

Fouta-Djallon multilingualism

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The notion of **Small-scale multilingualism** and the linguistic situation in **Fouta-Djallon**

Singer & Harris (2016):

1. Community members each speak a number of Indigenous languages.
2. **Each Indigenous language has a small number of speakers (<5,000).**
3. Marriages between people with different main languages is obligatory or common.
4. Multiple languages are used within each family and household group.

→ The situation in **Fouta-Djallon** does not correspond to all criteria of small-scale multilingualism

Overview of the talk

I. Linguistic landscape of Fouta-Djallon

- Linguistic inventory: Kakabe, Pular, Maninka, Susu, ...
- Geographical distribution, history, administrative/economic centers
- mostly monolingual villages vs. multilingual administrative centers

II. An example of linguistic biography:

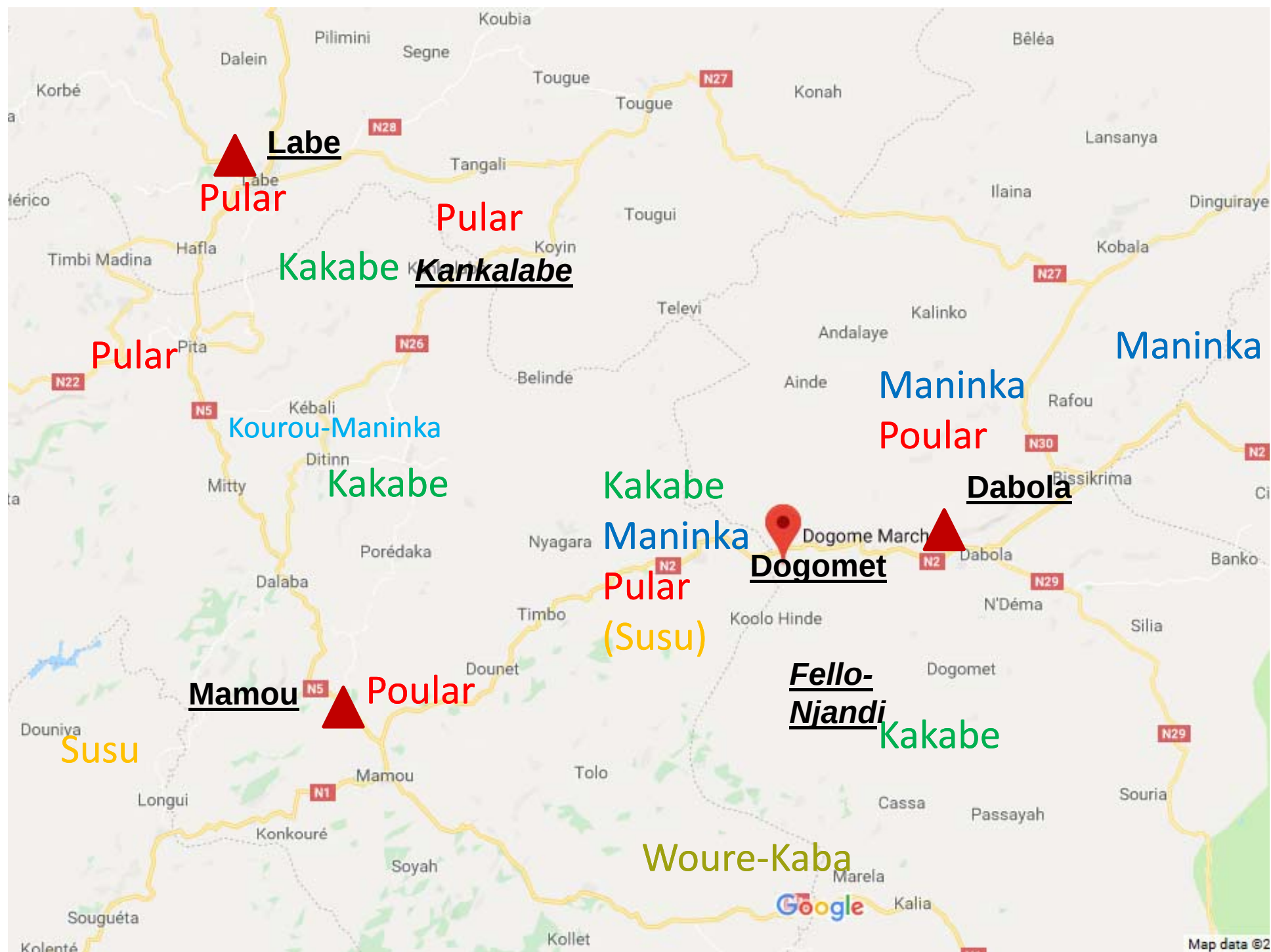
- Ansoumane Camara

III. Cases of speech situations: interference and code-switching

- **marabout session**: Maninka and Arabic as the languages of “ritual force”
- **electoral campaign**: Kakabe as means of group belonging with Maninka sipping in (and even Pular)
- **tale**: Maninka/Pular as demarcation of the specificity of characters

I. Linguistic landscape: Fouta-Djallon





Languages spoken

Mande:

Maninka (3 000 000)

Kakabe (~ 50 000, but considerable dialectal variation)

Woure-Kaba (?)

Kourou-Maninka (?)

