am interested in how the Wolophone speakers use language and what their beliefs about language are. Therefore, my task is geared towards an in-depth description (phenomenology) and interpretation (hermeneutics) of languaging forms co-created on the scene by both my informants and me. Additionally, because ethnographers, too, generally adopt interpretivist stances (Heller, 2008, p. 250), it is logical for linguistic ethnography to be employed as a methodology when interpreting language forms set in an ethnographic scene. Besides, because my research is interested in identifying recurring patterns of language use, I was moved to employ an ethnographic approach, reasoning, after Rampton et al. (2015, p. 16), that "ethnography looks for patterns and systematicity in situated everyday practice...". Even for researchers who view languages as separate codes (codeswitching, code mixing, etc.), ethnographic methods seem to be preferred.

However, this methodology is, I believe, more in line with the theory of translanguaging, in that translanguaging does not isolate signs, texts, from their contextual setting. Put another way, recordings and transcripts (linguistic) coupled with field notes (ethnography) make up the combination “linguistic ethnography” (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, pp.173-6). It is the ethnographic field that gives value to the data. I cannot stress too strongly the dynamicity not only of language but also of the ethnographic field as well. I am saying this in relation to the many intertextual references, past, present, or future that speakers make. For example, one
can feel, without asking, the ambience heralding an upcoming religious celebration not only from the languaging style of speakers but also from the décor.

Again, this is where an insider researcher has an advantage, where he or she can recall ethnographic references while interacting with the now computerised data. For example, the researcher can re-place specific utterances to their specific contexts. Even more particularly, he can recombine an utterance with a gesture or gaze which accompanied it at the time of the utterance. Knowledge of the Wolof language and culture can greatly contribute to this enterprise. However, the insider researcher should still take ethnographic jottings, as I did, for better analytical results because, in Timmermans and Prickett’s (2019, p. 59) words, “if you don’t write it down, it never happened”.

Another advantage of being an insider researcher is that informants will provide self-reported storied-data about their language attitudes in Wolof (no translator needed), rather than in French or English. It is not obvious that the ordinary Senegalese will have enough linguistic competence to express the sociolinguistic realities of the Wolof speech community in French or English. Therefore, ideas expressed in Wolof, amongst themselves, could be said to be more representative of “reality”14 so to speak. When an outsider is collecting data related to his informants’ language attitudes, they run the risk of being confronted with issues of dishonesty from the informants’ part. For example, la teraanga sénégalaise, the cultural practice which consists in making sure one’s guest is at ease at all times, often rendered as hospitality, as mentioned previously, does not allow for certain truths to be told.

More indigenous ways of approaching African languages are therefore needed. The introduction of more indigenous ways of collecting data is the first step towards decolonising (but not entirely) the research methodologies often used to study African languages. Even as an insider, I must not lose sight of the fact that, as a researcher, employing linguistic ethnographic methods, a reasonable distance of some sort needs to be respected between me and my informants. I believe a middle ground needs to be sought. Although this research adopts an indigenous stance, it will still use traditional, Euro-western methodologies of which ethnography is one.

14 Although it is fleeting.
However, with more than a century of history, ethnography, which still has its merits, remains nonetheless a colonial methodology designed to gain insight into other, foreign cultures (Gobo, 2008, p. 2). The intention, the author continues, was noble, but he calls on African researchers to contribute towards the elaboration of more decolonised methodologies (2008, p. 2). Therefore, a reconceptualization of the imagined concepts, birthed “within the theoretical and methodological framework of Anglo-European forms of research” (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001, p. 58) is now, more than ever, in order. I also agree with Chilisa (2012, p. 15) that researchers should allow speakers to “define in their own terms what is real to them”. In fact, this view echoes the very principles of translanguaging whose central tenet is to go beyond the text (in the semiotic sense of the term) and consider the speakers as inseparable from their speech. This view also coheres with participatory research methods, which I endeavour to adopt in this research and which I will talk about in detail by and by.

4.5 Data collection process

4.5.1 Selecting the informants

As I am interested in instances of speech that repeat often enough to form patterns, it was important for me to collect data from informants over a rather long period of time. Furthermore, because a certain level of familiarity with the researched is needed for ethnographic research (Irvine, 2012, p. 58), I chose to study the Senegalese with whom I share the same dahira group (see literature review, section 2.4.2, for more on the spirit of the Senegalese Mouride dahiras in the West). I have known a few of my participants for over twenty years, since our university years in Senegal. As such, I am sufficiently immersed in the group to be able to have an avant-gout of the data to be collected and analysed. This long-term immersion in the group has allowed me to have an understanding of their personalities. Furthermore, my long-term acquaintance with them dispenses me with collecting biographical data such as, for example, countries they lived in before, how many languages they speak, etc., most of which I know already\(^\text{15}\). It is well, as Irvine (2012, p. 64) pointed out, for the researcher to know certain things about the participants, “without having to ask explicitly”.

This pre-knowledge has been instrumental in my selection process of the participants. For example, I chose to only include Senegalese participants who have been in the West for at

\(^{15}\) But I still sought consent.
least a few years and are able to freely travel as a “normal” Senegalese transmigrant. I use here the adjective “normal” loosely, to denote Senegalese migrants living in the West with no immigration restrictions. This is particularly important as the dahira requirements necessitate travelling regularly to other European and occasionally North American countries, as demonstrated in sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2, and 2.4.3 of the literature review. Mobility, then, is part of the Senegalese transmigrants’ identity work. It was therefore logical for me to exclude, knowingly, some Senegalese whose visas only allowed them to live and work in the UK and travel back to Senegal. As demonstrated throughout the literature review, this is not the true characteristic of a Senegalese transmigrant. A Senegalese transmigrant, according to the spirit of the dahiras, cannot be bound by national borders. In fine, those biographical data, which I have the privilege to know without having to ask, determines some of the criteria of my selection of participants. As such, I only consulted the right informants.

The other selection criteria I used was of a linguistic nature. Again, my in-group membership allows me to discern some important facts such as the following: because of the prestige attached to the dahiras and of the Mouridiyya, many Gambians who frequent Senegalese gatherings identify themselves as Senegalese. It would be hard for an outsider to tell a Gambian from a Senegalese, in view of the fact that they speak the same African languages, despite the Gambia being an Anglophone country. And, because both groups use English in the West, the confusion, to a non-initiate’s ear, becomes more entrenched. The reason I chose to exclude them from the selection is that, naturally, the Senegalese tend to be freer amongst themselves and the teraanga (see literature review sections 2.4 and 2.5) precludes them from tackling certain issues that are pertaining to neighbouring countries and which might be relevant for the subsequent analysis.

There are, for example, many mentions of the Gambia in the dataset and I presume that would not have been the case if there had been Gambians in the group. A great bulk of the Senegalese weekly discussions are about good governance and development in Africa and there are many instances where discussants compare Senegal with neighbouring African countries. Furthermore, some metalinguistic discussions about different African accents and language policies directly concern the Gambia. As such, it was not practical to have the Gambians in the group during ethnographic work. Besides, many of our political and economic discussions are framed using a substantial amount of French linguistic features,
which sometimes borders monolingual French and which, understandably, would be an unpropitious situation for Gambians whose profiles did not fit my study requirements.

4.5.2 The participants’ profiles

My participants are all multilingual adults. They were all born in Senegal except two who were born in Italy and Spain respectively but have lived in Touba and Dakar and have multiple nationalities. Most of them have lived or live in different parts of Europe. Some of them have no fixed abode; they move around Europe and stay with other members of the Mouride dahira up to several weeks at a time. Some of them have their base in the UK but have ties elsewhere in Europe. My typical informant, therefore, could be described as a mobile Senegalese multilingual transmigrant. It has emerged, from the literature, that the Senegalese transmigrant knows no physical boundaries, that the notion of bound nations does not exist in their imaginary (refer back to section 2.4). However, for convenience, it is timely to occasionally speak about named countries. In this connection, the countries that my participants are most active in are the following: Italy, Spain, Germany, Finland, France and North America to a certain extent. For the latter, they tend to go once a year to attend the Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Day in New York (see literature review section 2.4.3).

As shown in the aforementioned section of the literature review, Senegalese transmigrants can do just as much in Parma, Italy, or Zaragoza, Spain as they can do in Touba, as far as religiosity and culture are concerned, in view of Touba’s global status (Ross, 2011). Out of the many Senegalese diasporans who are accessible to me, I have chosen those I think are most representative of the qualities of a transmigrant, limiting the number of my participants to ten, including seven males (Babacar, Tapha, Elaa, Aziz, Abdou, Mourtalla, and Saliou) and three females (Maguette, Mame Diarra, and MBayang). It is well to stress here that all of these names are pseudonyms. The potential problem for the small number of participants is lack of representativeness, as Poplack (2018, p. 17) pointed out. However, I have attempted to minimize the problem by complementing this deficit with a substantial amount of data collected over a long period of time. I will discuss the data in sections 4.5.4 and 4.6. And I think one of the most important aspects and innovative nature of my research is that my data is substantial and diachronic in kind.

To better reflect the reality on the ground, the ratio between men and women was not calculated. I availed myself of what was available on the ethnographic field and on the basis
of who fit the selection criteria. Because, in the Senegalese transmigrant community, there are more males than females, I did not see the relevance of seeking an equal number of males and females. As Steeves (2000, p. 50) states, attempting to readjust ratios to an imagined equilibrium would be tantamount to an oversimplification of the “the complex human world that affects the way people interpret their experiences”.

One of the other participant profiling criteria is linguistic. All my participants are Wolophones. They are not necessarily all native Wolof. In fact, a large percentage of Senegalese people are not native Wolof, although 95% of the population are naturally conversant in Wolof. Besides, native speakerhood is problematic in the African linguistic ecology. For example, Tapha’s patronym indicates that he is Fulani (or Pulaar) by ethnicity. However, because he was born and grew up in Dakar, he speaks no Pulaar and therefore identifies as a Wolof. Sometimes, however, he calls himself a Pulaar, indecisively. Furthermore, some of my informants have more than one “native language”. For example, Elaa’s mother is Fulani and his father is Mandinka. Additionally, he grew up speaking Wolof. Therefore, it is debatable which of the aforementioned is his native language. As such, I did not give importance to native speakerhood simply because many of my informants themselves are indecisive about what constitutes their native languages. Only five of my participants are Wolof (Saliou, MBayang, Mame Diarra, Maguette, and Mourtalla). All five are originally from the holy city of Touba but lived in Dakar for many years. The rest of the participants are from various ethnic groups (Bambara, Fulani, Sereer, Mandinka).

All participants are fluent in at least 2 European languages on top of the African languages. The following is a list of languages that compose the linguistic ecology of the social milieu I am investigating: Wolof, French, Spanish, English, Mandinka, Bambara, Fulani, Italian, German, Arabic, Finnish, Sereer, and Soniké. Refer to Appendix K for a list of the participants and the languages that each is fluent in. In conclusion to this section, I will reiterate the main criteria which were important for the selection of my participants. Informants had to be Senegalese (adults), be mobile transmigrants, that is, at least free from visa restrictions, and have multilingual abilities. With my participants identified and selected, I am now going to present some ethical consideration regarding my interaction with them.
4.5.3 Ethical considerations

I would like to start by stressing the fact that all my informants were anonymised. Their names were replaced with pseudonyms that in no way would permit anybody to begin to identify them. In line with the requirements of the University of Portsmouth Faculty of Humanities and social Sciences (FHSS) Ethics Committee, the protection of my informants’ identity was one of my primary preoccupations. It was the FHSS Committee that granted this research a favourable ethical opinion back in September 2019 (FHSS 2019-049). I made sure that nothing I mentioned pertaining to the participants was identifiable. Both interview and observational data (audio recordings and transcripts) are only accessible by me and are kept in a password-enabled folder, in my university Drive, which also requires my log in details. Furthermore, the laptop where the data is stored also requires a password. This three-layer password-enabled barrier provides maximum confidentiality for my informants’ data and sensitive details. Despite the fact that the transcripts were fully anonymised, I still went to great lengths to ensure confidentiality. This is because it may be possible to identify a speaker by their voice. Despite a plea from my participants to have their real names used in this research, I still had to adhere to the FHSS Ethics Committee requirements. Participants were made aware that confidentiality was the researcher’s primary concern.

The research participants happen to also be my friends. They were all aware that I was doing a PhD on UW. Among the anticipated ethical issues is also the requirement for informed consent. It was important for me to gain full and intelligible consent from the participants, and for that, the terms and the procedure of the interactions had to be explained to the them clearly using plain language. The information sheet was read to them as a group, in Wolof, to ensure understanding. And, because of our tradition of orality, I read to them an oral consent script in Wolof and every one of them gave verbal consent to take part in the research. They were made aware from the beginning, right after my ethical approval, that, as part of the research, I would be recording them during our weekly gatherings.

I further asked their permission to sometimes record without telling them in advance. This was to ensure that they did not alter their behaviour from the moment they were aware of the recording device. However, after the gathering, I would remind them that I had been recording and seek consent anew. In order to comply with the Ethics Committee requirements, I systematically did that every week at which point I got laughed at jovially for
seeking consent every week. However, with interviews, I always sought consent for recording before I started. I told them that it was not impossible for them to find some questions uncomfortable to answer, in which case they should signal it to me. I also made it clear to the participant that s/he had freedom to withdraw from the research at any time without giving a reason.

In collecting data, there is always the risk of harming. Care, therefore, should be taken to minimise potential harm and prevent intentional harm. Asking some intimate details about a participant can present some risks. Armed with that knowledge, I ensured that all the informants were safe both physically and emotionally. On an emotional level, I used my knowledge of the culture to avoid asking sensitive questions that might be distressing, to the best of my ability. Although they were repeatedly made aware that they could withdraw at any time, they seemed really keen to participate in the project. In fact, most of them were passionate about the topic and there are instances of them encouraging this kind of research, and two of them expressed how much they looked forward to reading the thesis. With the adherence to the ethical issues explained, I will now proceed with how the data was collected, starting from participant observation.

4.5.4 Participant observation

Most Fridays, a group, of which I am a member, of Senegalese transmigrants, would meet at one of their designated establishments in Europe. The one which I chose to record speech data was located in the United Kingdom. The place is called “Kër Sëriñ Touba” meaning the House of Sëriñ Touba\textsuperscript{16}. Many Mouride establishments in Senegal or in the diaspora generally hold this name (Bava, 2017, pp. 336-7) and have gained currency in the West due to the globalisation of Touba (Ross, 2011), as illustrated by this image below of a Mouride dahira place in London.

\footnote{Sëriñ Touba is another name for Ahmadou Bamba, the founder of the Mouride Sufi order.}
Our establishment is the house of Mourtalla, one the participants, who has accepted to host
the group every Friday, even if, sometimes, he or other members may be away in Europe or
Africa for business or religious commitments. As the group were engaged in discussions on
various topics, I would record for the duration of the dahira session. However, this venue was
not the only place where observation and data collection took place. My participants and I
would also meet outside the services of the dahiras informally, where we would invite each
other to our respective houses for meals. I availed myself of those moments to record
consensual naturally-occurring data.

My main data recording instrument was the Samsung Note 9 Voice memo application which
has extended capacity. Because I wanted my data to be diachronic in kind, the series of
observations ran along six months from the week following the approval from the FHSS
Ethical Committee. After six months, I felt the need to stop recording because the various
themes covered in the naturally-occurring conversations reached saturation. They recurred
frequently enough for me to be able to draw a certain number of conclusions, in line with the
interpretive stance I adopted and in line with Kvale’s (1996, p. 47) hypothesis of when to
bring the hermeneutic circle to a halt. I theorised this concept more fully in the section
entitled “Hermeneutical phenomenology: a qualitative approach” (on page 66).

What I found interesting was that the participants would engage in metalinguistic discussions
without being prompted. Their passion for multilingualism, as multilingual multilinguals,
would lead them to discuss various issues on their language beliefs and linguistic policies in Africa. Those discussions went on for hours at a time. This is what explains why my observational data is far larger than my interview data as many of the questions I had initially prepared were tackled during the discussions. I will come back to the interview structure in section 4.5.6 below. More importantly they commented profusely on their own language practices and the epistemic beliefs attached to them. I concur with LiWei (2011, p. 1224) that “metalanguaging data” is extremely useful in multilingual linguaging research. This is because, amongst other things, it helps us triangulate the observational data.

As mentioned earlier in section 4.4, I will employ some indigenous techniques that will enable me to penetrate, as an in-group member, the spirit of the Senegalese “talking circles” (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 217-8) known as waxtaan. A waxtaan is a discussion, but the way the Senegalese do it is modelled on what is known in Senegal as L’arbre à palabre (The Palaver tree), which, originally, could be compared to what we now know as Parliaments. This tree is generally a baobab tree, which is the emblem of Senegal. In examining indigenous research methodologies, Chilisa found these talking circles to be particularly opportune places to collect authentic data (2012, pp. 217-8).

The palaver gatherings, though traditionally held under an ancestral tree, can also be held in any other place as the notion of a tree can be taken symbolically (Scheid, 2011, p. 18). This is principally because this tradition is well established in the Senegalese people’s imaginary to such an extent that even when in the West, the Senegalese discussions are as if held under an imaginary baobab tree. It is this discipline, born from the daaras (see literature review, section 2.4.2), where the tree is symbolised by woodfire, around which disciples gather, and from the dahiras later, in urban areas, which confers to the Senegalese waxtaan its semi-structured nature. This is because in African traditions of orality, the art of oratory is most valued. As such, waxtaan sessions are ideal moments for ethnographic research.

Furthermore, my collection of good quality data was facilitated by two major things. Firstly, there was the fact that no outsider was present, therefore, discussants had the latitude to elaborate on many issues which would have been hushed due to teraanga practices. Secondly, there also was the fact that participants generally had the same goals and roughly shared the same beliefs, engaged in nearly the same daily activities such as sharing food, praying together, etc. Obviously, this is not to say that good data could not be obtained in a different setting. But what needs to be borne in mind here is that the notion of sutura (discretion) and
teranga (making sure guests feel at ease at all costs) is well entrenched in Senegalese cultures and can affect the quality of the data. For example, the presence of an outsider can prompt a Senegalese group to deploy sutura with the view to keeping some of their normal, natural behaviour hemmed in. Let me illustrate this point.

At meal times, when the Senegalese are on their own, however many they are, commensality is almost a must. They share one big plate of food which they surround. However, the presence of an outsider would generally preclude the deployment of such practices. I admit, however, that this phenomenon in itself, where they are not being themselves, can be interesting and could be the object of further ethnographic study, but what I am interested in in this study is genuine, observed communicative events in authentic communicative situations and genuine ethnographic information. However, although, in the main, my observation and recording of the participants did not appear to affect the naturalness of the conversations, I cannot for certain assert that the discussants were totally oblivious of my recording device. In this connection, Wolfson (1976, p. 199) states that the researcher must not lose sight of the fact that the participants may have some awareness of the fact that they are being observed.

If, even for an in-group member, fieldwork can still be affected by virtue of being an observer, then it follows that, for an outsider researcher, the researched could perceive the latter as what Bestor et al. (2003, p. 317) call an “inquisitive observer”, even though he or she has practised emersion amid the researched long enough to call himself a participant observer. Additionally, as Farrer (2019, p. 208) posits, in agreement with Bestor et al. (2003, p. 317), the foreign ethnographer often cannot ascend to the state of “true participant” due to being bound by time scales and the “exigencies” of academia where “production” is privileged over “participation” (2019, p. 208). From my part, to minimise this intrusive aspect due to the effects of observation, I recorded events without making them aware of the device but then sought consent to use it at the end of the gathering.

Another factor which is favourable to linguistic ethnographic research and which greatly facilitated my observation sessions was the informal alliance that existed between the participants and which I was able to detect. As such, because, generally, the way interlocutors speak to one another is directly proportional to the extent to which they are familiar with one another (Saraceni, 2015, pp. 25-26), the entente between us rendered the communication much easier as far as economy of words was concerned. For example, parts of sentences were
left uncompleted because interlocutors could intertextually infer the elisions. This faculty to infer a suggested referent is very close to what is called in pragmatics "regularity" (Yule, 1996, pp. 4-6) where familiarity within a speech community can permit speakers to easily grasp points which did not necessitate elaboration. As such, as an insider, then, regularity of speech enabled me to analyse seemingly incomplete or encrypted utterances. Incidentally, this is where knowledge of the language being researched is fundamental (Newman & Ratliff, 2001, pp. 166-7).

It is customary, as mentioned elsewhere, for Africans to eloquently leave out parts of their sentences and create a seeming imbalance to structure. This is a rhetorical technique somewhat similar to anacoluthon. In African societies, certain concepts are said with little or no words. Therefore, the said cannot just be privileged to the detriment of the unsaid which can, in some situations, be even more prominent. This is where verbal gestures come in (see literature review on verbal gestures, section 3.3.2). It is those verbal gestures which were accompanied by physical gestures and gaze which required that I also took down some ethnographic jottings in the form of field notes.

4.5.5 Field notes as a way of immortalising communicative situations

In the appellation “linguistic ethnography”, what characterises the ethnographic part is, by and large, the field notes. Indeed, they occupy a central part in the data collection process. Language, as mentioned earlier in several parts, is not something that we can separate from its speakers and from the setting in which it is produced (Mazzaferro, 2018), at least as far as the translanguage theory is concerned. Therefore, I will consider the field notes as being essential in not only capturing instances of language use but also understanding and interpreting them. Despite my assumptions that I know the Senegalese people and culture relatively well, I had to take jottings as I observed them. And because I recorded the conversations for hours, the jottings were a useful way for me to remember things that I could not fully capture with my recording device. I learnt, from my second week of recording, that I could not afford not to take down jottings on the spot. Among the things that could only be captured with my notepad and pen were, for example, my feelings of what a participant said at a specific moment.

One thing that should not be lost sight of is that this research is primarily interpretive in kind anyway. Therefore, there is a high level of subjectivity involved, even in the way I took
jottings. My own ethnographic gaze, as Madden (2017, pp. 117-9) calls it, is bound to leave an imprint on the way I will analyse the data. One must not believe, as Madden warns us, that field notes are objective representation of reality when in fact they are tinged with our personal perspective (2017, pp. 117-9). Let me stress here, in passing, that my analysis of the data started from when the observation began. One of the things that I found which saved me a lot of time was that with the notes I was taking, I was already organising and compartmentalising the data into themes. For example, I would jot down that such part of the discussion about, say, Corruption belongs in the main theme of Development in Africa, etc. As such, by the time I finished transcribing, the data was already organised into topics, which, of itself, is an initial part of the data analysis.

Although I managed to recall a great deal of the ethnographic setting, I relied heavily on jottings. Let me illustrate this with an example: when a Senegalese Mouride says anything by putting his palm on the photo of his marabout hanging from his neck, those words are not to be taken lightly. The only way I was able to analyse that gesture along with the words is for me to have made a note of that multimodal signage. As a fledgling linguistic ethnographer, when the importance of ethnography dawned on me during the months of my fieldwork, I began to use a strategy proposed by Russavage (2014) and which consisted in looking at each part that compose the phrase linguistic ethnography as separate entities. I understand that some could interject that the terms are inseparable, but viewing each as a field in its own right allowed me to collect linguistic data that “focuses on the story behind the interactions” and this story only transpires through the ethnographic field notes (Russavage, 2014, p. 54). It makes sense, then to look at language as housed within ethnography, so to speak. Put another way, ethnography gives shape to language. They are not totally separable but for the purposes of analysis, I feel the need to look at them as separate. They share one point in common. To illustrate further, let us examine the three principal objectives of ethnographic fieldwork, from a linguist’s stance:

(i) “discovery of new facts about human language
(ii) testing theoretical claims; and
(iii) learning more about people” (Newman & Ratliff, 2001, pp. 166-7).

One can observe, as does Russavage (2014, pp. 54-55), that the linguist’s last objective (iii) constitutes the ethnographer’s number one priority, hence the interdependence between the two disciplines (ethnography and linguistics). In fact, it is the third aim (“learning more about
people”) which confers to linguistic ethnography its “bottom-up orientation to data” (Creese, 2015, p. 14).

I took down my ethnographic jottings in such a way as to render them mnemonic for when I transcribed later. Any evidence not captured in the moment is likely to be lost. In short, what my informants said was not enough for me. I needed to witness first-hand what they were doing while they were saying what they were saying (Timmermans & Prickett, 2019, p. 56). Fieldwork also allows for the robust amount of linguistic data to be collapsed into contextual situatedness, giving it shape and enhanced meaning (2019, p. 56). Field notes, then, are like means of triangulation, in a sense, designed to elucidate meaning, much the same as interviews can be used as a way of clarifying observational data.

### 4.5.6 Interviews

I used interviews principally as a means of elicitation of some concepts not discussed and triangulation of concepts that were raised during discussions but on which I needed more clarification. As mentioned earlier the observational data far outweigh the interview data on account of the fact that the bulk of the metalinguistic data gleaned from the observation answered a great deal of my initial questions. Some forms of triangulations were required when, for example, I noticed an abrupt change in a speaker’s idiolect, a sudden monitoring of idiolect. This was in a bid to confirm my assumptions. I conducted group interviews to confirm speakers’ beliefs about language. When I conducted one-to-one interviews, it was mainly for an informant to clarify what I perceived to be a contradiction. Therefore, in compliance with the ethical requirements, by avoiding embarrassing the interviewee, I took them apart, alone, with the view to "eliciting retrospective commentary on excerpts of recorded data" Rampton et al. (2015, p. 20). I am aware how uncomfortable a subject may feel if they are caught out or exposed or if it has been pointed out to them that they contradicted themselves. For example, it was during one-to-one interviews that I had confirmation of my assumptions around the concept of “audience design” (Bell, 1984), when an informant has said things which appeared contradictory to me, or when I have noticed some relevant changes in patterns of language-usage. This could be, for instance, when they have considerably monitored their idiolect for one interlocutor and used more of their idiolect for a different interlocutor. This is another indication, as mentioned elsewhere, that data analysis is not always a post-collection matter but starts during observation. In situations like
that, I first resort to my field notes to highlight what I see as a difference in language use, jot down relevant analytical remarks and plan a follow-up one-to-one interview with the relevant informant.

The elicitations, in the form of interviews, can take two forms. I may need elucidation on a particular point, in which case the interview questions would be centred principally on that point. However, I may require the discussants to elaborate on a broader topic, in which case the interview would be unstructured, in the form of a discussion. In that case, the effect the interview will have is that of eliciting a discussion (De Fina, 2020, pp. 155-6). For example, I used an unstructured group interview to collect the informants’ accounts on translanguaging and on how they viewed the way they language daily. In fact, while adepts of quantitative research generally employ structured interviews, linguistic ethnographers are more inclined to use semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 29; De Fina, 2020, p. 155). In any case, in an African context, it is rather difficult, in my experience, to conduct a structured interview because discussants within earshot could not resist butting in to say their piece on an issue they are passionate about (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 212-3). I have found myself interacting with a small group apart, only for other participants to interject at something somebody said. This, according to Chilisa, is proper to indigenous group interviews as participants engage in an ambience of “togetherness, sharing and doing things together” (2012, pp. 212-3), which they appear to find more natural.

In many instances, I would introduce topical stimuli as an elicitation strategy, and how best to do that than in the language the interviewees know best. Again, I am reiterating the importance of having some knowledge of the language being researched. If that is not an added value, we know at least that it would not hurt to be fluent in the language of the researched. This is exactly what Duranti (1997, p. 112) observed, reasoning that learning the language of the indigenous should be one of the priorities of the ethnographer. The author adds that the problem becomes more entrenched for the researcher if the participants have several native languages (1997, p. 112). This is exactly the case with my informants who, it was mentioned earlier, know several languages which they consider to be their native tongues. In fact, the very fact of being an outsider can cause informants to be somewhat wary of the researcher (De Fina, 2020, pp. 160-1). For example, sociolinguist and ethnographer Maya Smith attended Wolof classes during her study of the Senegalese transmigrants in
Europe and North America (2019, pp. 28-29), but she still encountered some wariness from her informants’ part due to her being an outsider (2019, p. 3).

Besides speaking their languages, my closeness to my informants made them my collaborators in this research. They were not mere subjects of study but participated actively in the research both in the data collection process and analysis. Mishler (1986, p. 117) warns us against considering our informants to be mere sources of information if we are to conduct good ethnographic research. In my data collection process, I had to sometimes have discussions with my informants about the data I have collected and whether I needed more or not. Discussions like that would occur during greeting sessions. African greetings can take up to several minutes at a time and those are important moments for asking each other about our activities such as work-related ones like this research, for example. I have availed myself of some of those occasions to book interviews, especially when they asked me what else I needed to record as far as interviews were concerned. This, I believe, is a form of participatory data collection. Besides, I could not resist making the most out of the moments when my informants acted almost like ethnographers, when, in their many spontaneous ethnolinguistic and metalinguistic discussions, they compared practices of different West African ethnic groups. And it was such discussions that occasioned many of the follow-up interviews. In the next section, I will speak about the period following the data collection.

4.6 The dataset: post-collection

4.6.1 Data storage and transcription convention

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, my main data collection instruments were a voice recording device (Samsung Galaxy Note 9) and a notepad and pen. At the end of every recording session, I would transfer the recording on to my computer, in my university Drive (OneDrive), which only I can access. This is so as to have another back-up storage space in case something happened to my phone. I would then proceed with a file-by-file transcription of the recording, merging it with my ethnographic notes.

For the transcription, I used Clavier Multilingue Lexilogos (2020) which happens to support Wolof orthography as regulated by the Senegalese Government in collaboration with the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (République du Sénégal, 2005); see also Torrence (2013). Other scholars such as Corenthin et al. (2012) have developed semantic-rich
web search engines which allows the Wolof language to be profusely present in the web (2012, p. 16). After transcribing each audio file, I would then compose a computerised corpus which I immediately stored onto the Drive. The stored data is in Wolof but translations, which are my own, are provided where citations from participants have been used.

Regarding the level of naturalness of the transcribed data, I took care to reproduce events to the best of my ability, from the perspective of my own ethnographic gaze. I combined naturalised and denaturalised transcription techniques, privileging the instances of language use more than anything. This is because a naturalised transcription would be way beyond the scope of the present research. It would, for example, be more suitable if I was conducting a conversation analysis. Nonetheless, I included verbal gestures which are not generally present in the Wolof phonemic repertoire. The analysis of those prosodic elements will, I believe, add more clarity to the data at hand.

4.6.2 Participatory data analysis: a qualitative approach

The topics which the conversationalists discussed during the six months or so that I actively observed them fall into three principal categories:

A. Life in Senegal
B. Life in the West
C. Ethnolinguistic and metalinguistic discussions

In each category, an array of sub-topics is covered. For example, in the “Life in Senegal” discussions, participants engage, spontaneously, as they do, in debates about African politics, economy, issues of bad governance, the Senegalese lifestyle, etc. The “Life in the West” section covers issues related to migrant lifestyles, global Senegality, work-related issues, and many other topics pertaining to modernity and things of a technological nature. The third categories involve discussions about linguistic diversity in Senegal, ethnicity, metalinguistic discussions, to name but those. See Appendix A for a comprehensive list of all the topics covered.

Using NVIVO 12 (NVivo qualitative data analysis Software; QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 2018), I began by grouping together all the data into further sub-categories as part of the second level identification within each category (A, B, and C). Because of the broadness
of the sub-categories, I conducted a third level subdivision into even smaller categories. Below is a screen grab of the subdivision of one of the three main categories as it appears on NVIVO. For example, “Corruption” belongs in the category of “Culture and development” which in turn belongs in a broader category called “Life in Senegal”. For more details of how the various categories and themes, refer to Appendix F, but the figure below can serve as an initial synopsis.

*Figure 7. NVIVO thematic analysis*

A thematic analysis from the third category has allowed me to identify themes that run through the whole data, the objective being to look at how language was used in specific themes. It is important to stress here that the analysis will always have the data as a starting point. That is, the data will not be scrutinised through the lens of pre-existing themes, rather, following LiWei (2011)'s Moment Analysis, I will consider what themes emanate from the translingual interactions in the “spur of the moment”. Not taking anything for granted, this study is speaker-centred and takes account of the speakers’ creativity whilst they are *doing* things. This doing is consonant with what constitutes the concept of translanguaging. Refer back to section 3.4 of the literature review, where I justify my choice of the translanguaging model. My analysis started during the observation sessions as I took jottings of recurring topics and what situations, or communicative events triggered them. As such, my transcription of the discussions was simultaneous with their categorisation, as mentioned
earlier, into kindred clusters. This was the preliminary task which allowed me to identify what themes ran along all those copious amounts of verbal data.

As I observed my study participants for several months, I was able to diachronically identify patterns of speech behaviour woven into the themes. This extra dimension of time is, I believe, paramount in revealing stable linguistic forms. Poplack (2018, p. 21) defines a linguistic pattern as a repetitive chain of incidences both at an individual and collective level, over a relatively long period of time. It would not have been possible, therefore, for me to talk about patterns with only isolated occurrences of speech behaviour. However, I must stress that in adopting such a methodology of linking specific themes to specific forms of language use, I am in no way suggesting that the correlation between them are stable patterns which apply at all times. Only, the regularity of the correlative patterns may at least allow me to draw some generic conclusions. The open coding in NVIVO has enabled me to break down the data into patterns, concepts, and themes, which create “a meaningful story” Chilisa (2012, p. 214). Below are the main themes which emerged:

❖ Nit ku ñuul or blackness, discussed in 5.2.1.
❖ Senegalese transmigrants in the modern world, discussed in section 5.2.2.
❖ Multilingualism and language attitude, discussed in Chapter 6.

4.7 Conclusion

In the above chapter, I presented my methodological approach. I started by highlighting the principles of hermeneutic phenomenology, philosophical underpinnings to my data analysis techniques. I demonstrated how linguistic ethnography as a research methodology for data collection is on a par with hermeneutic phenomenological analytical techniques. I further highlighted that my approach to data collection was rooted in linguistic ethnography, where I combined the general affordances of linguistics with the particular instances of ethnography, to come up with what I considered to be “good data” (Poplack, 2018, p. 18), the analysis of which is apt to yield more robust findings on account of it being diachronic in kind, spanning across six months. The added value in this research is, I believe, the participatory dimension brought by the participants both in data collection and analysis.

This approach is consistent with the principle of translanguaging that language is not separate from its speaker. As such, involving the researched in the study seems a logical move and is
more in line with indigenous methodologies which I greatly champion. My ethnographic approach to language and data collection is inextricably linked to my choice of the translanguaging model of data analysis at a micro level, in that the principal objective of ethnography is to understand how people behave (including, of course, how they language). Translanguaging is of a similar order in that it goes further than linguistics, by not just focusing on language as if it was a stand-alone entity, but by acknowledging the speakers as constituting part of the language-speaker-environment continuum. If both translanguaging and (linguistic) ethnography are speaker-centred, it follows that the latter could afford appropriate tools for the study of how a community of people engage in their everyday translanguaging practices.
Chapter 5. Results: language practice

5.1 Introduction: in-betweenness of self-identification

In the previous chapter, I showed how I collected six months’ worth of communicative data and how the data was prepared for analysis. In this chapter, I will present the main findings that the analysis of the speech samples has yielded. Before we look at the main themes that emerged in the many conversations that the discussants engaged in, I would like to talk about some ideological concepts that my participants entertain, and insist on, in their discussions.

