

## 1) 著作権保護のための表示

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## 2) 研究会基本情報

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タイトル:「多言語混在状況を前提としたアフリカ記述言語学研究の新展開」(令和5年度第2回研究会/国際ワークショップ)

日時:2023年11月4日(土曜日)午後1時より午後6時

場所:AA研大会議室(303)およびオンライン会議室

共催:AA研基幹研究「アジア・アフリカの言語動態の記述と記録:アジア・アフリカに生きる人々の言語・文化への深い理解を目指して」(DDDLing), 共同利用・共同研究課題「通言語的観点からみた音声類型論」

Daisuke SHINAGAWA (ILCAA)

“Introduction: Linguistic description in translingual ecology in Africa”

1. Andries COETZEE (ILCAA Joint Researcher, University of Michigan)

“Patagonian Afrikaans: Identity and History in a Bilingual Speech Community”

2. Nico NASSENSTEIN (ILCAA Joint Researcher/ Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz)

“The role of Lingala in Eastern Congo’s Swahili ecologies and young speakers’ repertoires (Goma/Lubumbashi)”

3. Sayaka KUTSUKAKE (ILCAA Joint Researcher/Tohoku Gakuin University)

“Review of recent studies on multilingual practices in Africa and future perspectives”

4. Janika KUNZMANN (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz)

“What is Mbum and what is not? Addressing multi- and translingualism in the creation of a reference grammar”  
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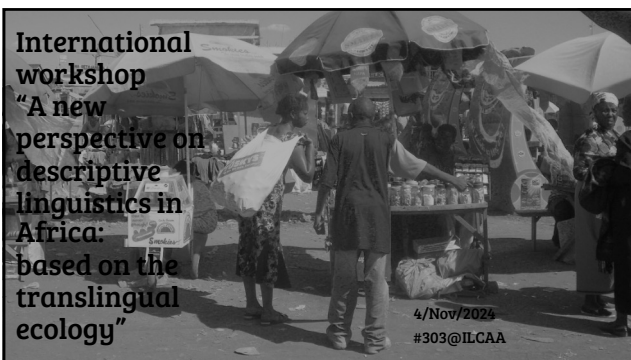
本プロジェクトの2023年度第2回研究会は、共同利用・共同研究課題「通言語的観点からみた音声類型論」との共催による国際ワークショップとして、上記日時において19名の参加者を集めてハイブリッド形式で開催された。品川によるプロジェクト全体と本ワークショップの趣旨説明のあと、4本の研究発表が行われた。第1発表の“Patagonian Afrikaans: Identity and History in a Bilingual Speech Community”においては、アルゼンチンのディアスポラ・コミュニティにおけるアフリカーンス語の音声ドキュメンテーション研究に関するもので、とりわけ話者の言語的アイデンティがどのような音声特徴に反映されているかに関して、詳細なデータに基づく議論が展開された。第2発表“The role of Lingala in Eastern Congo’s Swahili ecologies and young speakers’ repertoires (Goma/Lubumbashi)”はDRC東部における参与的現地調査に基づいて、とくにGomaおよびLubumbashiという都市部におけるリンガラ語とコンゴ・スワヒリ語をめぐる若者層の言語実践に関する実態が明らかにされた。第3発表“Review of recent studies on



multilingual practices in Africa and future perspectives” は、multilingualism 一般に関する最新の研究動向を概観したうえで、とりわけ Ubuntu translanguaging といったアフリカにおける多言語状況研究の中で発展し、構築されつつある研究枠組みの可能性について論じられた。第4発表 “What is Mbum and what is not? Addressing multi- and translanguaging in the creation of a reference grammar” は、カメルーン北東部で話される Mbum 語を対象とした文法記述研究の実例を通して、アフリカ的多言語状況下における言語記述においては、対象言語の monolingual な記述という研究方略自体が自ずから限界を孕むものであることが確認されたうえで、では多言語混在的状况における言語事実をどのように文法記述に落とし込むのかという一筋縄には解決されない問題について、実体験に基づく多角的な議論が展開された。いずれの発表も、「多言語状況 (multilingual situation)」として一般化されがちな理解に対して、具体的な事例から、とりわけ多言語大陸としてのアフリカに顕著な多言語「混在」的状况の実態を提示し、その状況下での言語記述研究の可能性と挑戦という刺激的なテーマを扱うものであり、充実した議論が展開された。また、2つの研究課題の共催としたことによって、多様な専門領域の研究者をつなぐ新たな国際的な研究ネットワークの構築の場となった点も、このワークショップの重要な成果として特筆される。

文責：品川大輔





1

## Introduction

Daisuke Shinagawa (ILCAA)

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## About the project

This project aims to establish a new perspective on the multilingual nature of Sub-Saharan Africa by focusing on linguistic features uniquely observed on the African continent.

We explore not only well-studied typological subjects but also unique linguistic phenomena arising in African multilingual environments that have not attracted much scholarly attentions.

This project also aims for a better understanding of African languages and translingual ecology by expanding the scope of traditional research on African linguistics.

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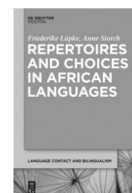
## Translingual ecology in Africa

### Translingual ecology as a dynamic field of resourceful communications

Lupke and Storch (2013: 19)

[T]he essentialist discourses – looking at languages as uniquely embodying their speakers' identity and culture – often employed in language endangerment discourse (Dobrin, Austin & Nathan 2007)

[A]n essentialist mindset of both practitioners and observers in assuming past and present states of purity and homogeneity as precursors to complex contemporary situations, contrasts with fluid identities on the ground.



Lupke, Friederike and Anne Storch. 2013. *Repertoires and Choices in African Languages*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614511946>

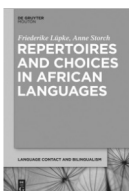
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## Translingual ecology in Africa

### Translingual ecology as a dynamic field of resourceful communications

Lupke and Storch (2013: 8)

Through our research in multilingual African communities, we have learned about the many creative and playful ways in which complex facets of identity are accommodated, negotiated, confirmed or (temporarily or permanently) altered, and we feel that it is important to share this "African experience" of a resourceful, dynamic multilingualism...