Susu (1 000 000)

Poular (Atlantic)

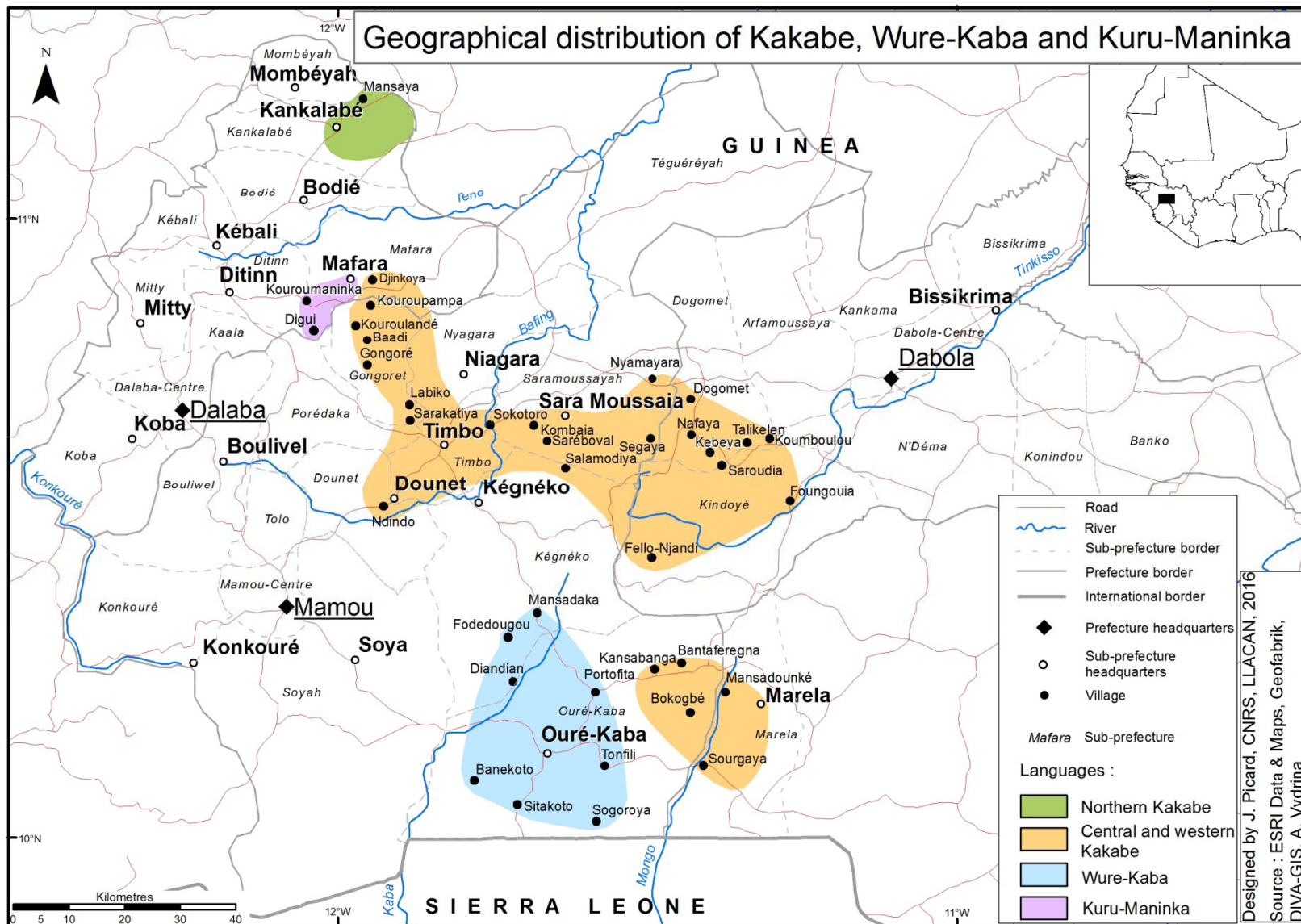
French (Romance)

Arabic (Semitic)



Fulbe state, slavery

- Fulbe Jihad to Fouta-Djallon in 18th, Islamic state, local population reduced to slavery
- Slavery institution (Botte 1991, 1994)
 - separate villages for slaves and for Fulbe
 - no access to Islam, to quranic schools
- Fulbe are more dominant in the North-Western Part of the Kakabe zone



Kakabe and Fulbe

AM: How did it happen that now our people, they started to abandon their language and to take up the Pular language?