My research participants believe that their blackness is of a different kind. They see themselves as different from both the Senegalese in Africa and from the Western blacks whom they sometimes subsume into the prototypical representation of the African American identity. As such, the otherisation directed at the African Americans in the discussions also references the Afro-Europeans. They see the latter as less successful than they are on account of the fact that they do not seize the many opportunities offered to them by the West.

The picture, therefore, that they want to paint of the Senegalese transmigrant, through the othering of the Afro-Europeans and of their Senegalese co-nationals in Senegal, is that of an exemplary diasporic Senegalese who is pragmatic, hardworking, and responsible. This belief was probably induced early on in the diasporic imaginary, a few decades back, when Senegalese immigrants in New York were commended for their hard-working attitudes. In the 1980s, local authorities in New York repeatedly attempted to rid the streets of the Senegalese pedlars, who, Donald Trump believed, were taking businesses away from local retailers (Blauner, 1987, p. 46). Later on, the Senegalese proved to be hardworking in the eyes of the Americans and were perceived as different from other street vendors in the way they conducted business (1987, p. 44-45). Babou (2002, p. 161) reports that thanks to the Senegalese, some formally dangerous areas of Harlem, now called “Little Senegal” (2002, p. 160), have become safely frequentable again by the locals. The following utterance by Babacar, one of my informants, illustrates how the Senegalese transmigrants position themselves vis-à-vis the Western blacks: “Nun Africains yi dañuy ñëw États-Unis gën leen développe” (Us Africans, we come to the US and yet do better than them). I will come back to the use of “come” (rather than “go”) later on page 139, when I examine how speakers linguistically frame their identity as mobile transmigrants.
I have mentioned that the Senegalese transmigrants insist on being dissociated from their compatriots back home. This is because they class them as indolent and inactive, and thus unwilling to denounce the many malpractices in Africa, one of which is bad governance. As such, they view the local Senegalese as obdurate to development. The diasporans regard themselves as more cognizant of world affairs, by reason of being more mobile. For them, mobility is one of the most cherished factors in migrant identities. There is a certain symbolic capital in being a well-travelled individual as it is often equated with being cultured and sophisticated and thus being able to speak out against issues of bad governance back home. This attitude, woven into the storied data, and designed to define the Senegalese transmigrants’ in-betweenness of self-identification, is fundamental in understanding the most prominent theme in the data: nit-ku-ñuul. This is a broad term which can be rendered as the African or the black person as a whole. Speakers also use it as a concept, which, in this case, I will render as Africanness or blackness. The importance of this self-identification also resides in the fact that the study participants deploy their translanguaging practices within the framework of those in-between spaces they have created as part of their identity formation.

In light of their self-defined identification thus elaborated, I am now going to present, in what follows, the analysis of the main themes that emerged in the discussions, using the translanguaging model. Before proceeding, a parenthetical reminder is in order: the literature review has shown that the Senegalese transmigrants have hitherto, in my findings, only been studied through the lens of politics, economy, and religion, with poverty and violence against the backdrop. What is not addressed is the linguistic aspect of this community’s complex movements, irrespective of the causes which are behind the displacements. This chapter will principally address this understudied area. To do so, I will reach out to the translanguaging literature, surveyed in sections 3.3.2 and 3.4, in order to bridge the gap between how the Senegalese transmigrants move across and beyond national borders and how they move across and beyond named languages. Therefore, the analyses, in this chapter will attempt to correlate the three principal areas addressed in the literature review, and which have so far, in my findings, almost always been studied separately from one another: transmigration, UW, and translanguaging.

This chapter is composed of two main parts. In the first part I deal with the theme of Nit-ku-ñuul, blackness. This section will show the various ways in which discussants frame their own views of blackness in the form of otherisation, on the one hand, of their co-nationals
back home as the prototypical African, and of the Afro-Westerners on the other, both of whom are framed negatively. The second part treats of another type of blackness which pertains to the mobile Senegalese transmigrants as an altogether different identity and the various activities that they engage in across nations. The Senegalese transmigrant identity is, for the most part, framed positively. They principally base this positive attitude towards themselves on the fact that they are hardworking, multilingual, mobile, transmigrants. That is, everything, in their opinion, that the other two groups are not. The chapter concludes with a round-up of what has been covered.

5.2 Main themes

5.2.1 Nit-kuñuul

5.2.1.1 Introduction

My research participants have many terms for blackness. The term Nit-kuñuul literally means a black person. It subsumes all other terms for blackness under the same umbrella and serves as a common denominator, especially when the reference is to any black individual, irrespective of the part of the world to which they belong. The term is grammatically a singular term but represents a collective term for black people, although, at times, participants loosely use its plural form nit-ñuñuul. I will, in subsequent mentions, sometimes render the term in English as blackness or Africanness, when discussants employ the term to reference general character traits displayed by black people worldwide. Indisputably, the theme of blackness was the most recurring one because nearly half of the topics discussed revert back to the notion of what it means to be Senegalese, African, and black in general. In order to understand the storied data at hand, it is important to elucidate how participants refer to themselves and others in specific situations. Let us look at all possible distinctions of such appellations related to blackness found in the data.

To the participants, most of the deplorable situations that afflict Sub-Saharan Africans generally spring from their own poor behaviour. As such, when decrying some events in Africa, the study informants also use the term ŋun ("us" in English), denoting an inclusive term for Africanness in general and Senegaleseness in particular. The term often collocates with all other conjugated forms of to be in the first-person plural: nañu, dañu, etc. As a general rule, both Nit-kuñuul and ŋun are negatively connoted indexes, employed as a way of condemning certain characteristics of Africanness, namely, the African mentality or
general behaviour pattern. For example, in a section where participants were discussing politics and how the elite treat the masses, Mourtalla used ŋun and its derivatives many times over in one utterance to index the Sub-Saharan African in general, but, more immediately, the common Senegalese: “Ŋun saa waay normaluñu de. Dañuy wax président rek waaye ŋun warna ŋu xoolaat suñu bopp.” [There’s definitely something wrong with us. We criticise our presidents, but we must check ourselves]. In a different discussion, MBayang was highlighting the Senegalese people’s inferiority complex towards the French: “Nit-ku-ŋuul moo faible. Mboolo nit-ŋu-ŋuul benn tubaab man na leen diriger…” [Africans are weak. One European can tell a whole group of blacks what to do…]. Note, in addition, that when the discussants use the French terms africains or sénégalais, the context is generally also negative.

Sometimes, however, the term ŋun is juxtaposed with africains yi to form the expression ŋun africains yi. The complement phrase africains yi is not superfluous here as it serves as a discriminatory expression to differentiating the diasporic Black Africans (including the Senegalese transmigrants), from the Western blacks. Thus, in a global context, the term ŋun africains yi, or, in some cases, ŋun sénégalais yi, is used positively when referencing the transmigrants. In a discussion about mentality and development, MBayang argued that if Africans had some of the opportunities that Europeans had, Africans would do a lot better: “Moo tax mani la ŋu tubaab yi li ŋu am ŋun Africains yi buŋu ko amoon kon ŋooy raw tubaab yi.” [That’s why I’m saying that if we had what the West had we’d do much better than they have.] The table below recapitulates all appellations of blackness used in the dataset, which I will call indexical determiners. They are indexical in nature in that they point to a specific connotative reality. For short, and in subsequent mentions, I will call them determiners. Negative determiners are such determiners as referencing a negative form of otherisation; and positive ones are those that index the group which the discussants consider to be the exemplary group, the diasporic Africans or Senegalese more specifically.

Table 2. Inventory of positive and negative determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative appellations of blackness</th>
<th>Positive appellations of blackness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Nit-ku-ŋuul (Plural, nit-ŋu-ŋuul) | ŋun africains yi
| ŋun, -naŋu, daŋu | ŋun sénégalais yi
| Afrique | Africans |
| Africains | Sénégalais |
As discussed earlier, discussants define themselves by otherising what they are not, often by the use of determiners; this is what explains the higher number of negative evaluative indexes over the positive ones in Table 2 above.

5.2.1.2 Le bricolage africain

Extract 1. Being emphatic in French!

The extract uses the following: French, Wolof, and English

| Babacar : Mais sketchs yii...preneurs de son yi ay NULLARDS lañu de ! Tu es obligé nga yokk volume bi ba mu sës mais toujours est-il que doo dégg bu baax. C’est médiocre ! | These soaps...the...sound engineers, they are pathetic! We’re having to pump up the volume but still we can’t hear it properly. That’s not good enough! |
| Aziz: Melni pot. Y a pas la qualité quoi ! | It’s tinny isn’t it. The quality is not all that, is it? |
| Babacar: In their films, the background music is louder than the...erm...voices [laughs], ma ne mais niï lu ñûy def niï!? Afrique...bricolage lañu gêm ! Livre u Axelle Kabou boobu amna fumu ko cii wax quoi. Neena gars yi dañoo bëgg bricolage quoi. Ak fatalisme quoi !! | In their films, the background music is louder than the...erm...voices. I said to myself what the hell! Africans love makeshift jobs! Axelle Kabou talks about it in her book. She said these guys love makeshift jobs. And fatalism too you know!! |
| Aziz: Nun, we are quick at blaming others mais sikk nañu de. | We’re also quick at blaming others when we are to blame. |
| Babacar: Dañu a sikk laa la wax ni. Dara loruñu nak ludul suñu habitudes yu bon yii ! Nos hôpitaux sont délaissés. Notre éducation...On reçoit un enseignement au rabais !! | We should blame ourselves for the ills that befall us. It all stems from our rotten habits! Our hospitals are abandoned. Our educational system...We receive a poor education!! |
| Tapha: Ay ventes de produits périmés ! Mais on est dans quelle planète là ? | Expired products still on display in the markets! What world are we living in? |
| Babacar: Mais ñun suñu corps de contrôle yï ils sont devenus inexistants ! Service d’Hygiène man gisatuma leen fenn. | Looks like we don’t have Health and Safety inspectors anymore either! Environmental Health officers; I don’t see them anymore. |
| Tapha: Man gis naa leen. Xam nga fuñuy toog? Ci mayga yi ak...les dibiteries haussa là, pour am ci ñoom dara. C’est inadmissible ! | I know where they are. D’you know where they sit? By the breakfast places and... the Haussa dibiteries, to get something from them. That’s inadmissible! |
The above discussion provides insight into how participants depict Africans. I have treated this question of negative depiction of Nit-ku-ñuul, blackness, as an adumbration, in section 5.2.1.1, in some length, and will refer to it in this section chiefly in connection with the issue of work ethics. The interaction started when participants were watching a Senegalese soap on an online television channel live on YouTube. For the past few years, it has been possible to stream live television on YouTube and diasporans take this facility as an opportunity to connect with their home country. In their numerous discussions, participants have a predilection for picking out flaws in matters African. In this case, the quality of the soap was used as a springboard to criticize the African work ethic. One of the meanings of the notion of *bricolage*, in French, consists in producing a poor-quality job, with minimum effort and resources (Dictionnaire Hachette, 2006). The meaning is often stretched to denote any quick-fix, not well thought over, solution to an issue at hand. It is with these negative connotations that I employ the term *bricolage*. This use is also consistent with how Babacar, intertextualising Kabou (1991, p. 23), employs the term. For example, if the constitution of a country stipulates that a president can only serve two terms, changing the law to circumvent that limit would be considered a form of manipulation which Foucher (2009) calls *le bricolage juridique*. This is a common practice in some African countries. This form of bricolage will be the object of a discussion later on, in Extract 2; but for now, let us look at a form of *bricolage* in the professional field presented in Extract 1 above. Discussants think that such practices are due to the fact that Africans are unable or unwilling to be creative.
Many of the topics of conversation arise spontaneously but some are triggered by television programmes they are watching together. A Senegalese soap was on one of the Senegalese channels. The sound quality was poor and that gave the discussants an opportunity to talk about work ethic. Specific examples such as the poor sound quality often lead to generalisations about the African continent and blackness that Africans produce poor quality jobs. Vehement critics are proffered using long stretches of French. The whole discussion is of an intellectual order as participants take the opportunity to also display their level of education. Babacar made a reference to Kabou’s (1991) book entitled *Et Si l’Afrique Refusait le Développement?* in which the author explains the idea that Africans are adept at producing makeshift jobs. The other generalisation that Babacar makes, quoting Kabou (1991, p. 19), is that Africans are fatalists because they claim things are the way they are, and no effort is needed to improve them. From that moment on, the central theme of the conversations became linked to issues of development in Africa. As most of the discussion in this topic is centred on the Africans’ unwillingness to progress, the register is almost always of a negative order, which also accounts for the emphatic nature of the language used. Consider the following statement, by Babacar (lines 1-5), where he criticises the Senegalese sound engineers: “*Mais sketches yii...preneurs de son yi ay NULLARDS lañu de ! Tu es obligé nga yokk volume bi ba mu sës mais toujours est-il que doo dégg bu baax.*” [These soaps…the…sound engineers, they are pathetic! We’re having to pump up the volume but still we can’t hear it properly].

From the discussion above, we see a preponderance of French as the interactants decry, collaboratively, the many ills that befall Senegal. Although, generally, French features serve the purpose of displaying the speaker’s level of education (Swigart, 1994, p. 178), what appears to be more at play here is an emphatic display of discontent about their compatriots’ behaviour and mentality. Wolophones often use French to make a point, and, therefore, sound more authoritative. Wolof on its own does not seem to be enough to express emphatic statements or reprimands. The authoritative nature of French is probably inherited from the colonial era when the schoolteachers used to be French and when the government and most administrations used to be run by the French. This is why it is a common occurrence for the Wolophone to moan, or critique a situation, in French, even if their level of French education is not high. Phrases like *Mais c’est con!* (Extract 4, line 76), *C’est inadmissible!* (Extract 1, lines 31-32), *C’est pas facile!* (Extract 9, lines 64-65), *C’est médiocre!* (Extract 1, line 5) etc. are found in the UW dataset and in Wolophones’ everyday languaging practices. One can
observe from the above French expressions that they sound like reprimands used in a school or administrative environment.

That is perhaps why, throughout the data, the discussants frame their emphatic statements, their logical reasonings, and corroborations, with French linguistic features. For example, in lines 33-42, Maguette uses French to deplore the fact that, in an accident scene, bystanders were filming the victim rather than assisting her. Maguette goes on to explain the logical steps that should be taken when faced with a person who is victim of an accident. In using French to frame the medical register, she is at the same time displaying her identity as being knowledgeable in the field, in her capacity as a medical student: “La fille dégg naa manoon nañu ko sauver. Au lieu ŋu jàppale ko ŋu nekk foofu di filmer. Peut-être suñu ko yèkkëtiwoon di na xawa respirer”. (I heard that the lady could’ve been saved. Instead, they stood there filming her. Maybe if they’d lifted her she would’ve been able to breathe a little.)

Wolophones seem to view French as being more poignant in situations where they execute logical analyses. The language used in the extract is consistent with the language generally used by the discussants if they are being trenchant. In their desire to appear sharp and insistent in their expression, the French features sometimes outnumber the Wolof ones. Consider, for example, the following question by Tapha, complaining about the sales of products that are past their expiry date: “Ay ventes de produits périmés! Mais on est dans quelle planète ?”, with the indefinite article Ay being the only Wolof feature. Sometimes, even with the presence of many Wolof features, some statements could be intelligible to a so-called monolingual Francophone. For example, in the statement above by Maguette, if we expunge the Wolof, the remaining French features put together side by side, would afford any Francophone an understanding of what the message is, i.e., rescue instead of filming…

Logical reasonings and demonstrations also require French features. Proving or disproving anything requires some level of rigor and urban Wolophones seem to privilege French in that enterprise. Maguette tries to demonstrate that the reason the patient subsequently died at the hospital was because she was neglected, thereby disproving the official version that the hospital was full: “Waaw xam nga ñoòñu ils étaient pas pleins parce que kooku neena ko bu chef bi ñëwee su d’accord ee ŋu jël ko, ca veut dire ñoom ñoom ñoom ñoom ñoom ñoom ñoom.” (And also, the Emergency ward wasn’t full because the nurse said to them when the boss comes, and if he agrees, we’ll admit the patient. That tells you they weren’t full.). Note how her demonstration
is articulated by *parce que* and her final verdict with *ça veut dire que*. Babacar’s reaction to her statement is even more forceful: “Maintenant où est le sens du sacerdoce? Xam nga? Toi, on te forme et ta mission mooy yow nga sauver dundu nit…” (Now where is the duty of care? You know? You’ve been trained and invested with a mission to save lives…). The emphatic nature of his statement can be discerned in his slightly raised tone and by his extensive use of French. To Babacar, a nurse is as if invested with a divine mission to save people’s lives, hence his use of the term *sacerdoce*, which primarily means priesthood.

The forcefulness of the French language also makes it the language of the revolutionaries, of demonstration and castigation. Since the events of May 1968 in France, which spread in many parts of Francophone Africa (Blum, 2012), strikes and revolts have become more popular in Senegal. Brandishing his fist, as if in a march, Babacar’s following statements afford examples of such French use as to frame forcefulness: “Nos hôpitaux sont délaissés! Notre éducation…On reçoit un enseignement au rabais!!” (Our hospitals are abandoned. Our educational system…We receive a poor education!!) (lines 20-22) or “Mais ŋun suñu corps de contrôle yi ils sont devenus inexistants!” (We don’t even have Health and Safety inspectors anymore!) (lines 25-28). These discursive features are somewhat similar to the postcolonial revolutionary language used in activist demonstrations or in discourses used by members of the civil society who are adept at decrying what the government is not doing right. Elaa, whose preferred topic of conversation is sport, rarely gets involved in discussions about politics but is apt to mention issues of bad governance concerning the African football’s governing body. The language he uses is of a similar order to the one generally used in conversations where the general mood is moanful. Consider the following utterance by Elaa: “Soxor dafa nékk ci ŋun. Lima lay wax nii hein, Aziz, dafa nékk ci ŋun ! Xoolal Coupe du Monde bii passée rek, ŋu bari ŋu ngi naan kii moo ŋu ray, kii moo ŋu ray, mais ŋun ŋoo ray suñu bópp déjâ. Ci encadrement bi, xam nga problème amoon na fa. Te gars yi nanguwuŋu souligner problème bi am. Te pourtant bi ŋu delluci-e waroon naŋu ŋu jox compte-rendu, problème yi fa amoon, nanguwuŋu ko wax. Entre joueurs yi dafa amoon clan. Et en pleine compétition hein !!!” (We have some envy in us! Big time! Aziz, that’s a fact! Look at the last World Cup; everyone was saying this one was to blame or that one but we, ourselves are to blame. Did you know there were major problems within the management!? And they did not want to tell the population what happened. By law they should report everything to us but they didn’t want to discuss the issues they had among them there! The
truth is that there were little cliques in the squad, during the competition!!). It is issues like that which often trigger deep political discussions such as the one in the following extract.

**Extract 2. The African leaders portrayed as schemers**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Babacar: Il faut nu wax ci mbir u Sénégal parce que dañu a bègg a xeex lu Macky Sall bègg a def!</td>
<td>We must talk about what’s happening in Senegal because we want to fight what Macky Sall is trying to do!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone: Waa waaw!</td>
<td>Yeah!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapha: Macky Sall ŋoo ko fal, génne Abdoulaye Wade...</td>
<td>We elected Macky Sall and ousted Abdoulaye Wade...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mourtalla: Man faluma ko!!</td>
<td>I did NOT vote for him!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babacar: Sénégalais yi neena ŋu apparemment d'accord nañu mu nekk suñu président; limu ŋu digoon yèp defu ci dara! Daf ŋoo bègg a andil dictature!</td>
<td>And it looked like we trusted him to run the country as president. However, he has not lived up to any of his promises! This is more like a dictatorship! How can you govern a country with no opposition leaders? There’s no one to say no to you! That’s not fair! That’s piss take! Unacceptable!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saliou: Duñu ko nangu!</td>
<td>We won’t accept it!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBayang: Man tubaab yi sax laa gên a wóolu leegi que ŋú! Day libéer Sonko! Libérez! Libérez! Libérez! Jaajéf waay gars yi!</td>
<td>I trust the Westerners more than I do now you know! He must release Sonko! Freedom! Freedom! Freedom! Come on guys!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapha: Libérez Sonko! Libérez Sonko! Libérez Sonko!</td>
<td>Free Sonko! Free Sonko! Free Sonko! Free Sonko!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mourtalla: Man faluma ko!!</td>
<td>I did NOT vote for him!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babacar: Dafa am benn affaire bu ma bègg a wax...</td>
<td>I wanna say this...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crowd: Déglu leen!!</td>
<td>Listen up!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babacar: Affaire bi, dafa commencer-woon affaire de viol, ŋu jèlee ko ci affaire u viol leegi mi ngi dem ci affaire u terrorisme. Leegi affaire u terrorisme lañu ko bègg a yóbbu. La sortie de Idy, la sortie du ministre de l’Intérieur, la sortie de Aissata Tall Sall sur France 24... Ils</td>
<td>The matter started with a rape case. Now that case is closed, they’re now accusing him of terrorism. Now they want to talk about terrorism. Idy’s announcement, the Interior minister’s announcement, Aïssata Tall Sall’s announcement on France 24... All they’re trying to do is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sont en train de pousser la chose vers le terrorisme. En fait, ils font un clin d’œil à l’armée française. Et que waruñu d’accord armée française nèw Sénégal !

turn it into a case of terrorism. In fact, this is a way of getting the French military involved. We must not allow the French army into Senegal!

Saliou: Du yoon ! Du yoon loolu ! Loolu lañu wara njèkk a bañ, sénégalais yi !

Not fair at all! We should say no to that as Senegalese!

Babacar: Armée française moo exiler Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba ! Armée française moo tirer suñu ay tirailleurs !

Remember it was the French army that exiled our Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba! It was the French army that massacred our tirailleurs sénégalais!

MBayang: Du yoon loolu !

That’s not fair!

Tapha: La non-ingérence ! La non-ingérence ! Macky Sall dégage ! Fout le camp Macky Sall ! Demuma marche mais je proteste à ma façon [he he he].

Non-intervention! Non-intervention!... Macky Sall must leave! Macky Sall must leave! I am not gonna go to the London demonstration so I’m protesting my own way [laughs].

Saliou: Boy sois serieux waay !

This is not a joke, mate! [Long suck teeth] That’s Africa for you! That’s Africa! Bro politics in Africa is rotten! What we need is a military regime man!

As mentioned in Chapter 1., the last few years have seen repeated Senegalese demonstrations throughout the major cities of Europe and North America. Needless to say that my data around those times were heavily influenced by the protests. The purpose of the demonstrations, as already mentioned, was to denounce injustice in Africa. Throughout the diaspora there has been mass condemnation of the exactions meted out on Sonko, the main opposition leader. Whilst protestors back in Senegal use stones to confront the riot police, the diasporic Senegalese’s main weapon is speech. For them, the fight for freedom is more of a mental order than physical. As such, transmigrants resort to language to try and bring about change in the lives of the millions of their co-nationals back home. The above fragment is an extract of a conversation my participants had a week before the London demonstration. The discussion was triggered by a WhatsApp message we received from our co-nationals in Frankfurt, London, Milan, Catalonia, and Paris, encouraging all to take to the streets in peaceful protest against injustice in Senegal. That the language used during those exchanges was tinged with activism is therefore unsurprising.

In many cases, as far as activism is concerned, French represents the language of protest. It appears to be the preferred tool for objection, revolt, and for raising awareness. In this UW
interaction, most of the features are in French, with minimal Wolof. This is because most discussions on politics and issues of bad governance generally require a rather large repertoire of resources, with French being one of the preferred vectors of communication. However, lines 11-15 constitute an exception to that general trend when the speaker ranted profusely in English, after a few Wolof and French words: “How can you govern a country and then there's no opposition? There's no one to say no to you! That's not fair! That's piss take!”. This is because a friend of the host, who was English, happened by, and Babacar felt the need to put in some English words as an inclusion strategy, in fulfilment of the Senegalese *teraanga* (hospitality) explained more thoroughly in Chapter 1.

This instance of linguistic behaviour reflects the general trend of *teraanga* translanguaging found throughout the dataset. In fact, after the speaker has included the “intruder”, all subsequent communication continued in French, the language of protest, with minimal Wolof features. The example in lines 27-37 illustrates the point: “Affaire bi, dafa commencer-woon affaire de viol, ŋu jëlee ko ci affaire u viol leegi mi ngi dem ci affaire u terrorisme. Leegi affaire u terrorisme laŋu ko bëgg a yóbbu. La sortie de Idy, la sortie du ministre de l’Intérieur, la sortie de Aissata Tall Sall sur France 24... Ils sont en train de pousser la chose vers le terrorisme. En fait, ils font un clin d'œil à l'armée française. Et que warũu d'accord armée française něw Sénégal !” [The matter started with a rape case. It’s not a rape case anymore, they’re now accusing him of terrorism. Now they want to talk about terrorism stuff. Idy’s announcement, the Interior minister’s announcement, Aissata Tall Sall’s announcement on France 24...All they’re trying to do is turn it into a case of terrorism. In fact, this is a way of getting the French military involved. We must not allow the French army to come to Senegal!].

It is this injustice, as mentioned in the above example, that demonstrators are aiming to eradicate with words. They accuse the government of employing such machinations as unfair treatment towards the main opposition leader, with the sole aim of tarnishing his political career. To that effect, authorities were said to have gone to such great lengths as to alert the French authorities, via the French media channels, to get them involved. Here, Nìt-ku-ũuul, the African prototype, is being portrayed as a schemer, a manipulator who would not scruple to forge allegations against his fellow African, out of thin air, for personal motivations. As mentioned earlier, it is a common practice in Francophone Africa for outgoing presidents to employ methods known as “*le bricolage juridique*” (Foucher, 2009) where they manipulate
the Constitution to suit their own purposes. The objectives can be manifold. They can range from incriminating an opposition leader by hampering his or her constitutional rights to run for presidency, to modifying some clauses in the Constitution with the view to circumventing the presidential term limits.

One may also argue that the use of French is, amongst other reasons, a form of indirectly addressing the former coloniser. This is all the more relevant because Francophone African activists rarely castigate their governments without citing France as the main culprit for the continent’s ills. The language used at the demonstration is a case in point. The demand (MACKY SALL DEMISSION) on the placard in Figure 1, on page 6, could well be addressed to France. This argument is substantiated by the words *la non-ingérence* ! (Stay away!), which Tapha proffered in line 45, suggesting that France is no longer welcome in matters African. Thus it is that the prototypical African is perceived by the diasporic population. This depiction transpires in their general everyday discussions. The discussants tend to generalise such machinations as described in Extract 2 as characteristic of Francophone Africa in general, not just of Senegal. This is also seen throughout the data, but Saliou’s words from line 50 sums up that argument: “*Ciipetu::: C’est ça l’Afrique boy ! La politique en Afrique ça craint grave mon frère !*” [Suck teeth ! This is Africa! Bro, politics in Africa is rotten!]. Three languages are at play here: the Wolof verbal gesture (*ciipetu*), the English word *boy* which serves to call out or address an interlocutor, be they boy or girl, and finally the French sign which constitutes the central message. Additionally, consider lines 52-53 where Saliou said: “*Nun militaire régime moo nu arranger !*”. The utterance is composed of French features but the structure “*militaire régime*” is quite clearly English, for, in French, “*régime militaire*” would be more officially acceptable. This is the type of translingual practices that Garcia and Otheguy (2020, p. 18) have called “interlanguage fossilisation”. This is a relevant example which typifies the many so-called rules of language mixing which the urban Wolophone consistently flouts. This was adumbrated in section 3.3.1.

To typify his resentfulness towards the political system in Africa, he uttered this statement after a long *ciipetu*. According to Grenoble et al. (2015, p. 111) verbal gestures such as the Wolof *ciipetu* carry pragmatic values. The *ciipetu* belongs to the category of vocalisation which can be either long or short. While short suck-teeth sounds denote sadness (as theorised on page 105), prolonged labio-dental suctions are used to express a strong negative emotion (Grenoble et. al, 2015, pp. 115-6) and generally signify resentment or frustration. The use of
ciipetu to castigate Africa’s political systems lends more weight to the argument that the Wolof features appear to be more suitable, or at least preferable for expressing strong, heightened emotions, whereas assertiveness and vigour are generally framed in French.

5.2.1.3 Dóór marteau: a form of creativity

This section deals with a form of dishonesty that is in vogue in Senegal. It is a form of dupery which may have existed long time ago, but its appellation entered the UW repertoire only relatively recently, namely after the 2010s. This practice is known as dóór marteau.

Extract 3. Dóór Marteau: a Moral Delinquency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mourtalla: Man de Sénégal li ŋu ma fa dóór !! Sa ma containers yi. Te sooy dem di jéndi dara, ki ngay àndal pour mu lay won affaires yi, soo mooytuwul moo lay dóór.</th>
<th>I’ve been ripped off so much in Senegal it’s unbelievable! The containers I sent. And you know, when you go to buy something, it is the person you go with to show you around that’s most likely to rip you off.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MBayang: Noonu lañuy def de.</td>
<td>That’s exactly what they do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Babacar: Te Senegal ñëpp ay dóór. Bãñ nañu ko ba wutal ko tur; &quot;dóór marteau&quot; ; dafa xew quoi ; it’s a trend!</td>
<td>And in Senegal everyone is a crook. They’ve even invented a term for this practice: “dóór marteau” [a common form of dupery]; it is very common; it’s a trend!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Saliou: That’s shocking boy!</td>
<td>Mate, that’s shocking!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>MBayang: Cey! Ñàkk bi moom day tax nga yor beneen jikko.</td>
<td>[Feeling of sadness] Poverty causes them to have a different behaviour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Babacar: Te leegi gars yi bëccëg u Ndar kàmm la ñuy agresser.</td>
<td>And what’s incredible is that nowadays robbers operate in broad daylight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>MBayang: Walla nga nékk ci taxi gennee sa téléphone di...</td>
<td>Indeed. Like when you’re in a taxi using your phone…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Babacar: Walis! Tey nga dee de!</td>
<td>[Long whistle!] You’re screwed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>MBayang: Xam nga kooku su amoon liggeey du siif.</td>
<td>Now if they had job opportunities they wouldn’t be stealing, would they?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Babacar: Ciipetu! Walla nga am Bacakken du la orienter.</td>
<td>Yeah! [Short suck teeth] Like the youngsters who finish college and are not given the opportunity to go on to uni.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This extract is concerned with what I call ad hominem descriptions of Africans. They refer to the behavioural attributes that my participants use in describing their compatriots back home. Before proceeding, a precision is in order here: what I call the ad hominem descriptions are not rants, they are mere elaborations on certain African practices that they deem deplorable. As such, they are more expressions of despondence. We have seen, in earlier parts (Extract 1 and Extract 2), that special vociferous rants dedicated to calls for action are framed in different languging strategies involving mainly French linguistic features. However, Wolof features are more of an emotional order.

One of the oft-repeated topics is the Africans’ propensity to be too dependent upon the migrants and the tendency to often double-cross them whenever the opportunity arises. Some people earn their livelihood in this manner. The technique consists in going out and looking for holidaymakers, some of whom are diasporic Senegalese known locally as kaawmen. They usually require services of some sort, which can range from car hire to purchasing land, or simply daily shopping at local markets. The objective will be to intercept the kaawmen who, incidentally, they find to be easy to spot, and ask them what they require. The interceptor will then lead them to a service provider who, understandably, will, in collusion with the former, charge them multiple times the price, after which point the interceptor will receive his share of the deal. This practice is so commonplace now that, over the last decade or so, the new urban expression dòór marteau, often shortened to dòór, has been coined to that effect. The expression means “hit with a hammer”.

On October 5th, 2003, the Senegalese opposition leader, Talla Sylla, was seriously injured after a hammer attack by pro-government members (Conflict, 2003). Since then, a series of jokes have been created around the word marteau (hammer). It is only more recently, though, that the act of hitting with a hammer has evolved to metaphorically mean to take advantage of someone, that is, to put them in an unconscious state with mesmerising words so as to make them part with money. People justify this “normal” practice by rehashing the fact that employment is scarce, that they live in an autocratic, gerontocratic country where youngsters’ needs are not heeded.

Although participants do not condone these behaviours, they lay the blame squarely on the elite’s door. Shaking the head from side to side, Babacar said, with a brief suck teeth sound: “Cipetu, walla nga am Bac kenn du la orienter” [(Short suck teeth connoting sadness), and what’s sad is that after your A-levels, you are not even given the opportunity to go on to
university], thereby somewhat justifying why the youth are in the street eking out a living in this fashion. The short suck-teeth (*ciipetu*), differs from the long one in that Wolophones use the latter (*ciipetu*) for negative evaluations, when, say, expressing anger or strongly reproving a situation, whereas a short suck-teeth is used to express sadness, as indicated by the general mood of the conversation. The characteristics of a *ciipetu* is that it is accompanied straightaway with the pursing of the lips and a lateral shaking of the head to accentuate the sad state of affairs.

The long, continuous *walis* (whistle) produced by Babacar, unlike the rising and falling one used for admiration in Wolof (Grenoble et. al, 2015, p. 115), signifies here a level of despair mixed with sadness, as if to say that the situation is hopeless. The long rectilinear *walis*, therefore, is of the same register as the (short) *ciipetu*, characteristic, as already mentioned, of a sad, hopeless situation. Although discussants feel sad that their compatriots live in unfavourable situations, they do deplore the *dôôr* phenomenon and this is shown by Saliou’s interjection in English: “That’s shocking boy!”, after Babacar has exclaimed that “It’s a trend!”. Both discussants appear to be using English to set boundaries of distanciation, perhaps as a way of claiming that such practices are alien to them in their capacity as advantaged migrants living in the West. These evaluations, though negative, are more tinged with sadness. Discussants are as if contemplating an unfortunate situation but from a privileged position.

The English linguistic features can therefore be said to be used as a distanciation mechanism. It is well to emphasize that the English exclamations are set against the backdrop of a near MW conversation, thereby making them stand out. I have shown, previously, that Wolof is a preferred vector for the expression of emotions. The closest Western language to the urban Wolophone is French. The use of English with Wolof appears incongruous for a Francophone. As such, and in conformity with the verbal gestures thus far analysed in this interaction, I would privilege the thesis that the speakers are exhibiting signs of estrangement vis-à-vis their co-nationals in Senegal. Their despondency is typified by how MBayang, in a MW mode, explains that it is poverty and lack of employment that cause people to behave unethically. In addition, her statement (lines 12-13) opens with the verbal gesture *Cey!* (Alas!): “Cey! Ñàkk bi moom day tax nga yor beneen jikko.” (It is so sad to see that poverty causes them to exhibit different behavioural patterns). These instances of monolinguality suggest that emotive, ad

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17 I propose to use different spellings for the two types of suckteeth. CIIPETU for the elongated sound, and CIIPETU for the short one. Grenoble et al. (2015, p. 116) use both spellings interchangeably.
hominem descriptions of some aspects of Africanness are generally done in a Wolof devoid of what they consider to be “borrowings” (see Extract 12), a more restricted (to Wolof only) linguistic repertoire.