Lupke, Friederike and Anne Storch. 2013. *Repertoires and Choices in African Languages*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614511946>

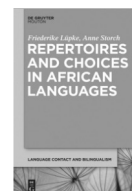
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## Translingual ecology in Africa

### Translingual ecology as a dynamic field of resourceful communications

Lupke and Storch (2013: 7)

Dominant metaphors of language shift (for instance invoking Wolof and Hausa as "killer languages", cf. Batibo 2005) are directly fed by endangerment situations outside Africa, and depict traumatic scenarios of forced language loss where, in fact, languages survive even in small-scale communities as long as their ecological functions are not taken away [...]



Lupke, Friederike and Anne Storch. 2013. *Repertoires and Choices in African Languages*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614511946>

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## Translingual ecology in Africa

**Small-scale multilingualism as a default linguistic situation and necessary mechanism for the emergence of human language**

Evans (2018)

For a long time, research on language evolution has been dominated by 'the idea that monolingualism is the default, most basic state and so needs to be explained before considering bilingualism' [...] But recent simulations [...] have shown that bilingualism can evolve from the outset, in situations where linguistic elements have a social signalling function: agents will select for more than one sign candidate if sign occurrence is sensitive to social context. [...] not only is primal multilingualism a natural evolutionary outcome from early in our speaking history, but that it was a necessary mechanism for the emergence of the suite of abilities we call language.

Evans, Nicholas. 2018. Did language evolve in multilingual settings? *Biolinguistics* 2: 205–233. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-018-9609-2>

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## (Potential) topics of this workshop

What kind of linguistic features or processes are observed in languages spoken in the multilingual ecology? Can we obtain any insights for the process of language change and diffusion or structural diversification / conversion?

How can such linguistic phenomena arising in multilingual environments be documented, described, and analysed?

What is happening in the current translingual situations in Africa? What sociolinguistic factors best describe the actual dynamism taken place in the linguistic ecology?

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# Patagonian Afrikaans: Place, Identity, and History

Andries W. Coetzee  
PhonTyp Presentation  
Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa  
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies  
November 2023

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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## A brief history of the Afrikaans

Dutch landed 1652

2

## A brief history of the Afrikaans

Dutch landed 1652

1806

British take-over

Groot Trek 1836

3

## A brief history of the Afrikaans

Dutch landed 1652

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British take-over

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Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902

4

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1910

Union of South Africa

5

## A brief history of the Afrikaans

Dutch landed 1652

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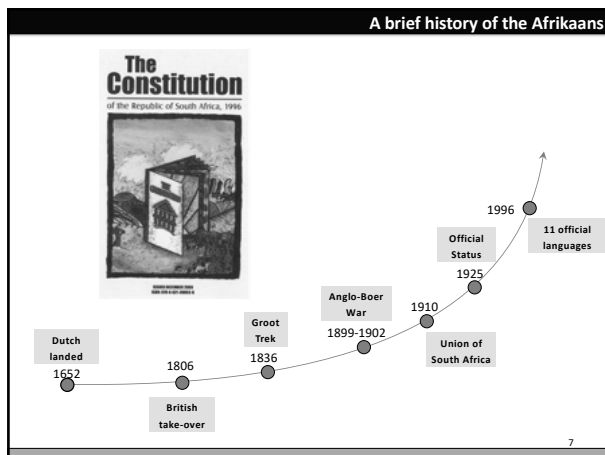
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Union of South Africa

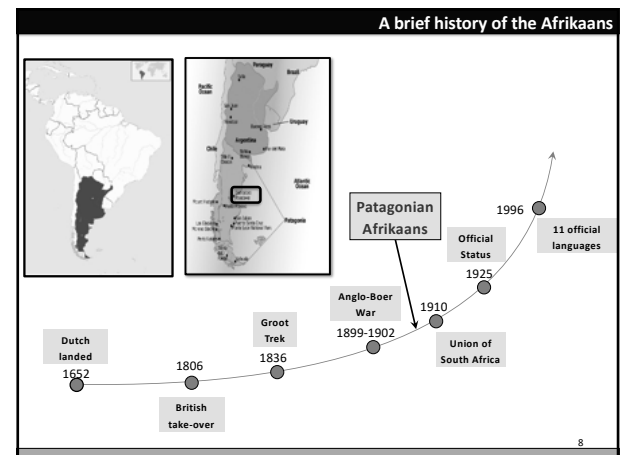
Official status 1925

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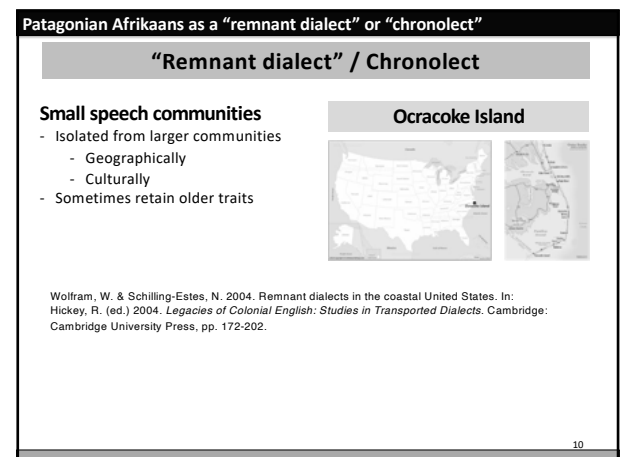
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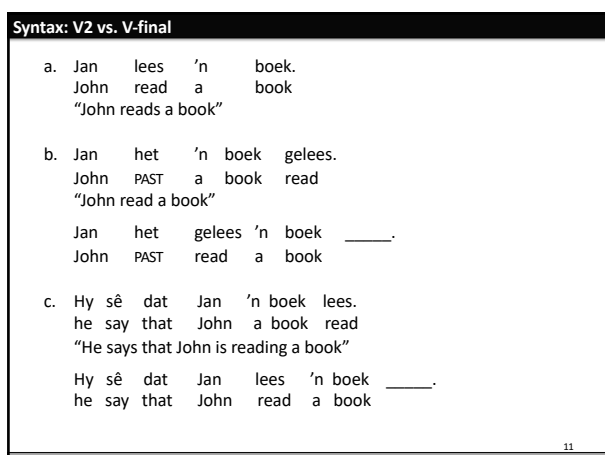
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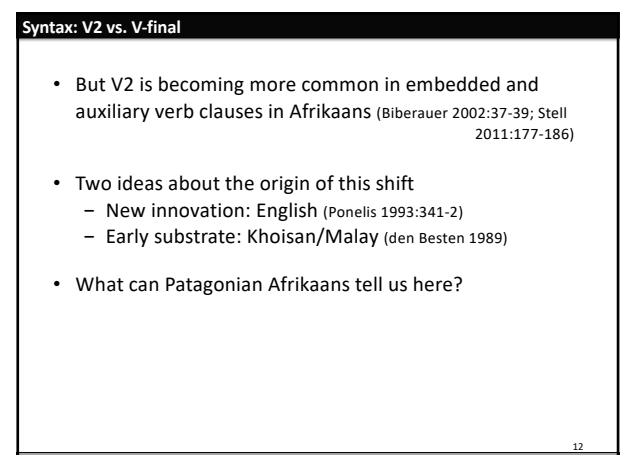
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## Syntax: V2 vs. V-final