MD: It is the slavery and the fact that you don't have control over yourselves. You're called Camara, you would go and say it is Bari of Diallo

MK: Yes, you do not respect yourself

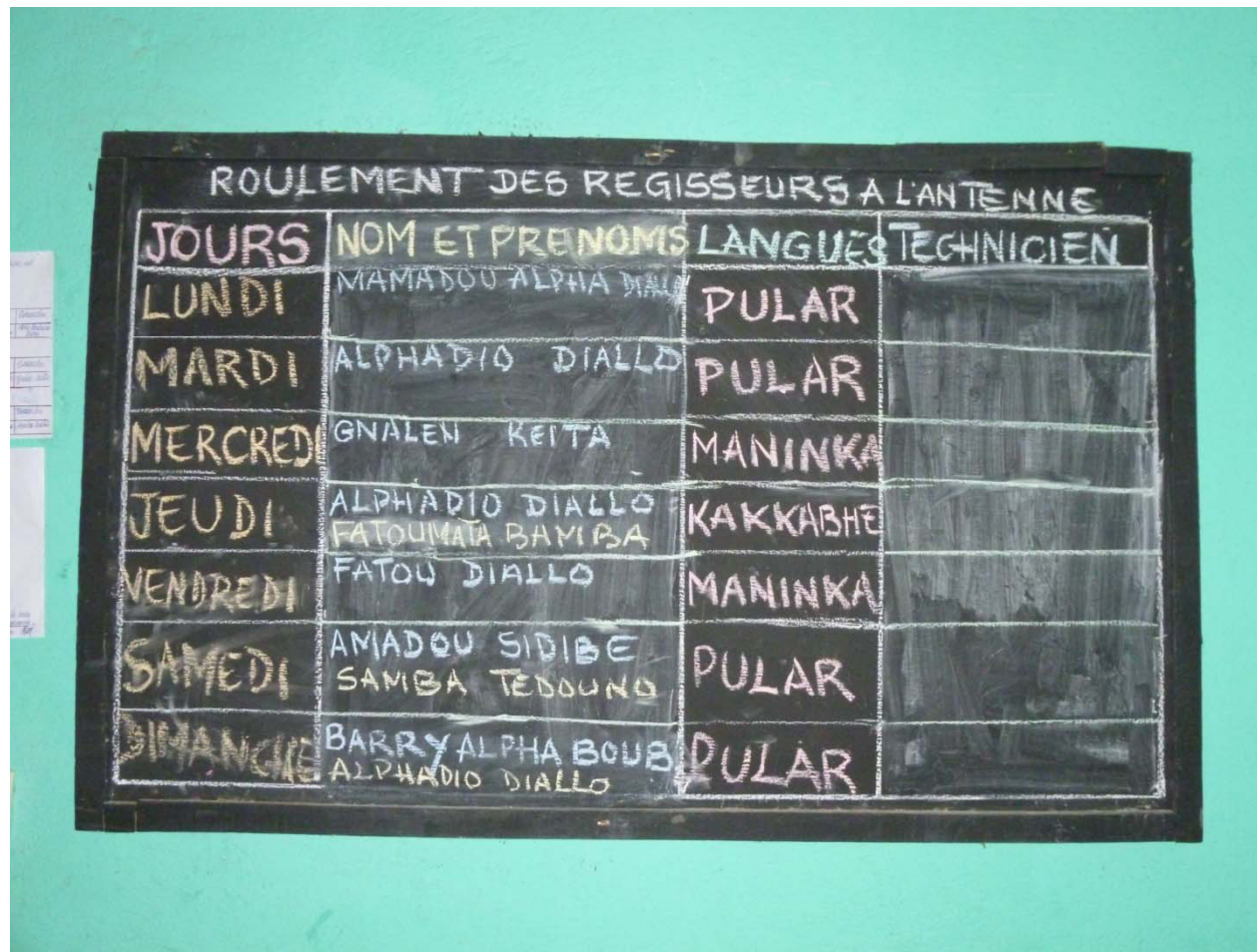


Dogomet: a multilingual town

- sub-prefecture center
- population: 24,000 (2014)
- big market, secondary school
- radio station: broadcasting in Pular, Maninka and Kakabe
- Railroad station (1953-1993) → families of railroad workers coming to work to Dogomet
 - ➔ Kampaman, district of Dogomet, inhabited mostly by families from a Susu region (near Kindiya)

Rural radio station in Dogomet

- Broadcasting in Pular, Maninka and Kakabe
- Does not cover the whole Kakabe zone