When the practice being described is an entrenched African reality, Wolof tends to be the main medium of communication. The participants believe, for example, that corruption is extremely rampant in African societies, therefore, this topic is framed in a more indigenous form of Wolof. The following excerpt illustrates my point:

Babacar: Te Sénégal leegi dafa bari ger de.
Mourtalla: Man Senegal bu njëkk dama daan ragal ay joxe xaalis yooyu.
Tapha: Soo joxewul doo dem de !
Babacar: Soo joxewul nak ŋu ne "Uh! Waay jii daal !"

[Babacar: There is so much corruption in Senegal now.
Mourtalla: Before, I was scared to bribe anybody
Tapha: If you don’t bribe, you’ll never get what you want!
Babacar: If you don’t, they’ll be like: What a time waster!

This is a type of utterance that Wolophones and indeed many of my participants class as wolof piir (see section 6.4 on monolingual Wolof), which translates as pure Wolof (Swigart, 1992, pp. 89-90; McLaughlin, 2001, p. 163), as every single feature in the interaction is exclusively Wolof. Babacar even elected to use the word ger, a much rare term, instead of its more urban equivalent: corruption bi. I have not just based my assumption that Wolof words like ger are rare simply because, as an urban Wolophone I do not use them. I have also checked with most of my informants, who, incidentally, either did not know them or rarely ever used them. This apparent endeavour to use a rural term in lieu of the more urban equivalent could be classed as the urbanites’ marked form of speaking on which I will elaborate more in subsequent sections. A phenomenon I find noteworthy is that many other participants, including myself, have had their Wolof vocabulary enriched through living in the West. This is because diasporic speakers, unlike their compatriots in Senegal, sometimes have a predilection for Wolof words when referencing certain concepts that an everyday Senegalese urbanite would naturally render in French. In the following part, I will explore
more of the behavioural attributes which the discussants believe to be proper to black Africans.

5.2.1.4 Nit-ku-ñuul and the complex of inferiority

*Extract 4. Body communication: effacing blackness*

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MBayang: Dina ñu dem nak ba ëpp nu doole. Sénégalais yu bari dina ñu dem nekk ay Mauritanians.</td>
<td>Just watch; they’ll end up being more powerful than us. Many Senegalese will apply to become Mauritanians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tapha: Xanaa giscoo seen équipe bi ? Man kay lu may ñaan moooy nit-ñu-ñuul ñi un jour man fa am doole.</td>
<td>Look at their football team. I just hope that one day the blacks will have some sort of power there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MBayang: Du gaaw de.</td>
<td>Pigs will fly before then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aziz: Te ñoo fa ëpp de.</td>
<td>And yet they outnumber them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MBayang: Waaw!</td>
<td>I know!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tapha: Ñoo fa ëpp.</td>
<td>They do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>MBayang: Nit-ku-ñuul moo faible. Mbooloo nit-ñu-ñuul benn toubab man na leen diriger. Debout ! Assis ! Debout ! Assis !</td>
<td>Black people are just weak. One white person can control a whole group of blacks: Stand! Sit! Stand! Sit!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tapha: Mais nak nit-ñu-ñuul yi soo xoole ba xool manuñu...</td>
<td>Also, all things considered, blacks can’t…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Aziz: …Dañoo iñaanante.</td>
<td>…They’re envious of each other…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tapha: Dañoo iñaanante ba pare non seulement loolu mais ñoom dafa mel ni duñu utiliser seen xel.</td>
<td>…Not only that but…what I’m saying is they don’t seem to use their minds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>MBayang: Mauritanie gii nit-ñu-ñuul ñi, ñi ci boolo ay toqq-toqq la.</td>
<td>In Mauritania, I can count on one hand the number of blacks who form one block.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tapha: Xoolal Gambie gii, seen tali yi baxna, set na, dëkk bi am na garab, autos yu rafet yoo xam ni. Waaye Senegal, suuf rek ngay gis [laughs]. Suuf kese.</td>
<td>Look at the Gambia, their roads are in good condition and clean; the country is green, beautiful cars. In Senegal, what do you see? Just sand everywhere [Laughs]. Just sand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Babacar: Mais Gambie seen autos yi lu ci bari Allemagne lañu koy jëlee ak yooyu.  

The Gambians, they get most of their cars from Germany, you know.

Tapha: Walla États-Unis.  

Or from America.

Babacar: Walla États-Unis.  

Or from America yes.

MBayang: Mourtalla neena ma kay Gambie dinaa fa ne ba ñëw duma xalaat raxas sama auto bi; waaye Sénégal dangay raxas guddi, soo xëyee melni dañu koo suub.  

Mourtalla told me he can stay in the Gambia for a long time without needing to clean his car. In Senegal on the other hand, when you clean your car tonight, the next morning it looks like you’ve dyed it.

Tapha: Gambie dafa nice !  

The Gambia is beautiful!

MBayang: Senegal dafa nekk di yaqqu...  

In Senegal, things are getting worse day by day…

Babacar: Senegal dafa tilim !  

Senegal is dirty!

MBayang: Nit-ku-ñuul ! Nit-ku-ñuul dafa xeeb boppam de !  

Ah black people! the black person suffers from inferiority complex!

Babacar : Dañu a wara boolo, di consommer local, bayyi jeggaane. Waaye dañu leen a gëmloo seen dara baaxul.  

They should form one block, consume their own produce, stop importing. Unfortunately, they were made to believe that what they have is no good.

Saliou:  Sa der bii sax baaxul !!!  

Even your skin colour is no good!

Tapha: Xoolal dans les cinq dernières années rek cheveux yi ni ñu yàqqee dëkk bi.  

You’ve seen in the last five years how the hair extensions have destroyed Senegal.

Aziz: Yan cheveux ?  

What hair extensions ?

Tapha: Cheveux naturels yi di tas ay sëy. Jëndal ma cheveux walla ma dem.  

The human hair extensions. The ones that are the cause of many divorces. Buy me hair extensions or I’ll leave.

Saliou: Takk cheveux melni ndey golo. Man sama soeurs suñu ko takkee rek dama leen di mere.  

These hair extensions make them fucking ugly! I get angry with my sisters when they wear those.

Mourtalla: London, soo demee ci fi sama xarit bi di jaaye cheveux fii London rek nga xam ni saa waay nit-ñu-ñuul ni dugal nañu leen ci benn gamme boo xam ni... sa waay dina jaay ay twenty-thousand-pound par jour.  

Even here in London when you go to where my friend sells them; just here in London, mate, you’ll realise that the black people’s minds have been corrupted. My mate can sell up to twenty thousand pounds’ worth of hair in a day.
The participants are discussing racial issues, with focus on what is happening in Mauritania. Mauritania is populated by two main races. The white Berbers and the blacks who trace their origins in Senegal or other neighbouring countries. Several of these black ethnic groups are discriminated against by the white Berbers. Many Senegalese living in Mauritania report instances of maltreatment. The discussion focussed mainly on black Africans, with more emphasis on their weaknesses. A certain amount of frustration and despondence also transpire in the way the discussants depict the Subsaharan African. The depictions range from lack of unity to inability to use their intelligence. In relating issues of race, the observation I have made regarding the nature of the language used is that discussants deploy languaging
strategies that make it seem as if they were almost monolingual Wolophones. In the UW spectrum, the Wolof gradient is more pronounced in this case. We note a total absence of English features and barely any French ones except those that even rural Wolophones cannot avoid, such as numbers, expressions of time, or educational or administrative notions. For example, in lines 11-14, MBayang used *diriger* (to lead) and *Debout ! Assis ! Debut ! Assis !* (Stand up! Be seated! Stand up! Be seated!) to convey the idea that a Westerner (white in particular) is able to dominate and command a whole group of Africans, thereby denoting their submissive attitudes. Drawing from educational terminologies, she used the analogy of a schoolteacher who employs the disciplinary procedure of *Debout ! Assis !* Schoolteachers use this method every morning to put pupils in a disciplinary mode before starting the lessons. Although the above-mentioned terms do exist in Wolof, the French terms are contextually (and intertextually) more fitting as they evoke a context of submissiveness in a Francophone classroom. The same methods are also used in military barracks.

Considering the dataset as a whole, I can surmise that participants find it easier to language when deploying their full language resources. That, according to Gafaranga, appears to be the style that comes most naturally to the multilingual (1987, p.24) and to the urban Wolophone in particular (Swigart, 1992, p. 84). Although the multilingual urban Wolophone can become a multilingual monolingual at will, for specific purposes, that enterprise is not always without effort. It is these special efforts that I call endeavours. The endeavours consist in striving to avoid French and English features and digging deep to find the most suitable Wolof term. It is in that regard that I indicated earlier (on page 107) that our Wolof vocabulary have improved through living in the West, which may sound like an odd statement. Whilst it can be challenging at times, this is what the speakers do when addressing such topics as relating to Africanity and the plight of the black African.

These issues of blackness are often framed negatively, in Wolof. As a case in point, in UW, speakers seldom employ *nit-ku-ňuul* to refer to the skin colour of a black person. To neutrally reference black people, the urban Wolophone would use *noir yi* or *black yi*. For example, in talking about the Southampton demographic, Tapha said: “South bi fi fii bariwul ay black, indiens yi daal ūo fëpp” [There are fewer black people in the South (of England). There’re a lot more Indians]. Furthermore, it is well to note that the urbanites did not acquire the word *black* merely through having been in contact with Anglophones. The term is already widely used in spoken French throughout the Francophone world, much the same as the word *boy* is
now an UW word. Urban Wolophones will also generally privilege the terms *black* or *noir* to reference black people in a positive way, as shown us in the following example where MBayang, during a discussion on sustainable development was highlighting the fact that in the field of sport black people are the most successful: “Xoolal ci sport bi rek ni ko *noirs* yi commencer dominer” (Look at how the blacks dominate the sport). Nevertheless, because blackness is, on the whole, negatively marked in their discussions, *nit-ku-ñuul* constitutes the most common term in my participants’ discussions.

The use of MW endeavours by the participants is not incidental. RW occurs widely throughout the dataset in special situations. Consider these words from MBayang, when participants were discussing corruption: “Iñaan rek ! Ab tubaab xaalatul jël xaalis boobu diko deñe ! Soxor rek! Africain moo soxor !” A family member of Paul Biy’a’s, the president of Cameroon, allegedly embezzled millions of euros. When he got arrested, his wife burnt down the room in which he had stashed the five-hundred-euro banknotes. A video of the allegation was circulating on Social Media, and, commenting on the act, MBayang uses the epithets *soxor* and *iñaan* (wicked and envious), to reference the Africans in general (*Africain*). The language she uses in this instance is not only rural, but she goes as far as using archaic forms of Wolof such as the preposed indefinite article *ab*. In Wolof, the use of indefinite articles in the singular form is considered archaic (Poplack, 2018, p. 88). In modern Wolof, the indefiniteness in the singular is characterised by null (∅) determination, i.e., the absence of an article such as in the following example:

\[
\text{Dad} \quad / \quad \text{bought} \quad / \quad \text{a} \quad / \quad \text{car.}
\]

Modern Wolof ➔ Papa / jëndna / ∅ / oto.
Archaism ➔ Baay / jëndna / ab / oto.

By castigating *nit-ku-ñuul*, Africanness, the discussants are as if self-flagellating using a linguistic repertoire stripped to a bare minimum, as if to denote the Africans’ propensity towards unproductivity, their inability to increase their potential. This also, in a way, typifies the idea of Kabou’s (1991, p. 19) fatalism referenced by Babacar in Extract 1.

As evidenced by the data in the general theme of blackness, the UW repertoire is generally smaller when Africanity to its core is evoked, with participants endeavouring to use RW words to describe certain reprovable behaviours that Africans or blacks in general display. In

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addition, a call for Africans to stick to Africanity, is also framed with a less varied linguistic repertoire. As such, discussants stick to a more rural type of Wolof. Consider, for example, the following utterance by Tapha, in lines 64-67: “Huh!? Barke sëriñ bi man balaa maa kontaan ci jigeen u africaine nga léttu ay Life walla ay Dätt bayyi billaay damalay fan! (What?! In the name of the Marabout!¹⁸ You know what? I just love African women who braid their own hair “Dätt bayyi” style. I’m telling you man; I love that!). The expression *Barke sëriñ bi* is more used by rural Wolophones. Tapha has also used the term elsewhere and in similar circumstances when discussants were deploring the fact that Arabo-Islamic teaching is only second to French education in Senegal. This context when religion was being framed could be the reason why Tapha, for a minute or two, changed his idiolect to a more rural verbal behaviour, reasoning that Arabo-Islamic teaching should occupy an important part in the Senegalese educational system. His utterance was accompanied by a special form of a gesture that is only performed by Mourides. The gesture is known as *mbëkk* and is characterised by a handshake immediately followed by a prostration on the hand of the person being shown respect: “Waawaaw! [mbëkk] Loolu moom sëriñ bi bu yàgg la woon (Extract 7, lines 33-34).” (Absolutely! That should have been implemented long time ago). Here is another example of Tapha’s use of *sëriñ bi* to address Mourtalla: “Seriñ bi xam nga Sénégal amna xam-xam u baatin” (Dear brother, you know full well that in Senegal, people have a lot of mystical knowledge). Another factor that could be behind the use of the term is the fact that he is addressing Mourtalla, who is originally from Touba and is a high-level member of the Mouride Sufi order. *Seriñ* is a title conferred to a koranic master or spiritual guide (Seck, 2010; Riccio, 2006, p. 101) and rurals, who are generally more versed into religiosity¹⁹, use the term to index each other in conversations to frame politeness and respect.

For Tapha to divest himself, momentarily, of his urban ways of speaking and assume a more rural diction I find to be somewhat of an endeavour. Of course, I am speaking from a slightly biased point of view, and my analysis of Tapha’s verbal behaviour is coloured by the fact that I have known him for nearly twenty years and seldom hear him alter his idiolect in such a fashion. The main topic of this discussion is about skin bleaching and hair extensions. Such practices are postcolonial practices (Mahé, Ly & Gounongbè, 2004, p. 25). The fact that it is a relatively recent phenomenon is expressed in Mourtalla’s words: “Xoolal bu njëkk rek suñu maam yi ni ñu daan léttoo. Koo ci xool nataal am da ngay gis mu léttu ay Laxas, te kenn

¹⁸ In the version of Sufism in Senegal, adepts swear by the name of their Sheikhs called Marabouts.
¹⁹ Most of the religious places such as Touba, Tiwaouane, NDiassane, etc. are in the rural parts of Senegal.
"Look at our mothers before; the way they used to wear their hair… Look at their photos and you’ll see “Laxas” style and none of them was light-skinned." (lines 68-71). The entire utterance is in Wolof. It appears as if he is resisting using more common UW words such as *foto* (photograph). He elects to use *natal* instead, a much rarer word generally used in the rural areas.

Discussionants seem to use certain features out of pure convenience of the moment, even if such choices are out of the ordinary as far as the speaker’s idiolect is concerned. In an interview I conducted with MBayang and Maguette, I asked them how they would speak to a *kilifa*, a usually older person who is also versed in religiosity, MBayang replied that she would exert herself to speak what she called a more “respectful” Wolof, characterised by an absence of French or English features (see section 6.4). In a separate interview with Babacar, he expressed similar ideas to the ones expressed by MBayang, regarding these endeavours: “[D]es fois defenaa loolu, paresse intellectuelle la quoi, walla paresse communicationnelle, le fait que may dem di tibb ci làkk u jaambur pour man a exprimer mes…mes pensées et mes opinions.” (I think, sometimes, that’s just intellectual laziness, you know, or communicational laziness, the fact that I’m having to borrow from another language to…sort of…express my thoughts and…my…opinions). His words suggest that he finds it much easier to communicate using a wider, unmonitored repertoire and that speaking RW requires some intellectual effort of digging for Wolof linguistic features. His “paresse communicationnelle” denotes that that is the easy route, therefore more confortable.

In normal urban interactions and particularly in the data, speakers employ much simpler grammatical forms but, in this topic, where the central theme is Africanity and returning to African roots, discussants appear to deliberately choose rarer grammatical features. For example, temporal adverb phrases such as *Bu njëkk*, used by Mourtalla in line 68, are rare in UW. The French term *Avant* [before] is more common. The use of French adverbs of time can be observed elsewhere when the conversation is of a different register. For example, when participants were discussing student life in Dakar, the same informant used the term *avant* to express anteriority: “Am na keneen ku ŋu njëkkoon ray sax avant bi” (Another student was killed before this one), suggesting that, this time, no endeavour to employ the Wolof equivalent was necessary, as the subject matter did not require it.

The participants believe that the Senegalese TV channels are to blame for the proliferation of such practices as skin-bleaching. They argue that young women would naturally aspire to be
like the soap stars, most of whom use straight human hair extensions and skin-lightening creams. This is seen by discussants as a way of using mass media to perpetuate such practices. Whilst the interaction was almost entirely in near RW, Tapha’s vehement condemnation of the TV programmes is done in French with a few Wolof embeds: “Très sincèrement télys yi li ŋuy wone dara baaxuci ! Mais c’est con !!!” (To be perfectly honest, the programmes on Senegalese TV are useless! Crap really!). Note, in passing, the use of strong language of protest, compared to his more formal rural endeavours mentioned earlier. This exception further strengthens the assumption that Wolophones have a preference for French discursive features when admonishing and critiquing, or, in this case pronouncing the final verdict of judgment. This way of using French for critiquing and condemning has been dealt with in some length in the analysis of Extract 2.

The same linguistic phenomenon can be observed in Mourtalla’s reciprocation. Notice how, in agreement with Tapha, he changed his discourse from a restricted idiolect (Wolof) to a larger repertoire (Wolof and French). This sudden change in language is equally due to the fact that he was critiquing two social phenomena. The first is that the media help perpetuate certain ideologies such as “a lighter skin is more attractive”, etc.; the second is that this task is rendered possible by the fact that 90% of the population are, in his words, oblivious of what the elite are doing. See above extract, from lines 77 to 92. Mourtalla lives in Dakar but has spent some time in the rural areas, unlike the other participants. In addition, he goes over to Senegal three or four times a year in his capacity as an international car dealer and spends some time in the inner regions. Therefore, he tends to employ more rural terms than the rest of the participants. His general speech is also influenced by the fact that he is the designated leader of our dahira. Therefore, he is somewhat compelled to uphold the Touba way of speaking, which is predominantly rural. However, because the discussion took on a slightly more admonishing tone, his Wolof became more Frenchified, so to say, as he frantically decried how the masses (90%) were dumbed down by the gerontocratic elite. It seems therefore that the more frantic the tone, the more French linguistic features are present in the participants conversations. This counterexample lends more weight to the idea already theorised in section 5.2.1.2. concerning the use of French.
5.2.1.5 Africa and development: indolence as a Senegalese trait

Extract 5. Painting a picture of the typical Senegalese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tapha: Te man suma demee ci kër yi li may njëkk a gis mooy toogaay bi. Toogaay bi bari na.</th>
<th>And when I visit certain families, what I see is the idleness. There is a lot of time-wasting.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Babacar: Te loolu dalay ñakk loo faayda sax, jigeen ñi di ñëw di la roomb.</td>
<td>And that degrades you in the eyes of the women who are always busy working.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Képp ku xëy génn sa kër, Yalla dalay dimbali sooy ñëw dinga andaale dara.</td>
<td>Whoever leaves home in the morning will for sure bring back something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tapha: Dinga andaale dara ! Mag ñi ñu ne &quot;wërsek mi ngi ci tànk&quot;.</td>
<td>You will bring back something! Our elders say that sustenance is under our feet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Dinga gis kuy def dara sax nga ni ko kaay ma jëppale la.</td>
<td>For example, you could offer services of some sort to people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Saliou: Góór sax maam dafa wara jóg xëy lijjanti ji.</td>
<td>As a real man you should be a grafter; you should get out there and make some money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Moo tax fii moo gën a neex a jaamu yalla. Doo am jot u jëw ak fen ak yooyu.</td>
<td>That’s why it is easier to be good in the West. Here, you don’t have time to indulge in bad-mouthing, lying, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In their many discussions about development in Africa, participants often deplore the indolence observed among the Senegalese youngsters. When the discussants are engaged in relating special character traits of Africanness, the languaging strategy is generally characterised by an apparently deliberate selection of Wolof-only features and this is observed throughout the dataset. In this context, the conversation centres on those negative traits, proper to the common Senegalese, which, they think, are holding them back from development. To the participants, the development of Africa should start with galvanising the youngsters to spur them into action. It is in that regard that Tapha introduces the topic of idleness, relating how young, able-bodied men sit around all day unoccupied. What is even more deplorable, according to participants, is that the general idleness of the youth is accentuated by the lack of creativity from their part. Considering 42% of the population are under 15 (ANSD, 2018, p. 33), the situation is, to the speakers, more than critical. Activities that youngsters generally engage in are tea-drinking sessions called ataaya, a tea ritual that can take up to several hours at a time (Heil, 2020, p. 138). It generally involves large groups of people. These groups are generally composed of men. Women are usually engaged in more
meaningful activities ranging from housework to lucrative activities like selling goods in local markets. Many women, especially the Sereer from the rural areas, come to Dakar to find work as housemaids.

In this conversation, the language used throughout is ruralised. This is a repertoire stripped to its bare minimum, so to speak. There is no presence of either French or English linguistic features. A deep African phenomenon is being described, which, understandably, does not seem to require outside cultural contributions. The theory that appears to be woven into this conversation is that the closer the topics are to the Senegalese reality, the more restricted (to Wolof-only features) the linguistic repertoire is. The type of language used here is what I have earlier called ad hominem descriptions (See reference on page 107). This is a type of language which the conversationalists use to describe living conditions back home with a tinge of sympathy. These descriptions are often accompanied with moral lessons on how to be an exemplary citizen. It is the morality of their speech which seems to soften their diction into rurality. RW is considered to be formal. Sometimes, speaking RW can even be a sign of eloquence, especially when religious words (from Arabic origin) are employed. NGom (2003, p. 360) observed that speakers of RW who use Arabic terms are highly respected. There is little wonder, then, that participants use this speech style whilst in a moral-lessons-giver mode.

In their many discussions, Africans are apt to using proverbs to describe a particular cultural phenomenon. Short African proverbs or sayings can have an impact that a long stretch of words cannot have. To this end, Tapha ventures an old, overworked adage: “wëršëk mi ngi ci tânk” (literally, sustenance is under one’s feet), which can be loosely rendered as *success operates in active moments and not in idleness*. That is to say that sustenance will never just fall on your lap. It comes when you are up, “on your feet”, looking for it. The fact, in addition, that this conversation carries a certain religious connotation also accounts for the use of a more rural language. Mourtalla, for instance, alludes to the idea of trusting God and just getting out of the house and believing that one will come back with sustenance: “Yalla dalay dimbali…” (God will help you…). This is corroborated by Tapha’s use of wëršëk (sustenance) in line 11, which comes from the Arabic term ورزق /waRizq/ and Babacar’s use of faayda (respect) in line 5, which is also from the Arabic word فائدة /fa:ida/. A reminder that all Wolof words from Arabic origin are considered to be RW words by virtually all Wolophones. This is because Senegal came into contact with Islam early on in the 11th
century. In fact, many Wolophones are unaware that such terms are Arabic features. For example, in Extract 12, I mentioned, during a small group interview, that in Wolof, the days of the week are said in Arabic, that the Wolof version of the days of the week is now archaic. Saliou exclaimed: “Billaay? Bës yi arabe la?” (Are you serious? The days are in Arabic?). This is one of the reasons why, in my analysis, I have subsumed the words from Arabic origin into the RW repertoire. This is because an analysis of what constitutes Wolof as an already translingual languaging form in its own right would occupy too large a space to be entered upon here. In this present connection, it is sufficient to just view Wolof20 as one language for convenience.

According to Mourtalla, all other vices that the African society suffers from are direct results of the idleness. Among those are, foul-mouthing, talking behind people’s backs, or engaging in futile conversations. The discussants contrast life as an unemployed, idle Senegalese with life in the West. Generally, discussants agree that life in Europe as an employed and busy person forges good character traits in the individual. They argue, for example, that, as a busy person, you have no time to meddle in other people’s businesses, which, in Islam, the religion of all participants, is one of the biggest sins. Nearly all discussants are of the idea that it is easier to be of good character in the West. One can see why this part of the conversation is slightly of a religious order. This is indicated by Mourtalla’s use of jaamu yalla, the worship of God, in lines 16-17, which he equates with being of good character: “Moo tax fii moo gën a neex a jaamu yalla.” (That’s why it is easier to worship God here).

**Extract 6. The transmigrants were exemplary youngsters**

| 1 | Aziz: Man bima amee Entrée en Sixième jógé Fouta, paa bi daf ma jëndal ay markers ne ma am demal Garage Pompier | When I received my primary school leaving certificate, I left Fouta and came to Dakar. My dad bought me a few marker pens and asked me to go to the coach station where my uncle worked. He said go help your uncle write the destinations on the luggage. |
| 2 | sa nijaay mu nga fa, nga dimbali ko: supheric waccee valises yi nga bind ci destinations yi. | |
| 3 | Mourtalla: Man bi may jàng nii araab ni ba une heure, dama daan dem marché Kaolack dem jaayi, jaay ambulant affaires yoooy. Su écôle tèjee damay dem jaayi. Te gis nga su écôle tijjee, lépp laay jëndal sama bopp: ay yere, cahier, Bic, amul dara lumay laaj paa bi. | Whenever I finished Arabic school at 1pm, I would go to the market in Kaolack. In the summer holidays I’d turn into a pedlar so that when I returned to school, I’d buy myself clothes, books, pens. I’d never ask my dad for anything. |

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20 Despite the fact that what is called rural Wolof itself is an aggregate of Wolof Hassaniyya, Portugese, Bambara, to name but those.
By relating some stories regarding the attitude of a typical Senegalese, discussants paint a somewhat glorious picture of themselves as being role models or at least exceptions to the rule. The underlying reason for that seems to be that they have managed to escape from that type of lifestyle in their capacity as emigrants. Having highlighted some of the core attitudes of the typical Senegalese and having given some moral advice (see Extract 5) as to how to remedy the situation, the discussants set out to reveal how, as youngsters, they strove to earn a living and refused to live off other people’s efforts, contrary to what Senegalese youngsters do nowadays. This was triggered by Aziz when he related his story of how he used to earn money just after leaving primary school. In these passages, note how the linguistic repertoire becomes richer to include a considerable amount of French linguistic features. The difference in the language used here as opposed to the one used in the previous interaction suggests that the description of languor and indolence, as an everyday routine in Africa, does not require elaborations, therefore, on account of idleness being a deeply rooted Senegalese attitude in their view, a repertoire stripped to its core can suffice to describe this syndrome, so to speak.

However, the description of an active, dynamic African teenager striving to earn a living, being slightly out of the ordinary, requires a wider linguistic repertoire. Moving away from languor, a language of action is now required. French features have therefore become necessary. Even Mourtalla, who is the least likely to use French, because he went to Arabic school, coupled with the fact that he is more versed in rurality, frames a lot of his working activities as a teenager using many French features: “Man bi may jàng nii araab ni ba une
heure, dama daan dem marché Kaolack dem jaayi, jaay ambulant, affaires yooyu. Su école tèjee damay dem jaayi. Te gis nga su école tijjee, lépp laay jëndal sama bopp: ay yere, cahier, Bic, amul dara lumay laaj paa bi.” (Whenever I finished Arabic school at 1PM, I would go to the market in Kaolack. I was a street pedlar. In the summer holidays I’d turn into a pedlar so that when I returned to school, I’d buy myself clothes, books, pens. I’d never ask my dad for anything.).

Mourtalla’s account is diametrically opposed to what seems to be the norm in the life of a Senegalese youngster who sits around for interminable hours. I have mentioned before (on page 114) that the Wolophones have the predilection for French features when expressing the sense of time, as if time did not exist in their imaginary. This is perhaps why he expresses the time he used to go to work in French. Furthermore, he even expresses the workplace in French. I have verified that none of my participants know the word for market in Wolof. The French word marché is systematically used. He elects to also employ the French term ambulant, which is short for marchand ambulant (pedlar), to convey the idea of moving around selling goods. Because this is in the order of being active, French seems to him to be more adequate. This contrasts with the idea of idleness described earlier. As such, even doing business or engaging in any form of dynamism also requires the French term affaires (business) because perhaps the sense of busy-ness does not exist in the Senegalese imaginary. Lastly, I would like to point out how the cultural notion of the talking circles or palaver trees mentioned in section 4.5.4, on page 80 is reflected in the way discussants interact and respect each other’s turn space when conversing. Notice, as per the art of oratory so engrained in African conversations, how all turns start with “Man”, a device used to index oneself in the first person singular, heralding that one is about to take one’s turn.

**Extract 7. Senegalese educational system**

In this excerpt, the following annotations will be used: French, English, Wolof.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tapha: La plupart des sénégalais c’est des sôópman...</th>
<th>In Senegal, most people are not serious…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Babacar: Y a trop de vacataires…</td>
<td>There are many contract teachers…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tapha: …surtout dans le privé. Yeen ni nga xam ne vous avez fait l’École Normale am ngeen a bit of background, mais les gars qui obtiennent que leur</td>
<td>…Especially in private education. You guys have done teacher training at École Normale, therefore you’ve got a bit of a background, but the issue is with those who directly go into teaching in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>licence ou leur Maîtrise et qui se lancent dans le privé...</td>
<td>private schools with just a degree or a Master’s degree, without training…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Aziz: …directement.</td>
<td>…directly yeah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tapha: Sóópman gàddu cartable, yeah English teacher etc. Et s’ils s’expriment en anglais tu as envie de fuir [laughs].</td>
<td>They are full of it too. With their satchel, they give it all that oh yeah! I am a teacher of English etc. when in reality their English is appalling[laughs].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Babacar: Et c’est comme ça qu’ils font et sacrifient des générations !</td>
<td>This is how they sacrifice generations!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Xam nga njàngum arabe ci wàllum culture lañuko boole?</td>
<td>Do you know that Arabic as a foreign language comes under culture (not education)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Tapha: Loolu du yoon. Ci Éducation la wara bokk.</td>
<td>That’s not fair. It should be part of the Nationale Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Bokkul ci Éducation de.</td>
<td>It’s not though.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tapha: Xam nga loolu moom mooy yéf u dof !</td>
<td>This is proper retarded; do you know what I mean?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Ñun dañuy caaxaan.</td>
<td>We (Africans) have a long way to go!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tapha: Dañuy caaxaan bèggguñu avancer! Bac ren les arabisants ñoo èppale ay admis. Taux de réussite de 60% dans tout le Sénégal. Ñooñu nga bègg leen écarter !</td>
<td>Definitely! It’s like we don’t want progress! This year, the Arabic students in Senegal have the highest success rate in their A-level results. A 60% success rate in the whole of Senegal. Those should be reckoned with, not marginalised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Xam nga Sénégal lii ñuy jàng nii ba Bac, manoon nañu ko lem ba mu gàtt.</td>
<td>You know all that they teach in Senegal, from primary to A-level, they could’ve made it a shorter curriculum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Tapha: Waawaaw ! [nbëkk] Loolu moom sëriñ bi bu yàgg la woon. Ñun balaa ngay égg Bac da ngay am xam-xam ba soo ko tèkkèlee ak ki am A-level fii yaa ko ëpp xam-xam fuuf.</td>
<td>I agree! [prostration] That, dear brother, should have been done long time ago. In Senegal, even before you reach A-level you amass so much knowledge that, compared to 6th Form students here, we are a lot more knowledgeable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Babacar: Te man lima ci jaaxal mooy suñu Bac bi defu ñu ko muy dara.</td>
<td>And what I don’t understand is that, for them, our A-level is virtually worthless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Waaye nak ndax liñuy jàng Sénégal amna njariñ fii ?</td>
<td>Yeah but is what we learn in Senegal useful here?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the discussions about the Senegalese educational system usually springs from topics related to Françafrique or language policy in Senegal. In this occasion, the interaction is

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21 Seriñ Mountakha is the eighth and current Caliph of the Mouride brotherhood in Touba, Senegal.
triggered by a metalinguistic discussion on English proficiency among teachers of English in Senegal. Tapha’s introductory sentence “Sénégal ñu bari ay sóópman lañu...” (In Senegal, most people are not serious…) sets the scene for another rant on Africa’s model of development. The discussants express concern over the future of pupils in Senegal because they believe the system by which the National Education recruit teachers is appalling, with language teachers not sufficiently trained. The use of the many French linguistic features in the interaction is dictated by the nature of the topic which, for the most part, is of an administrative nature, added to the fact that the government is at the centre of the topic.

In most Francophone countries like Senegal, teachers are civil servants. Of late, however, there have been recruitment processes, en masse, of unqualified teachers, and this, according to Babacar, is the root of the problem: “Y a trop de vacataires...” (There are too many unqualified teachers.). Tapha retorts with: “...surtout dans le privé. Yeen ñi nga xam ne vous avez fait l’École Normale am ngeen a bit of background, mais les gars qui obtiennent que leur licence ou leur Maîtrise et qui se lancent dans le privé...” (Especially in private education. You guys have done teacher training at École Normale, therefore you’ve got a bit of a background, but the issue is with those who directly go into teaching in the private schools with just a degree, without training…). He deploys his full repertoire to denigrate the recruitment system. The use of the English features “a bit of background” is perhaps due to his interlocutors’ having majored in English Studies in Senegal during their teacher training years. The fact, in addition, that Aziz and Babacar have acquired some experience teaching in the UK may also account for the rare use of English in this interaction. Using Babacar and Aziz as a role model, so to speak, he emphasizes the idea that the educational system has deteriorated since. This, according to Babacar, is tantamount to sacrificing future generations: “Et c’est comme ça qu’ils font et sacrifient des générations !!!” His use of French here is another indication of the forcefulness with which he uttered that statement.

The more heated the discussion gets, the more French features are used to articulate points, especially when discussants furnish facts and figures to substantiate their arguments. Consider this statement by Tapha, where he produces statistics from the 2019/2020 academic year: “Dañuy caaxaan bègggunu avancer! Bac ren les arabisants ñoo èppale ay admis. Taux de réussite de 60% dans tout le Sénégal. Ñoönû nga bègg leen écarter !” (We’re not serious and we don’t want progress! This yeah, the Arabic students in Senegal have the highest success rate in their A-level results. A 60% success rate in the whole of Senegal. Those should be
reckoned with, not marginalised). Tapha reasons that it is absurd to consider schools which are using Arabic as a medium of instruction to be part of the Ministry of Culture. All discussants unanimously decry the exoticisation of the Arabic language and its relegation from “education” to “culture”. For him, and for most codiscussants, Arabic schools should come under the Ministry of Education, just like the French schools.

Mourtalla is, as mentioned earlier, the participant with the most restricted repertoire as he tends to speak a more rural type of Wolof, for reasons explained on page 115. Although the topic of education lends itself, generally, to a more Frenchified Wolof, he elected to express himself with Wolof only features, a move that is consistent with his idiolect: “Xam nga Sénégal lìi ñuy jàng nii ba Bac, manoon nañu ko lem ba mu gàtt.” (You know all that they teach in Senegal, from primary to A-level, they could’ve made it a shorter curriculum.). What is worth noting here is the way speakers abruptly switch styles to adopt a momentary monolingual stance when reacting to Mourtalla’s statement. What started as a heavily Frenchified Wolof tails into a more RW: “Cey yalla ! Nasaraan bi la rek. Moo fi ñëw, génnee fi suñu làkk, bayyi fi làkk-am ñu koy jàng ! (lines 71-73)” (Oh dear God! I blame the white man. He came and replaced our language with his own which has now become the main medium of instruction!). Having been familiar with Saliou’s idiolect for many years, I can only class this marked, monolingual endeavour as out of the ordinary and informed by the presence of Mourtalla to whom he directs the statement.