## V2 common in Patagonian Afrikaans

- a. Patagonia: Daardie tyd het gepraat ons altyd in Afrikaans \_\_\_\_  
 that time PAST talked we always in Afrikaans \_\_\_\_  
 "Standard": Daardie tyd het ons altyd in Afrikaans gepraat.  
 that time PAST we always in Afrikaans talked  
 "At that time, we always spoke in Afrikaans."
- b. Patagonia: Elke plaas sou kos een peso \_\_\_\_  
 every farm would cost one peso \_\_\_\_  
 "Standard": Elke plaas sou een peso kos.  
 every farm would one peso cost  
 "Every farm would cost one peso."

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## Syntax: V2 vs. V-final

## What does this mean?

- V2 predates extensive English contact in SA
- Or result of Spanish contact in Patagonia?
- Or two independent developments?

Other 20<sup>th</sup> century changes in Afrikaans?

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## Where did the Patagonian settlers come from?



## Historical record

- Afrikaans speaking areas
- Vrystaat / Transvaal
- But also Northern-Cape
- Historical record incomplete

## Can dialectology help?

- Differences between Transvaal/Free State and Northern-Cape varieties
- Where does Patagonian Afrikaans fit in?

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## Velar palatalization



## Northern Cape

/k/ → [kʰ] / \_ [+front]  
 /k/ → [k] / \_ [-high]

		Transvaal/Free State	Northern Cape
Back vowels	koek 'cake'	[kuk]	[kuk]
	kop 'head'	[kop]	[kop]
	kat 'cat'	[kat]	[kat]
Front vowels	kind 'child'	[kant]	[kʰənt]
	kerk 'church'	[kærk]	[kʰærk]
	kyk 'look'	[kɛrk]	[kʰɛrk]

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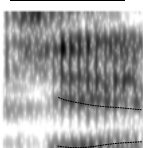
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## Velar palatalization

## Acoustic markers of palatalisation

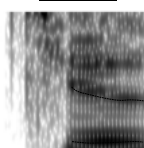
- Moving from a high, front /j/ into a more central, low vowel
- Centralization: Falling F2
- Lowering: Rising F1

## Northern-Cape



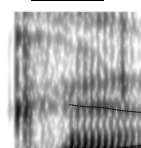
erken  
'admit'

## Patagonia



kinders  
'children'

## Transvaal



kinders  
'children'

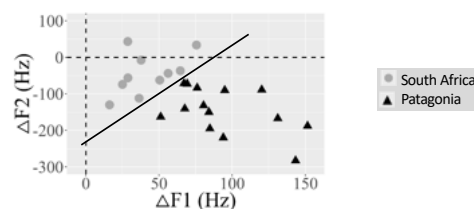
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## Velar palatalization

## Acoustic markers of palatalisation

- Moving from a high, front /j/ into a more central, low vowel
- Centralization: Falling F2
- Lowering: Rising F1




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**[ɛ]-[æ] allophony**



**Transvaal/Free State**

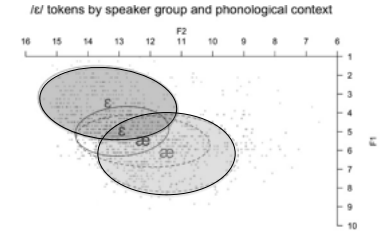
$/ɛ/ \rightarrow [æ] / \begin{matrix} r \\ k \\ l \\ x \end{matrix}$

	Transvaal/Free State	Northern Cape
Eleswhere	lem 'blade' [lɛm]	[lɛm]
	wes 'west' [vɛs]	[vɛs]
	vet 'fat' [fɛt]	[fɛt]
Before /k x r l/	ses 'six' [sɛs]	[sɛs]
	lek 'lick' [læk]	[lɛk]
	weg 'way' [væx]	[vɛx]
	ver 'far' [fær]	[fɛr]
	tel 'count' [tæl]	[tɛl]

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**[ɛ]-[æ] allophony**

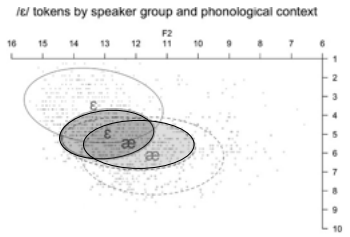
	Northern Cape	Patagonia	Transvaal
[ɛ] elsewhere	ken 'know'	ses 'six'	res 'rest'
[æ] pre-/rlkx/	sterkste 'strongest'	reg 'correct'	reg 'correct'



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**[ɛ]-[æ] allophony**

	Northern Cape	Patagonia	Potchefstroom
[ɛ] elsewhere	ken 'know'	ses 'six'	res 'rest'
[æ] pre-/rlkx/	sterkste 'strongest'	reg 'correct'	reg 'correct'