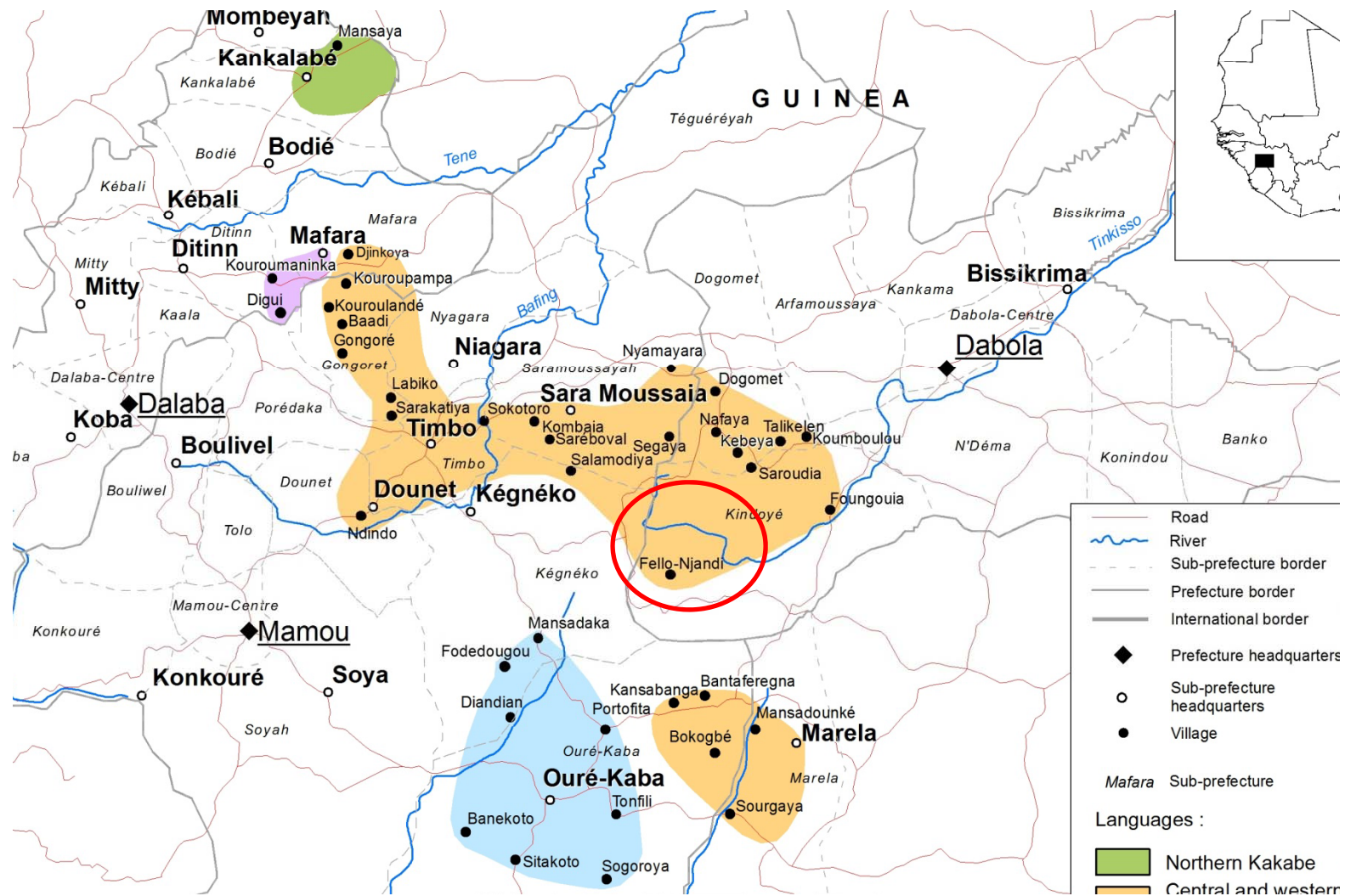
JOURS	NOM ET PRENOMS	LANGUES	TECHNICIEN
LUNDI	MAMADOU ALPHA DIALLO	PULAR	
MARDI	ALPHADIO DIALLO	PULAR	
MERCREDI	GNALEN KEITA	MANINKA	
JEUDI	ALPHADIO DIALLO FATOUMATA BAMBA	KAKKABHE	
VENDREDI	FATOU DIALLO	MANINKA	
SAMEDI	AMADOU SIDIBE SAMBA TEDOUNO	PULAR	
DIMANCHE	BARRY ALPHA BOUB ALPHADIO DIALLO	PULAR	

Railroad

- Konakry-Kankan railroad:
- built in 1959, suspended in 1993
- Dogomet: railway station before Dabola → **Campaman** district with families mostly from Susu-speaking areas



Villages of the Fello-Njandi district



Villages of the Fello-Njandi district

- small-size villages: 20 – 300 inhabitants
- a big number of small closely situated villages: Daamaya, Lappin, Keernoya, ...
- many villages consisting of one lineages (sons of one father)
- seasonal work migration
- Kakabe – dominant language, Maninka spoken by almost all men
- schools not present in all villages, not all children (especially girls) go to school

II. Linguistic biography



Ansoumane Camara

II. Linguistic biography

- Born in Dogomet (1988)
- Family:
 - father:** Susu, from a village close Kindiya (mostly Susu-speaking area), arrived to Dogomet to work in the railroad, married after his arrival to Dogomet.
 - mother:** Kakabe (from a nearby Kakabe village)
 - mothers's first co-wife:** Fulbe
 - mothers's second co-wife:** Maninka
 - peer group:** Kakabe (school children from the villages of the Fello-Njandi district), Maninka, Pular
- Acquiring languages:
 - Kakabe:** with mother and in the peer group
 - Pular** with grandfather, Kakabe in peer group, stayed in Fello-Njandi village
 - Maninka** with father, at school, with neighbours
 - Susu:** ddimoved to Mamou, a predominantly Fulbe town, but stayed in the Susu district of Mamou