This rare monolingual statement from Saliou could also be seen as his way of displaying his anticolonial stance but Tapha’s reaction when addressing Mourtalla makes this translingual practice sound like Bell’s (1984, p. 159) audience design, where speakers tend to switch styles of speech when switching interlocutors, as if to design specific idiolects to specific “auditors”: “Waawaaw ! Loolu moom sëriñ bi bu yàgg la woon. Ñun balaa ngay egg Bac da ngay am xam-xam ba soo ko tëkkëlee ak ki am A-level fii yaa ko ëpp xam-xam fuuf.” (I agree! That, dear brother, should have been done long time ago. In Senegal, even before you reach A-level you amass so much knowledge that, compared to 6th Form students here, we are a lot more knowledgeable). He has admitted later, in a follow-up one-to-one interview, that he formalises his speech for specific auditors. My intention was to ascertain why he adopted those spur-of-the-moment monolingual endeavours as, at times, it came as a surprise to me. One of the many answers he gave me was: “Non xamnga des fois il faut nga wódd wax ji quoi surtout ci yenn jotaay yi [laughing]” (Well, you know, sometimes, you got to
speak respectfully, especially with the presence of certain people [laughing]. Tapha equates speaking RW with being respectful, using the interactional space and the status of the interactants in it as a justification for this choice. This attitude is consistent with the one adopted by MBayang who employed an expression in the same vein. She intimated that she would “bankaat sama kaddu ba mu baax”, that is, “watch her language carefully” (see her account much further on page 9) when conversing with respectable people.

However, what is striking is that, sometimes, participants can change styles also depending on specific addressees, not just auditors. For example, the addressee to which Tapha is designing his speech is Mourtalla, the head of the dahira. I will come back more fully to this practice when I analyse the participants’ attitudes to language in section 6.4. Note that, in Bell’s definition, an addressee is one’s interlocutor at a specific moment in time, whereas auditors constitute all discussants who are present and are within earshot (1984, p. 159). Tapha’s formal RW speech is characterised by the introduction of the indexical term sëriñ bi which he uses only when addressing Mourtalla. I have treated extensively of the use of this term in RW on page 113.

When the participants share viewpoints, one can also notice similarities in styles of speech. Sometimes, even if the general topic of conversation dictates a certain style, participants show their collaboration or agreement with a speaker by reproducing their interlocutor’s idiolect and sometimes by even repeating some of the terms they employed. For example, when Mourtalla engages in a particular interaction, the conversation tends to move from a wider (which could be said to be the norm among multilingual multilinguals) to a more restricted (to Wolof only) features, with the interaction being almost entirely collaborative.

Mourtalla: Te lima ci jaaxal mooy ci six ans yi duñu dégg làkk bi.
Babacar: Te man lima ci jaaxal mooy suñu Bac bi defu ñu ko muy dara. Dañu war di jàngale ci wolof.
Tapha: Seriñ bi xam nga Sénégal amna xam-xam u baatin, waaye lu yore àdduna bi tamit warna ñu di ko fa jàngale, technologie bi.

[Mourtalla: And what’s funny is that during those six years they won’t be able to speak it properly.
Babacar: And what I don’t understand is that, for them, our A-level is virtually worthless.]
Tapha: Dear brother, you know full well that in Senegal, people have a lot of mystical knowledge, but they should also teach things of this world, like technology.]

Note that the conversation seems to revolve around Mourtalla whom conversationalists choose to be an addressee. Tapha did not react to Babacar’s call for a change of language of instruction in schools. Instead, he elected to address Mourtalla, again referring to him as Seriñ bi, the usual determiner for respect which Tapha has the predilection for when addressing Mourtalla.
5.2.2 Senegalese transmigrants in the modern world

Extract 8. Special translingual practices through commensality

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dati na mburu waay !</td>
<td>Come on munch on the bread man!</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Dati na mburu.</td>
<td>No, you munch on it!</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Barke Seriñ Touba ! Ayca, na rees ak jamm.</td>
<td>In the name of Seriñ Touba! Enjoy your food guys.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Tapha nak deg-deg de ngay faralaate. Jox nga Mame Diarra tank, jox Aziz tank bayyima [laughs].</td>
<td>Honestly Tapha, this is ethnic discrimination. You gave both Mame Diarra and Aziz a chicken leg and not me [laughs].</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>[laughs] ! Dama xam ni kat yow ñaar i tank a ngi nii sa wet.</td>
<td>Yeah right! With two legs on your plate [laughs].</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Babacar, tottam mburu gooto, a jaaraama.</td>
<td>Babacar, pass me a piece of bread, cheers.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Yow Peul nga, moom Sereer. Yiiiii!</td>
<td>Busted! Ha ha! You are Fulani and he’s Sereer (what a deadly combination).</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>[Laughs] neena jaam nga de.</td>
<td>He’s just said that they own you.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Moom mii mooy maccudo. Ŋaamii rek ! Ŋaamii ! [laughs]</td>
<td>He knows that the Sereer are superior. Eat! Just eat! Greedy bastard! [laughs]</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Zeyna hatta!!! [he he]</td>
<td>Hmm delicious! [shy laugh]</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Wallaahi zeyna hatta!!!</td>
<td>Absolutely delicious!</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Ma te gaat?</td>
<td>Do you want more tea?</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Waawaaw! Comme tey yàpp lafu lékk. Du ngeen kii...Ma tangalal leen?</td>
<td>Definitely! Being as we ate meat. Shall I...serve you food again?</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Aziz: Yiiiii...!</td>
<td>Are you serious? (we’re full up)</td>
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During the several months that I observed and recorded my participants, the only times this special languaging practice involving Wolof and other African languages occurred was when there was food involved. In this interaction, we note the presence of Fulani, Sereer, Wolof,
The absence of both French and English makes this linguistic interaction quite marked. There is a deeply rooted sociocultural phenomenon being performed in this interaction and it is known as kàll, a concept difficult to translate but which I will venture to render as *ethnic banter*. The phenomenon is also known by the Senegalese Fulani as *dendiraagu*, which McLaughlin (1995, p. 157) renders as “a joking relationship between ethnic groups...”. In Senegal, fierce tensions between ethnic groups have been quelled through the mere practice of this concept, which, more often than not, ends up creating a harmonious bond between them (Diarra & Fougéyrollas, 1974; Villalón, 1995). More specifically, when two people are in a disagreement of some sort, the mere fact of discovering that they belong in the same paired up ethnic banter group immediately defuses the tension, as the brawl is turned into a frenetic joke. The kàll is, as Attino (2021, p. 7) calls it more like a social barometer. This banter, therefore, can be observed at two levels: at an ethnic level, where groups deride each other; or at an individual level, where two individuals taunt each other based on their respective patronyms (Faye & NGom, 2021, pp. 150-1). I will discuss this complex cultural practice more fully in section 7.3.2.

This concept, being alien to the Western world, makes it challenging to express it in French or English. This is perhaps what accounts for the exclusive use of a translingual practice involving only African languages. The analysis of the extract reveals that interactants employ this way of translanguage to create a space where both hosts and guests are at ease with each other and with the environment. It is well to note that while this phenomenon is observable in most areas of the Senegalese society, in my data, only when food was present did I observe such banter between the participants. In addition, according to McLaughlin (1995, p. 158) this banter is mostly done in Wolof. However, in my corpus, this joking relationship is sometimes carried out through the medium of the interactants’ respective native languages, in addition to Wolof. For example, Aziz, a Fulani, refers to Babacar, a Sereer, as a captive: “*Oo ko maccudo*” (We own the Sereer), whereupon Babacar interjected in a translanguage practice involving Sereer, Fulani, and Wolof: “*Moom mii mooy maccudo. Ñaamii rek ! Ñaamii ! [laughs]***” (No, we own the Fulani! Just eat you greedy bastard [laughs]).
It is well to stress here that no matter how fierce\textsuperscript{22} the exchange looks on the surface, to an outsider, no ethnic group have ever been known to have taken offence (1995, p. 157), on the contrary, these contextual jokes are endorsed and create harmony. Babacar and Aziz, in an effort to be closer friends, use this ethnic banter around food as a space for bonding. Furthermore, their translingual practices involving Sereer and Fulani, their respective native tongues, to the exclusion of Wolof, the language of everyone, is perhaps another way for both to create their own little space for bonding. It is important to also note that, in Senegal, ethnic groups are paired up, twinned, so to say, for the purposes of this cultural banter (for example, the Fulani are twinned with the Sereer, etc.). However, the Wolof do not have a twin in this respect, and so, do not generally take part in these bonding jokes\textsuperscript{23}.

The role Wolof plays in Senegal could be compared to that which English plays in the world. All the other ethnic groups need Wolof to get by; therefore, the Wolof do not bother to learn any of the other languages. It would be seen as odd for a Wolof to get involved in those ethnic banter practices. There is already an underlying belief that Wolophones consider themselves superior anyway (UNESCO, 1974, pp. 20-21), which the rest of the ethnic groups decry when a Wolof is not present. In fact, some ethnic groups such as the Pulaar have been known to resist this Wolof imperialism (McLaughlin, 1995). This is perhaps why Mame Diarra, a Wolof, tentatively appreciated the tea she was sipping in Hassaniya, a language spoken by the Moors in neighbouring Mauritania: “Zeyna hatta!!” (Hmm delicious!), when she could have chosen from the thirty plus languages in Senegal. This can be seen as her way of taking part in the banter while remaining (ethnically) neutral.

These jokes generally carry on until one of the ethnic groups admits being the slave of the other. Aziz uses a trick to that end. In lines 10-11, he “orders” Babacar, in Fulani, to pass him the bread: “Babacar, tottam mburu gooto, a jaaraama”. Banking solely on the slim similarities between Fulani and Sereer, Babacar guessed the meaning and executed the “task” and that was seen as a form of submission. Thus is it that the atmosphere of conviviality is created, through translingual practices. Consider, for example, this joke told by Babacar, in Wolof, with a Sereer accent: “Tapha nak deg-deg de ngay faralaate. Jox nga Mame Diarra tank, jox Aziz tank bayyima” (Surely, though, Tapha, this is ethnic discrimination. You gave both

\textsuperscript{22} “In some instances, they may call each other slaves, or attribute negative characteristics such as greed to each other.” (McLaughlin (1995, p. 157)).

\textsuperscript{23} There is, however, another type of social banter based on patronyms that every Senegalese, irrespective of the ethnic group to which they belong, can take part in. For example, if, as a Dieng, I meet a Senegalese whose patronym is Fall or Niang, we can engage in this form of banter.
Mame Diarra and Aziz a chicken leg and not me), which has occasioned a general laughter from everyone. This is usually done to put shy people at ease, without having to explicitly ask them to “relax” and “be at ease”, which, if anything, could make them even shyer.

Extract 9. Transmigrants reproduce Senegalese cultural practices in the West

The following annotations will be used: English, French, Wolof.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aziz: Fan ci Italie nga dékk?</td>
<td>Where in Italy do you live?</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Tapha: Mame Diarra looy jël? Train /trem/ bi ngay jël ba London walla fii ngay jëlec…?</td>
<td>Mame Diarra what are you getting? Are you getting the train to London or are you flying from here…?</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Mame Diarra: Coach bi laay jël, bu National Express bi.</td>
<td>I’m getting the coach, the National Express.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Tapha: Ookaay!</td>
<td>I see.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Aziz: Ba Londres?</td>
<td>To London?</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Mame Diarra: Non ba Gatwick, après ma jel avion foofu.</td>
<td>No to Gatwick, then I’ll…I’ll fly from there.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Tapha: Laa i laay la ilallay Fall Laay!</td>
<td>Laa i laay la ilallay Fall Laay! (psalmody)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Babacar: Italie ak Angleterre bu daqq?</td>
<td>What’s better? England or Italy?</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Mame Diarra: Etaali moo èpp sénégalais moo tax mu daqq.</td>
<td>I prefer Italy because there are more Senegalese.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Babacar: Italie moo èpp ay Sénégalais?</td>
<td>Are there more Senegalese in Italy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mame Diarra: Etaali da ngay gén, da ngay dem i Maggal ak i Cant.</td>
<td>In Italy you go out a lot, you go to the Maggal and Cant ceremonies.</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Abdou: Waawaaw Italie kay daanaka fale la Sénégal la…</td>
<td>Absolutely! Italy is just like back home, just like Senegal…</td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Mame Diarra: Mnhm ehehe, Senegal bu am i tubaab rek ehe.</td>
<td>Yeah [laughs], it’s Senegal with some white people in.</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Babacar: …bari na ai taalibe lool.</td>
<td>There are loads of Mourides there.</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Mame Diarra: Anhan loolu am na kay.</td>
<td>Yeah that’s right.</td>
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This conversation is set against the backdrop of religiosity. Photos of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba and of his son and successor Serigne Fallou were hanging on the wall (see figure 8 above). In the background, the khasaïdes, the Mouride religious songs, were playing softly. The décor, therefore, was propitious for the conversation to be of a religious order. Some of the participants were dressed in Baye Fall outfit designed to replicate Mame Cheikh Ibra Fall’s style of dress. The Baye Fall are the Mouride branch which follows Cheikh Ibra Fall who was Cheikh Amadou Bamba's first disciple (Heil, 2020, p. 239). One can visibly identify a Baye Fall from their "patchwork outfits" and dreadlocks. The whole multimodal “trans-signing”, to borrow Adami’s (2019, p. 44) term, can be seen as an attempt to colour the ambience with a Senegalese context of religiosity. Even when no language is used, any Senegalese would feel at home in this multimodal deployment of the establishment. It is this face of the Senegal that migrants are always proudly keen to display in the West.

Most of the discussions involving “Senegal abroad” is almost always of a commendatory order. Whilst participants tend to paint a not so flattering picture of the Senegalese back home, their account of the diasporic Senegalese is almost systematically eulogistic. The image of hardworking, honest Senegalese transmigrants, because imbued with some Western qualities, seems to always be at the forefront of most of their depictions of Senegaleseness in the West. In talking about global Senegality and transmigrant identities, the translanguaging
practices that the participants engage in are dominated by two main linguistic features: English and Wolof. I will come back to the use of English in the next extract but wish to proceed, for the moment, with the Wolof features. They generally dominate the language used in interactions relating to bonding through religiosity and cultural practices.

Senegal is one of the countries in Africa where Sufism is the most prominent. Nearly every Senegalese is affiliated, in one form or other, to one of the many Sufi orders, the most prominent of which are the Tijani and Mouride orders. The Mouride Muslims of the city of Touba, the bastion of the Wolof, are considered to be one of the earliest to have emigrated to the West to subsequently become international traders (McLaughlin, 1995, p. 154). This is why in the diaspora, the Mouridiyya is better known than all the other Sufi groups (Diop, 1981) as most transmigrants identify as Mourides. In the participants’ daily languaging practices, any mention of religiosity is framed in Wolof. This is because the Mouridiyya gained prominence in Senegal as a “Senegalo-Wolof” concept used as a weapon against French colonialism (O’Brien, 1971; Copans, 1980; Sy, 1969; Ross, 2011, pp. 2930-1). Their linguistic repertoire, varied as it is, shrinks and crystallises into Wolof-only features, which, to them, is the only appropriate way to speak about spiritual matters.

It is well to remember that this languaging strategy is not always a comfortable practice. We are here in a presence of multilingual multilinguals endeavouring to become, temporarily, monolinguals for convenience’s sake. Of course, multilinguals are able to become monolinguals at will; it still remains, however, that this enterprise is not without some effort, as many of my informants testified, during interviews, that the practice of RW is somewhat of an exertion. This is theorised in Chapter 6, where I triangulated linguistic practices with language attitudes, in section 6.4. This linguistic strategy, however, appears necessary for the participants as Wolof features are used for bonding through the taking part in the many social and religious activities in the West.

Such occasions are opportunities for thousands of Senegalese diasporans to meet up and recollect together religious and cultural practices. It is well to stress the fact that, in Senegal, it is the elders who are generally the most present in the religious ceremonies. The fact that younger diasporic Senegalese are actively taking part in them could be attributed to homesickness. As such, these cultural and religious practices are used as a solace, so to say, where traditional Senegality is being displayed to the full. This is what perhaps explains the extensive use of Wolof features during those moments. One observable phenomenon here is
that whilst the Dakarois urbanites appear to be moving away from traditionality, influenced as they are, by urban ways, the Senegalese diasporans seem to be keener to uphold the customary values due to nostalgia.

Not only does the languaging change to RW but also the overall atmosphere is tainted with religiosity. Silences, amid the dynamicity of the conversations, are replaced with spiritual chanting. In Senegalese culture, silences are viewed as awkward. Therefore, an immediate form of linguistic filler is always in order. It is in that regard that Tapha often initiates a general spiritual psalmody24: “Laa i laay la ilay Fall Laay Fall!” (line 12). It is the Wolofised version of the Arabic expression Laa Ilaaha illa Allah (there is only God).

In Senegal, the adoration of a deity is generally done through a marabout, a spiritual guide. As such adepts gather in the millions to celebrate the teachings of their guide. This is known as Maggal and is done annually. A Cant, on the other hand, is done more frequently and means Thanksgiving, addressed to the spiritual leader. And the space in which the cants are often organised are the dahiras (explained on page 34). Notice how Mame Diarra has woven the whole idea in formal, RW. Mame Diarra, 23, lives half of year in Italy and the other half in the UK. She is fluent in Italian, French, English, and Wolof. Thus, she has one of the largest repertoires. As such, her use of RW in this instance can also be likened to the languaging theory that I have called endeavours (see explication on page 111).

The notion of endeavour is especially relevant when the linguistic venture, so to speak, is outside the speaker’s normal languaging style. Young people like Mame Diarra are least likely to speak RW, especially when they have always lived in urban areas. For example, when expressing preference about the best place to live as a Senegalese and Mouride, she deployed a monolingual RW utterance: “Etaali da ngay génn, da ngay dem i Maggal ak i Cant” (In Italy you go out a lot, you go to Maggal and Cant ceremonies). The rurality of her Wolof is also characterised not only by the exclusive presence of Wolof-only features but, more strikingly, her use of the term Etaali to reference Italy. Generally, in UW, the names of countries are systematically said and pronounced in French (Italie). Her pronunciation of the

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24 This chant is uttered during the Maggal and Cant ceremonies in unison by a sub-group of the Mouride Sufi order called the Baye Falls. They are a group within the Mouride Sufi sect. The chant speaks about the uniqueness of God, on which the fundamental doctrine of the Baye Falls rests. Baye Fall comes from the name Mame Cheikh Ibri Fall, a disciple of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, the founder of the Mouride Sufi order. Mourides are known to be travellers. They are present in large numbers in Italy, France, Spain, and New York. In fact, there is a part of New York called Little Senegal (Smith, 2019, p. 29)
term is more prevalent among the rurals and elders. In fact, earlier on, when the participants were discussing her travel arrangements back to Italy for the next day, she used the French term, in monolingual French, to reply to Babacar, suggesting that it is the religious discussion that has influenced her diction: “En Italie? Euh…Milan” (line 2).

My participants reside in the UK but have commitments in other European cities too. They are therefore prime examples of transmigrants. For example, Abdou resides in the UK with his family but has strong social ties with France. It is also in that regard that Mame Diarra has economic ties with Britain on the one hand, and religious ties with Italy on the other. Mourtalla and MBayang's family, Maguette's family, and Mame Diarra's family are all kin (distant cousins) and the kinship tie is such that they visit each other on a regular basis, in turn, between Italy, Spain, Senegal, and the UK where the respective families reside. Mourtalla admitted to me that he uses the kinship as an opportunity to sojourn in Italy or Spain during the summer, earning extra money working as a peddler in the Spanish and Italian beaches. The Senegalese teraanga constitutes a sure way of being housed for free for up to months at a time, save, perhaps, what one chooses to give as a symbolic gesture.

The diasporic Senegalese, whether in Italy, England, France, Spain, or New York, share certain character traits which define a Senegalese migrant. It is those common traits, coupled with the fluidity with which they cross national borders to meet up with other co-nationals that Smith (2019, p. 25) calls “Global Senegality”, a concept that all my study participants have identified with. The Senegalese teraanga (hospitality), adumbrated on page 9, is central to the notion of Global Senegality and influences, in many respects, the way the participants language. Most teraanga languaging is framed in RW with the view to, as it appears, make the guests feel at home. In doing so, they are as if reasoning that Wolof-only features reflect better the notion of hospitality, with teraanga being a deep Senegalese reality.

Mame Diarra: Babacar yeggal ca kaw.
Babacar: Wóor na yalla man tooaagay u suuf moo ma gënal billaay ! Ayca bismillah!
[Mame Diarra: Babacar please sit up on the coach.

Babacar: God is my witness that I prefer to sit on the floor! In the name of God let us eat!]
The substantive teraanga is derived from the verb teral which means to host someone and treat them like a king or queen (Heil, 2020, p. 327). The phenomenon is more prevalent in
religious contexts. For example, in Touba, the Senegalese holy city of the Mourides, there are no restaurants. This is because, as extraordinarily as it may sound, you can just enter any house at dinner time and be served. It is this *teranga* that the diasporic Senegalese try to replicate globally. It can be said, therefore, that the interactions between the diasporic Senegalese come under what Ross (2011) calls “globalising Touba” where the common cultural practices in Touba are transposed globally in the form of regular gatherings (or *dahiras*) in the cities of the global North. Migrants can put each other up for several months at a time when they visit each other. Needless to say that this makes the national borders even more porous.

**Extract 10. Transmigrants discard their Francophone identity**

The following annotations will be used: **English, French, Wolof, [verbal gestures]**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mame Diarra: Ak France tamit.</th>
<th>And France too.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tapha: France kay Sénégal bu ndaw la. Gars yi di jaay geerte ci mbedd mi. Waw suñu <strong>project</strong> bi yeen ang ci xalaat ?</td>
<td>France’s just a miniature Senegal All these people selling roasted peanuts in the streets. Guys are you thinking of our project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Babacar: Lima bëggoon a wax mooy: suñu ko naree def dañuy dem ŋun ñëp, dañuy ând ci benn <strong>bank of our choice</strong>, ŋu dem ne leen dañuy ubbi benn <strong>joint account</strong>, xam nga, buñu <strong>d'accord</strong> ee ŋu set up a... <strong>standing order for every month</strong>.</td>
<td>What I wanted to say was that if we’re serious about it, we should all go together and visit a bank of our choice and we say to them that we want to open a joint account, you know, if we agree then we set up a monthly standing order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>Aziz</strong>: Wow <strong>next month</strong> rek. Abdou sa rakk bi nekk Espagne amul <strong>bank account</strong> nga ne. Nuñu leen di fayee ?</td>
<td>Shall we start next month? How did your brother in Spain get paid being as he doesn’t have a bank account?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><strong>Abdou</strong>: <strong>Cash in hand</strong>.</td>
<td>Cash in hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>Aziz</strong>: <strong>Cash in hand</strong>? Leegi <strong>tax</strong> nak?</td>
<td>Cash in hand? What about tax?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Abdou: <strong>Jarul bank account</strong>. Amna ŋoo xam ni su <strong>contract</strong> bi jeexee rek dañuy ñibbi, waaye ŋu ci bari dañuy pare rek daw duggu ci dëkk bi.</td>
<td>There’s no need for a bank account. Some go back at the end of the contract, but many others stay on illegally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Babacar: Sama <strong>contract</strong> bi mi ngi waaj a jeex. Damay dem <strong>EE</strong>. Dafa melni ŋoo gën de, <strong>parce que</strong> boo gissee <strong>rates</strong> yi...</td>
<td>My phone contract is about to end. I’m going with EE. It looks like they’re better, judging from their rates and…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tapha: <em>Même</em> bu dul <strong>rate</strong> yi sax ñoom they cover everywhere ba pare...wax dëgg yalla leegi <strong>regret</strong>-na li ma génn.</td>
<td>It’s not even about the rates. EE covers everywhere plus...and you’re right; I regret leaving them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Babacar: Foo nekk leegi?</td>
<td>Who are you with now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Tapha: Maangi <strong>Three</strong>. Dama amoon...</td>
<td>I am with Three. I had…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Babacar: …Mais <strong>Three</strong> dañu am <strong>problem network</strong>.</td>
<td>….Three? They have a network problem you know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tapha: Waaw amna yenn <strong>area</strong> mais fii moom wax dëgg yalla <em>I’ve got network</em>.</td>
<td>Yeah, in some areas, but where I live, the network is fine to be honest.</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Babacar: <strong>Aziz</strong> benn <strong>auto</strong> a ngi nii de: <strong>ninety-thousand</strong>...</td>
<td>Aziz, here’s a car for you, ninety-thousand miles on the clock…</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Babacar: <strong>Mais auto</strong> one thousand <strong>pounds</strong> moom manoo am <strong>low mileage</strong>. Bu dee <strong>diesel</strong> la moom mileage bi grave-ul.</td>
<td>With a budget of a thousand pounds you can’t get a car a with low mileage. If it’s diesel then the high mileage isn’t an issue.</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Tapha: Auto leegi yi man nga ci daw hundred thousand, nga dawaat ci hundred thousand te du def dara.</td>
<td>Nowadays you can get a car with a hundred thousand miles on the clock and drive it for another hundred thousand miles.</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Babacar: Man de sumay jënd auto <strong>mileage</strong> bi su èpp ee <strong>seventy thousand</strong> duma ko jënd. Loolu man...sama <strong>criteria</strong> la <strong>quoi</strong>.</td>
<td>For me, when I buy a car the mileage has to be below seventy thousand, if not…you know… that’s just my criteria.</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Tapha: Su fekkee <strong>runner</strong> rek boo xam ni pour <strong>job</strong>...ki...</td>
<td>But if it’s just a runner you need for work and stuff…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Maguette: MBayang, yaa ngi jel <strong>cours</strong> u <strong>drive</strong> yi walla?</td>
<td>MBayang are you taking driving lessons or?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>MBayang: Jelaguma de. Mais <strong>pass</strong>-naa <strong>theory</strong> bi.</td>
<td>Not yet but I’ve passed the theory test.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Maguette: <strong>Test</strong> bi bind la walla?</td>
<td>Is it a written test or?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>MBayang: Ci <strong>computer</strong> bi la; leegi yaw da ngay <strong>lire</strong> rek, <strong>question</strong> bii ... <strong>answer</strong> yiï...Yaw ni ngay demee <strong>college</strong> nii <strong>understand</strong> nga <strong>anglais</strong> bu baax...</td>
<td>You do it all on the computer. You just read it, match this question with this answer etc. You go to college, so you’ll easily understand the English.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Aside from the bonding times, the life of the Senegalese transmigrant is dominated by work-related issues, entrepreneurship, and interacting with the modern world. As far as language use is concerned, the participants seem to have desisted French features in favour of English ones to frame issues related to their professional lives and when interacting with the modern world. Their languaging strategy is, at times, informed by their anticolonial and anti-Francophone stance. English features are prominent in framing issues of modernity and of a technological nature. The diasporic Senegalese appear to view the modern world through the lenses of the English language. French, the language of the coloniser, is edged out in most talks involving transnationalism and modernity. Many of my participants such as Abdou, Mourtalla, MBayang, Maguette, Mame Diarra are fluent in other European languages and hold other European nationalities but they still, in many respects, privilege English when referencing the modern world. Sometimes, the UW repertoire is almost entirely made up of English features. In the following example, the only Wolof feature is the verbal gesture yiii!!! which Abdou uses to express his surprise to Aziz’s comment that “road tax is not that expensive”: “Road tax? Yiii!! It’s almost four hundred pound a year, no, six hundred because it’s three hundred every six months.” (lines 70-73). The verbal gesture yiii!!! is used here for purposes of economy of words. It would take a few words in English to render the desired

### Table

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<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Babacar: Mais amna yoo xam ni hazard test la.</td>
<td>But some of the questions are part of the hazard perception.</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Aziz: Xanaa yii autos yu bees yi la?</td>
<td>Are these the new cars?</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Abdou: Waaw, yii hybrid la. Lii duma fay road tax. It’s free road tax. Sooy daw lu épp thirty mile an hour ci lay use petrol bi. Amul emission quoi, comprendre nga? Soo amul petrol bu bari rek da ngay dem slow lane, nga daw thirty. Engine bi mooy charge battery bi quoi. Moo tax mu cher. Doo fay road tax.</td>
<td>Yeah, they are hybrid cars. With these I don’t pay road tax. It’s free road tax. When you drive more than thirty miles an hour that’s when you start using petrol. There are no emissions, you understand? If you’re running out of petrol you just go in the slow lane and do thirty miles an hour. The engine will then charge the battery you know. That’s why these cars are expensive. You don’t pay road tax.</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Aziz: Mais Road tax cher-ul noonu.</td>
<td>But road tax is not that expensive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Abdou: Road tax? [Yiii!] It's almost four hundred pound a year; no, six hundred because it's three hundred every six months.</td>
<td>Road tax? Bloody hell, it's almost four hundred pound a year; no, six hundred because it's three hundred every six months.</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>73</td>
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25 Spanish, Italian, and English.
effect. This prosodic feature could be loosely rendered as *What the hell are you talking about?* It is characterised by a long /i:/ vowel sound and which is made to vibrate with the repetitive stopping of the sound stream with the hand, as shown in this popular Wolof emoji used in social media chats such as WhatsApp:

_Figure 9. Verbal gesture sign: what the hell are you talking about?_

Whilst, on the surface, it may appear that the soliciting of English features is due to the fact that they are in the UK, the reality could, in fact, be otherwise. In their many conversations, as the overall dataset shows, the use of English seems to always be of a positive order. What is more, scientific and technological progress, personal development, and freedom are, by and large, framed in English. The latter is of paramount importance and transpires in most conversations that my participants engage in. Freedom, for them, is synonymous with booting France and the French language out of Francophone Africa. The less radical would suggest relegating French to a state of second or third language in the educational system. This is because many of them view the language as a symbol of colonial domination and would like Francophone African countries to follow the example of Rwanda. In 2008, Rwanda’s language of instruction switched, virtually overnight, from French to English (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). There are frequent mentions of Anglophone African countries and how more developed they are compared to Francophone ones. Consider the following utterance by Babacar: “Mais soxna ci xoolal Rwanda gii, guerre civile, ñaata milliers de personnes ñoo dee” (My dear look at this Rwanda right here, there was a civil war, thousands of people died). What he implied here was that although the country has come out of a bloody civil war, it has emerged as a role model in Africa in terms of development. Here is another example where Tapha speaks
of the Gambia in Extract 4: “Xoolal Gambie gii, seen tali yi baaxna, set na, dékk bi am na garab, autos yu rafet yoo xam ni. Waaye Senegal, suuf rek ngay gis [laughs] (Look at the Gambia, their roads are in good condition, their clean; the country is green, beautiful cars. In Senegal, what do you see? Just sand everywhere [Laughs]).

Before proceeding, a parenthetical precision is in order regarding the above utterances. During their discussions, participants regularly deploy their identity as transmigrants. In the above examples, they have done so linguistically through the use of the proximal spatial deixis “gii” or “fii” (meaning next door or right here) every time they are mentioning another African country. Because gii and fii imply proximity, the connotation here is that they seem to have collapsed space and considered there to be here. As such, they never seem to distantly refer to places. Because for them borders virtually have no existence, the way they reference distant places almost always presupposes that they are there. They do not just do it with proximal deixes. They also do it with verbs. This is the case, for example, when Babacar mentioned, in section 5.1, how the Senegalese naturally do better than the African Americans in the United States: “Nun Africains yi dañuy ñëw États-Unis gën leen développer” (Us Africans, we come to the US and yet do better than them). His use of the verb “come” instead of “go” indicates that his reference point is the place he is mentioning and not the place where he is. Thus, he was talking as if he were there, suggesting further that the notion of distance has no existence in the Senegalese transmigrants’ imaginary. Therefore, it is apparent that they not only perform their identity work as mobile transmigrants through complex movements across and beyond nations, but this translocality is also linguistically framed. Put another way, their identity as transmigrants is not just physical but also linguistic.

When the participants discuss issues like the idea of consommer local, that is, consuming home-grown products rather than imported ones from France, they tend to deploy translingual practices which include Wolof and English features only, as if to reason that Africa must return to traditionality (signified by the Wolof features) but also keep an open window on the world. This openness to the world will, this time, be done not through la Francophonie, which the participants see as a form of neo-colonialism, but through the adoption of more Anglophone ways (signified by the English features). This example by Saliou epitomises this trend: “Yeewu boy ! Liñuy lékk muy jóge suñu rééw ! Benn product du jóge bitim rééw di duggu Sénégal ! Ay Orange, ay Total, xam nga. Amna nu suñu own stuff man! /cipetu/” (We should wake up mate! We should consume our own goods! Don’t
let any foreign product into Senegal! Orange, Total, and what not. We’ve got our own stuff! /short suckteeth denoting despondence/).

This resistance to anything Francophone is en vogue among the diasporic Senegalese. There is almost like an aversion to French ways. Many Senegalese activists advocate the total eradication of old (French) ways. This is how movements like FRAPP/France dégage! (to hell with France!) were born (Alltucker, 2018, p. 19). Activists are not just calling for a physical departure of France but a total eradication of all matters Francophone and an adoption of Anglophone ways. This could be why some of the statements are Anglicised, as indicated again by the following statement by Saliou: “Ñun militaire regime rek moo baax ci ñun boy ! Ñun boy présidents africains yi dañu ñoo jaay. From Léopold Sédar Senghor to current presidents!” (What we need is a military regime! Mate, we were sold by the African presidents. From Leopold Sédar Senghor to current presidents!).

It is rare for the participants to discuss economic and scientific progress without mentioning (now Anglophone) Rwanda. It is in that regard that their UW conversation is, in the main, dominated by the Wolof-English conjunct when they discuss modernity or things of a technological order. For example, in discussing entrepreneurship, the participants were planning to put money together and invest in property here in the UK. To this end, Babacar came up with an idea: “Lima bèggoon a wax mooy: suñu ko naree def dañuy dem ñun ñép, dañuy ñe ci benn bank of our choice, ñu dem ne leen dañuy ubbi benn joint account, xam nga, buñu d'accord ee ñu set up a... standing order for every month. Leegi nak ñun ñooy xool...” (What I wanted to say was that if we’re serious about it, we should all go together and visit a bank of our choice and say to them that we want to open a joint account, you know, if we agree then we set up a monthly standing order).