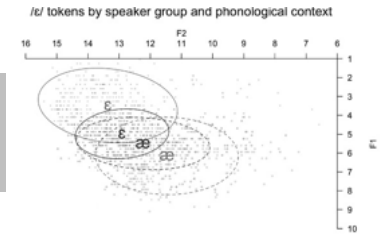
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**[ɛ]-[æ] allophony**

	Northern Cape	Patagonia	Potchefstroom
[ɛ] elsewhere	ken 'know'	ses 'six'	res 'rest'
[æ] pre-/rlkx/	sterkste 'strongest'	reg 'correct'	reg 'correct'

**Patagonian Afrikaans**

- Lacks allophony
- More like Northern Cape than Transvaal/Free State



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**Plural allomorphy**

Afrikaans has two productive plural suffixes: /-s/ and /-ə/

	Singular	Plural
/-s/ koppie 'hill'	[kɔpɪ]	[kɔpɪs]
man 'man'	[man]	[mans]
/-ə/ voet 'foot'	[fut]	[futə]
kan 'can'	[kan]	[kanə]

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**Plural allomorphy**

**Patagonian Afrikaans: Generalizing of the /-s/ plural**

Singular	Plural	
	Trasvaal/Free State	Patagonia
tent 'tent'	tente	tents
kliënt 'client'	kliënte	kliënts
restaurant 'restaurant'	restaurante	restaurants
tier 'tiger'	tiere	tiers
schoen 'shoe'	schoene	schoens
trok 'truck'	trokke	troks

**"Oranje Rivier" Afrikaans: Generalizing of the /-s/ plural (van Rensburg 1983)**

Singular	Plural	
	Trasvaal/Free State	Oranje Rivier
berg 'mountain'	berge	bergs
dier 'animal'	diere	diers
luiperd 'leopard'	luiperde	luiperds

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### Where did the Patagonian settlers originate?

#### Several features more similar to Northern-Cape Afrikaans

- Velar palatalization
- Lack of [e]-[æ] allophony
- Generalization of [s]-plural
- And there are more
  - Monophthongal realization of <oo> and <ee>
  - [ɛ] in stead of [ə]
  - etc.

#### What does this mean?

- Majority of settlers came from Northern Cape region?
- Independent development in Patagonia?
- Differences in dialectal distribution pre-1925?

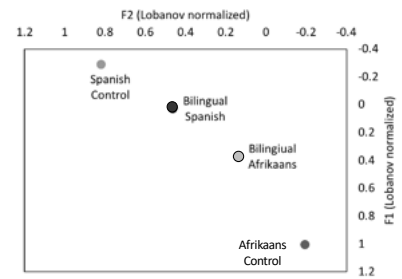
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### Results

#### Community patterns: Filled pauses

- Normalizes based on speaker's overall vowel space
- Makes direct between-speaker comparison possible



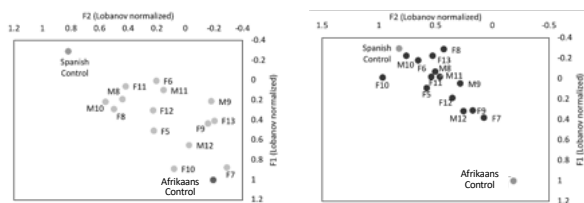
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### Results

#### Afrikaans interviews

#### Spanish interviews



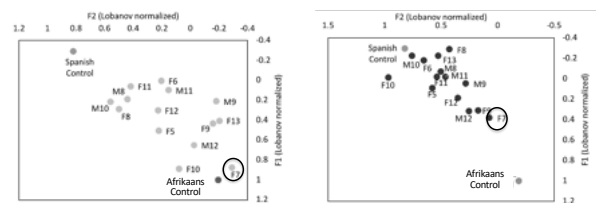
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### Results

#### Afrikaans interviews

#### Spanish interviews



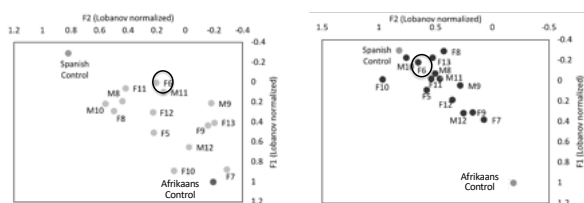
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### Results

#### Afrikaans interviews

#### Spanish interviews



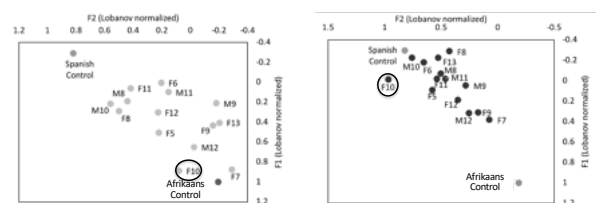
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### Results

#### Afrikaans interviews

#### Spanish interviews



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**Summary**

- Dating changes in Afrikaans: V2 vs. V-final
- Augmenting historical record:  
Where did the Patagonia settlers come from?
- Negotiating identity:  
South African and/or Argentinian?
- (Race and ethnicity before Apartheid?)

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**Much still remains to be done**

- 40+ hours of sociolinguistic interviews in each of Afrikaans and Spanish
- The only data on this variety of Afrikaans
- We have only explored a few aspects of phonetics/phonology
- Morpho-syntax still mostly unexplored

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**Resources**

**Digital archive**

THE AFRICA-TO-PATAGONIA DIGITAL ARCHIVE  
LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND HISTORY  
IN THE AFRIKAANS-ARGENTINE COMMUNITY

Home | Browse Items | Browse Collections | Afrikaans-Argentine Collaborative Heritage | Search