III. Cases of speech situations: interference and code-switching

Electoral Campaign speech

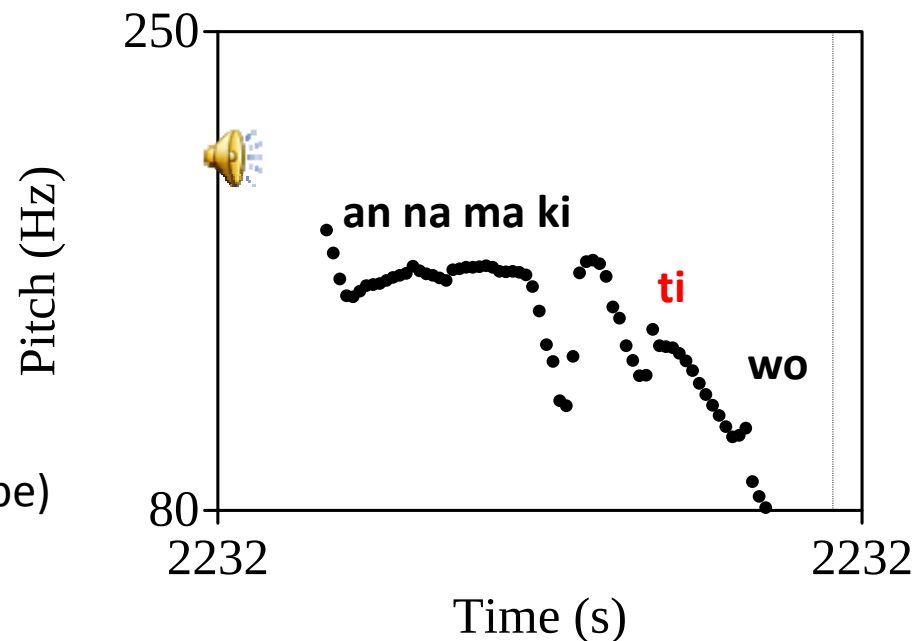
- Two main parties in Fouta-Djallon: Fulbe (UFDG) vs. Maninka (RPG)
- Boukaria : Kakabe village
- A speech pronounced by a Maninka candidate from the RPG party: in Kakabe with interference from Maninka (especially forms of the article)



- Referential article: segmental + tonal in Kakabe vs. tonal only in Maninka
 - L tone on the last syllable of the noun
- presence of the article despite the absence of the segmental reflex in Maninka

àn nà **máákítì** wò
 3pl poss market.ART that
 ‘at their marketplace’

→ Maninka form (cf. **máákítè** in Kakabe)



Campaign speech

ĩ náà lòn káà fò òlè nín túnbun dè you should know that you will be
gèré là sùù tò struggling with worms at night
ĩ téé kini.. ĩ téé némá ábbéré dámú You won't have a grain of rice to
sùè wò tò  eat at night
ĩ téé némá ábbéré dámú sùù wò tò You won't have a grain of rice to
eat at night

Kakabe: noun form with the segmental referential article:
súu 'night' + È → sùè

Maninka form: no segmental trace of the article, only L tone
súu 'night' + È → sùù

Divination session with a marabout

- Ndanta village (Fellon-Njandi distric, Central Kakabe)
- Marabout: Kakabe; speaks Kakabe, Maninka, Arabic
- Ritual speech predominantly in Maninka, with interference from Kakabe



à kó ánsuman kamara **h' b' i majinikala**

h' b' i majinikala# mun fadi sofe jankarɔ ni i fadi
ro# wáti do base i fadi **sofe** a i ke ko pali

à ko à bara wo kuma fɔ

à kó ì ka kán kà mîn bó hádiya la yàn

à kó kéné à jèɛjɛɛ# kà à lónna ì la kóo

bâ m̀ònninfin ì tí bìlala kookoko múnanfan tì mín
ma

I am asking you: what is this little illness in your body? At times, your body is hot as if it were the malaria

At times, your body is hot as if it were the malaria, though it is not malaria

one portion of rice and a chicken you make a sadaka with it

since you are **looking for your fortune**, you are wandering in the world and you are up to many things

since a person would not go around if there is no interest in it for him

Kakabe French Arabic Maninka (can contain segments undistinguishable from Kakabe)

à kó ì la mɔɔbaya àní ì la sòrɔnin àni ì la
máamayɛɛ **hadiya** le wo di

kóo báa kɛ# kó wò fana kó ì ka kán kà mín
lá kínilu kán
nì ì ka wonu sòrɔ à ka jin

kènu mîn sèbɛnin yàn# kó ì wodi lè naa
kera dimil kélen dè# ì yaa bɛ **sensi sensan**
sensan na

ì naa **sénsi kɛmɛ loolu loolu**

ì mán' à **sénsi kɛmɛ loolu loolè la**

wáa tájɛ kɛmɛ loolu mùgan dè

ì i wò lè lálá kínè kùnma lè ànu máni bán
kínè dámula-H%# mínni bɛɛɛ bi ɲɔ ì n' à
tafàtan# kála kɛmɛ loolu kɛmɛ loolu

kó wò lè kà kán kà à lálá kínè kùnma kà à
dámu

It [the scripture] sais: “your wisdom,
your fortune, your success it is in the
sadaqa

when this is done, then you must put
the following on the rice
if you have it, it is good”