As can be seen in Extract 10 above, English linguistic features constitute close to 40 to 50 percent of the UW repertoire with personal and collective development at the fore front of the conversation. Topics range from moving to a better mobile network provider to taking driving lessons or investing in property, all of which constitute forms of progress. Abdou, for example, recounts how he has acquired a better, more environmentally friendly car: “Waaw, yii hybrid la. Lii duma fay road tax. It's free road tax. Sooy daw lu ëpp thirty mile an hour ci lay use petrol bi. Amul emission quoi, comprendre nga” (Yeah, they are hybrid cars. I don’t pay road tax. It’s free road tax. When you drive more than thirty miles an hour that’s when you start using petrol. There are no emissions, you understand?).
It is well to stress that the participants are equally at ease in expressing such features in French or another European language, in their capacity as multilingual transmigrants, but, judging from the data, when they have expressed modernity in French, it was negatively framed. For example, in Extract 1, when the participants were castigating the African film industry, French features dominated the repertoire as shown by the following statement by Babacar: “Mais sketchs yii...preneurs de son yi ay NULLARDS lañu de ! Tu es obligé nga yokk volume bi ba mu sës mais toujours est-il que doo dégg bu baax” (These soaps…the…sound engineers, they are PATHETIC! We’re having to pump up the volume but still we can’t hear it properly).

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed how my study participants use language, in the spur of the moment, according to the topics of discussion. I have developed a few theories as a result of scrutinising instances of language use and what themes emerged, spontaneously, during the conversations, through situated uses. I have found that the urban Wolophones’ way of translanguaging varies across the many themes that emerge during the interactions. Wolophones deploy certain translanguaging strategies which are influenced at once by the context, the audience, and the specific addressee. Their linguistic repertoire, or idiolect, can go from large, including Wolof, French, and English features, to a more specialised or monitored one that can include the Wolof/French conjunct or the Wolof/English conjunct to an even more restricted repertoire, made up of long monolingual stretches of Wolof-only or English only features.

We are therefore in the presence of multilingual multilinguals who can, if confronted with certain situations, become monolinguals, to react to the various exigencies of society. Such exigencies can be dictated by language policies or, tacitly, by religious authorities. As such, speakers find themselves straight-jacketed by regulations and norms. I have found that those monolingual utterances are often not executed with ease, hence the appellation monolingual endeavours (theorised in section 5.2.1.4). The implications of such languaging practices will be explored in Chapter 7. In the following chapter, I will examine their language attitude during the observation sessions but also during triangulations I performed in the interviews. This technique (of triangulation) is critical as further languaging forms are revealed in the way the participants frame their attitude to language. I used the interview sessions to confirm
some of the preliminary conclusions I drew when examining the naturally occurring observational data, regarding their attitude to language in general and, more particularly, to the way they languaged in the spaces they created.
Chapter 6. Results: language attitudes

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed my participants’ language practices in their everyday lives and the various ways in which they created spaces for their translingual practices, an analysis which was rendered possible by the observation, and collection, of naturally occurring communicative data. In this chapter, I will treat of their language attitudes. One of my motivations was also to find out what their views were on translanguaging and what appellations they used to reference their own way of languaging, availing myself of my privileged position of an insider researcher and Wolophone. To that end, I conducted interviews with the view to ascertaining the tenability of the assumptions I had made in analysing their linguistic practices. My position as an insider allowed me to ask culturally and linguistically relevant questions and afforded a natural space for natural answers to emerge. The range of answers obtained are analysed in the following sections. The chapter will begin with an analysis of metalinguistic discussions on the ontology of Wolof and of being Wolof. The second section will treat of the participants’ views on UW in particular and on translanguaging as a whole. A discussion about MW, the language of traditionality, of conviviality, and of religiosity will be the object of the last part.

6.2 What, who is Wolof?

This interaction sprang from a conversation that the participants were having concerning the Fulani tribe. It is well to stress here that in an African context, ethnic banter is often used to create an atmosphere conducive for a joyful interaction (see Extract 8). Aziz and Tapha are the only Fulani and were being teased by the others. Participants, in deploying this special ethnic banter, were reproducing the popular belief that the Fulani are presumptuous and haughty by nature, whereupon Tapha interjected: “Mais nak seen attitude bi c’est normal parce que sociéité boo jel dafay am bourgeoisie.” (This attitude of theirs is normal though because there’s a bourgeois class in every society). Although this is done in jest, it is nonetheless a belief, in the Senegalese imaginary, that the Fulani display a sense of moral superiority. It is believed that this attitude is due to the fact that they were the first to embrace the Arabo-Islamic civilisation, considered prestigious, before disseminating it throughout the
country (McLaughlin, 1995, p. 157). As such, they consider themselves more enlightened than the rest of the ethnic groups. Tapha finds this attitude normal, reasoning that it is characteristic of a bourgeois class. What is interesting however is his use of the 3rd person personal pronoun *seen* in “seen attitude bi” (this attitude of theirs), implying that he is not party to this sort of behaviour.

Babacar, who is adept at cracking jokes about the Fulani, in his capacity as a Sereer, said the following: “Gisoo jàngu pël yi xanaa: *Assalaamu alaykum bandiraabe, min calminii on;* yeen Wolof yi nak, na ngeen lékk pombiteer bii te bayyi yàpp bi.” (Have you ever attended the Fulani religious celebrations? When it’s time to eat they announce: greetings to all; distinguished special guests. As for the Wolof, make sure you just eat the potatoes. Do not touch the meat). Here, Babacar deploys a translanguaging strategy which involves speaking Fulani. He expressed the part in italics in Fulani, then carried on in Wolof but with a Fulani accent, thereby doubling the effect of the joke. Note that the joke is again in relation to food as previously observed (in Extract 8). The joke is designed to reproduce the stereotypical views that the Fulani are scholarly and that, in this environment of religiosity, the Wolof are only there for the food. It is this mention of the Wolof that has triggered the conversation on what is Wolof? and who is Wolof?

**Extract 11. Participants on the ontology of (being) Wolof**

In the following excerpt, the following annotations are used: **French, English, Wolof.**

<p>| | | |</p>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aziz: <em>Xam nga différence bi entre ŋun ak sereer yi mooy sereer yi ŋoom dañoo nangu domination wolofe bi alors que ŋun nak dañuy bañ.</em></td>
<td>The difference between us and the Sereer is that they accepted the Wolof domination whereas we (the Fulani) resist.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Mourtalla: <em>Mais xam nga lan mooy problème bi mooy Sénégal pour nga gis wolof mooy problème.</em></td>
<td>But you know the problem is that to find a Wolof person in Senegal is a big problem.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Tapha: <em>Wolof dëgg sax moo amul. Wolof yi mooy ŋi mixés rek.</em></td>
<td>In fact, there’s no true Wolof. Wolof is the resultant of a hybridisation.</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Babacar: <em>Aziz, loolu ngay wax mooy sereer yi assimilés yi, mooy sereer yi di dundu ci rééw u taax yi, <em>mais</em> sereer yi nekk village, ŋooňu gayn dañuy bañ! Aziz, what you’re referring to is the Sereer who are Wolofised, that is, the Sereer living in the cities, but the Sereer in the villages are extremely resistant!</em></td>
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26 The Fulani and the Sereer belong in the same ethnic banter group. It is normal, as stated in the analysis of Extract 8, that they banter among themselves, to the exclusion of all the other ethnic groups.
| 14 | Sooy làkk wolof ci seen wet sax ñu ne...waay yow ! | You wouldn’t dare even speak Wolof in front of them man! |
| 15 | | |
| 16 | Saliou: Loolu nak baaxul de. Loolu baaxul. | But that’s not good man. |
| 17 | Tapha: *Mais c’est tout à fait normal !* | That’s totally normal! |
| 18 | Babacar: Dékk ba nii saa waay, soo fademee nii di làkk wolof gayn dañu lay kii de... | Don’t even try to speak Wolof when you go the Sereer villages man, they’re gonna… |
| 19 | | |
| 20 | Mourtalla: Wax dëgg nak boo nékkee foo xam ni ŋëp ay sereer lañu looy làkk wolof ? | In fairness though, when you are in a place where everyone speaks Sereer, why speak Wolof? |
| 21 | Tapha: Wolof moom *brassage* la ; du *éthnie quoi.* | Wolof is like a salad bowl. It’s not an ethnic group. |
| 22 | Aziz: *Mais* kon ñan ñooy *vrai wolof* yi Sénégal ? | So then who are the true Wolof in Senegal? |
| 23 | Babacar: Wolof, wolof du *éthnie*. Xam nga wolof lan la ? *C’est un besoin de communication qui a fait que le wolof soit né...* | There’s no such thing as Wolof. Do you know what Wolof is? Wolof was born as a result of a communicational need… |
| 24 | Tapha: *...entre le sereer, peul, diola...* | …between the Sereer, the Fulani, the Joola… |
| 25 | Babacar: *...parce que* dañuy tase *entre diola, sereer, sarakhole...you know, peul, il faut ŋu wax seen biir quoi.* | …because when Joola, Sereer, Sarakhole, you know, Fulani, etc. meet they must find a way of communicating. |
| 26 | Aziz: *Mais* lebu yi nak ? Lebu yi ay wolof lañu. | But what about the Lebu? The Lebu are Wolof aren’t they? |
| 27 | Babacar: Lebu yi ay sereer lañu. | The Lebu are Sereer. |
| 28 | Mourtalla: *Non* du ŋëp ñooy ay sereer de. Lebu yi dafa am ay *communautés* yuñu boole ; amna ay sereer ci biir, amna... | No not all of them. the Lebu are a group of many communities; including Sereer, and… |
| 29 | Tapha: *...amna pël...* | Fulani also… |
| 30 | Mourtalla: *...amna pël, amna ay waa MBakol. Ñi sant Diop ak ñi sant Sylla, MBakol lañu jóge. Lebu du aw xeet.* | …yes Fulani; there are those from MBakol. The Lebu with Diop or Sylla surnames come originally from MBakol. So the Lebu are not an ethnic group. |
| 31 | Aziz: Du xeet ? | Are they not an ethnic group? |
As mentioned earlier, the Fulani’s attitude towards the Wolof does not invalidate the fact that, ideologically, the Wolof are seen as the dominant ethnic group, and their language, the de facto national language. The Fulani’s attitude appears more as a way of resisting the Wolof hegemony (McLaughlin, 1995, p. 156; Smith, 2019, p. 9). This resistance is highlighted by Aziz, himself a Fulani, in lines 1-4, articulating his reasoning with French features: “Xam nga différence bi entre ŋun ak sereer yi mooy sereer yi ŋoom dañoo nangu domination wolofe...”  

27 Referring to people from Côte d’Ivoire.
bi alors que ŋun nak dañuy bañ” (The difference between us and the Sereer is that they accepted the Wolof domination whereas we resist). It has been shown before that reasoning and demonstration almost always require some French (see section 5.2.1, especially Extract 1 and Extract 2). Often, the subordinate conjunctions such as alors que (whereas), parce que, etc. are preferred tools for urban Wolophones when making a point or articulating statements in their reasoning.

The language used in the entire interaction involves mainly Wolof and French, with French features serving to demonstrate forcefulness and logic in one’s argument. Sometimes, the forcefulness in statements can involve long stretches of French. Consider, for example, the following statement by Tapha: “Mais Iba Der Thiam comment ose-t-il dire dans son livre que l'éthnie wolofe n'existe pas ?!” (Can you believe Iba Der Thiam? How dare he say in his book that the Wolof ethnic group doesn’t exist?!). The Wolof ethnic group is believed by many Senegalese not to be an ethnic group as such. According to Tapha, Iba Der Thiam does not consider the Wolof to be an ethnic group and most of the discussants agree with Pr. Thiam. Tapha is the only one who opposes that idea, reasoning, while brandishing his fist, that “L’éthnie wolofe existe…le terroir wolof existe !!” (The Wolof ethnic group does exist…the Wolof region also exist!).

From what I have observed, what the discussants mean, in saying that the Wolof are not an ethnic group, is that Wolof is just a language and that it is not to be mapped onto any ethnic group called Wolof. As mentioned in chapter 1, section 1.7.5, in general, in Africa, ethnicity is mapped onto language. However, my participants repudiate that idea and find this mapping too simplistic because there are many other cases in which the ethnicity and the language do not correspond. They often cite the example of the Lebu ethnic group. Their argument is that there is no language called Lebu for the Lebu ethnic group; for the Lebu are Wolophones. In that regard Mourtalla posits that “Mais xam nga lan mooy problème bi mooy Sénégal pour nga gis wolof mooy problème.” (But you know the problem is that to find a Wolof person in Senegal is a big problem). This statement may appear strange to a non-Senegalese since 90% of the population speak Wolof (Diallo, 2010, p. 19). Babacar argues, in support of that idea, that there is no such thing as a Wolof ethnic group, but that the Wolof language was simply born as a result of a communicational need between all the other ethnic groups: “C'est un besoin de communication qui a fait que le wolof soit né...”. Note how his verdict of what

28 Professor of History and former Senegalese minister of Education.
constitutes Wolof is expressed in a long stretch of French, mirroring the language used by Tapha.

I confronted Tapha concerning a statement he had made a couple of hours back that “Wolof moom brassage la ; du éthnie quoi.” (Wolof is a resultant of ethnic and cultural intermingling; it is not an ethnic group you know). This statement appeared to me to be in contradistinction with his later claim that there is an ethnic group called Wolof and that the Wolof region is the Baol and the Jolof. He gave a more mitigated answer that the Wolof ethnic group exists but that “ñiñu rax moo bari” (we’re an aggregate of many ethnicities). In his apparent dilly-dallying, Tapha appears to be describing his own situation. He is a Fulani by ethnicity but, unlike Aziz, he and his family only speak Wolof, therefore, he considers himself to be a Wolof, in fulfilment of the mapping mentioned earlier. This can be discerned in his use of the first-person ŋu in “ñiñu rax moo bari” (we’re an aggregate of many ethnicities). Because of the importance of language in the definition of ethnicity in Africa, he cannot conceive of his Fulanity without the Fulani language. What is paradoxical, however, is that, sometimes, he calls himself Pël, the Wolof term for a Fulani. He appears therefore undecisive as to whether he is a Fulani or a Wolof. As such his attitude to Wolof is contingent upon whether he claims to be Fulani or Wolof.

The last part of the discussion is about the Wolof language. It started when Maguette asked “Waaw ku créer wolof ?” (Who invented Wolof?). The most loquacious of all in this part is MBayang who gives the most comprehensive answers of what she thinks constitutes the Wolof language: “Wolof, neena ŋu làkk u Jula la. Làkkku marché la xawma, kii wax fii, kii wax fee, ŋu boole ... Wolof daal yalla a ko wacce ken xamul ku ko créer, ndax doo ni Wolof xeet bii mooko moom.” (Wolof was used by the early traders. It’s like the language of the market, a mixture of various lingoWs…Wolof is a gift from God, let’s put it this way. We don’t know who invented it because you can’t really say that it belongs to this or that ethnic group). Her answer contains elements of religiosity, that is what explains the rurality of her language. She mentions that Wolof is a gift from God. She also mentions that traders from different ethnic groups came up with a common means of communication which was to become Wolof. This statement is consonant with Babacar’s argument in lines 29-31 that Wolof was birthed out of a need, from amongst various ethnic groups, for a common language. In the following part, I will discuss the participants’ view on UW and of translanguaging.
6.3 Urban Wolof and translanguaging as seen by Senegalese diasporans

To get an understanding of what my study informants thought of their translanguaging practices and what their views on translanguaging as a whole were, it was necessary for me to conduct a series of interviews with the view to triangulating the observational data already at my disposal.

Extract 12. Group interview on urban Wolof

The following excerpt will be annotated thus: French, Wolof, and English.

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aziz: Mais loo leen xalaat ci wolof bii ñuy làkk nii ?</td>
<td>What do you guys think about the way we speak Wolof?</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Saliou: Du wolof u dara ! Wolof u taqqale la rek.</td>
<td>It’s a Mickey Mouse type of Wolof! It’s just a Wolof we use to get by.</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Aziz: Li ngay làkk lan la ?</td>
<td>What are you speaking now?</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Saliou: Wolof la. Wolof lañu koy man a woowee mais mixed with...anything. Let’s call it modern Wolof.</td>
<td>It is Wolof. We can only call it Wolof, but a Wolof mixed with…anything. Let’s call it modern Wolof.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Babacar: Dafa bari ay emprunts quoi. Mais there is no such thing as modern Wolof. C’est un wolof mixé de ...</td>
<td>It’s got a lot of borrowings you know. But there’s no such thing as modern Wolof. It’s a Wolof mixed with…</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Babacar: Dafa bari ay emprunts. Dafa am ay affaires yoo xam ni danga koy bègg expliquer mais...</td>
<td>There are a lot of borrowings. There are things you’d like to explain but…</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Maguette: ...doo ko man.</td>
<td>…you wouldn’t be able to.</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Babacar: Te emprunts yi, yu ci bari, it’s a matter of being lazy because we are not digging, xam nga luma la wax.</td>
<td>And if you look at the borrowings, most of them, it’s a matter of being lazy because we are not digging, you know.</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Tapha: Nun, on est en retard.</td>
<td>We are so behind.</td>
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</table>
Aziz: Mais est-ce que du, soo ci boole emprunts yi, li ngay wax ci lay gên a leer?

But then don’t the borrowings make your idea much clearer?

Tapha: An’an’! Sunu maam yi dañu daan bind wolof ci langue arabe yu leer nãnn!

No way! Our ancestors used to write very clear Wolof using Arabic scripts.

Aziz: Wolofal?

You mean Wolofal?

Tapha: Wolofal yu leer nãnn! Mais loolu lañu warul woon bàyyi. Loolu c’était très important parce que non seulement référence anciens yi ñoo ngi koy gis en écrit.

Yes, very clear Wolofal! But we should never have abandoned that. That’s very important and, not only that, but having the references of our ancestors in writing would’ve been great.

Saliou: Lii lépp tubaab bi a ko def, jox ñu langue am ñu koy jàng di ko bind; suñu langue mu fâtteloo ñu ko. Xale yu jigeen yi Sénégal, même xale yu góór yi sax, dañuy rus sax wax wolof. Dañuy rus wax seen own language.

I will blame the French. They imposed their language on us. We write it and read it. They made us abandon our language. Young girls in Senegal, even boys, are ashamed of speaking Wolof. They are ashamed of their own language.

Aziz: Mais nak sa wolof soo ci boole anglais ak français li ngay wax dina leer de hein?

Yeah but isn’t your Wolof more intelligible if you use some English and French in it?

Saliou: Waaw, parce que amoo mots yi.

Yes, in a way because you don’t have the words in Wolof.

Tapha: Amoo références yi.

You don’t have the references.

Aziz: Waaw mais nañu la comprendre rek, walla?

But what’s important is being understood, yes?

Babacar: Non Aziz! Là, tu es en train de te perdre, parce qu’au fur et à mesure que tu as recours à ces mots-là, on est en train de perdre notre langue…

No Aziz! You’re getting lost in your argument, because by constantly resorting to those borrowings, we are losing our language…

Saliou: Exactly! Loolu la tubaab bi bègg!

Exactly! And that’s what the coloniser wanted!

Babacar: Xoolal suñu yaay yi rek pour lafûy wax: "Pour nga dem Parcelles il faut nga jaar fii"; dañuy wax Il faut. So, leegi ci phrase boobu, ñaata mots wolofs nga utiliser?!

Even our mothers talk like that now. They say pour. For example “Pour nga dem Parcelles il faut nga jaar fii” (to go to Parcelles you need to go this way). They use these words.

29 “Wolofal is an Ajami writing (a generic term commonly used to refer to non-Arabic languages written with Arabic scripts) used to transliterate Wolof in Senegal” (NGom, 2010, p. 1).
### Results: Language Attitudes

| 57 | Aziz: Mais est-ce que sooy wax ak kilifa Sénégal, est-ce que dinga... | say *il faut*. So, now in that sentence, how many Wolof words are there? A few! |
| 58 | | If you were talking to an elder person in Senegal would you... |
| 59 | Tapha: Dinga *try*. Man damay wàcc Sénégal àu naan ma xanaa gambien nga, parce que dama ciy dugal ay anglais. Duma ko tey sax. Fii soo fi yàggee sa wolof day yàqqu te doo ko remarquer. | I’d try yeah. You know when I go to Senegal people ask me if I’m Gambian because I use English words. And I do it unintentionally. After so many years in the UK your Wolof becomes deteriorated and you don’t even notice it. |
| 60 | Aziz: Mais est-ce que loolu yàqq na wolof bi ? Du *enrichissement* ? | Yeah but are those additions detrimental to Wolof? Can we not see it as an enrichment? |
| 61 | Mourtalla: *Non* ! Yow boo demee Sénégal duñu xam li ngay wax ! | No! When you go to Senegal they don’t even understand you anymore! |
| 62 | Aziz: Nun même suñu bès yi *arabe* la *presque* : altine, talaata, allarba... | Did you know that even our days of the week are Arabic? |
| 63 | Saliou: Billaay ? Bès yi *arabe* la ? | Are you serious? Are they in Arabic? |
| 64 | Aziz: Waawaaw !! altine mooy al-thaaniy ; talaata mooy thalaatha, allarba mooy al-arba’a, le quatrième jour. | Of course they are! *altine* is *al-thaaniy* ; *talaata* is *thalaatha*, *allarba* is *al-arba’a*; *al-arba’a* means the fourth day in Arabic. |
| 65 | MBayang: Nun daal dibeer rek lañu moom [laughter]. | All we’ve got is *dibeer* (Sunday) [laughs]. |
| 66 | Aziz: Donc ŋun rudimentaire nañu de, donc ŋun am nañu chance, bi naar yi ñëwee, tubaab yi ñëw. | So our language is rudimentary isn’t it? So in a way, we’re lucky to have had enrichment from the West and the Arabs. |
| 67 | Tapha: Waaw, ŋun am nañu chance foofu. | In that respect, yes, we’re lucky. |
| 68 | Saliou: *Non* ! Kon ñu am suñu *own*. Nu *créer* ko. Li moo ŋu ray ! *Rely*-uñu ci suñu *own language* ! | I don’t agree! We can have our own. We only need to invent those terms. This is what our problem is! We don’t rely on our own languages! |
| 69 | Aziz: *Même en matière de couleur on est pauvre* ; nooy waxee “bleu” ? | Even in matters of colour we’re poor. How do you say *blue* in Wolof? |
| 70 | Saliou: Xamuma ko *mais* amna nak. | I don’t know but it exists. I am sure. |

This group interview involves many conflictual thoughts on what constitutes UW. All informants are, in the main, overly critical of the type of Wolof that they speak. Saliou appears to be the most reproachful as he tends to associate the urbanity of Wolof with the
coloniser's influence. As such, he sees the presence of the French features in Wolof as a form of invasion, with acculturation as its corollary. French, for him, is synonymous with colonialism: "Lii lépp tubaab bi a ko def, jox ñu langue am ñu koy jàŋg di ko bind ; suñu langue mu fätteloo ñu ko. Xale yu jigeen yi Sénégal, mèmè xale yu góor yi sax, dañuy rus sax wax wolof. Dañuy rus wax seen own language." (All this is the coloniser’s fault. He imposed his language on us. We write it and we read it. He made us abandon our language. Young girls in Senegal, even boys, are ashamed of speaking Wolof. They find it uncomfortable speaking their own language). He uses the French term langue to refer to the Wolof which has been impacted by French, immediately after mentioning tubaab (here, the French), but then uses the English term language when referencing what he considers to be unadulterated Wolof, a Wolof which he thinks should be kept pure.

The translanguaging strategy involving English features can be seen as a way of distanctiating himself and the Wolof language from the French. He seems to be discarding his Francophone identity. His somewhat severe stance could be attributed to his being a native Wolophone, unlike many of the other informants. He maintains that UW is still Wolof but that it should be called modern Wolof; "Wolof la. Wolof lañu koy man a woowee mais mixed with...anything. Let's call it modern Wolof." (It is Wolof. We can only call it Wolof, but a Wolof mixed with...anything. Let’s call it modern Wolof). Babacar interjected that "there is no such thing as modern Wolof. C'est un wolof mixé de ...". Saliou forcefully comes back, using some of Babacar's turn space, maintaining that those borrowings that Babacar refers to in line 9 constitute the reason it should be called modern Wolof or city dweller's Wolof as he puts it in lines 12-13. Note that a city-dweller is an urbanite, therefore, Saliou’s appellation is very close to the one used in the scholarship, i.e., urban Wolof.

The reduction of turn spaces due to interruption is an indication of how heated the debate is regarding appellations. The only time when their views converge is when Babacar starts to be critical of what he calls borrowings. But what seems slightly out of the ordinary here is that the ranting is done in English rather than in the usual French as shown previously. He puts the urban Wolophones’ translanguing practices down to sheer laziness: "Te emprunts yi, yu ci bari, it's a matter of being lazy because we are not digging, xam nga luma la wax." (And if you look at the borrowings, for most of them, it's a matter of being lazy because we are not digging, you know). One could argue that their desire to expunge French features out of Wolof is a way of metaphorically exfiltrating the French from matters African. This idea can
also be tied in to the participants’ stance against La Francophonie and La Françafrique, which they see as a form of neo-colonialism in Africa.

The same phenomenon can be observed when Saliou immediately reacts to Tapha's comment, in lines 79-80, when the latter intimates that Wolophones are lucky for having been able to express some concepts in foreign languages. Saliou vehemently retorts that: "Non ! Kon ŋu am suñu own. Ňu crée ko. Lii moo ŋu ray ! Rely-ũŋu ci suñu own language !" (I don’t agree! We can have our own. We only need to invent those terms. This is what our problem is! We don’t rely on our own language!). He uses the possessive suñu own (our own), referring to Wolof only linguistic features, coupled with the near English clause Rely-uŋu ci suñu own language! What is interesting to note, however, is that he rejects the idea of an enlarged repertoire whilst amply availing himself of non-Wolof features (English) to make his point.

In response to my comment that being understood is of more importance and that a larger linguistic repertoire should be seen as an enrichment, Babacar starkly retorts, in a long stretch of monolingual French, in an attempt to dismantle my claim: "Non Aziz ! Là, tu es en train de te perdre, parce qu'au fur et à mesure tu as recours à ces mots-là, on est en train de perdre notre langue..." (No Aziz! You’re getting lost in your argument, because by constantly resorting to those borrowings, we are losing our language…). This claim of Babacar’s indicates that he sees translanguaging as a practice which can ultimately lead to the extinction of the local vernaculars. All informants, with the exception of Tapha, and, to a certain extent, Abdou, see the urban Wolophones' way of languaging as a linguistic and cultural impoverishment leading to “language death” to borrow Brenzinger et al. (1991)’s term. Because this is in line with Saliou's view, Babacar's rant (in monolingual French) is vehemently welcomed by Saliou: "Exactly! Loolu la tubaab bi bëgg !", deploying a translanguaging practice involving solely Wolof and English, which is an indication that he is probably intentionally leaving French features out of his idiolect. This can be seen as a way of combating the coloniser employing language.

Abdou adopts a somewhat negative but more nuanced view on UW. During an interview, he said the following:

“Jaxase lakk pureté bi lay yàqq quoi. Dana ko déveloper ŋu bari man ko dégg mais...xam nga langue, nga développe ko ba ñëpp man ko dégg bu baax baaxna, mais ci suuf mi ngi yàqq lu bari. Maanaam, amna lu muy defar ci kaw, tas ko, yaatal ko ba
ũñu bari man ko dégg, mais tamit mi ngi yàqq ci suuf, mi ngi wàññi riche-aay u wolof bi, pureté bi. Couleur u langue wolof dafa commencer changer. Waaye ba tey wolof la parce que racine bi wolof la. Wolof leegi Senegal rek moomu ko. Wolof leegi international la.”

(Mixing languages sort of destroys the purity. It’s been developed so many can understand it…You know it is a positive thing for a language to be developed so many can understand it but, below the surface, it is causing a lot of damage. I mean, on the surface it is positive, the global scale of the language, but it’s still destroying it, the richness and the purity of the language is being diluted. The colour of the language is changing. But it is still Wolof because the root is Wolof. Wolof is no longer for Senegal only. Wolof is now international).

Abdou posits that urban ways of languaging come with positives and its negatives. On the surface, he claims, UW is beneficial as it has allowed people from various ethnic groups to understand each other. And, on account of the fact that “Wolof dafa tas” (Wolof has gone global), Senegalese people, including the diasporans, can easily understand each other: “Wolof leegi internationa la” (Wolof has become an international language). Speaking from the premise of global Senegality, and from his identity as a transmigrant, he sees UW, therefore, as a tool that makes the diasporic Senegalese communicate better. He argues, in addition, that the diasporic Senegalese will return to Senegal with a Wolof enhanced by its contact with Western languages, allowing even rural Wolophones to come into contact with various types of “Wolofs”, including the ones spoken in the remotest parts of the world. As such, in his view, there is not just one Wolof. The appellation tas implies dissemination. Therefore, following his logic, we could render his “Wolof dafa tas” as World Wolofs, much the same as “World Englishes” (Saraceni, 2015) implies the existence of several varieties of English: “Dinañu ñu comprendre nak parce que wolof dafa tas…Tas, c'est-à-dire wolof yi ñu ngi fépp ci àdduna bi te ku ñëw andaaale waxin” [They (the rural Wolophones) will still understand us though because Wolof is now global. What I mean by global is that the Wolof are everywhere around the world, and each will come back with their own diction].

He contends, on the other hand, that, below the surface, a great damage is being done to the Wolof language, that the purity and the richness of Wolof is at stake with the addition, as he puts it, of foreign linguistic features. He thingifies the Wolof language as having a colour which is fading due to urban translingual practices. In that regard, he shares the opinion of the
rest of the participants who, generally, see UW as a deteriorated form of Wolof, an impoverished form of *wolof piir* (pure Wolof) as they often characterise RW.

Nearly all my participants believe that the use of French features in Wolof is a form of inferiority complex. The term that they use to frame UW speakers who monitor their idiolect so as to make French more prominent is *des complexés*. In an African context, or at least in UW parlance, a *complexé* is generally an African who manifests signs of deference in front of a Westerner, although, in French, the general meaning of a *complexé* is someone who manifests extreme shyness (Hachette, 2006). Generally speaking, this complex has to do not so much with the revered person’s skin colour as merely with their level of Westernisation.

In a discussion about the national health service in Senegal, Babacar states that one of its many flaws is the staff’s lack of competence, that how well a patient is treated depends on how *civilisé* (civilised) they are. What is understood by *civilisé* here is knowledge of some French. The French spectrum goes from little to long stretches bordering monolingual French. Babacar posits that the fact that French can get you far in Senegal accentuates the complex of inferiority. In this connection he recounts an event that he witnessed at a hospital in Dakar. He has a tangible example of such complex of inferiority in the hospitals as it involves her niece who came over from France to supervise her uncle’s treatment:

Mais nak gis nga corps médical u Sénégal dañoo am complexe de. Gis nga sama nièce bi nekk France, nijaay am moo feebar, moom mu jôge France dem, waay yow xoolal ! Yég wàcc yég wàcc, ñu dem Dakar, ñu dem Le Dantec, mu ànd ak nijaay am dem seeti médecin bi kii bi...principal bi, dem wax ak moom, xam nga rek xale yu jigeen yi buñu nékkee France hehe xam nga rek ay tubaab lañuy doon [laughs]...Waay ci saa ci ñu jel sa waay en charge [laughs]...

You know as well as I do that in our nurses suffer from a complex of inferiority. You know my niece who lives in France right, she came over because her uncle was ill. Look! He’d been to many places for treatment, but then when she took him to Dakar; they went to Le Dantec hospital. She went together with her uncle to the …chief physician himself. She went and spoke to him; you know these girls when they’ve
lived in France for so long [laughs] you know they become so Westernised [laughs]…
Mate! They admitted him and took him in charge immediately [laughs].

MBayang’s collaborative backchannelling, connoted by a *cipetu* (short suck teeth), was indicative of how despicable it is to be favoured on the basis of how well you speak French: “Cipetu! Senegal! Soo amul tur yaay sonn rek!” (So sad! In Senegal, if you’re not a somebody no one cares about you!). She implies here that the Senegalese view any French speaker as an important person. She therefore equates being able to speak French fluently with being a somebody (*am tur*).

This attitude lends weight to the idea that even the diasporic Senegalese are not free from the belief that European languages carry a certain symbolic capital. Despite the fact that in their discussions, they are generally overly critical of the hegemonic role that France plays in Francophone Africa, sometimes, their attitude still carries the vestiges of French colonialism in the Senegalese people’s imaginary, rendering the feelings of inferiority complex even deeper. As Abdou put it in the interview, this is not just limited to Senegal but is a generalised phenomenon among Francophone Sub Saharan Africans: “Loolu nit-nű-nűul yëpp la du sénégalais rek.” (That’s all the black people, it’s not just the Senegalese). Irrespective of the beliefs that they have about French, there is, generally, on the surface, an apparent aversion to anything Francophone. This perhaps explains why they are so critical of UW, which has a high presence of French features.

I took Maguette and MBayang aside, with the objective of eliciting their views on their daily languaging practices in the UK. It is interesting to see that they are overly critical of UW despite it being their main vehicular language. MBayang’s definition of UW is an anarchical mixture of Wolof, French, and English: “Wolof boo xam ne da ngay dugal français, te leegi anglais duggu na ci. Wolof buñu yàqq la bamu yàqqatoo, wolof buñu jaxase la. wolof u marchand ambulant [laughs], wolof u lijjanti dox sa dox” (A Wolof mixed with French and now we're adding English. It is a Wolof which is deteriorated beyond recognition, a broken Wolof. It's a pedlar's Wolof (laughs), sort of, street Wolof). She contends that this mixture (jaxase) has all but deteriorated (yàqq) the Wolof language to the point of rendering it impure (yàqqatoo). As such, she refers to UW as *wolof buñu yàqq*, which can be rendered as adulterated Wolof.
Throughout the interview, she uses many other terms such as *wolof buña jaxase* (creolised wolof), *wolof u marchand ambulant* (a pedlars’ Wolof), referencing the Senegalese pedlars in New York or in some European cities such as Paris, Milan, or Zaragoza. Some of these diasporic Senegalese go back to Senegal, having learned a little of every European language, and continue to exercise the same job in the tourist areas of Senegal where they shuttle between Wolof, French, English, Spanish, Italian, etc. depending on the customers. It is in that regard that MBayang employs the term *wolof u marchand ambulant* because some city dwellers have adopted this multilingual languaging form, with English being one of the language features within their UW repertoire.

However, a precision is in order: it is the younger people who generally have a predilection for English. In a Senegalese context, an adult employing English features in their Wolof would appear discourteous as this form of languaging is used by youngsters in defiance of the establishment and of the prestigious nature of French and Arabic (NGom, 2003, p. 359-360). Swigart (1994, p. 181) reports that youngsters using English in their UW are branded as “les jeunes bandits”, the young thugs, who would commit various crimes. This attitude towards English forces older people, the *kilifa*, generally more versed in religiosity to stick to a type of UW made up of the Wolof-French conjunct. In a religious context, Arabic would also feature prominently in their speech (NGom, 2003, p. 357). It is well to note that the term *kilifa* is not only used in connection to the individual’s age but also to his level of religiosity (as explained on page 114). A kilifa is a respected and honourable man and the female equivalent is *soxna* (NGom, 2003, p. 360).