**FEATURED ITEM**  
A portrait of a man, likely a member of the community, with text describing the item.

**FEATURED COLLECTION**  
A collection of items related to the community, with text describing the collection.

**INTERACTIVE MAP**

<http://aacollabarchive.humins.lsa.umich.edu/omeka/>

**Project website**



FROM AFRICA TO PATAGONIA:  
VOICES OF DISPLACEMENT

<http://websites.umich.edu/~aacollab/index.html#home>

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**DUMBOOI AND KOKKELAS**

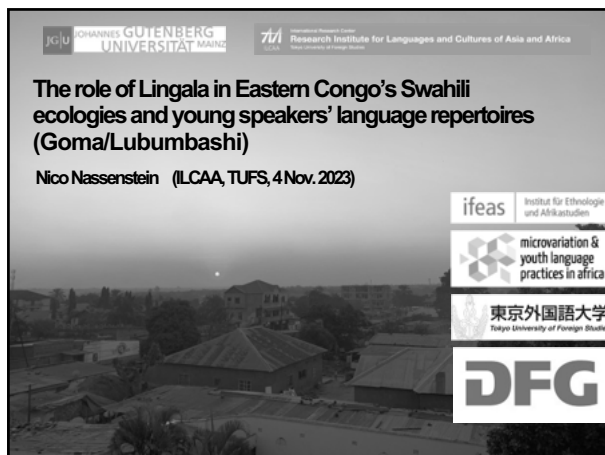
Alberto et al. 2019. "Los otros afro-argentinos: narrativas raciales de la colectividad sudafricana de la Patagonia del siglo XX." [The other Afro-Argentines: racial narratives of the 20th century South African community in Patagonia.] *Estudios Afrolatino-americanos* 4: Actas de las Sextas Jornadas del GEALA.

Silva et al. 2019, May 5. "Boers en la Patagonia." [The boers of Patagonia.] *Clarín Viva*. [Sunday magazine of Clarín, largest Argentinian newspaper.]

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1

## About this talk

1. Introduction: Translingual ecologies in Eastern Congolese cities
2. African language ecologies in translingual contexts
3. Swahili and / vs. Lingala? Indexicalities and ideologies
4. Repertoires and speakers' languaging practices
  1. Police and armed forces in Goma
  2. Churches in Goma
  3. (Street) youth in Goma
  4. Emergent Afrobeats/Amapiano from Lubumbashi: "Un style luso-afro modernisé"
  5. (Street) youth in Lubumbashi
5. Preliminary conclusions and final thoughts

"I am indebted to Daisuke Shinagawa and ILCAA/TUFS for their invitation and generosity as part of the project on translingual ecologies in Africa, and to Makoto Furumoto for the joint work on Swahili. The DFG-funded project "Microvariation and youth language practices in Africa" has contributed to the present findings. A research permit by the *Ministère de la Culture, Arts et Patrimoine* (DRC) was issued to facilitate research on-site (No. MNC/DG/1.0/098/022). All authorizations are warmly thanked for their support. I am indebted to all (anonymized) speakers for their time and efforts."

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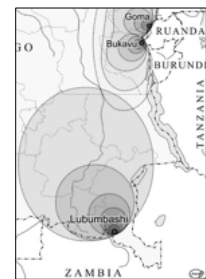
## 1. Introduction: Translingual ecologies in Eastern Congolese cities

- Cities in the Swahili-speaking areas of DR Congo are multilingual spaces where the language of wider communication Lingala has steadily been gaining ground.
- Speakers' repertoires are made up of Swahili, French, "local" (indigenous) languages and increasingly, English – Lingala has a specific position and comes with specific attitudes in these ecologies
- Investigating the notion of "translingual practice" or translingual language in these spaces, the role of speakers' biographies, multilingualism, languaging practices and language boundaries – also in a context of violent conflict and urbanization – connecting to sociolinguistic and descriptive work carried out over the years on Lingala and Swahili, but also Kinyarwanda etc.
- Ethnographic vignettes from my very fieldwork stays in Goma 2010–2014 and a more recent trip to Lubumbashi in 2022 show how different the multilingual ecologies in these two cities with > 2 mio. inhabitants are and were shaped over the years

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## Swahili ("ya Grand Kivu"/"ya Grand Katanga") G.42

- **Kivu:** One out of two major Kiswahili varieties from the DR Congo (with Lubumbashi Swahili/Katanga Swahili); spoken by the majority of inhabitants of North and South Kivu province (8–10 Mio.). Less documented than ECS; major contributions on Kivu Swahili are Bose & Nassenstein (2016), Goyvaerts (2007), Goyvaerts & Zembele (1992), Kaji (1982, 1985, 2002), Nassenstein & Bose (2016), Wilt (1988). Language contact with several languages from the Kivus such as Kinyarwanda/Kinyabwisha, Kihavu, Kinande, Kihunde, Mashi which have contributed to the lexicon and morphosyntactic frame of the language.
- **Katanga:** The best documented variety of Congolese Swahili (Western Swahili, Congo Swahili), with several monograph-length studies (Schicho 1980, 1981, 1982, Fabian 1986, Kapanga 1993, De Rooij 1996, Ferrari, Kalunga & Mulumbwa 2014, etc.); others are the varieties from the Kivus, from Luri, and from Kisangani/Tshopo; capital of the Haut-Katanga province in the southeast of the DR Congo; diverse cultural and linguistic influences → Shaba Swahili / Katanga Swahili / Copperbelt Swahili, or, as a recently suggested label, Kiswahili kya mu Lubumbashi (Mulumbwa 2021) was introduced to Katanga only around 1920 by the Belgians as a "mining language" – today widely used in politics, the army, music, and trade



Map 1: The two discussed Swahili-speaking (macro) areas (Nassenstein 2022)

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## Lingala (Kinshasa-Lingala) C.30b

- **Lingala** (Bantu C.30b [lin]) emerged out of a pidgin ("Bangala", early Bangala) based on the Bantu language Bobangi (C.32 [bni]) in northwestern DRC (see Meeuwis 2019, quoted extensively below)
- Kinshasa Lingala vs. Church Lingala: active "corrections" of the pidgin by Scheut (Egide De Boeck (1875–1944), Premonstratensian Léon Denilox (1860–1933), Baptist Walter H. Stapleton (1864–1906))
- Lingala was then used as the language of the Force Publique (and today's FARDC), was brought to Léopoldville (today's Kinshasa) and turned into the language of Congolese music (since the 1930s, 1940s). From 1975 onwards, Lingala was associated with Mobutu Sese Seko's autocratic regime.
- Spoken by roughly estimated 40–50 mio.