it is written: “you take many, ten
thousand, and take it by five hundred

you take the change by five hundred

When you have exchanged it to five
hundreds

in ten thousands there are twenty 500s

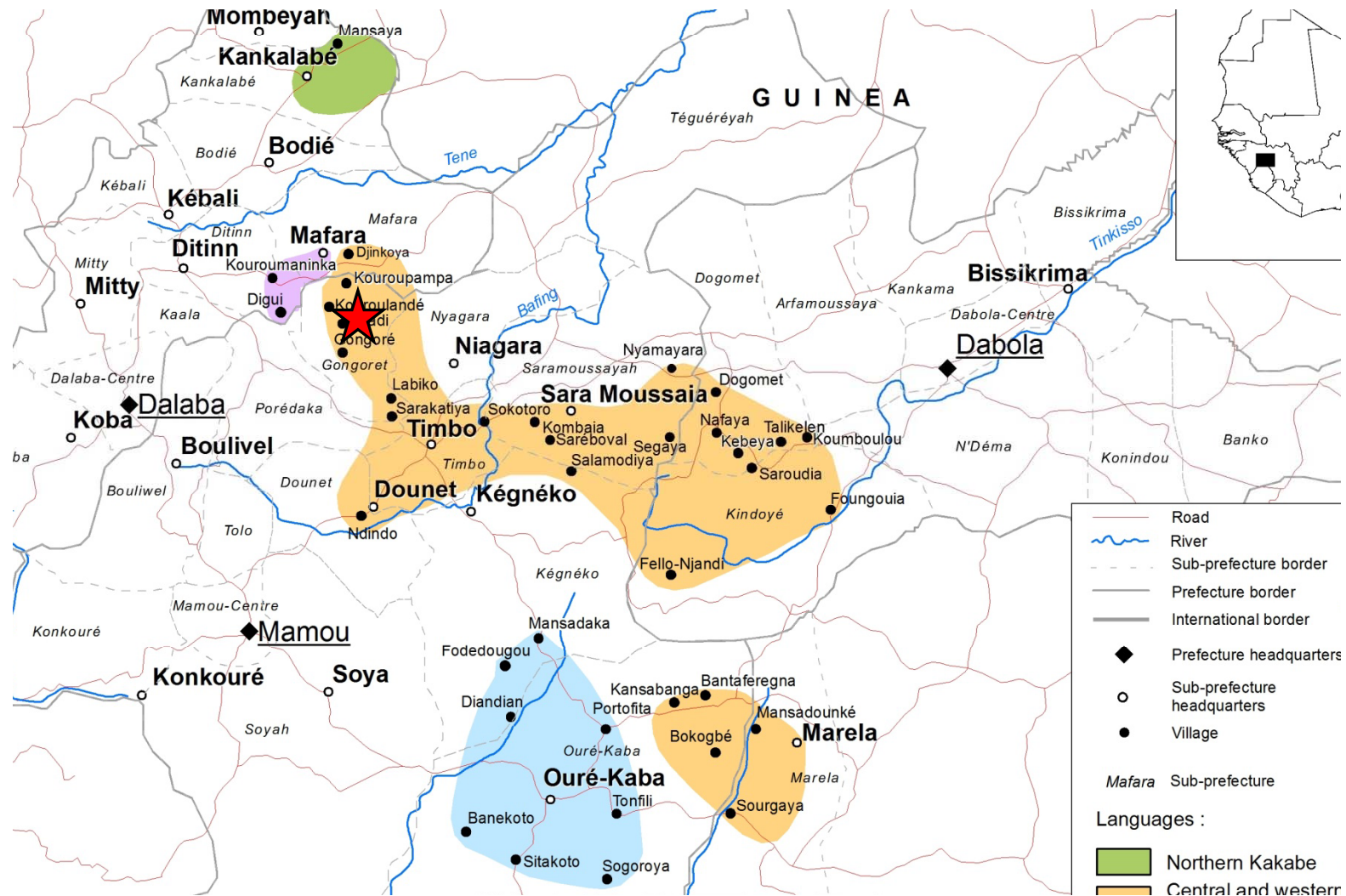
you add it to the rice [that you give to
people] when they have finished eating,
you distribute it [the money] among
them, for each person five hundred
you add it to the food and eat it

Kakabe **French** **Arabic** Maninka (can contain segments undistinguishable
from Kakabe)

Tales

- In the Center and in the South: insertions in **Maninka**
- In the North: Insertions in **Pular** and in **Maninka**
- Insertions in Maninka or Pular represent
 - speech of characters, in particular, characters with magic power or some specific properties (e.g. animals as opposed to human characters),
 - speech addressed to such characters,
 - speech alluding in a metaphoric, partly cryptic form to some secret situation or secret intention
- Insertions in Maninka are usually sung, in Pular (in the North) – mostly not sung.

Tale-1: Kouroupampa





fén dè wáli-la ńó? à kó áwà

à k' à wà, à ka hi.. a ka mànsa kée tàa, a
yèleta a fε lógè kán na, a ka kèémógè kiti, a
gbèleyata kén, a la kóo kán' a làmága
dénնè' nàata sóennù fε, an nàata, an k' à
sáane, dénnè tũgun ka tóè sáane

à kó: Bìlálè yòò Bìlálè

kó n fàá la jònnenin Bìlálè, ko i báa kée táa-la
só kóró, i bi kée n fàá kóró yan de



a dún à tí bín dámula, kánka sòò dún tí bín
dámu-la, à dún an tí bín dámula, ní à máa
bin dáu, móninfin dún tí kába wólo-la, à
dún tí kába wólo-la, móninfin dún tí kába
wólo-la,

- Kakabe
- **Maninka with singing:** speech of a character addressed to a horse, alluding to an unrevealed secret in a partly cryptic form