MBayang employs another closely related appellation: *wolof u lijjanti*, which can be loosely rendered as street Wolof and is also related to the type of Wolof spoken by the street thugs because the term *lijjanti* here has a negative connotation of trying to obtain something illicitly. Therefore, I could render it as *hustling*. MBayang then defines UW as being a hustler’s Wolof which thugs use to communicate and dupe people in the urban areas, thereby corroborating Swigart (1994)’s and NGom (2003)’s assumptions mentioned above. Among those taken advantage of in the urban places are also newly arrived people from the rural areas (Swigart, 2000, p. 112). However, it is well to stress here that the Senegalese transmigrants, and, more particularly, my participants do not regard English the same way as some of the Senegalese back home including the kilifas.
For my informants, English is almost like a symbol of liberation from the yoke of colonialism. Furthermore, it is also regarded as more suited for development. In holding this view, they often cite the counterexample of French as a symbol of neo-colonialism and of underdevelopment. On many occasions, in their numerous discussions on African development, participants almost unanimously advocate the promotion of the national languages and the adoption of English as the official language, following Rwanda’s model (see reference on page 138). To that effect, both Mame Diarra and Maguette agreed that: “tant que nu ngi ci système francophone bii, du ñu dem” (as long as we’re steeped in this Francophone system, we’ll never know development).

In a one-to-one interview, Elaa said: “Français ci boppam lañu wara génnee ndey Senegal !! Xoolal pays francophones yi ci Afrique rek; noo gên a dee ñëpp !” (We need to get rid of French man! It’s fucking useless! Look at Francophone Africa how underdeveloped it is!). They almost unanimously equate French with indigence, and English with economic and political advancement and what they call “l’ouverture sur le monde” (an open door to the world). This positive opinion on English and denigration of French is increasingly becoming popular among the Africans in the diaspora. The idea that France and all matters Francophone should be expunged from Africa is illustrated by this tweet below, where the importance of English is also highly commended.

Figure 10: We speak English and our phonies
In this tweet, all three gradients (Wolof, French, and English) are deployed to send a powerful message to France. It reads: Waaw nun itam bayyi leen nu ak sunu wolophonie, pulaarophonie, mandingophonie, juulaphonie, soosephonie, seereerophonie ak everyphonie! We speak English and our phonies! [laughing face]. Oui nous sommes Bambaraphones-anglophones désormais. (Leave us with our Wolophonie, Pulaarophonie, Mandingophonie, Juulaphonie, Soosephonie, Seereerophonie, and Everyphonie. We speak English and our phonies! [laughing face]. And from now on, we are English-speaking Bambaraphone).

It is clear from that tweet that the author is advocating the adoption of English alongside the many west African languages, to the detriment of French and La Francophonie. In sum, out of the three main gradients that compose UW, French is the only one to which there is some form of resistance from Francophone Africans in general and my informants in particular. Among the Senegalese diasporans, English and Wolof are almost always reported positively. As such, their negative view of UW is informed, principally, by it comprising French as one of its main components. The next section will treat of the informants’ views on RW.

6.4 The diasporans’ thoughts on rural Wolof

In the previous section, we saw how critical my informants were of UW. We also saw that the paradox, in voicing their negative views on UW, was in the language they used to frame their opinion. Using UW to criticise UW may appear to be a paradox indeed. In this section, I endeavour to elicit their views on RW.

Extract 13. Group interview on rural Wolof

The following extract is annotated thus: French, Wolof.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aziz : Tey dama leen a bègg a laaj ci Wolofal lu ngeen ci xam ak…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maguette: Sénégal sax waxatuñu vrai wolof !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>MBayang: Vrai wolof kay amatul; xanaa ci dëkk yi. Vrai wolof moom lâkkûñu ko wax dégg yalla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Aziz : Lan moo waral ne Keroog nga ne sooy wax ak kilifa dangay changer waxin ?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>MBayang: Suñu wolof bii du <strong>respect</strong>.</td>
<td>This Wolof that we’re speaking ain’t respectful.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mourtalla : Xanaa xamoo <strong>normalement</strong> <em>dhuut</em> nga wara wax: <em>dhuut man, dhuut yaw</em>.</td>
<td>(Butting in): In correct Wolof you should say <em>dhuut</em> (is not). You should say “It is not me”; Not “It ain’t me”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Babacar: Gis nga nak baay <em>genre</em> u wolof yoyu dafa laaj am jot, <em>temps</em> la laaj, leegi nak <em>temps</em> boobu la nî amatul [kex kex kex].</td>
<td>Listen mate for that kind of Wolof you really need to have all the time in the world to speak like that. People don’t have that time anymore [mockingly laughs].</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Mourtalla: <strong>Mais</strong> boo demee Saalum nii lañuy waxee. Soo demee Saalum ay &quot;dhuut&quot; lañuy wax.</td>
<td>But that’s the Wolof you hear when you go to Saloum (West-central Senegal). They say <em>dhuut</em> and the like.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>MBayang: <em>Dhuut</em> mooy lan ?</td>
<td>What the hell is <em>dhuut</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mourtalla: <em>Du man</em> kenn du ko wax ; <em>dhuut man</em> ngay wax.</td>
<td><em>It ain’t</em> me is not correct. You should say it is not me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Babacar: Waay ! Man de duma fi nêkk di... Waay ! damaa amul jot boobu sax !!</td>
<td>Mate, I ain’t gonna waste my time with… I ain’t even got the bloody time for that!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Biir Saalum moom ngay dégg de. Boo demee biir Saalum ca kaw.</td>
<td>Inside Saloum that’s how they speak. When you go inside the villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tapha: Hmm ?</td>
<td>What?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>MBayang: Loolu de <em>il faut</em> nga am doole <em>pour</em> waxee noonu .</td>
<td>To speak like that requires stamina (referring to the consonant sound <em>h</em> at the beginning of the words).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Mourtalla: Wolof bii ñuy làkk du wolof.</td>
<td>This Wolof of ours is not true Wolof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Aziz: MBayang yow nga ne suñu wolof bii du respect? Leegi kon sooy wax ak kilifa nooy def ?</td>
<td>So MBayang you said our Wolof is not respectful? So tell me how you’d talk to a kilifa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>MBayang: Damay jel samay kallaama bankaat ko bu baax. Man moom sumay wax ak kilifa yî damay xawa ñèw ci seen ton, waxee ak ñoom comme ñoom ni ñuy xawa waxee. Pour man loolu respect la. Téggin. Wolof bu gên a</td>
<td>I’d choose my words really carefully. Oh God when I talk to elders I endeavour to replicate their tone, talk like them kind of thing. For me that’s more respectful. I would dig for the most correct Wolof…try my best to…you know speak the lingo, a</td>
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Their immediate reaction is to qualify RW as _vrai wolof_, that is, true Wolof. They view RW as being more respectful than UW. MBayang says: "Suñu wolof bii du respect." (This Wolof we speak ain’t respectful). For a moment, the conversation switches to a metalinguistic type of discussion on what constitutes correct Wolof grammar. What is noteworthy is the fact that the idea of adhering to “correct Wolof” rules does not appear to be appealing to them. The type of Wolof as spoken in the rural areas would, as Babacar puts it, require a lot of time and effort: "Gis nga nak baay genre u wolof yooyu dafa laaj am jot, temps la laaj, leegi nak temps boo bu la nit ñi amatul [kex kex kex]" (Listen mate for that kind of Wolof you really need to have all the time in the world to speak like that. People don’t have that time anymore [mockingly laughs]). The general ambience of the conversation here is that of playfulness. The fact that the informants speak of RW with a slight tone of derision does not prevent them from adopting this form of languaging on special occasions when they need to sound formal. The state of amusement that they get in when referencing RW appears to solely suggest that sticking to a RW repertoire is no easy matter, that it requires effort. This is consistent with the notion of linguistic endeavours already mentioned in the previous chapter.

The notion of endeavours also indicates that multilingual language is more consonant with who they are and that RW therefore seems restrictive. This unease is often framed in their many metalinguistic discussions when they evoke certain grammatical or phonological difficulties that the Wolof language presents. MBayang asserts that to speak Wolof "correctly" requires one to have strong vocal cords: "Loolu de il faut nga am doole pour waxee noonu". She is referring to the /h/ sounds that precede most Wolof words beginning with vowel sounds (lines 31-35) and which the urbanites tend to omit. However, it is well to stress that the whole metalinguistic critique is woven into an atmosphere of pleasantry even though it may appear, on the surface, that they are attacking rural ways. In fact, their attitude to RW is generally positive. Only, they find RW or MW somewhat arduous.

When I asked MBayang and Maguette how they would behave if they were talking to a _kilifa_, a religious leader, or a traditionalist, Maguette acknowledged that although she would try and
“ruralise her Wolof”, it would still be difficult not to revert back to UW because, as she put it, her Wolof was “made impure with the addition of French”, using the same term yàqqu as MBayang had used earlier: “Man de dama yàqqu ci français bi” (My Wolof is damaged by my French). In some families in Senegal, children are taught from a young age not to “mix languages” as some of my informants report. Mourtalla confided in me that his father used to chide him and sometimes smack him for using any French in his Wolof. This is perhaps why, out of all my informants, his idiolect is the closest to RW. Aziz, whose native language is Fulani also received admonishment when he has mixed Fulani with Wolof. It is generally believed that the Fulani, because of linguistic xenophobia towards the Wolof (McLaughlin, 1995, p. 156), would rather speak French than Wolof. This, according to many, is their way of countering the Wolof domination.

I asked MBayang to elucidate further what she meant by “the Wolof we speak is not respectful” (line 11) before she was interrupted by Mourtalla with the metalinguistic discussion (from line 12 onwards). Her reply to my question (lines 40-50) regarding how she would speak to a kilifa was rather relevant to the concept of *endeavour* adumbrated on page 111:

> “Damay jel samay kallaama bankaat ko bu baax. Man moom sumay wax ak kilifa yi damay xawa ñëw ci seen ton, waxee ak ñoom comme ñoom ni ñuy xawa waxee. Pour man loolu respect la. Téggin. Wolof bu gën a correct laay jéém a ... damay jéém a wolofal, wax wolof bu normal. Damay wóddaat samay wolof ba mu ki... ay wolof yoo xam ne sax manuma ko waaye pour ki rek ... [laughs]”

(I’d choose my words really carefully. Oh God when I talk to elders, I endeavour to replicate their tone, talk like them kind of thing. For me that’s more respectful. I would dig for the most correct Wolof…try my best to…you know speak the lingo, a proper Wolof. I’d really mind my language…I’d…try hard to find appropriate words that I know are outside my reach in order to… you know, sound a bit posh [laughs]).

These answers indicate that speaking a Wolof devoid of French or English, although possible, is somewhat of an exertion. MBayang says that if she were to be in that situation where she had to speak to a *kilifa*, she would apply herself and “dig deep” (xëcc) for a more decent Wolof (Wolof bu gën a correct), implying that urban parlance is inappropriate and not respectful as she intimates later. In answering the question, it looked as if she had already
projected herself in the situation where she is speaking to an elder and this is indicated by her use of RW expressions generally found in Koranic schools.

Firstly, *kallaama* is a RW word from Arabic origin meaning language or diction. Secondly, the term *bankaat*, literally meaning “to fold (one’s legs) really well”, indicating the correct, submissive posture that the koranic student must sit in to recite the Koran. It metaphorically means “to discipline oneself”. In the many *daaras* (koranic schools), students are trained to adopt this posture, the objective being to fashion them into well-disciplined disciples. Failure to sit in the correct position of well folded legs, during koranic recitations, often results in being caned. As such, *Damay jel samay kallaama bankaat ko bu baax* (literally: I’d discipline my language into this position of submission), is here metaphorically used to connote a well-thought of, disciplined, form of languaging, with carefully chosen words.

The other metaphorical expression MBayang uses is *Damay wóddaat samay wolof*. The verb *wódd* means to wrap a loincloth around one’s waist (to hide any indecency). The suffix *-aat* is an intensifier (do something again or well). Therefore, she would clothe her language in a garment of respect when interacting with an elder. For her, and for the rest of the participants, this form of languaging is more respectful: “Pour man loolu respect la”. One of the principal reasons why my informants have an overall positive attitude towards RW is their affiliation with the holy city of Touba population (refer back to section 2.4), the bastion of the Mouride Sufi order, where RW is the main languaging form par excellence. Therefore, adepts have the tendency to replicate the Touba diction in special moments of religiosity and cultural ceremonies.

For the past decades, the city of Touba has become a global city. In many Western cities, Senegalese transmigrants, who are mostly Mouride disciples, try to reproduce many of the cultural and religious practices regularly held in Touba. As Ross (2011, p. 2931) observes, for the Senegalese transmigrants, the holy city goes beyond the confines of Senegal. Key places of worship and penitence are also replicated in the West to create an atmosphere conducive to Mouride practices. It is in that regard that the annual pilgrimage to Touba, known as Maggal, can also be attended in many of the Western cities, including New York, London, Birmingham, to name but those. There are also regular religious practices such as *cants* and *dahiras* (reference on page 133), which transmigrants see as opportunities for bonding.
It is in these moments of religiosity and deep cultural practices that I have observed the most the deployment of kilifahood and extensive RW practices. In a group of Senegalese transmigrants in a context of religiosity, there are usually no kilifas per sei to whom they would show reverence. Their rural practices can be explained by the fact that they either set themselves up as kilifas or appoint a kilifa from among them. However, this appointment is not discussed. One of them naturally emerges as the kilifa of the group. In the case of my participants, Mourtalla’s kilifahood is solely based on the fact that he is originally from Touba and bears the rural accent of Touba. In many of the metalinguistic discussions that they engage in, it is Mourtalla who initiates them by encouraging them to speak “correct” Wolof (see line 12 onwards). Overall, the participants view RW as a difficult form of languaging but which they can endeavour to speak to create moments of conviviality among them. They generally associate RW with respectfulness but this is mostly in relation to UW towards which they are overly critical (see section 6.3). However, the part of the UW spectrum which occasions the criticisms is, as stated earlier, the French gradient, because the participants have a different attitude towards English.

6.5 Conclusion

As a general rule, it appears that my informants have a rather negative view of UW. They view it as a corrupt form of languaging, deteriorated beyond recognition by what they perceive as linguistic foreign invasion. The term invasion not only refers to foreign linguistic features that are now part of the UW repertoire, but also references the colonial powers’ presence in Africa. This parallel between what they view as linguistic imperialism and political imperialism informs most of their metalinguistic discussions, with the relationship between France and Francophone Africa being the central topic. It is well to note that my participants do not treat all foreign linguistic features that comprise the UW repertoire the same way. They have, for example, a positive view on English as being a language that would afford them more recognition in the international scene, reasoning, on many occasions, that French is more of a colonial language, the vestiges of which should be abandoned.

The development of the African continent, they argue, rests principally on an impending divorce with matters Francophone and this view is translated metalinguistically by a certain

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30 Behaving like a kilifa, a respectable, religious, or pious person, which is generally characteristic of more elderly people.
Results: language attitudes

resistance to French which, for the most part, is only reported because the behavioural data shows a preponderance of French features in many of the discussions. Ironically, the many criticisms levelled at French are often executed with French features as part of their language resources. The negative attitude that my informants have towards their everyday languaging style is epitomised by their appellation of UW. The table below summaries the main terms that they use to reference UW, most of which are, as stated earlier, of a negative or derogatory order.

Table 3. Various appellations of urban Wolof

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative appellation</th>
<th>Derogatory appellation</th>
<th>Positive appellation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• <em>wolof bu yaqqu</em> (deteriorated Wolof)</td>
<td>• <em>wolof u marchand ambulant</em> (pedlar’s Wolof)</td>
<td>• modern wolof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>wolof buñu yàqq</em> (spoil Wolof)</td>
<td>• <em>wolof u lijjanti</em> (thug’s Wolof)</td>
<td>• wolof modernisé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>wolof buñu jaxase</em> (impure Wolof)</td>
<td>• <em>wolof u taqqale</em> (makeshift Wolof)</td>
<td>• wolof international</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>wolof bu rax</em> (adulterated Wolof)</td>
<td>• <em>wolof u boy town</em> (a city boy’s Wolof)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• <em>modern wolof</em></td>
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<td>• wolof modernisé</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• wolof international</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These terms are the direct opposite of the ones they employ for a more monitored, more restricted (to Wolof only) form of languaging which is consonant with the Touba way of speaking. They refer to it as *wolof bu normal* (normal Wolof), *wolof bu correct* (acceptable Wolof), *vrai wolof* (true Wolof), *wolof dëgg* (genuine Wolof), *wolof piir* (pure Wolof), *wolof bu set* (clear Wolof). Those are the most salient appellations discernible in the data set. As much as they advocate a return to traditionality characterised by a more rural type of Wolof, it appears none the less to be no easy matter in their capacity as multilingual multilinguals. As such, they are natural translanguagers. Even their call to monolinguality is framed multilingually. For example, to qualify RW, most of the epithets and attributes they use are French adjectives: *vrai* wolof, *wolof bu normal*, *wolof bu correct*, etc.

RW, although linked to concepts of religiosity and respectfulness, is generally associated by many Senegalese in Senegal with backwardness (Calvet, 1999/2006, p. 26). It is in that regard that urbanites also refer to the rurals as *kaw-kaw*, that is, unsophisticated country people (1999/2006, p. 26). It is not uncommon to see a rural Wolophone being mocked at or taken advantage of in the streets of Dakar. However, most of my informants adopt an attitude of deference towards RW as it is directly associated with religiosity and traditionality,
consonant, as already mentioned, with the Touba visual culture that they want to see reproduced in the West. Senegalese transmigrants, therefore, appear to accord more value to what RW represents. In Senegal’s major cities, RW seems to only be deployed within the confines of religiosity and on special major cultural events. Outside those services, any form of rurality in urban areas is mocked or scoffed at, whereas, in the Global North, rurality is deployed more frequently and not just in religious services.
Chapter 7. Discussion and conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In the foregoing chapter, I analysed both the interview and observational data I had collected from my research participants, i.e., the Senegalese transmigrants. A scrutiny of the verbal data revealed various themes which I presented, analytically, with the view to identifying instances of language use which corresponded to particular themes and how, in turn, those themes were linguistically framed. This backward and forward type of analysis, central to hermeneutic phenomenology (see the hermeneutic circle in section 4.3), was seminal in linking verbal events with relevant themes. In this chapter, I will present a summarised explication of what those findings signify, in line with the research questions posed in Chapter 1. The chapter comprises four parts. First, I begin by a reminder of the research questions. In the second part, I go on to discuss their respective answers where I explore the various translanguaging patterns and the rationale behind them. Then, in the form of concluding remarks, I will look at the implications of this research and possible future study recommendations before highlighting some of the problems which arose during the research.

7.2 Research questions

In the previous two chapters, the linking of specific language use to specific themes that emerged from the computerised data, has allowed me to answer the research questions posed in the first chapter and which I will propose to revisit below, prior to proposing answers to each of them in the following parts.

Language practice:

Question 1: Do the diasporic urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices follow patterns of language use?

Sub-question 1.1: What patterns of language use are exhibited in the Senegalese diasporans’ multilingual practices during their weekly gatherings?

Question 2: What are the determining factors underlying the patterns of language use in the urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices?
Language attitudes:

Question 3: What attitudes do the urban Wolophones adopt towards translanguaging and their speech style as urban transmigrants?

Sub-question 3.1: Are the language attitudes displayed by the diasporic Senegalese different to those reported in Senegal?

7.3 The Senegalese transmigrants’ languaging practices

7.3.1 Translanguaging spaces

Do the diasporic urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices follow patterns of language use?

The objective, in asking this first, more general question, was to establish whether there were discernible patterns in the urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices, in the Senegalese diasporans’ linguistic community. In this regard, I analysed instances of language use within the multilingual phenomena in which they spontaneously occurred. In line with the interpretive approach of hermeneutics (Kvale, 1996, p. 38), I equally examined whether, on different occasions, the same phenomena triggered those languaging fashions, in fulfilment of the hermeneutic circle. At some point, this shuttle between the part and the whole, that is, between specific language uses and the phenomena in which they occur had to come to an end as I could have gone on ad infinitum linking head and tail, whole and part, in this circular hermeneutic phenomenon. The conclusions I have drawn as to the existence, in my data, of patterns of translanguaging were reached after the backward and forward movement between specific storied data (the part) and the described phenomena (the whole) came to some sort of saturation which Kvale calls “a sensible meaning…free of inner contradictions” (1996, p. 47).

During the six months or so I observed my study participants, what was most striking was that the way they languaged was mostly informed, at a macro level, by the themes being developed in the conversations. However, the languaging process within a specific topic is not in itself wholly uniform; other factors also inform the verbal events being deployed. At a micro level, the nature of the audience as well as specific addressees have also influenced
speakers’ speech patterns. What my study suggests is that although, by definition, translanguaging is a smooth and free flowing process, the choice and arrangement of the linguistic elements within my speakers’ one linguistic repertoire appear to obey underlying rules.

In the analysed excerpts of the UW dataset, I have observed languaging practices where discussants a) privileged French features; in still others they b) emphasised English features more. In some circumstances, in their capacity of multilingual multilinguals, they have c) attempted Wolof monolingual improvisations, purposefully avoiding the French and the English, an attempt which, they admitted, was no easy endeavour but was, at least, motivational in kind, dictated, or rather greatly influenced, by sociocultural settings in which so-called monolinguality must be attempted. Participants also d) engaged in a form of translanguaging practice involving solely African languages. This linguistic phenomenon runs counter to most multilingual practices that typify African urban vernaculars, and which are known to generally involve at least one of the Western colonial languages.

What I have found in the entire dataset, zooming out, so to speak, is that these four forms of languaging correspond, respectively, to certain specific phenomena that the speakers want to highlight. The constancy, in the data, of the linking of specific languaging forms to particular phenomena has allowed me to primarily draw a certain number of conclusions; one of which being that translanguaging is not a process whereby language features from different languages are agglutinated in the same, or predictable, manner at all times, that languagers seem to develop special translingual patterns that obey certain sociocultural conditions that inform the choice of specific language features. In the main, I have gleaned five main themes from the verbal data which I shall briefly enumerate below but which I will develop further in subsequent parts.

Firstly, speakers deployed certain discursive practices which I saw as a way of emphasizing their exclusion from the rest of the Senegalese living in Africa (see sections 5.2.1.2, 5.2.2 and 5.2.1.5 in particular). In this theme, what the participants emphasised most was multilingualism and mobility which they saw as key factors in displaying their identity as mobile transmigrants. Secondly, one of the most prominent themes had to do with colonialism. The study participants displayed languaging fashions to express their desire for the African continent to break free from the tentacles of the colonial power. Thirdly, there are numerous occasions where my informants engaged in heated debates where they highlighted
Africa’s ills with emphasis on bad governance and elitism. The languaging pattern in this theme was consistent throughout the dataset. The participants used a fourth form of languaging to frame certain African realities such as the Senegalese teraanga, which can be rendered as hospitality and conviviality, the deployment of which was a common occurrence in most of the gatherings. Lastly, there is a fifth form of translinguaging practice which I only observed when the participants were engaged in commensality or some form of feasting.

These consistent patterns of language use are indications that there are observable patterns in translinguaging that go beyond just a juxtaposition of linguistic elements from different languages. My study shows that translinguaging is at least motivational as far as the choice of linguistic features is concerned. In the following sections, I will speak about the themes in some length, in connection with the translinguaging forms in which they are framed, starting with the rationale behind such translingual choices.

### 7.3.2 The rationale behind the choice of different modes of languaging

What are the determining factors underlying the diasporic urban Wolophones patterns of language use in their translinguaging practices?

In treating the above question, I will also seek to provide answers, at the same time, to the question relating to the speakers’ linguistic attitudes: What attitudes do the urban Wolophones adopt towards translinguaging and their speech style as Senegalese diasporans? Those answers to the question of language attitudes will be subsumed in all subsequent parts. I have already established above that specific themes correspond to specific languaging forms. In this section, I will discuss the principle behind the relationship between theme and language use. The themes, varied as they are, can be divided into two main clusters: the action cluster, comprising the French gradient, and the relational cluster, comprising all other components of UW (i.e., the Wolof and English gradients). I use the qualifier action to reference the situations where speakers are calling for action to be taken to create change. I employ relational to typify situations which facilitate a cohesive relationship between discussants. Let us start with the category I have termed action cluster.
The French gradient

The action cluster comprises verbal events centred around calls for action. A great deal of the conversations was typified by some form of activist talk, which is characteristic, as demonstrated in chapter 5, of mobility and transmigration. One observable phenomenon among transmigrants from Africa is that, once in the West, they appear to turn into revolutionaries, decrying political wrongdoings, elitism and bad governance in Africa. There is a strong desire for the transmigrants to help bring about change in the lives of their compatriots back home whom they generally view as too indolent and docile to tackle such issues. Their main argument is that Africans are oblivious to the many malpractices that mar the continent. As such, the populations need sensitising. What the transmigrants seem to be saying is that they are the only ones that have the latitude to execute this task by virtue of their international mobility which they see as a key factor in understanding world affairs.

Besides, the international scene offers them a safe platform from which to voice their views which, in an African context, would, at best, be simply ignored. Insistence along the lines of activism would likely lead to imprisonment. There is a plethora of live streams of Senegalese activism on the internet every day. Desirous to know why Senegalese transmigrants adopt this revolutionary posture in the Global North, I asked what my informants’ thoughts on the topic were. We came to two main conclusions. The first is that migrants feel a sense of freedom when they arrive in the West because activists and political opponents run the risk of being persecuted in Africa. The second, equally relevant conclusion is that, in the West, African migrants see and experience development first hand. They see the Western life style and the infrastructure in comparison to what they left back home. It is in that regard that they regularly advocated militancy by condemning political and economic scandals that African gerontocratic elites are said to be engaging in to the detriment of the population.

These occasions are generally framed in translilingual practices characterised by a predominance of French in the UW repertoire. As elaborated in section 5.2.1.2 (Extract 1 and Extract 2) and section 5.2.1.5 (especially Extract 7), the process by which the transmigrants sensitize their fellow nationals involves some form of infantilisation which confers them a higher status from which they can set themselves up as sermonisers who preach good ethical behaviour to the population and good governance to the elite. What seems odd, however, is that the audience (the indigenous Senegalese) is absent, but the speakers behave as though they were present. The vivacity with which the sermons are being dished out makes it seem
Discussion and conclusion

as if their interlocutors were present. They galvanise their compatriots, calling them to action, addressing them in a language that is seen as carrying symbolic capital, to borrow Bourdieu’s (1982) term, because, in the Senegalese imaginary, speaking Wolof with long stretches of French is seen as a sign of being an intellectual (Diop, 2006, p. 128), or at least knowledgeable in some field. It appears to give credibility to one’s words.

By the same token, French is also used in expressing disaccord or friction of any kind. The same is valid for denunciations of malpractices and any act of moaning and critiquing the status quo, all of which are often executed with some form of vigour. This languaging practice suggests that, despite their apparent aversion to postcolonial practices in Francophone Africa, the transmigrants still carry the vestiges of the deeply rooted beliefs that any amount of leverage requires a certain level of French to have authoritativeness. There is an apparent aversion to matters Francophone from my informants’ part. This seeming resistance is also typified by a certain opposition to the French language itself. However, this opposition is only reported, during spontaneous metalinguistic discussions, or during the interviews. The observational data contradicts, in many respects, their reported conception of, and attitudes towards, the French language.

During the interviews, French is spoken of as an imperialist tool designed to reign supreme. As a result, they view the Senegalese linguistic ecology as polluted by it (see Extract 12). It is in that respect that UW is also termed by nearly all my participants as wolof bu yaqqu, a deteriorated Wolof, an impure Wolof, adulterated by the presence of French features which characterise it (see section 6.5 for a more comprehensive list of negatively charged appellations of UW). As such, and in answer to the question about the informants’ view on their own speech style, they tar French and UW with the same brush. Their often overly critical view on UW stems principally from the presence of French within Wolof. This is because all the other translingual practices involving Wolof and languages other than French are almost always used to frame positive phenomena such as conviviality and cosmopolitanism. The former is executed with Wolof and a host of other African languages (Extract 8); the latter, with Wolof and English (Extract 10). In subsequent parts, I will explore those translanguaging practices more fully.

Therefore, as my research has found, the participants do not look at translanguaging as intrinsically negative because, as we will see further below, they do engage in positively connoted forms of translanguaging involving a range of African languages (only), to express
gregariousness to one another in often festive environments. I therefore believe that the problem is, in their eyes, with the French language itself, which has two contradictory characteristics: it carries both the legacies of colonialism and symbolic capital at the same time. This is why, despite the sharp criticisms levelled at La Francophonie and the French language, the latter is still preferred by most of the discussants in many conversations where subject knowledge and intellectuality are being vigorously displayed.

Closely related to dynamism and vigour in speech is also the notion of rationality. My research has shown that in expressing reason and rational thoughts, the participants showed a clear predilection for French features. I could venture the conjecture that the idea that French is the language of logic started to take root in the Senegalese imaginary long before the postcolonial era when Senghor wrote that “L’émotion est nègre comme la raison est hellène” (“Emotion is Negro as Reason is Hellenic”) (1939, p. 25). This idea, considered infamous by many, came to be widely taught in the French schools in Africa and appears to now have crystallised into a strong belief system. Although there has been much criticism of this Senghorian statement, mostly by Pan-Africanists, my verbal data bears out, in many respects, the assumption that African languages, and Wolof in particular, are more of an emotive and intuitive order, while French is the language of logic and rationality.

Having been educated in the system that accepts as true that l’esprit cartésien (Cartesianism) is a French traditional trait, there is little wonder that the Senegalese linguistically reproduce this belief in their everyday languaging practices. This is perhaps what explains the presence, in abundance, of French logical connectors such as subordinate conjunctions in the UW repertoire. Refer to the part entitled Participants on the ontology of (being) Wolof for more on French logical connectors, as discussants argue on who is Wolof and what is Wolof. In line with the notion of logic thus elaborated, Wolophones often elect French features to express precision. This is because they deem the equivalent Wolof features not accurate enough to typify that notion. For example, it appears that the Wolof way of expressing time does not seem to be precise enough for the urban Wolophones (Refer to Extract 4 for more on the use of time in UW).

As Dumont (1983, pp. 134-135) observed, the urban Wolophones’ propensity towards precision makes them want to substitute Wolof terms with French ones. Another phenomenon observed, which is somewhat linked to the notion of precision, is the predilection for the economy of words. Some Wolof ideas require extra words to render them
more precise. In most African languages like Wolof, the use of gender for grammatical precision is absent or at least archaic. Speakers compensate by adding bu jigeen (female) or bu góór (male) to the noun which is neutral by default. The choice of the single, equivalent French term, therefore, dispenses the Wolophone with the use of the Wolof expression, lengthened by the addition of the gender predicate bu jigeen or bu góór. For example, the urban Wolophone would privilege the French term sœur (sister) over the Wolof rakk bu jigeen (literally: female younger sibling) (Extract 4).

Sometimes the motivation to use French goes beyond just wanting to prove a point. The concepts of method and organisation are also generally framed in French. In heated discussions, when participants have presented and organised their arguments in a logical manner, they have displayed long stretches of French which sometimes border monolingualism, save, perhaps, the prosodic elements which are generally in Wolof. I have sufficiently treated of this theory in sections 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.5. What is noteworthy is that, according to Senghor, the spirit of organisation and method is also Western (Dash, 1980). He defended the idea that Africans are not well organised: “I say so because we have not properly assimilated the spirit of method and organisation which characterizes the West…we pay lip service to things, and we are not sufficiently organized.” (Senghor, cited by Dash, 1980). Paradoxically, on the flipside, Senghor was a staunch advocate of the notion of La Négritude, blackness. This is perhaps why his views on Reason being Hellenic were not altogether refuted by the African intelligentsia. This is what explains the recurring utterance among my participants in many of their discussions: “Boy nun on n’a pas de logique” (Us African do not follow logic), or: “Tubaab yi, ils ont l’esprit cartésien” (Westerners have a Cartesian mind), or still: “Tubaab yi dañuy utiliser seen xel” (Westerners use their minds), etc. These appear to be self-flagellations seemingly born from frustration.

Despite the strong anti-Francophone attitudes that many Senegalese intellectuals display, much of their linguistic behaviour lends weight to the aforementioned controversial statements. This Senghorian concept of method and organisation, which is also reminiscent of Descartes’ Discourse on Method, characteristic of the West, although problematic to many, can also be discerned in my participants’ discursive practices. The following statement by Mourtalla illustrates the point: “Li am Europe ci wàllu cet, njàng, éducation...ak organisation amufi, kon kay ŋun pareeguñu” (Comparatively to the Westerners, we’re behind in many areas such as hygiene, education and organisation). Overall, throughout the dataset, French,
the language of the coloniser, is used to emphasize some of the deplorable situations which are seen to generally result from France’s heavy exploitation of Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa and Senegal in particular. The logical basis, therefore, behind these translingual practices, with the French features highly prominent, is that the speakers vehemently critique the status quo and strongly advocate a revolutionary change which requires some ambition, if only, a hopeless one. In what follows, I will discuss what I have called earlier the relational cluster which constitutes all the other translingual forms which are deemed to be of a positive order as far as the speakers’ attitudes are concerned and characteristic of cohesiveness, conviviality and progress.

**The English gradient**

There are three ways in which my participants employ English features in their translingual practices. They use English:

- as a tool for distanciation mechanisms
- for *teraanga* (inclusion) purposes
- to negotiate their global multilingual identity as mobile transmigrants.

**Creating distance**

When my participants’ translingual practices involved the Wolof-English-French co-occurrence, what is generally noticeable is a strategy of distanciation. A precision is here in order: “English gradient” does not suggest that only English features are present in an utterance. As elucidated on page 6, the term gradient does not exclude the presence of other linguistic features; only, the English part is made more prominent by the speakers. There are two dimensions to this distanciation mechanism. On the one hand, participants use English to show how far remote they are from certain Senegalese practices that they perceive as despicable. I have shown in section 5.2.1.3 that the speakers display momentary identity formations by appearing to divest themselves of their Senegaleseness to frame what they see as an appalling situation (see segment entitled *Dóór Marteau: a Moral Delinquency* in particular) with the most common form of distanciation being the use of the person deictic *they* to refer to their fellow nationals. English not being part of the Senegalese imaginary, generally speaking, its use in UW can be viewed as a way of showing how different they are to their less mobile Senegalese compatriots, for reasons already explained in section 5.1.
The second dimension to the distanciation strategy is when the discussants employ English features as a tool to fight against the French or Francophone hegemony, to dissociate themselves from the colonial legacies. The peculiar nature of this use of English and which differentiates it from the one in the first dimension is that the speakers’ repertoire is monitored so as to only bring Wolof and English to the fore rather than using the whole spectrum (English-Wolof-French). In expunging, or rather stifling the French features, the speakers appear to be saying that they can do without French, the French, and anything Francophone, with English being the antidote, in their eyes, of French imperialism. These translanguaging strategies were used to typify various issues pertaining to modernity and the modern world.

As shown in section 5.2.2, Extract 10, the discussants unanimously hold a pessimistic view of La Francophonie. As such, freedom from the French, as they often put it, requires first a divorce with the French language. It is in that regard that most of them encourage the adoption of the Rwandan model, the basis of which was the substitution of French with English as the main language of instruction, in the national educational system (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). This desire to see this enterprise realised crystallises into a form of translanguaging pattern involving, exclusively, the Wolof-English conjunct, as illustrated in Extract 10. This paradigmatic relationship that the speakers have with English suggests that my participants regard the future as Anglophone. This transpires in many of their discussions when they extol the virtues of the Anglosphere and Anglophone Africa to the detriment of La Francophonie and Francophone Africa, respectively. The use of English, therefore, is almost always of a positive order, comparatively to the use of French which, in many respects, involves some level of despondency and hopelessness.