Map 2: Approximate areas where Lingala is spoken

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## 2. African language ecologies in translingual contexts

Ecology has been invoked to account for language evolution for quite some time now, although less frequently than might be expected, despite progress in the ethnography of communication. Among the earliest instances are Voegelin, Voegelin, and Schutz (1967) and Haugen (1971), who use it in basically the sense of the social environment in which a language is spoken, for instance, in reference to whether socioeconomic conditions in a particular polity favor or disfavor usage of a particular language. This is also the sense in which Mühlhäusler (1996) uses it, as he puts in perspective the coexistence of Melanesian languages among themselves and with the invading European languages. Like them, I am interested in how the ethnographic environment affects a language; in this particular case, how it may trigger or influence its restructuring. However, I am also influenced by the usage of the term in **macroecology**, a branch of biology in which ecology is treated as a cover term for diverse factors which are both external and internal to a species and bear on its evolution. Such factors include "population size, habitat requirements, and genetic variation" (Brown 1995:5), as well as "differences in initial conditions, stochastic events, time lags, processes operating on different time scales, and spatial subdivisions" (Brown 1995:15–16)."

(Mufwene 2001: 153), red highlight: my emphasis

Mufwene's term 'language ecology' is linked to the idea of 'evolution' ('language as a species').

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### 'Language ecology' as more narrow vs. broader concept

"Language plus ecology = language ecology, linguistics ecology, ecolinguistics? Simple? No. The first serious sociolinguistic attempts to explore linguistics ecology pleaded for linguistics to be grounded in societal context and change. From 1959 and Haugen's seminal 1971 article entail multidisciplinary and build on multilingual scholarship ... Haugen refers to status, standardization, diglossia, and glogopolitics, but not to language rights ... Today's interpretations of what language ecology is range widely. Many researchers use 'ecology' simply as a reference to 'context' or 'language environment', to describe language-related issues embedded in (micro or macro) sociolinguistics, educational, economic or political settings rather than de-contextualised. Here 'ecology' has often become a fashionable term for simply situating language or language study in some way, i.e., it is a metaphor." (Skutnabb Kangas & Philippson 2007, Handbook of Pragmatics Online Vol. 11)

"In conclusion, the term 'ecology' has by now a one and a half century long history. The German zoologist Ernst Haeckel coined the word in 1866, Hanns Reiter employed it in a botanical treatise in 1885, and in the 1890's, botanists such as the Dane Eugenius Warming contributed significantly to its spread in biology. In the 20th century, it was adopted in other scientific disciplines, including sociology, psychology and linguistics ... In particular, it is difficult to transpose the three central bio-ecological concepts of organism, environment, and relationship/interaction to human language, and in his ecological-linguistic work, Haugen wavers between placing the focus on the interaction, on the interrelation, and on the 'organism', i.e. in his case language. He primarily treats language ecology as a metaphor, but occasionally speaks of language ecology as a scientific field. Moreover, as its object of study is not sharply delimited." (Eliasson 2015, var. passages)



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### Haugen's (1971) central ideas

"The notion of *ecology of language* or *language ecology* was seriously launched at the beginning of the 1970s by the American linguist Einar Haugen (1906-1994), who gave the following description: "Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (Haugen, 1971 [1972, 325]). He elaborates his idea in slightly greater detail (Haugen, 1971 [1972, 325]; cited here as separate points and with my italics, SE):

- The *true environment* of a language is the *society* that uses it as one of its codes.
- *Language exists only in the minds of its users*, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment.
- Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its *interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers*.
- Another part of its ecology is sociological: its *interaction with the society* in which it functions as a medium of communication.
- *The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others.*"

(Eliasson 2015: 78; red highlight my emphasis)



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### What lies behind the idea of translingual practice?

Research advocates of an approach often referred to as the 'repertoire approach' draw on Dell Hymes' (1964) foundations of the 'ethnography of speaking' or the 'ethnography of communication' and Gumperz work (1965, 1972). Although they confirm that categories such as 'language A' and 'language B' are useful concepts for linguists, they are inappropriate when applied to speakers, as their linguistic repertoires resemble a pool of resources rather than a field of separate individual languages. Gumperz (1972: 20-21) describes this as a 'totality of linguistic resources [...] available to members of particular communities'; later substantiated in more recent studies such as Matras (2009) and Lüpke/Storch (2013). While dealing with separable and nameable (individual) languages always implies that languages are fundamentally separable, countable and mixable, the theory of heteroglossic communicative repertoires (recurring to Bakhtin 1981, among others) of multilingual speakers makes other approaches conceivable (see Gumperz 1965, among others). This idea of the communicative repertoire as the totality of a person's linguistic resources, which can therefore also be used 'unsorted' in every utterance, is also a key focus of more recent studies of translingual language use as new trends within sociolinguistics. FN: There should be no confusion here: As observed by Auer (op. cit.), early work on codeswitching is also partly based on Gumperz's studies. Moreover, the criticism of 'named languages' – separable, countable and nameable individual languages (as imagined and then codified in the 19th century) – should not be equated with the conceptual criticism of the 'codes' of codeswitching."

(Nassenstein 2021: 161-162, my own translation of the original text in German)



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### How to conceptualize (trans)lingual urban ecologies?