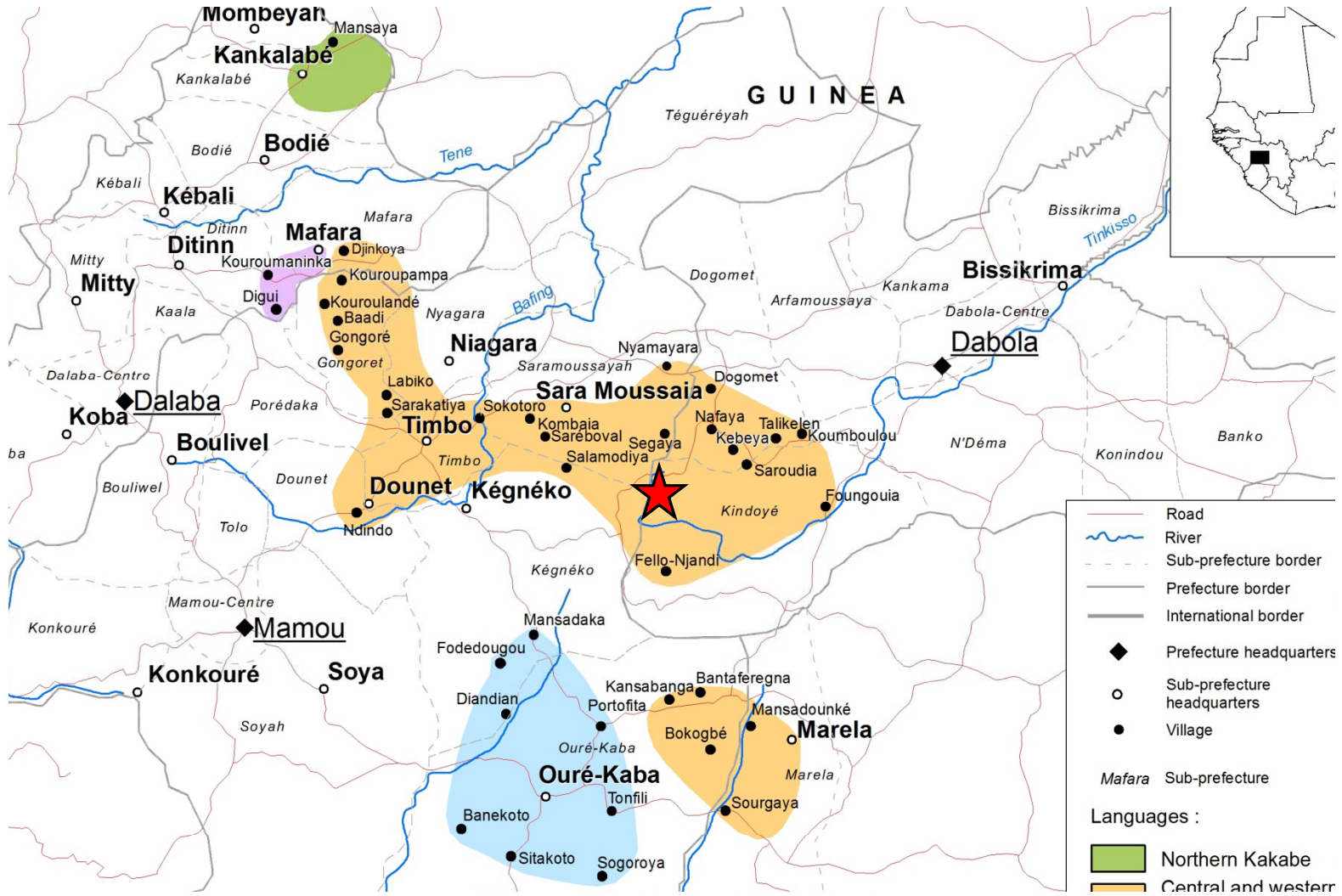
“I will show to you what is done there” He
said: “okay”

He went, he took the chief, he climbed up
with him on the top of the tree, he tied the
old man tightly so that he could not move
The children came with the horses, they
came and tied them, and the other child
tied his horse that carried his proper name.
He sang: “Bilale, Bilale!

the little slave of my father, Bilale, when
you are ready to go to the city, you will be
in front of my father.

They don't eat grass, they don't eat grass, a
stolen horse doesn't eat grass. They don't
eat grass, they don't eat grass, a stolen
horse doesn't eat grass, If he doesn't eat
grass, a person cannot give birth to a
stone..”

Tale-2: Daamaya



Speech addressed to a magic character (a beast that transforms into a human): in **Maninka**, first without singing, then sung

à tágata à tólon dúla

he went to distract himself [in the water]

à la mùsée ka tàbíré ké nɛɛ# à ka tán
kínè k' à sìgin à dógɔnnɛ kùn

She made food, she took her portion
and gave it to her little sister

à tágata# à ka à tàran kúlɛ báa b' à
tólonna dàlabáà tɔ

she went and found the animal
playing in the lake

à kó ò ní mɔ, ò níwali iniwali, à kó yɔ
nnimɔ# keri ò ma yén ò níimɔ #

she said: “**My sister’s husband, good day!**

keri ma ye # keri ma ye n níimɔ # keri
ma ye

Don't you see my sister-in law?”

dénmusunnɛ kó: ò bār' ò yén dè ò
níimɔ# ò bār' ò yén# ò bār' ò yén dè ò
níimɔ# ò bār' ò yén#