The inclusion strategies through *teraanga* practices

The second languaging practice involving English is a translingual form that participants perform as an inclusion strategy which is reminiscent of what is known as *la teraanga sénégalaise*, the Senegalese hospitality (see elaborations in Extract 2 and Extract 9). In *Audience Design*, Bell (1984) makes the distinction between audience and addressee. According to the author, anybody within earshot of the conversation is considered part of the audience. What is worth noting is that the participants did not necessarily switch addressees in this languaging endeavour but the mere presence of non-Wolof speakers in the vicinity made them include key English linguistic items that would permit the latter to grasp the gist
Discussion and conclusion

of the conversation (see Extract 2 for more details). As such, in using English features, the speakers designed an audience rather than addressees. Conversations can switch from MW to a more Anglicised Wolof just from noticing the presence, be it momentary, of an Anglophone within earshot. Sometimes, the necessity to create a convivial atmosphere instigates a rare monolingual English endeavour with the view to fully accommodating the non-Wolophone.

Global multilingual identity formation

The third and most salient linguaging form involving English practiced by the participants is one which has allowed me to acquire new insight into the identity work of the Senegalese transmigrant. In the Senegalese academia, acquiring English as a foreign language is seen as offering a window on the world. English offers opportunities to exert influence on the world scene. In the UK, English acquires an added value in the eyes of the participants as it allows them to integrate more fully into the cultures of the hosting country. Additionally, having English in common allows them to develop a new group identity that better reflects the notion of global Senegality. This new linguistic value not only highlights their multilingual identity, but it foregrounds another characteristic of the transmigration which is mobility.

I believe, as does Sankharé31 (Masjidoun Noûr, 2014), that French is part of the Senegalese identity in the same way as Wolof is; therefore, English, not being part of the Senegalese heritage, is nonetheless the Senegalese diasporans’ appanage. As such, it becomes indexical of mobility and multilingual ability which are both important aspects of diasporicity. In fact, as mentioned on page 29, the Senegalese regard multilingualism as the ability to speak European languages. This is why, in UW, the African languages are referred to as làkk, and the Western languages as langues (McLaughlin, 2015, p. 143). As such, mobility becomes connotative of multilingualism. The idea of mobility is so entrenched among the Senegalese transmigrants that it is discernible in their speech. For example, in Extract 10, I demonstrated how their use of proximal spatial deixes indicated that the notion of bound nations is, to them, an artificial concept. In speaking English, the Senegalese transmigrants appear to be sending signals of being a cosmopolitan, a global communitarian. Showing knowledge of world affairs is an equally important part of their identity work which generally involves some use of English.

31 Professor Sankharé was the only African agrégé of French grammar after Leopold Senghor (Afrique, 2015).
With the acquisition of English as an additional value, its use becomes deterritorialized, irrespective of locality. In fact, my research has revealed, in addition, that the Senegalese transmigrants’ display of their knowledge of English is not contingent upon whether their auditors or addressees understand English or not, as they move through translocal spaces. To that effect, participants have reported having been confused with Gambians when they have been to France or gone back to Senegal, on account of the fact that they deploy their full communicative resources, as part of their identity work, with English being one of the most prominent ones. As such, they become transmigrants, engaging in translanguageing practices in translocal spaces.

I explained in Extract 3 that local Senegalese traders look out for special hints that help them detect the kaawmen (the multilingual traveller) so they can double or treble the prices they charge them. One of such signs is the presence of English in the transmigrants’ translanguageing repertoires. This “special” treatment that they are getting from the compatriots is one of the disadvantages that offsets the social power that multilingualism and mobility have bestowed to the transmigrants. However, the advantages of being a multilingual and mobile transmigrant far outweigh the occasional inconveniences. For example, it is multilingualism and mobility that have allowed the transmigrants to also export their Senegality to the Western world. It is in this connection that the Senegalese city of Touba is recognised worldwide as a global city (Ross, 2011) because the city’s “visual culture” has been profusely disseminated in scores of Western cities. I will come back more fully to the global connectedness of Touba when I will explore religiosity and the Wolof gradient in the following part.

The Wolof-only gradient

I have shown elsewhere, in the analysis (on page 111 in particular) that speakers deploy a special language strategy that I have called endeavours. In the previous section I treated of the monolingual English used by the participants as teraanga, a form of inclusion strategy. In this section I will look at special uses of RW or MW. I would like to come back, briefly, to the idea of gregariousness adumbrated earlier and which, according to Calvet (1994b, p. 68), is one important factor of urbanity. The author observes that urban languages like UW is underpinned by two notions: vehicularity and gregariousness (1994b, p. 68). On the one hand UW has been adopted by city dwellers as a lingua franca, thereby bringing together several ethnic groups as one linguistic community. On the other hand, the fact that ethnic and
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linguistic differences are ironed out in urban contexts accounts for the gregariousness that characterises the community (1994b, p. 68).

In the case of my participants, however, the gregariousness is displayed differently. In moments of sociability, conviviality, hospitality, and commensality, my participants tend to deliberately adopt more monolingual ways. Therefore, they appear to manifest their congeniality with a more rural language style dominated by Wolof features, much the same as the Dakarois do with a more Frenchified Wolof for the exigencies of some specific matter. In the Senegalese urban places, speakers manifest their sense of belonging to a group by deploying translingual practices involving some French. This is because urbanites tend to look down on rural ways as lacking in refinement or social grace (Heil, 2020, p. 278). In the West, the reverse is observed. RW has a certain cultural and religious prestige to it. What is more, this prestigious nature is enhanced by the global nature of the city of Touba; therefore, because the Touba Wolof is rural, its speakers are highly valued in the cities of the global North. It has been reported that close to 50 European cities are home to several cultural and religious practices imported from Touba (Ross, 2011, p. 2936). It is not vital anymore to travel back to Senegal every year to attend the annual Maggal celebration that hosts millions of disciples because the migrants are now organised in such a way as to recreate the Touba atmosphere in the West, although transmigrants may go back to Senegal several times a year for other commitments. As previously highlighted, dahiras and institutions are extended in North America and Europe to that effect.

Therefore, the generalisation of the Wolof-Islam model in the West confers to the Touba Wolof, which is rural in kind, its esteemed status as transmigrants endeavour to replicate the Touba ambience in the West. The Touba way of speaking is sometimes the preferred way to communicate with one another among the transmigrants in such special moments as witnessed during the Cants, Maggals, or cultural events (see Extract 9), as they deploy special efforts to whittle down their normally large language repertoire to just Wolof features. They strive, as they admitted during interviews, to employ the most appropriate rural term, be it ever so rare, to honour those moments of religiosity because they view French, one of the main components of UW, as an impurity. It is noteworthy, too, that the Mouride founder Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba was fiercely opposed to the French colonial rule (Ross, 2011; Babou, 2002). Thus, adopting this attitude towards French, is, for them, a way of following the steps of their spiritual leader. In the same vein, they consider their complex movements
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across the world, as transmigrants, to be a replica of the leader’s decades-long forced exile from Senegal (Bava, 2017, p. 245).

Because multilingual multilingualism appears to be the “norm” in the Senegalese speech pattern (Swigart, 1992, p. 84), my argument is that any attempt at monolingualism from their part becomes, ipso facto, a marked form of languaging, underpinned by a range of motivations. It would be exceptional for a monolingual to try to suddenly become a multilingual; but for a multilingual speaker, becoming monolingual at will is far from extraordinary. When I have confronted some of them with follow-up questions regarding some of their MW languaging that can be said to be unusual, many characterised it as “special efforts to dig deep”, others considered it “mental exertions”, and still others spoke of “endeavours to replicate their interlocutor’s idiolect for politeness” (see section 6.4).

To clarify, my claim is that, in the UW linguistic resources, to align long stretches of Wolof-only features is possible for the participants. However, this enterprise is not without inducing some form of self-conscious discomfort, due, in part, to the efforts being deployed. In line with Bell’s (1984, p. 159) theory, when one of my participants interacts with an addressee, requiring them to design momentary MW, what is worth noting is that this endeavour is not just linguistic but also gesticulative, as certain postures or mannerisms are adopted to complement the politeness strategy (see mbëkk on page 113). Almost all the informants have reported, during the interviews, that an urban repertoire is inappropriate for use in such circumstances as when interacting with elders or simply people who display signs of religiosity, whether verbal or vestimentary or both. The context of religion and culture is an environment where what my informants call “language purity” is seminal. It is also an environment of stigmatised language situations. In this connection, many referred to MW by epithetically juxtaposing the adjective piir to the term wolof to form wolof piir, piir being an UW way of pronouncing the French adjective pur (pure). As such, because RW is seen as pure, UW becomes negatively (in the mathematical sense) defined as impure. My informants are aware of the epistemic biases surrounding what they call jaxase làkk (literally, mixing languages) which is their special appellation of translanguaging. As such, they look at RW as being more respectful in certain situations when, dictated by the exactions of society, one must mind one’s language.

Interestingly, my participants do not adopt the widely held view, in Senegal, that speaking RW, outside the religious environments, is synonymous with backwardness. On the contrary,
they believe RW to be a form of languaging one adopts to frame mannerliness. The politeness strategies are sometimes generalised beyond the addressees, to colour the general mood of the linguistic atmosphere, on special occasions such as cultural and religious ceremonies which I attended frequently. These are occasions where participants replicate some of the cultural events held back in Senegal. In those moments they use RW to induce cordiality between them. This takes the rationale behind the use of RW beyond just religiosity as those moments are opportunities for conviviality and bonding, in reminiscence of old times back home.

It is noteworthy that in Senegal, it is the elders who generally have the art of oratory; as such, they occupy the most prominent positions during those ceremonies and most forms of communication are mainly top-down. In fact, so high is their position in society that, generally, they require a special communicative tool known in Wolof as “jottali” (Irvine, 2012, p. 52), a Wolof term meaning mediation where a chosen intermediary repeats the kilifa’s (respected man’s) words back to the audience. This jottali is designed to somewhat keep the hierarchy between the leaders and the people. Furthermore, being less communicative and keeping a low profile is, for younger people mingling with elders, a sign of politeness and submission. Comparatively, with my participants, this notion of hierarchy is non-existent. However, the atmosphere of traditionality, being a crucial aspect of those ceremonies, flavours the whole ambience. Therefore, in line with their overall view that urban ways are discourteous, they privilege RW in those moments. Even the mere mention of an upcoming religious or cultural ceremony is framed in RW (see Extract 9).

One of the main factors occasioning the positive attitude towards, and increasing use of, RW, is, as mentioned earlier, principally related to the globalisation of the holy city of Touba. The Senegalese transmigrants are as if animated by the desire to show to the world, especially to the West, a facet of Senegal that is filtered through the lenses of religiosity. The Senegalese seem keen to show to the West their own version of Islam which, they insist, differs, in many respects, from the version of Islam represented in the media. This is what explains the many processions of Mouride adepts in the West chanting praises to their leader Ahmadou Bamba and brandishing posters that read: “ISLAM IS AGAINST ANY KIND OF VIOLENCE” as illustrated in the image below.
It is this Islam that the Senegalese want the West to associate with Senegal. Although there are several religious orders in Senegal, the Mouride Sufi order tends to be the most widespread abroad. Furthermore, with the Mouride adepts having been the earliest to emigrate to the Global North, in search of economic prosperity (Babou, 2002, pp. 158-159), the culture of Touba grew rapidly in many of the Western cities. Today, there are many Mouride organisations, formed of high-ranking business owners and adepts from around the West (Ross, 2011, pp. 2941-2). As such, Touba’s brand name becomes at once a symbol of prosperity and religiosity. As mentioned before, many of the Senegalese businesses in the West bear the preplaced term “Touba”. This phenomenon not only popularises the Senegalese holy city in the West but also many Senegalese transmigrants who were once from a different religious order in Senegal go on to embrace the Muridiyya\(^{32}\). As a case in point, Babacar used to be a Christian before he became a Mouride and joined our dahira. Therefore, I could venture to say that the symbolic capital that Touba carries in the West may have something to do with the rapid increase of the adepts of the Muridiyya.

The general attitude of the transmigrants, including my participants, further suggests that the Senegalese become more fervent devotees in the West than when they lived in Senegal. This was not only observed by me but was also reported by my informants (see section 5.2.1.5). Their kilifahood (piety) is characterised by a mimicry, for lack of a better term, of the Touba ways of behaving, even in moments outside religious services. This includes striving to speak

\(^{32}\) The Mouride Sufi order
the Touba (rural) Wolof despite the many linguistic difficulties that they encounter in this endeavour (see part entitled The diasporans’ thoughts on rural Wolof). This speech pattern, instigated by traditionality, is intrinsically linked to another factor which also influences the participants’ translingual languaging forms: Pan-Africanism or discussions on Africanity.

In their many elaborations on the ills of Africa, the discussants tend to use a Wolof repertoire devoid of any of the features which they consider to be additions or borrowings when stressing the need for Africans to return to Africanity. They view the continent as riddled with foreign influences, whether linguistic, economic, or political. As such speaking RW, a Wolof stripped of its foreign influences, appears to construe their desire to see a more traditional Africa, free from the influence of foreign powers. With the contrast thus elaborated, between language attitudes in Senegal and those in the diasporic world, I have shown, in this study, that migration can not only influence languaging patterns, but, more importantly, that language attitudes can also be changed with and through the experience of (trans)migration, in fulfilment of the sub-question posed earlier. What is noticeable is that this new attitude towards RW also influences, in turn, their daily languaging practices. Therefore, what is at the core of this circular mutual influence between language attitudes and language practice is mobility. Apart from what is traditionally known as language mixing, this study has shown that diasporicity, and thus, mobility, are additional factors which have greatly influenced the Wolophones’ linguistic repertoire, both in terms of language practice and language attitudes.

In an attempt to make their Mouridhood more salient, they also display multimodal signage such as the mbëkk gesture, which is exclusively a Mouride way of greeting (see reference on page 113). What I have noticed is that they use that form of greeting more in the West than in Senegal, making it more like “making a statement” more than anything. Other modes of multimodal signage also involve the wearing of the classic Mouride garment as shown in Figure 11 above. My participants wear those garments to profusion but admitted hardly ever wearing one in Senegal. It is perhaps because in Senegal, wearing a Mouride garment would not be so much of a statement as it would be in the West where the communicative purpose is such that the sender of the message would stand out. This is also consistent with the display of images of Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba in nearly all Senegalese homes in the West, including in the regular gatherings, not to mention pendant picture frames of the marabout33. The

33 Spiritual leader.
deployment of the visual culture of Touba in the West, therefore, including the extensive use, at times, of RW, can also be seen as the transmigrants’ way of displaying their Africanity, calling the other African diasporans to return to their roots. My data showed, in this regard, that discussions on Africanity are also framed in RW endeavours, in a Wolof devoid of foreign influences, so to speak, to paint a picture of an Africa free from imperialist powers.

**The African languages-only gradient**

Among the Senegalese, commensality, the sharing of food or any form of feasting is usually framed in a somewhat rare translanguaging practice involving a number of African languages (only). Those are moments where the deployment of the culture of food is in full swing. As demonstrated in the analysis, the choice of this part of their idiolect is undergirded by a sociocultural concept known as “le cousinage à plaisanterie” or, as reported by McLaughlin, “ndendiraagu” (2002, p. 157). In the Anglophone world, this (West) African practice is rendered as “a joking relationship” which does not truly reflect what is taking place during those practices (Smith, 2004, pp. 158-9). I will agree with Smith (2004, pp. 158-9) that the French equivalent “alliance à plaisanterie” best renders the concept of *ndendiraagu* in West Africa. The *ndendiraagu* involves dishing out fierce, serious-sounding jokes levelled at each other during special occasions, with the view to defusing some kind of tension or sense of uneasiness (see Extract 8). Attino (2021, p. 7) defines this practice as “a social barometer through which individuals in a community mock and deride each other whilst educating themselves within the framework of strong societal bonds, their objective being to right wrongs without ever causing any harm to each other” [my translation].

Faye and NGom (2021, pp. 150-1) have divided this joking relationship into two main parts: the intra-ethnic relationship, of which the patronymic joking relationship is a part, and the extra-ethnic relationship which includes the inter-ethnic relationship. The "cousinage patronymique" (2021, pp. 150-1) is a joking relationship based on the interactants’ patronyms. For example, an individual with a *Dieng* patronym would duel with another with a *Thioune* patronym. When the joking relationship is inter-ethnic, it is the interactants’ ethnic groups that prevail over their respective patronyms. For example, the Fulani and the Sereer belong in the same banter group as shown in section 5.2.2, and Extract 8 in particular. Our ancestors organised the different ethnic groups into clusters within which the banter occurred.
According to Faye and NGom (2021, p. 150), the Sereer appear to be, for some reason, the easy target, and thus, belong nearly in every cluster. As such, with the Sereer, several duelling combinations are possible. For example, they banter equally with the Fulani as with the Joola. As already mentioned earlier, the Wolof do not tend to engage in the inter-ethnic banter (though they may apply the intra-ethnic “cousinage patronymique”). However, the Wolof may, at times, “pick on” the Sereer or the Peul (Bocoum, 2020), as part of what Faye and NGom (2021, p. 152) call “le cousinage forcé”. This is because neither the Sereer nor the Peul are the Wolof’s “legitimate” or “legal” joking adversaries (2021, p. 150). It is as if the Wolof feel left out and need to belong to a banter group (see analysis of Extract 8). This is ironical as Wolof is often classed as more prestigious than the other national languages. This is because Wolof, especially UW, is associated with French and both occupy the apex of the Senegalese linguistic sketch, with Wolof acting as a stepping stone for the attainment of French. In short, French dominates Wolof which, in turn, dominates the rest of the national languages. That is precisely what Calvet (1994a, pp. 91-92) calls “le modèle de diglossies enchâssées”, a sort of superposed diglossic system with two dominant languages.

There are many reasons why the Senegalese would engage in this ethnic banter. The reasons may range from creating cordiality between people who are unfamiliar to each other (Bocoum, 2020; Smith, 2004, p. 162) to the resolution of grave social tensions (Attino, 2021, p. 14). However, the way interactants go about it can be a complex cultural phenomenon which could appear unfathomable for an outsider as it may appear, at least on the surface, as a fierce tussle between protagonists. It is not uncommon to see protagonists engage in virulent verbal fights with the aim of creating a pleasant atmosphere. But what is interesting is that all parties respect the codified, unspoken of, ancestral guidelines without anybody ever feeling offended (McLaughlin, 1992; Juompan-Yakam, 2015, p. 2). This is because interactants are aware that a social pact binds them together.

The phenomenon is widespread throughout Africa and its practice is uniform everywhere, the main purpose being to tighten relationships. It can be deployed against the backdrop of many themes such as religion, clothing, occupation, food, etc. (Smith, 2004, p. 160). The theme of food is particularly relevant for my study. As already mentioned, the only times when my participants engaged in the practice of cousinage was during feasting times. Principally, the teasing and the fierce banter are designed to put guests, and each other, at ease, the immediate objective being to create an ambience conducive for everyone to enjoy their food without
embarrassment. A non-initiate may argue that they can enjoy their food without engaging in this banter but the reality, in a Senegalese context, is otherwise.

In addition, I make the argument that, because the banter is practiced to defuse tensions, then, logically, food must be a source of tension somewhere in the Africans’ imaginary. Interactants would not probably need to engage in cousinage if food was not “the problem”. Let me bring a little more clarification on the culture of food in Senegal. Among many Senegalese ethnic groups, and especially the Fulani tribe to which I belong, the consumption of food is generally linked to a sense of uneasiness or embarrassment, on account of the fact that eating, passing wind, and defecating belong in the same register of toilet humour. There is, within the Fulani ethnic group, a particular type of intra-ethnic cousinage, between those carrying the Bah patronym and those carrying the Diallo patronym. The banter between the two groups is so fierce that when a Bah is eating and sees a Diallo at a distance, the former runs away or hides the food from embarrassment, especially if the dish is based on beans. This is in a bid to avoid the “killer” joke which consists in being called a “ñaamoowo ñebbë...”, which could be rendered as “Beans-beans are good for your heart, the more you eat, the more you fart”, to use a popular children’s song (Blank, 2010, p. 62). The latter part of the song is elided in the Fulani/Pulaar expression “ñaamoowo ñebbë...” but it is nonetheless understood. Incidentally, in many African languages, the unsaid can be more prominent than the said. This concept was touched upon in section 1.4. and is characteristic of eloquence in the African art of oratory. It is common, for example, to only utter the first part of a proverb or adage, leaving the hearer to surmise the rest. It would be equivalent, for example, to saying, in English: “When the cats are away...”. The inference, for an Anglophone, is generally automatic.

As a Pulaarophone, and, having witnessed this food-related banter in my environment, I can affirm that beans, and its associated meanings with toilet humour, have gradually become the metonym for all types of food, with the same connotative innuendo of farting and defecating as the ultimate implication for eating. This is most probably why a Senegalese is apt to feeling abashed when he or she is being watched eating, and the only way to ease the embarrassment in times of feasting and food-sharing is to engage in the banter head-on. It has now become slightly clearer why the banter is used to ease tensions. For a Senegalese, eating can occasion tension. To ascertain my assumptions concerning the relationship between food
and embarrassment, I asked a seventy-year-old Peul\(^{34}\), a member of my family, who carries the Bah patronym, to clarify what the banter relationship involves between the Bah and the Diallo. This particular intra-ethnic, patronymic joking relationship is, I believe, the epitome of the sometimes virulent nature of the cousinage. This is what the Peul lady told me:

Hakkunde Jal-jalluɓe e Bah-Bahɓe bɑŋge ɗəamde ne hulɓinii ! Jooni, so Jal-jallo tawii ma ada ɗəama ɓeɓee tawa kaa Bah-baho tan a maayii. Ɗoon e doon ɓe ɓoorte te haa laɓaa. Te heen sahaaji so a tottaaniɓe wutte ɓe kongat booluuji e nder wuro e ɓe njima: "Bah-Baaɓe mbadii bone ! Bah-Baaɓe mbadii bone !"

The relationship between the Diallo and the Bah, in terms of food, is very scary! As a Bah, if a Diallo catches you eating beans you are dead! On the spot you must give them a garment from your wardrobe. If you don’t, he or she will gather a group of people (Who have Diallo as a patronym) and they will parade the streets, with drums, chanting: “The Bah have disgraced us! The Bah have disgraced us!”. (From Fulani - my translation).

Whilst, on the surface, it may look like bullying to the non-initiate, it is far from being the case. The two patronyms have strong ancestral ties, a sort of pact which is sacred to them and must not to be violated. This practice is pivotal in not only maintaining cordial relationships between individuals and between communities, but it also contributes to making the relationships firmer (Faye & NGom, 2021, 149). The speakers generally frame the virulent exchange of words which characterises the cousinage by monitoring their idiolect so as to only bring to the fore African languages. This may be because, understandably, the many concepts that are being evoked hardly have any Western equivalents.

In times of feasting, or simply during mealtimes, my participants engage in rather complex translingual practices where Wolof, Fulani, Sereer, Hassaniya cohere to create an atmosphere conducive to cordiality. The entire data reveals that Western language features were entirely suppressed. It may appear odd that Senegalese urbanites would engage in translingual practices with the exclusion of French or, to a certain extent, English. As Beck (2010, p. 17) would admit, in postcolonial African contexts, urban translingual practices generally involve at least one European language, which is typically the language of the coloniser (see also

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\(^{34}\) Another name for Fulani or Pulaarophone.
Understandably, because the social and cultural realities at hand in these contexts are alien to Westerners, it is normal that concepts like the *ndendiraagu* be exclusively expressed in African languages.

However, what is interesting to note is that the amount of idiolectal features that they deploy is rather abundant, although English, and surprisingly, French, are suppressed and replaced, so to speak, with Sereer, Fulani, and Hassaniya. This linguistic system, apart from being unusual among the urban Senegalese transmigrants (outside food situations at least), can be said to be a relatively large repertoire. In my view only the theory of translanguaging can account for such languaging practices because some of my participants thought the Hassaniya features to be Fulani features. As part of the triangulation process, when I asked Mame Diarra if she was aware of her use of Hassaniya, she replied: “Luy Hassaniya?” (What is Hassaniya?), whereupon I explained that it is the language of millions of inhabitants in neighbouring Mauritania. She retorted: “Ahhh! Làkk u naar yi!” (Oh! the Moors’ language!), suggesting that she knows that language but just did not know it was called Hassaniya.

This is evidence that a code-based analysis would not fit our purpose here. I could venture the supposition that an investigator of the Senegalese transmigrants’ translingual practices, whose analytical approach was, say, codeswitching, would likely find himself lost amid the plethora of what he would see as additional codes (Fulani, Hassaniya, Sereer) appearing from nowhere, especially if he expects to only hear an UW which only comprises Wolof, French, and English. The fact that some of the interactants do not necessarily know the name of a particular form of languaging they are using is further evidence that translanguaging is first and foremost speaker-centred. What is of relevance for the speakers is that they are making the most out of their comprehensive repertoire and fulfilling their communicative aims.

### 7.4 Conclusion and implications

The principal objective of this study was to explore whether translanguaging followed patterns, and, if so, what the determining factors of such patterns were. Before I present a recap of the main findings and contributions, let me say a few words about language and transmigration. My informants’ translanguaging practices are greatly influenced by their identity as transmigrants. Therefore, it is important to understand the identity work being deployed when they translanguage. My data indicates a correlation between translanguaging and transmigration. This has been supported by many instances of speech events which
indicate the speakers’ sensitiveness to translocality in the way they refer to remote places. The way they do that is by making “there” “here”, suggesting that national borders, to them, have no ontological existence. As such, their identity as transmigrants is not only typified by their physical movements across nations but also by the way they translanguage.

Here are the main findings:

❖ Translanguaging appears to be governed by some unconventional rules that languages follow, which causes their translingual speeches to follow patterns. Depending on the theme which informs the conversation, speakers privilege some linguistic features over others. In the UW linguistic resources, composed mainly of Wolof, French, and English, they may find themselves using the Wolof/French gradient, the Wolof/English gradient, or they may choose to become momentary multilingual monolinguals, using long stretches of French or electing to become monolingual Wolophones, with the view to framing a particular sociocultural reality.

❖ When my participants are feasting or engaged with food, they deploy some less usual translingual practices involving three or four named African languages to the exclusion of English and French. Within an African linguistic community, the use of these colonial languages in translingual practices is characteristic of urbanity. Therefore, as urbanites, the suppression of Western languages is somewhat of an oddity because, in African communities, urban translingual practices are mostly a postcolonial phenomenon and generally involve at least one of the colonial languages.

❖ Among my participants, there are still epistemic biases associated with translanguaging, especially if it involves French features. This is because they still see French as a symbol of colonialism. Their observed inability to do without French, which accounts for the discrepancies between some of their observed multilingual practices involving French, and their reported attitudes to them, are indicative of a long-standing presence of French which remains nonetheless a prestigious language in the Senegalese imaginary.
By and large, my informants have a positive attitude towards rurality and rural ways of speaking Wolof. Thus, they look at MW in the West as carrying symbolic capital, in its capacity of a vector for the religious prestigiousness that the global city of Touba assumes, the visual culture of which is proudly displayed by the Senegalese transmigrants in the West. And because the Touba Wolof is essentially rural, RW becomes cherished much the same as anything from Touba. Besides, my informants also see this form of languaging as facilitating conviviality and cordiality. The positive attitudes towards RW run counter to previous findings and to the widely expressed view, in Senegal, that RW is synonymous with backwardness and unsophistication. In line with the aforementioned point, one can see that transmigration, and its direct corollary, mobility not only influence language use but also, more importantly, appear to have a bearing on language attitudes.

Some multilingual multilinguals such as my participants do not always report the presence of other languages in their linguistic repertoire, either they do not feel the need to report that they are fluent in a particular African language (because they only consider speaking Western languages to be characteristic of multilingualism), or, simply, they do not know the name of a particular languaging form or do not know in which language a particular linguistic feature belongs.

In translanguaging, language practices go beyond the use of just linguistic forms. My study shows that speakers employed prosodic elements such as Wolof verbal gestures in the expression of their emotions. I found that, irrespective of whether they were engaged in any of the gradients, verbal gestures formed a pivotal part in their endeavour to convey certain concepts best expressed prosodically. The belief, among my informants, is that the use of those Wolof clicks and suck-teeth sounds greatly complements the idea that they want to convey, the same way that multimodality participates in the meaning-making process. As such, the inflection of an utterance with a Wolof verbal gesture makes it acquire a more comprehensive or additional meaning, however seemingly insignificant the Wolof prosodic feature may appear.
Therefore, if the verbal gestures are not accounted for, the message is as if stunted. So insignificant they appear indeed that they are not, as yet, listed in the Wolof phonemic repertoire. They remain nonetheless important elements to be reckoned with when examining the urban Wolophones’ translanguaging practices.

❖ The study has also shown that multimodality is a key factor in the Senegalese transmigrants’ way of conveying meaning. This is most relevant whether the multimodal deployment is situational or bodily. Situational multimodal deployments are almost always in relation to the visual culture of the holy city of Touba that migrants seem keen to put forward. The other type of multimodal deployment, also related to the Touba visual culture, is corporeal. It involves wearing special garments, often with a leather-bound picture frame of the Touba spiritual leader, worn as a pendant. Furthermore, they often engage in gesticulatory forms of greeting such as the Mouride mbèkk (see elaborations on page 113) which the transmigrants use profusely as a way of showing their gregariousness and sense of belonging to the same cultural and religious community.

Some of my findings are at odds with those of the traditional UW scholars, although I availed myself greatly on the latter to open further avenues. My findings should in no way be viewed as more valuable just because I am a Wolophone and an in-group member. They should be viewed, rather, in this ongoing debate on the ontology of UW, as just a new window onto the understanding of urban languaging practices, if only, from a different point of view. My perspective as a mobile transmigrant will add to the current knowledge of multilingual multilingualism, especially as far as mobility is concerned. To my knowledge, UW has never been considered or studied in terms of mobility. In that regard, Blommaert (2016, pp. 253-6) proposes that study methods on the effects of mobility on multilingual languaging repertoires be revisited, with the focus on the notion of “change” as a crucial variable. Because languages are constantly changing, it will benefit the scholarship to also look at their dynamicity in terms of change (in space) rather than merely a synchronic change.

A great deal has been said about UW as spoken in the urban areas of Senegal (see Swigart, 1992; Calvet, 1994a; Dreyfus & Juillard, 2001; McLaughlin, 2008a, etc.) and very little about
how it is spoken across borders. Although my findings are, by and large, compatible with some of the past research, there are many areas in which they differ.

- One of the benefits of my research is that it is the first, as far as I know, to offer a linguistic account of the Senegalese transmigration from a translanguaging (therefore linguistic) point of view.
- Additionally, UW has always been examined in terms of the speakers’ capacity to switch between named languages. However, my study has considered the UW linguistic repertoire as constituting one unified whole, as championed by the majority of the translanguaging theorists such as Otheguy et al., (2018); García and LiWei (2014), to name but those. Despite the fact that most UW scholars adopt the traditional dual view, which privileges the existence of codes, I have nonetheless allowed myself to be inspired by such authors as McLaughlin (2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2014, 2015), to look at UW through different lenses and from a different perspective: that of an insider, that is, from a translanguaging perspective because translanguaging is speaker-centred while codeswitching assumes pre-existing language mixing rules and theories.
- My study was conducted in Wolof, the language of the researched. The benefit is that informants give better accounts of certain African realities that they would otherwise have found challenging to express in a Western language. This privilege was afforded by my position as an in-group member which, amongst other things, facilitated the collection of authentic data.

My findings will allow for paralinguistic clicks, verbal gestures, and multimodal features to be accounted for, in future, when studying urban African languages. The language features that Urban Wolophones use in their translingual practices should not merely be limited to what is traditionally known as languages but should include the verbal gestures as well as multimodal features that the urban Wolophones deploy as being pivotal in the meaning-making process. It would be interesting, in future studies, to look at how the diasporic Senegalese are linguistically influencing their compatriots back home. In fact, this phenomenon is already happening. Indeed, it is not uncommon to hear sporadic uses of English and Italian among the Senegalese speakers in Senegal. This is mainly rendered possible by returning migrants who are apt to influence their co-nationals.

The Senegalese speaker addressing the National Assembly in Dakar, in Italian, cited on page 29, is a case in point. In the end, one could even argue, in view of this globalised world, that
the divide between the diasporic UW and the local UW (reasoning in terms of idiolect) is fading, much the same as national borders are disappearing as far as mobility is concerned. One can even observe that what McLaughlin calls the Dakar Wolof (2001) already contains within it a small percentage of English linguistic features (Chafer, 2019, May 10, Language in Africa Conference). This widening, ever so little, of the Wolof linguistic repertoire, was most likely occasioned by the influence of returning diasporic Senegalese from Anglophone parts of the world. The fading of the borders will allow for a more fluid form of languaging.

It is thus that UW should, I believe, be looked at, with mobility as a variable, and through the lenses of translanguaging, away from the rigidity of a code-based framework. Translanguaging is more in line with the dynamicity of UW because codeswitching, which is the framework on which most of the UW scholarship rests, presupposes the existence of distinct codes, a concept which has its validity but has, of late, been transcended by the translanguaging theory. As Jeffermans (2015) states, in view of the dynamic nature of languaging, the notion of named languages should not be considered the starting point of translingual analyses. Nevertheless, I have had to use such appellations as French, Wolof, or English for the purposes of analysis. This, indeed, is one of the many limitations about which I will have more to say in the following section.

### 7.5 Limitations

#### 7.5.1 Data collection and analysis

Despite my many attempts to apply the concept of bracketing out, as part of what Kahn (2000a) calls “reducing bias”, a concept also championed by phenomenological studies (see section 4.3), I should stress here that my membership in the speech community partly influences the analytical process of the data. My participation in, and interpretation of, speech events inform the nature of the reality to be discovered, tinged by personal perspective and personal bias. However, as part of my endeavour to minimise bias, the first step I took was to acknowledge that bias. I was aware that, as an in-group member, my understanding and interpretation of certain linguistic phenomena were bound to be influenced by my own identity as a Senegalese researcher.

The other limitation I would like to mention is that related to the transcription of the data which was partly influenced by my interpretivist stance. Therefore, I could not use a
naturalised transcription as would a positivist or adept of conversation analysis. As such, some features of what makes a faithful computerised verbal data have been omitted. My research has predominantly concentrated on the content of the conversations, in an effort to detect emerging themes. Consequently, some of the extralinguistic features of the speaker interactions were not accounted for. However, to compensate for that deficit, I endeavoured to include prosodic elements to maximise authenticity of the data. An emphasis on the form, though important in the study of multilingual discourses, would be beyond the scope of this study.

A few “problems” kept arising during the data collection process. My familiarity and friendship with the informants have caused some of the small group interviews to be transformed into generalised conversations, on account of the fact that other informants not directly concerned intrude to bring their opinion to an interaction they find interesting. Therefore, what generally starts as a fairly structured group interview ends in a general conversation. Nonetheless, I have taken advantage of those moments because those verbal events were generally in line with the questions to which I wanted answers. I therefore concur with Chilisa (2012, pp. 212-3) that, in an African context, it is customary for a group interview to be generalised into a “talking circle”. Furthermore “interviews that resemble conversations” (Kahn, 2000b, p. 61) are common in linguistic ethnographic studies. This is perhaps due to the spirit of “togetherness, sharing and doing things together” (2012, pp. 212-3) that Africans seem to find natural.