"Code-switching also relies on the idea that there are two language systems, but indicates that bilinguals transgress these all the time by alternating languages that are still seen as autonomous, closed systems with their own linguistic structures. [...] Code-switching relies on the notion of named national languages (the external view) rather than on the ways in which bilingual speakers deploy their own linguistic resources (the internal view). In contrast, for us, *translanguaging* refers to the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire, which does not in any way correspond to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages." (García & Kleyn 2016: 14)

"Languages are not conceived as autonomous, independent entities from the ecological point of view. Instead, they are treated as dynamic phenomena that are porous with respect to their physical and cultural environment. Languages are not bounded in space in the same way that the planet has been carved up into national states. They are not things that exist independently of the people who use them, or the context within which they are used, or the communicative and social purposes to which they are applied. In brief, they are not entities which can be meaningfully abstracted away from their users and their environment." (Wendel 2005: 52)



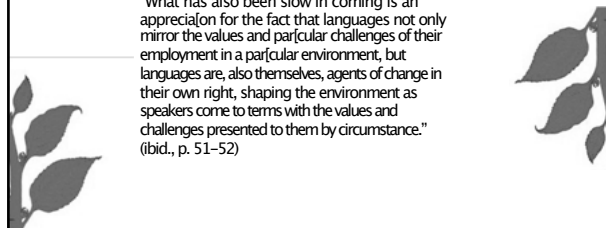
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### How to conceptualize (trans)lingual urban ecologies?

"languages are primarily motivated by the communicative uses to which speakers apply them in the environments the speakers inhabit" (Wendel 2005: 51)

"the ecological approach to language considers the complex web of relationships that exist between the environment, languages, and their speakers" (ibid.)

"What has also been slow in coming is an appreciation for the fact that languages not only mirror the values and particular challenges of their employment in a particular environment, but languages are, also themselves, agents of change in their own right, shaping the environment as speakers come to terms with the values and challenges presented to them by circumstance." (ibid., p. 51-52)



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### 3. Swahili and vs. Lingala? Indexicalities and ideologies



Map 3: Maximum extension of both languages in DR

Divergent ideologies and associations, e.g. in Kisangani:

*Na miye nikatoka inji, nikakuwe na mwenjangu, sivezake kusama swahili mingi. Mi nasema, mi nasikiya à l'aise ku lingala. Itasema iyi lingala ni langue mi nitasikiya à l'aise na mwenjangu, lingala njo nitasema bien na mwenjangu – Swahili ni kwetu.*

(Nassenstein 2015: 199)



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<sup>1</sup> Lingala and Swahili are not only spoken in different areas of this bilingual city, they are also imbued with different meanings.<sup>2</sup> While Swahili is viewed as the language of politeness, softness and humbleness, Lingala is considered to be the language of thieves, rudeness and force.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Swahili is also linked with backwardness, ignorance and quillibility, while Lingala is the language of the capital and of Kinshasa's cultural and musical scene, emanating pre-Sage, urbanity, wilderness and street wisdom.<sup>4</sup> [...] Nonetheless, in Kisangani, and especially among the Kongo, a general consensus reigns that *'Lingala ekomi kodimohi'* [Lingala is taking the upper hand]. In downtown Kisangani, at the university campus and in petty trade, Lingala is more often heard than Swahili, even among Swahili speakers: (Wilson 2015: 296-97)



## 4.2 (Street) youth in

### Goma

- Young residents of Goma use a linguistic practice that was labeled with the problematic glossonym "Yabacrâne", with Lingala, French, English, Kinyarwanda influences, used by gangs, child soldiers, mototaxi drivers, street children, young athletes, etc.
- Nassenstein (2016, 2020), Bose (2018), Tauer (2019) and Fendt (2020) have worked on the sociolinguistics of Yabacrâne. Nassenstein & Bose (2020) have provided a brief structural comparison with other Swahili youth language practices – a more exhaustive study still missing
- Lingala, and especially Lingala youth language from Kinshasa ("Lingala ya Bayankee") plays a prominent role in this, serving like a seed that produces creative linguistic "sprouts".
- Lingala has gained momentum due to the militarization of the area and violent conflict, and language attitudes have changed over the past 20 years (Lingala has solidified its role in the ecologies of the city) – an increasing number of Gomaraisiens speaks Lingala (despite, or because of the ambivalent associations with this language?)



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## 4.2 (Street) youth in

O: Makili ayo, ah, iyi dunia iyi, ah ah, ilo na bitu mingi, si ile jena petiti yangu minotoku mu toam, tawotoku mu... centreville, minakutana na grand pêtre Mangotroko, ananiyemba combien de fois tufike mu Pointe-Noire juu tuome kama n'unavaza savouré aye. Hors kumbe dajia niko na muu guete ya malare moya ivi, ma muu motié-motié, wenge pake unavazé mu foyon yetu ya Degal. Ah, Niliakusa na muu minato yangu, minasema, ye kumbe ilo na mu-muaso yangye ilo na taradajia... apige muu hokome, ananiyemba il faut tapande tuende ku Pointe-Noire.	I0: This world, oh, this world, aha, has many issues, yes, that day of yesterday I came from town, young buddy, we came from the city center, and I meet [the rich gangster role model] Mangotroko, and he shows me how many times we reach our secret meeting spot so that we see how you enjoy marijuana. Even though I already have some stolen goods of value/money, something small, you know our way how to deal in Goma/our "Goma way". I did have some money myself, I would say, yet he was preparing a little bit of his money... he should go for pickpocketing, (as) he was saying to me we should climb up to Pointe-Noire (to smoke weed).]
S: Si njo mama ba bile, bale ba bile, talikutana saa tuko na sema, il faut tuende ona Chisela manake desuze, treize...	I5: This is why they are like that, we met and we were saying we have to go see Chisela for weed...]
O: Eh! Mastu, njo bale!	I0: Ah! Buddy, that's them!]
S: Bakusana tena maselo moya ivi ya fimbuka kaku, ilo tena maselo moya ivi manake, eh!	I5: It was again a conversation without sense/ importance, it was again such a conversation, that's why, ah!]
O: Petit alikuwa combien de fois, ilo na lare moya ivi, akaniyemba combien de fois ye ilo pêtre, na miye nikasema "sodali", na miye nikasema najua niko na kuetole yangu na miye ku poche, ma muu masazo ebundeli.	I0: The young guy came how many times [to show] he has some money, he told me so many times that he is a show-off/dandy, and I then said "that's it!", and yet I knew I had a part of yours in my pocket, and some money business was coming along [beginning.]