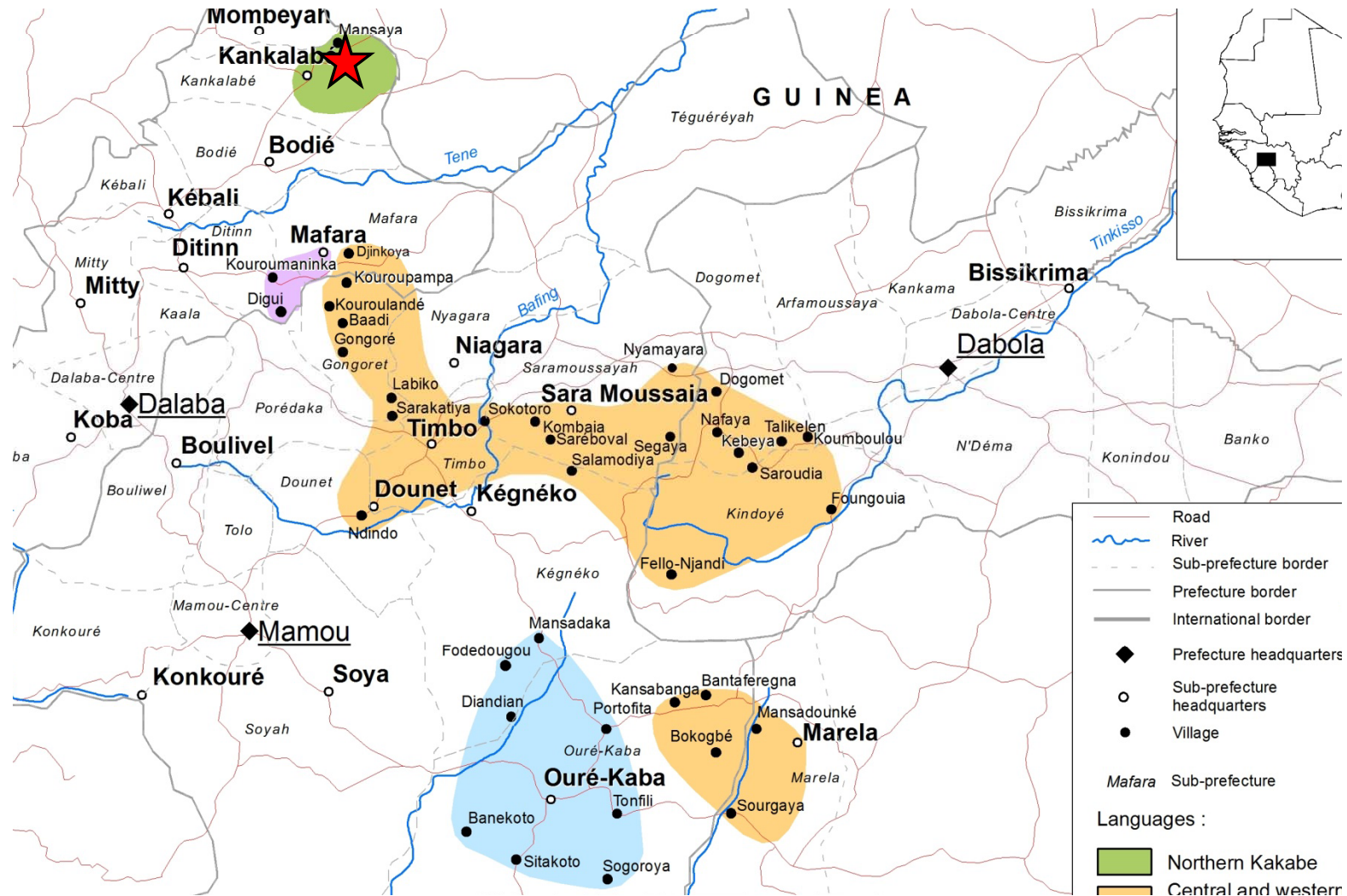
 the girls said: "I've seen you, I've seen you"

Maninka

Maninka with singing

Kakabe

Tale-3: Mansaya (Northen Kakabe)



Speech of a bird character: in **Pular** (not sung), then repeated in Kakabe

jíidiísá kó: **chikuli ɲana cikuli ɲana**
chikuli ɲana cikuli ɲana



Jidisa said: “A goat, who isn't afraid of anyone.

Hannki mi warno wundu hannde ko
haray no warno wundu

Yesterday I killed one, before yesterday
I killed one, before before yesterday I
killed one, today I will kill one more”.

kúnùn, ñ ka dóo fàga, Kúnùn ko ñ ka
dóo fàga, kúnùn takɔ ñ ka dóo fàga,

Yesterday I killed one, before yesterday
I killed one, before before yesterday I
killed one, today I will kill one more.

bì ñ si dóo fàga; bì túgun ñ si súlukè
dóo fàga

today I will kill one more. Today I will
call a hyena.

Pular

Kakabe

Conclusions

- Fouta-Djallon multilingualism: features of small-scale multilingualism
- Multilingual administrative centers vs. more monolingual Kakabe villages
- Specialization of languages, e.g. Maninka as ritual language vs. interference

References

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