Fouta-Djallon multilingualism

Alexandra Vydrina
LACITO CNRS
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
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
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)
Campain speech

í náà lòn kàà fò ìlà nín túnbun dè  you should know that you will be
gèré là súù òò  struggling with worms at night
í téé kini.. ì téé némá ábbérë dámú  You won't have a grain of rice to
sùè wò òò  eat at night
í téé némá ábbérë dámú súù wò òò  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  →  súù
Divination session with a marabout

- Ndanta village (Fellon-Njandi district, Central Kakabe)
- Marabout: Kakabe; speaks Kakabe, Maninka, Arabic
- Ritual speech predominantly in Maninka, with interference from Kakabe
It [the writing] says: Ansouman Camara, I am asking you

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

he says that he said it

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

He said you need to make sadaka

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

but the best thing, to know your case

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)
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
“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..”

• Kakabe
• Maninka with singing: speech of a character adressed to a horse, alluding to an unrevealed secret in a partly cryptic form
Tale-2: Daamaya
Speech addressed to a magic character (a beasts that transforms into a human): in **Maninka, first without singing, then sung**

à tágata à tólōn dúla

à la mūsèè ka tābìrè ké nɛɛ# à ka tán kīnè k' à sigin à dóg∢nneɛ kûn
à tágata# à ka à tàran kūllɛ bāa b' à tólōnna dàlabàà tà
à kó ɳ ni mɛ, ɬ niwali iniwali, à kó ɣɔ nnimɔ# kɛrì ɬ ma yɛn ɳ niimɔ #
keri ma ye # keri ma ye ɳ niimɔ # keri ma ye
dɛnmuςunneɛ kó: ɳ bår' ɬ yɛn dɛ ɳ niimɔ# ɳ bår' ɬ yɛn# ɳ bår' ɬ yɛn dɛ ɳ niimɔ# ɳ bår' ɬ yɛn#

he went to distract himself [in the water]
She made food, she took her portion and gave it to her little sister
she went and found the animal playing in the lake
she said: “My sister’s husband, good day!
Don't you see my sister-in law?”
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

jíidíisá kó: chikuli ŋana cikuli ŋana chikuli ŋana cikuli ŋana

Hannki mi warno wondu hannde ko haray no warno wondu

kúnùn, ŋ ka dóó fàga, Kúnùn ko ŋ ka dóó fàga, kúnùn takɔ ŋ ka dóó fàga,

bì ŋ si dóó fàga; bì tûgun ŋ si súlukè dóó fàga

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

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

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

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