7.5.2 Representativeness

I should make it clear, too, that because of the nature of my research, I deliberately limited the number of my study participants to less than a dozen. As such, the study could be qualified as potentially lacking representativeness. However, this choice allowed me to concentrate on the qualitative nature of the multilingual discourse samples I had been collecting for the previous six months, my primary objective being the in situ examination of linguistic behaviour among Wolophone. Because I was interested in identifying speech patterns, it was seminal for me to collect a substantial amount of data over a long period of time but from a limited number of participants. This choice was not without some disadvantages.
For example, the nature of my data does not permit me to determine whether variables such as age and gender have a bearing on the way people (trans)language. The lack of quantitative data in terms of number of participants means that we cannot be so certain as to draw any conclusions relating to those variables. It would have been useful to minimise such problems as lack of representativeness by complementing what is already an ethnographically-informed research with a more enlarged study of the Wolophone community. However, my approach, which is closer to what Garcez (1997) calls microethnography, has its advantages as studying a larger community could cause researchers to concentrate more on biographical data and less on the face-to-face communicative events. I was more interested in specific language forms in a specific environment. Moreover, the small size of the researched enabled me to collect detailed accounts of storied data which would otherwise have proven difficult to analyse with a larger group.
References


References


References


References


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**List of illustrations**

**French sign 1.** Alamy.com (2021, March 7). Senegalese demonstration in London. https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcRZAzjsA83sGsy5nd_HsQ_B2qHIXo0Vfz0uGw&usqp=CAU


## Appendices

### Appendix A: Themes covered during weekly discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 1</th>
<th>Metalinguistic discussions (Translanguaging) / Attitude towards urban Wolof, Religion, conviviality, Ethnic group banter / Debate about the sociocultural aspects of the Senegalese society through soaps. Language learning, entrepreneurship (tontine, mortgages), Temps boy (reminiscing youth), African mentality (mention of Axell Kabou), blackness.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Week 2</td>
<td>Money transfers, jobs and taxes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 3</td>
<td>Money transfers, jobs and taxes / Studying in and applying to UK universities / Football / Use of Wolof / Attitudes to urban Wolof / Teaching Wolof in schools/ Françafrique / Blackness.</td>
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<td>Week 4</td>
<td>Good side of Senegalese society (ceremonies, lavish lifestyle) / How our family members treat us / the notion of stress in UK /</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 5</td>
<td>Economy / politics / society (accidents) / corruption / Foreign exploitation comparison with other countries / rivalry between blacks / gerontocracy / Blackness</td>
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<td>Week 6</td>
<td>Corruption, Bad governance, University Life (strikes over bursary payments, fights with police, murders, impunity = maslaa).</td>
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<td>Week 7</td>
<td>Franco-Senegalese relations / Françafrique/ Food / Ethnic banter. [The notion of jom / fulla / faaayda (roughly, determination, good work ethic) Vs Idleness back home: the desire to always be different front people back home / Blackness. Embracing some good European habits / Comparing the West with Africa.</td>
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<td>Week 8</td>
<td>Languages [French and English as spoken by the Senegalese: students or teachers who do not master the language of instruction] schooling system: language of education</td>
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<td>Week 9</td>
<td>Elitism: analphabetism/ women / How elites are using French to pull the wool over the masses / complexés (Françafrique) Africans Vs Afro-Americans (compare Mourtalla’s comment with Donald Trump’s words about the Senegalese) / Black Pride. Kujje / wujjante</td>
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<td>Week 10</td>
<td>protection against cat ak lammin [witch doctors / wrestlers]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 11</td>
<td>racism / self-criticism / blackness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 12</td>
<td>Football / fulle / Blackness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 14</td>
<td>Metalinguistic discussions (Wolof mastery / translanguaging - jaxase )/ rus / the Fulani’s attitude towards the Wolof / The question of does Wolof ethnic group really exist? / Ethnic groups and Wolof domination / Food / ethnic banter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 15</td>
<td>[Culture clash Wolof-English - Driving Test - Applying to UK universities - Going back home to work - View on urban Wolof (vrai wolof) - Wolofal: wolof bu normal - Wodd sa wolof - Age factor - Associating urban wolof with the idea of bokk]</td>
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<td>Week 17</td>
<td>Weekly series of demonstrations in Senegal: Whole time spent watching TV: activists’ demonstrations against the current political regime in Senegal / Politics</td>
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<td>Week 18</td>
<td>Whole time spent watching TV: activists’ demonstrations against the current political regime in Senegal / Politics / blackness</td>
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<td>Weekly series of demonstrations in Senegal: Whole time spent watching TV: activists’ demonstrations against the current political regime in Senegal / Politics</td>
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<td>Week 20</td>
<td>Weekly series of demonstrations in Senegal: Whole time spent watching TV: activists’ demonstrations against the current political regime in Senegal / Politics</td>
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<td>Week 22</td>
<td>Money transfers, work, entrepreneurship, nit ku ñuul, blackness.</td>
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<td>Week 23</td>
<td>African economy, racism, neighbouring countries, blackness, Food / Ethnic banter</td>
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<td>Week 24</td>
<td>American literature, racism, Africanness, blackness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 25</td>
<td>Corruption, African economy, blackness, neighbouring countries</td>
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<td>Week 26</td>
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### Appendix B: Thematic categorisation

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<th>LIFE IN THE UK</th>
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<td>Ethnicity</td>
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<td>1. Ethnic banter</td>
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<td>2. Wolof and national identity</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Politics, elitism, and gerontocracy</td>
<td>Migrant parlance</td>
<td>Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Mysticism</td>
<td>2. Cultural issues seen through soaps</td>
<td>2. Rural Wolof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependence, passivity, and rivalry</td>
<td>4. Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>4. Metalanguage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Indiscipline, laxity, and lack of proactivity</td>
<td>5. Global Senegality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nit ku nuul</td>
<td>6. Humour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Relationship with emigrants</td>
<td>7. Negritude and racism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Senegal neexna</td>
<td>8. Modernity and all things technological</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>9. The culture of food</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work related issues</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Money, jobs and business</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Sample group interview

Group interview 2 : Mourtalla, Babacar, Saliou, Tapha

Aziz: Gis nga terme "Neddò, ko bandum" tekkiwul ne man pël la donc pël yi rek laay dimbali de. Vraie traduction u "Neddò, ko bandum" mooy "Nit, nit ay garab am".

Mourtalla: Annh kon niñu ko traduire e moo baaxul.

Aziz: Waaw.

Babacar: Mais yeen (as in the Fula people), ni ngeen ko jàppée mooy nit ak mbókkam rek.

Yeën Pël yi noonu ngeen ko jàppée.

Saliou: Sama best copain pël la mais suma demaan seen galle papa-am daf ma daan jëw:

"Jolfo ! Joffo !" (meaning a Wolof person in Fulani); mu naa nyay: "Accu Jolfo !"

Tapha: Bàyyil Wolof. Looy def ak Wolof ?

Aziz: Loolu moom doyna waar de ?

Saliou: Te man xawmawoon lan mooy loolu de, mais bi ma xamiee limuy tékki gayn ma mer !

Babacar: Gisoo jàngu pël yi xanaa: "Assalaamu aleykum bandiraannë, min calminii on. Yeën wolof yi nak, na ngeen lékk pombiteer bi te bayyi yàpp bi.

[GENERAL LAUGHTER]

Tapha: Mais nak seen attitude bi c'est normal parce que société boo jel dafay am bourgeoisie.

Aziz: Xam nga différent bi entre ñun ak sereer yi mooy sereer yi ñoom daàn decrease nangu domination wolof bi alors que ñun nak daànyu bañ.

Mourtala: Mais xam nga lan mooy problène bi mooy Senegal pour nga gis wolof mooy problène ?

Tapha: Wolof dëgg sax moo amul. Wolof yi mooy ñï mixës rek.

Babacar: Aziz, loolu ngay wax mooy sereer yi assimilës yi, mooy sereer yiyy dundu ci rééw u taax yi, mais sereer yi nekk village, ñóofu gayn daànyu bañ ! Booy làkk wolof ci seen wet sax ñû ne...waay yow !

Saliou: Loolu nak baaxul de. Loolu baaxul.

Tapha: C'est normal.

Babacar: Dëkk ba nii saa waay, soo fa demee ni di làkk wolof gayn dañu lay kii de...

Mourtala: Wax dëgg nak boo nékkee foo xam ni ñëp ay sereer lañu looy làkk wolof ?

Tapha: Wolof moom brassage la ; du éthnie quoi.

Aziz: Mais kon ñan ñooy vraï wolof yi Senegal ?

Babacar: Wolof, wolof du éthnie. Xam nga wolof lan la ? C'est un besoin de communication qui a fait que le wolof soit né...
Tapha: ...entre le sereer, pël, joola...

Babacar: ...parce que dañuy tase entre joola, sereer, saraxole...you know, pël, il faut ñu wax seen biir quoi.

Aziz: Mais lebu yi nak ? Lebu ay olof lañu.

Babacar: Lebu yi ay sereer lañu.

Mourtalla: Non du ñëp ñooy ay sereer de. Lebu yi dafa am ay communauté yuñu boole ; amna ay sereer ci biir, amna...
Appendix D: Interview questions about participants’ views on translanguaging

(Translation from Wolof)

1. Many of you have said that translanguaging is the ease and fluidity with which we use Wolof, English, and French. How do you feel when you are speaking the way you do (mixing native Wolof, French, and English linguistic features)?

2. Have you ever been told that speaking like that is not appropriate in certain situations?

3. Do you think in certain situations we should not speak like that?

4. Would you speak like that to Macky Sall (Senegal’s president) or to your religious leader? Why? Why not?

5. How often do you speak to your religious leader back home?

6. Would you speak like that to your religious leader now if you were on the phone to him? Why? Why not?

7. How do you speak with your family back home?

8. Have they noticed any change in the way you speak? What do they say to you?

9. How do you think speak urban Wolof the way we do here in UK helped us in life?

10. Do you think urban Wolof should be used as a language of instruction in Senegalese schools?
Appendix E: Sample participant observation

Ramadan at Tapha’s [Translanguaging, Religion, conviviality, Debate about the Sociocultural aspects of the Senegalese society through soaps]

Tapha: [laughter] mimuto!!
Aziz: Non “minuti” la
Tapha: [laughter] Demb dama jekki jekki rek degg “minuti” rek ma ree ha ha
Aziz: Minuti pluriel la quoi
Mame Diarra: heure julli bi ŋaari minute-a ci des de.
Tapha: ah balaa ngay julli kay dog ba pare
Babacar: Man damai tangal sama biir de
Tapha: café moom au moins. Su leen neexee tamit ŋu door leen buru ak beurre de
Babacar: deedeet man buma lekke mburu duma reer, joxal Aziz
Aziz: waaw mayma ma dagg
Babacar: man moom naa am café rek
Mame Diarra: doo laal ci mburu mi?
Babacar: non baaxna, café rek
Aziz: Mais Tapha lu tax nga wax minuto? Foo deggee loolu?
Tapha: [laughter] Non dama juum. Minuti la. [laughter]; “-to” bi kay xawma fuma ko jëlee.
Mame Diarra: Waaw minuto mooy singulare bi.
Tapha: Ah yeah mooy singular bi quoi. Ah waaw kay, juumuma kon
Tapha: Waay daggal mburu bi ngay nekk di…
Aziz: Non baax na
Tapha: ...caaxaan ni, mo! Da ngay caaxaan!
Babacar: Dati na mburu waay!
Tapha: Yow da ngay foo
Aziz: Dati na mburu
Tapha: Mame Diarra day julli
Babacar: Tegal ko gum noonu. Eh yow mbaa defalulooma sa suukër yooyu…?
Tapha: suukër al naa la kay ba mu lem [laughter]
Aziz: Yow ana sa kaas
Tapha: Man sama bos-a ngi. Mame Diarra moom kii lay naan, meew lay naan. Jotna walla jotul?
Mame Diarra: Cinquante quatre lañu wax de
Tapha: Waa jotna ! Jotna ! Jotna ! [laughter]
Babacar: Des na benn minute de
Tapha: Yow toogal foofu
Babacar: Benn minute de duma ci yaqq sama koor
Tapha: Yow da ngay foo waay ! (ref to Saa Neex)
Aziz: [laughter]
Babacar: Ana tandarma ji? Tandarma ji de neenañu nai tóól
Aziz: Waaw, ñett; ñett jëm kaw.

[Announcement from radio of iftaar]

Babacar: Uzu billahi mina shaitaani rajiim, bissmillahi ramaani rahiim
Tapha: Yow toogal foofu di xaar, lii machine la [laughter]
Babacar: Yow sa chaise bu ndaw bii. Xaw ma chaison lañu ko wara wax xawma chaisette.
Tapha: [laughter]
Babacar: Soxna ci tandarmaa ngi noonu de
Mame Diarra: Hmm merci.
Tapha: Yow yaa ngi burger de, mbaar dinga añ ci ginaar gi?
Mame Diarra: dinaa añ kay ndaxte lii tuuti la
Babacar: Waxko dina burger dinaa ginaar
Tapha: Alhamdulillahi rabbil aalamiin
Babacar: man nak koor gi nii, dumay xiif de xawma lan la. Man cafe moo mai sonnal
Aziz: Hunh?
Babacar: Il faut ma naan lu tangg quoi
Mame Diarra: Sama yaay tamit noonu la mel
Tapha: Monsieur l’imam
Aziz: Imaam Babs
Babacar: Aziz moo am njàpp bu bees
Tapha: Kon Aziz mooy jiite
Aziz: Non duma jiite
Tapha: Kon Abdou Aziz ñëwël. Nga jangal nu suratu Yaasin
Aziz: Yaasin dafa gudd
Babacar: Li njaagu bi waxoon imaam bi doon jangg Yaasin ba caŋ: yow falaxi nekk fi naasi

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nekk fi ngay yobbu nit ñi Yaasin. Moo taxit kenn gagantni wu ko de
Tapha: LAUGHTER
Aziz: julli leen maa ngi ñëw
Babacar: Ñun nak ndox lañ fattee indaale
Tapha: Ndox a ngi nii, ñaari buteel
Babacar: Yalla nañu Yalla nangul suñu koor. Yalla nañu Yalla ubbil buntu xééwël. Yalla
nañu Yalla daqqal sejaane ak musiba.
Tapha: Amiin
Aziz: Amiin
Mame Diarra: Amiin
Tapha: Yalla may ñu ay milliard de pound [laughter]. Mame Diarra ne-al amiin, ay milliard
pound laa ñaan de baaxna
Mame Diarra: Amiin
Tapha: Ma bayyi one minute walla ñu yekk leegi?
Babacar: Lekk nañu muru de xaaral
Aziz: Bon ça depend ci climat bi rek hein
Tapha: kon ma bayyi one minute. Mame Diarra kon bayyil ma bayyi après nga gérer ko?
Mama Diarra: hanh?
Tapha: Après ma bayyi boo ñëwee aprèse nga yekk rek
Mame Diarra: Waa kon baaxna.
Aziz: Maashalla
Babacar: Eh yaw Moustapha amoofiiwoon kurus?
Tapha: Hanh?
Babacar: Amoofiiwoon kurus anamu?
Tapha: Kuras mi ngi nii sama...auto. Xaaral ma joxlako.
Babacar: You don’t need the sugar anymore now, do you?
Tapha: No. We can use it now. Where is my key?
[***]
Tapha: Laa i laay la ilallay Fall Laay i…
[***]
Aziz: Mourtalla nga bokkal walla…?
Mame Diarra: Tante MBayang ak tonton Mourtalla ñoom ñaar yëp laa bokkal, ndax tonton
Mourtalla moom ak sama papa ai cousin lañu
# Appendix F: NVIVO Thematic analysis

## Open coding - Categories - Themes

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Appendix G: Wolof keyboard

Mode d’emploi
Pour écrire directement avec le clavier d’ordinateur :

- taper à = e = e+ = o pour obtenir un diacritique : â ê ô
- taper ni = n+ = pour obtenir fi
Appendix H: Participant Information Sheet

Title of Project: Urban Wolof in an Anglophone setting: a case study of Wolophones living in the UK.

Researcher: Mr Abdoul Aziz Dieng (abdoul.dieng@port.ac.uk)

Supervisors: Dr Mario Saraceni (Mario.saraceni@port.ac.uk), Dr Glenn Hadikin (glenn.hadikin@port.ac.uk), and Prof Tony Chafer (tony.chafer@port.ac.uk)

Ethics Committee Reference Number:

Note: Although PIS is oral, participants will be provided with all relevant contact details on paper.

I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. I would like to explain to you what this research consists of. This should take 10 minutes. Do ask if anything is unclear. I will be the one conducting the research as part of a PhD. It is up to you to decide if you want to volunteer for the study. I will leave you a week, to think about it.

This study is concerned with how Senegalese Wolophones speak Wolof here in UK. This is an important study because it will help academics working on multilingualism. It will also help society as a whole understand complex multilingual practices. I am seeking participants (male and female over 18) who are originally from the urban areas of Senegal and have lived in UK for at least a year. If everyone agrees, I will use our weekly venue (here) for the research.

My methods for collecting data will be group interviews (30 minutes at a time) and participant observation (appr. 2 hours). As there are only around 10 of you (you are all over 18), I’d like you all to participate (i.e., no selection). I will audio record all interviews and discussions during observation. You may also see me taking notes while I am observing you. I may also need to take photographs of the venue but none of you will be in them. The data will be transcribed and anonymised. This process of collecting data may last a few months. The aims of the interviews are to see a) how Wolof has changed in the way it is spoken here in UK, especially with the influence of English and b) to see how you feel about how you speak Wolof now.

The analyses of the data will allow me to draw certain conclusions and elaborate theories about how Senegalese nationals use Wolof in UK. If, during the interviews, you feel I’ve asked you something that you do not want to talk about, you should let me know and I will stop. Let me make a small precision here before I proceed: there is the moral duty to society...
where I will have to report confidential information to relevant departments. That could include, for example, something you may say that could pose a danger to society.

During the project, I will make sure that the storage of your data meets the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)’s safeguards required to store and process personal data and that includes data that could identify you. To store the data, I will use a folder on my department K-Drive, which is very secure. During the project, personal data will be linked-anonymised [I will explain to them what it is]. The linked-anonymised data will be held in this form for the duration of the research, which is about 3 years.

At the end of my project, anonymized research data (transcripts only) will be made open access as per the university policy, to allow other researchers to re-use them. I plan to deposit my research data in an international repository. This affords greater visibility. No data will be used in any future research unless it has obtained a favourable ethical opinion from an ethical committee.

The School of Languages and Applied Linguistics of the University of Portsmouth wishes to process your personal data (that is, collect, use, store and destroy data that identifies you) as part of the research on translanguaging. When I cease my association with the UoP, it is the responsibility of the department to safeguard the data.

If you have any queries about this project, please contact Dr Mario Saraceni mario.saraceni@port.ac.uk. If you have any general queries about how your data will be processed, please contact the University’s Data Protection Officer, Samantha Hill, using any of the following contact details:

Samantha Hill, 023 9284 3642 or information-matters@port.ac.uk
University House, Winston Churchill Avenue, Portsmouth, Hampshire, PO1 2UP, UK

Although you have the right to request a copy of the personal data we hold about you, to restrict the use of your personal data, to be forgotten, to data portability, and to withdraw your consent for the use of your data, it is possible that we may not be able to fully comply with those rights where your data has been used for the research and / or has been anonymised. For more information on your rights in general, please see the information on the following links: http://www.port.ac.uk/departments/services/corporategovernance/gdpr/

You also have the right to lodge a complaint about the use of your personal data to initially the University (email information-matters@port.ac.uk) and then, if you are unhappy with our
Appendices

response, to the Information Commissioner’s Office (ICO) – for more information please see https://ico.org.uk/for-the-public/raising-concerns/.

As a volunteer you can stop any participation in interviews and/or participant observation at any time, or withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason if you do not wish to. If you do withdraw from a study after some data have been collected, you will be asked if you are content for the data collected thus far to be retained and included in the study. If you prefer, the data collected can be destroyed and not included in the study. Once the research has been completed, and the data analysed, it will not be possible for you to withdraw your data from the study.

If you have a query, concern, or complaint about any aspect of this study, in the first instance you should contact me. You can also contact my supervisor Dr Mario Saraceni with details of the complaint.

If your concern or complaint is not resolved by the researcher or their supervisor, you should contact the Head of Department: Stephen Corbett stephen.corbett@port.ac.uk; Telephone: 02392845200; School of School of Languages and Applied Linguistics, University of Portsmouth, Park Building, King Henry 1 Street, Portsmouth PO1 2DZ.

If the complaint remains unresolved, please contact: The University Complaints Officer: 023 9284 3642 complaintsadvice@port.ac.uk

This research is self-funded. None of the researchers or study staff will receive any financial reward by conducting this study, other than their normal salary / bursary as an employee / student of the University.

Research involving human participants is reviewed by an ethics committee to ensure that the dignity and well-being of participants is respected. This study has been reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee and been given favourable ethical opinion.

Thank you for taking time to listen to this information and for considering volunteering for this research.
Appendix I: Consent form

Title of Project: A linguistic ethnographic approach of Urban Wolof in an Anglophone setting: a case study of Senegalese Wolophones in the United Kingdom

Name and Contact Details of Researcher: Abdoul Dieng; email: abdoul.dieng@port.ac.uk
Name and Contact Details of Supervisor: Dr Mario Saraceni; email: mario.saraceni@port.ac.uk
University Data Protection Officer: Samantha Hill, 023 9284 3642 or data-protection@port.ac.uk
Ethics Committee Reference Number:

1. I confirm that I have listened to and understood the information communicated to me by Abdoul Dieng for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that data collected (from interviews and observation) during this study will be processed in accordance with data protection law as explained by Abdoul Dieng.

4. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant: Date: Signature:

Name of Person taking Consent: Date: Signature:

Note: When completed, one copy to be given to the participant, one copy to be retained in the study file.
Appendix J: Oral consent script

Hello again, I’m from the University of Portsmouth and I wanted to talk to you about the project I gave you information about last week. Here are the principal research aims of my project: I am looking to see how urban Wolof has changed in the way we speak it in UK. For that I will need samples of spoken Wolof collected from observing and interviewing informants.

Are you still interested in taking part in the project? [----------]

To make sure you understand what’s involved for you, I’d like to confirm some of the details of the project:

- It’s a project about how Wolophones speak Wolof in UK and it’s part of my PhD research.
- If you agree to participate, I’ll need you to take part in a group interview lasting approximately 30 minutes at our usual weekly gathering place here (in Southampton). Furthermore, I will need to audio record naturally occurring conversation in which I will be a participant observer. The observation could last up to 2 hours.
- Some aspects of the interview you may find distressing as I’ll be asking for your opinions about issues you may find sensitive.
- You don’t have to agree to take part; you can ask me any questions you want before or throughout; you can also withdraw at any stage without giving a reason.
- I will go off with the data gathered for analysis. If you chose to withdraw at a later point, I will work towards destroying the data you’ve provided.
- You are aware that a University of Portsmouth Research Ethics committee has approved this research project. You also know how to contact me (in the first instance) or the committee in case you may have any concerns or complaints. I have given you the project’s ethics reference number and relevant contact details. I’ll confirm those details again with you [ … ]
- I won’t keep any of your details for longer than necessary / I won’t use your name next to data you provide unless you would like to be named. / Can I have your permission to quote you directly in research publications?
- I will store any information you provide safely and confidentially. I will be using my department K-Drive, a secure folder that only I will have access to. I will keep the research data as an identifiable form only for as long as necessary. I will store it safely as
soon as I possibly can. During the research any personal data will be linked-anonymised \textit{[explain to participant what that is]}. I intend to make my research open access so I will make sure the data is fully anonymised prior to sharing.

Are you still willing to take part? Do you give your permission for me to interview and audio record you, to observe and audio record you for the duration of the research? Do you give your permission for me to re-contact you to clarify information?

[-----] So if you’re happy with all of that, and have no more questions, let’s start.
### Appendix K: Case profiles

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<td>Senegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal languages</td>
<td>Wolof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional languages spoken</td>
<td>English, French</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix L: Authorisations for Mourides to parade in Manhattan and Atlanta

The following is the approval, in 1988, by David N. Dinkins, President of the Borough of Manhattan:

WHEREAS: Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke of Touba-Senegal, West Africa was among the most charismatic and effective leader of this century; and WHEREAS: To honour his distinguished memory and his outstanding achievement for the benefit of African personality and culture; and WHEREAS: His venerated son Cheikh Mourtalla Mbacke of Touba Senegal has come in Harlem to visit his thousands of followers and admirers; and THEREFORE: The Senegalese Murid Community and the people of Harlem are proud to seize this opportunity to salute as a great leader Cheikh Mourtalla Mbacke and to proclaim this day July 28th, 1988 to be known as: ‘CHEIKH AHMADOU BAMBA MBACKE’ in Harlem. IN WITNESS WHEREOF I HAVE HERETO SET MY HAND AND CAUSED THE OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN TO BE AFFIXED THIS 28th DAY OF JULY 1988”.


The following approval was signed by the Mayor of Atlanta

“City of Atlanta. Office of the Mayor. Cheikh Mourtalla M’Backe Day. Whereas, The City of Atlanta is honoured to welcome Cheikh Mourtalla M’Backe, the Second in leadership line of the Mouride Sufi Order of Touba-Senegal, West Africa to our great city on August 11, 1997; and Whereas, Cheikh Mourtalla M’Backe is the son Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba M’Backe, founder of the Mouride Sufi Movement, the non-violent movement which was a major influence in the liberation of Senegal; and Whereas, Cheikh Mourtalla M’Backe carries on his father’s work to liberate his people through religion, education and economic prosperity and used his personal funds to establish over 400 hundred schools with more than 4,500 teachers in Senegal, Gambia, Gabon, parts of Europe and the United States; and Whereas, We honor Cheikh Mourtalla M’Backe for his lifelong devotion to improving the educational, religious, economic and social welfare of people around the world and commend him for his outstanding academic excellence, superior professional accomplishments, and leadership abilities: Now, therefore, I, Bill Campbell, Mayor of Atlanta, on behalf of the citizens of Atlanta, hereby proclaim August 11, 1997, as Cheikh Mourtalla M’Backe in our City and urge all citizens to be cognizant of the events arranged during his visit”

Appendix M: Sample follow-up elicitation via WhatsApp

Ok will do

Ci ngay foottè say yèrè 😊

Fri 30 Apr

Wa comme d’habitude 😊

00:32

Tuesday

Salut alladji comment tu définirais “mbambulan” roughly?

16:03

Wednesday

Jouissance or lapping it up it in which context

00:50


=> Donc it makes sense. Merci

01:37
Appendix N: sample one-to-one interview

Aziz : Première question, leegi loo xalaat ci wolof bii ñuy làkk biir Angleterre ?


Aziz: Est-ce que leegi wolof bii ngay làkk soo demoon Sénégal toog ak benn kilifa, est-ce que même Wolof bi ngay làkk ?

Tapha: Non, suma toogoon ak kilifa moom yaakaaruma ne wolof bii laay làkk.

Aziz : Pourquoi ?

Tapha: Duma làkk wolof bii. Dinaa ko changer bu baax a baax. Ça dépend nak ci... ban genre u kilifa la nak. Ku nekk rek ak tolluwaayam… parce que wolof bi may làkk nii yaakaaruma kilifa yi comprendree ko man ni ma ko déggee, ba pare...uh...kilifa bo di wax ak moom da nga ci wara boole lu melni respect ak...teggin, ak teggin yi.

Aziz : Leegi dama seetlu, su fekkee yow yaangi kasu benn affaire boo xam ne Sénégal la xewee, ay problème politique walla économique, sa wolof bi day bari français trop, lu waral loolu ?

Tapha: Waaw dama yaakaar ne ni ma daan déggee politique Sénégal laa ko yaakaar daal, xam nga politique Senegal français la ñuy wax li ci ëpp, ak wolof, waaw defenaa nak sama formation politique daal nima ko doon déggee noonu laa ko gënnee quoi.

Aziz : Dama seetlu aussi su fekkee yaangi waxtaane sa mbir u liggeeyukaay, walla mbirum yonnee xaalis, walla sax mbir u football, sa wolof bi day bari Anglais trop.

Tapha: Waaw comme ni mala kay waxe rek dama tege ne influence-u milieu bi la quoi, xam nga, donc... comme que ñoo ngi England, dañuy dugal influence-u England bi. Bu ñu nekkee nak Sénégal ñu wax wax-u Sénégal donc...dugal français bi. Loolu daal laa ko yaakaar, milieu bi ñu nekk la rek.

Aziz : Est-ce yaakar nga ne wolof bii ñuy làkk, comme moom lañu gën a man, muy fii muy Sénégal, duñu ko wara man a jëfandikoo ci écoles yi ?

Tapha: Waaw ci déggin yi la rek. Ci déggin yi la. Pour man, langue bi moom originale bi moo gën waaye ca depend ci ñi ngay waxal ak ñi lay déglu, waw, bu fekkee ni yaw yaa ngi wax ak ay anglophone, yow bu a ci dugalee anglais du graaw, bu a ci dugalee français du graaw, mais bu a nekkée ci diggante ci nak, tey nga duggu fii duggu fale, am na groupe bu a xam ne du la comprendre, waaw donc originale bi daal moo gën moom bu a ko mënoon. Mais ndax nèpp déggañu originale bi tamit c'est une question.

Aziz : Est-ce que amoo loo ci yokk ?

Tapha: Waaw jaajëf Baay Faal ! Xam naa nak sa sujet bi c'est tres important parce que c'est une forme d'ouverture... uh... toward the world yeah? vers le monde donc ... les langues africaines yii di gén au di...jaxasoo ak yeneen langues yi, elles vont s'enrichir, en meme
temps, mais aussi elles vont enrichir les autres... yeneen langues yi quoi. Waaw loolu lepp xeewël la daal I fink... It's very good subject. Jaajëf !

Aziz: Jaajëf Baay.
Appendix O: Ethics approval letter

FAVOURABLE ETHICAL OPINION (with conditions)

Name: Abdoul (Aziz) Dieng

Study Title: Urban Wolof outside Senegal: morpho-syntactic change in urban Wolof in an anglophone setting: a case study of Wolofones living in Southampton, UK

Reference Number: FHSS 2019.049

Date: 16/09/2019

Thank you for resubmitting your application to the FHSS Ethics Committee and for making the requested changes/clarifications.

I am pleased to inform you that FHSS Ethics Committee was content to grant a favourable ethical opinion of the above research on the basis described in the submitted document listed at Annex A, and subject to standard general conditions (See Annex B). 

With this there are a number of ethical conditions to comply with, and some additional advisory notes you may wish to consider, all shown below.

Condition(s)¹

1. The fact that the researcher knows all the participants means that there is a potential role conflict. This could, for example, allow too much personal data to be included by accident or allow the researcher to exert too great an influence on the data. This needs to be guarded against (see advisory note below).

2. It is somewhat unclear as to whether data from group interviews will also be analysed for linguistic trends, or if it serves another purpose (e.g. attitudes to language). The first 15 questions seem somewhat unrelated to attitudes to language (and some seem very vaguely connected to the study). The purpose of the interview should be made clear to interviewees.

Advisory Note(s)²

A. Consideration could be given to identifying and approaching a different group – one not known to the researcher.

B. It is a little unclear as to why consent is obtained in English rather than the participants’ strongest language (Wolof?). Whilst ethics committee can only be expected to understand English, a translated consent form would be expected.

C. The researcher might like to give some thought to future publication plans.

Please note that the favourable opinion of FHSS Ethics Committee does not grant permission or approval to undertake the research/work. Management permission or approval must be obtained from any host organisation, including the University of Portsmouth or supervisor, prior to the start of the study.

¹ A favourable opinion will be dependent upon the study adhering to the conditions stated, which are based on the application document(s) submitted. It is appreciated that Principal Investigators may wish to challenge conditions or propose amendments to these in the resubmission to this ethical review.

² The comments are given in good faith and it is hoped they are accepted as such. The PI does not need to adhere to these, or respond to them, unless they wish to.
Appendices

Ethics approval letter (continued 1)

Wishing you every success in your research

Chair
Mr Richard Hitchcock
Email: ethics-fhess@port.ac.uk

Annexes
A - Documents reviewed
B - After ethical review

ANNEX A - Documents reviewed
The documents ethically reviewed for this application

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Application Form</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02/09/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Information Sheet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02/09/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consent Form</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>09/09/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer/Independent Review</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02/09/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor Email Confirming Application</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02/09/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Questions/ Topic List</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02/09/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Script for Oral Consent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>02/09/2019</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANNEX B - After ethical review

1. This Annex sets out important guidance for those with a favourable opinion from a University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee. Please read the guidance carefully. A failure to follow the guidance could lead to the committee reviewing and possibly revoking its opinion on the research.

2. It is assumed that the work will commence within 1 year of the date of the favourable ethical opinion or the start date stated in the application, whichever is the latest.

3. The work must not commence until the researcher has obtained any necessary management permissions or approvals – this is particularly pertinent in cases of research hosted by external organisations. The appropriate head of department should be aware of a member of staff’s plans.

www.port.ac.uk
4. If it is proposed to extend the duration of the study beyond that stated in the application, the Ethics Committee must be informed.

5. Any proposed substantial amendments must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for review. A substantial amendment is any amendment to the terms of the application for ethical review, or to the protocol or other supporting documentation approved by the Committee that is likely to affect to a significant degree:
   a. the safety or physical or mental integrity of participants
   b. the scientific value of the study
   c. the conduct or management of the study.

   5.1 A substantial amendment should not be implemented until a favourable ethical opinion has been given by the Committee.

6. At the end of the work a final report should be submitted to the ethics committee. A template for this can be found on the University Ethics webpage.

7. Researchers are reminded of the University’s commitments as stated in the Concordat to Support Research Integrity viz:
   - maintaining the highest standards of rigour and integrity in all aspects of research
   - ensuring that research is conducted according to appropriate ethical, legal and professional frameworks, obligations and standards
   - supporting a research environment that is underpinned by a culture of integrity and based on good governance, best practice and support for the development of researchers
   - using transparent, robust and fair processes to deal with allegations of research misconduct should they arise
   - working together to strengthen the integrity of research and to reviewing progress

8. In ensuring that it meets these commitments the University has adopted the UKRI Code of Practice for Research. Any breach of this code may be considered as misconduct and may be investigated following the University Procedure for the Investigation of Allegations of Misconduct in Research. Researchers are advised to use the UKRI checklist as a simple guide to integrity.
Appendix P: Form UPR 16

FORM UPR 16
Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Research Degrees Operational Handbook for more information).

Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information

Student ID: 764017

PGRS Name: ABDOU AZIZ DIENG

Department: SLAL

First Supervisor: DR MARIO SARACENI

Start Date: OCTOBER 2018

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University’s Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:

(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration?</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Candidate Statement:

I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):

FHSS 2019-049

If you have not submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered ‘No’ to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

Signed (PGRS): Date: 29/12/2021