(Transcr. from Nassenstein 2020, corr. in Fendt 2020: 45–46)



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## 4.2 (Street) youth in

S: ... na muu masazo ebundeli.	I5: ... some money business was coming along [beginning].
O: Eh, nikasema mba hakuna problem – tukishafika kasa Djidju Mwanga tutarespiri ata muu quatre kitoko, itapasa na muu systemanto...	I0: I then said that there is no problem – we had already arrived at Djidju Mwanga's place, we will drink even up to four sachets [of liquor], it will give some drunkenness/intoxication ...]
S: ... na muu systemanto ...	I5: ... and some drunkenness/intoxication ...]
O: ... itategisa muu systematique. Miye kufika tu pale, nikasema djo. Kumbe djo ilo na ma-infractions moya za danger, petiti yangu, eh! Wege pake unajua Pointe-Noire (S: Pointe Noire!), njo kwenye hatu banamemaka ma-plan, ma-noire mamin... (S: ma-noire moya ivi...). Nikapita tu mu ile nzela, kumbe biko na mufufuta daja ule masla, biko na mudibrouillé danger, tukishafika tu ivi, bakaniuliza: "Oh mastu, combien de fois?" Bakaniyemba bitu ya trop mais basi juu niko mastu moya ivi, minakusuka na ma-gro-doi ba nini, minapendaka ribonali.	I0: ... it will cause some drunkenness. After me arriving there, I see the guy, yet the guy has a long and filled up record, my friend, ah! You yourself know Pointe-Noire (S: Pointe-Noire!) [the secret place where weed is consumed], so where people bring things, weed, whatever... (S: some weed like that...). I then pass by that way, but in fact they are already looking for that guy, they are really searching for him, after arriving like that they asked me: "hey guy, how many times?" They then showed me many things but that's it as I am simply a friend, I usually have some pride/arrogance, I like to believe myself to be special.]
S: Si hadjo balikusa na-attaqé ule mastu balikusa na uzeze ule mastu ilo yuma moya ivi, kumbe ule ni crane moya ivi manake kankala, wangu, hm!	I5: If the guys were attacking that boy they were thinking he is a wealthy, but in fact that guy is a "crane" like that, thus a "kankala", my friend, hm!]

(Transcr. from Nassenstein 2020, corr. in Fendt 2020: 45–46)



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## 4.2 (Street) youth in

### Goma (Yabacrâne)

- (1) a. *ma-calculs*    *yenye*    *i-ko*    *mu*    *ma-boro*    *moya ivi*    *mystique*  
CL6-strategy    REL    CL6-COP    LOC    CL6-thing    QUANT    weird  
'strategies/operations that are bound to strange things/stuff'
- b. *a-ka-sem-a*    *iyi*    *ma-borite*    *ha-i-ta-tok-a*    *apa*  
3SG-CONS-say-FV    DEM    CL6-thing    NEG-CL6-FUT-come.out-FV    here  
'and then (s)he said these things won't come out here/won't show'
- (2) *tu-fik-e*    *mu*    *pointi noir*    *juu*    *tu-on-e*    *kama*  
1PL-reach-SUBJ    LOC    dark-spot    so.that    1PL-see-SUBJ    how
- n'u-na-wez-a*    *savouré*    *aye*  
2SG-PRS-can-FV    enjoy    INTERROG  
'we may reach our secret spot (Pointe Noire) so that we see how you enjoy marijuana'

(Nassenstein 2020: 8–9)



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## 4.2 (Street) youth in

### Goma

- (3) *mais tunakulipa kwanza avance* – [second speaker:] *vrai mbata!*  
'but we first pay you in advance, a real trick/coup'
- kumbe vrai de dernier de double de mbatare*  
'really a real-last-double strike'
- dernier de mbatare, juu balikusa balishamupiga mbata*  
'last strike, because they were already playing this trick/coup on him'
- kisha tena banakuya mupiga double de...?* (...)  
then again they come to play on him double of – what? (3'53"–4'01")

"the idea of a pool that is filled with lexical material acquired and grabbed out of diverse contexts and constellations of language encounters matches the idea of fluidity that is inherent in the concept of translanguaging. The lexical pool, where items may float, or may also sink and no longer be accessed or used, constitutes an analogy ... that also reveals its ludic character. Cases of semantic change, play and secrecy are negotiated and performed at a lexical level. ... Languages whose material has entered the fluid repertoire ('pool') are therefore not owned, and speakers no longer classify a Lingala word as being Lingala; instead it becomes Yabacrâne in and through the performative act, as a form of contemporary identification" (Nassenstein 2020: 7, 8)



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## 4.2 (Street) youth in

### Goma

- (4) a. *ni-li-kaw-a*    *na*    *mwa*    *mwazo*    *yangu*    *i*  
1SG-PST-be-FV    COM    QUANT    CL9-money    CL9:POSS1SG    QUANTIFIERS  
'I had some money for myself'
- b. *ni-ko*    *na*    *ma-mwa-moitie*    *moitie*  
1SG-COP    COM    CL6-QUANT-money    money  
'I have some money (of whatever kind)'
- c. (Kivu Swahili)  
*ni-li-kaw-a*    *na*    *ma-kuta*    *moya ivi*  
1SG-PST-be-FV    COM    CL6-money    QUANT  
'I had some money (for myself)'
- (Yabacrâne)
- (5) *ba-le*    *ba-petit*, *eh*,    *ba-ko*    *na*    *grand*    *ii* SM  
3PL-DEM    CL2-guy    INTERJEC    3PL-COP    COM    big    REINTERPRETATION  
'those guys, really, are very clever/streetwise' *mayindi/mindi*  
way.of.thinking



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#### 4.2 (Street) youth in Goma

Viele Klassen des Kivu Swahili nutzen also die Morphologie von Klasse 9. Dennoch weist das Kivu Swahili ein weniger simplifiziertes Konkordanzsystem als das Yabacrâne auf, wie sich durch folgende Beispiele (...) zeigt."

[Many classes of Kivu Swahili thus use the morphology of class 9. Nevertheless, Kivu Swahili has a less simplified concordance system than Yabacrâne, as the following examples (...) show.]

(Kivu Swahili)

- (6) *malégume za mingi zenye zinatokaka Kibumba*  
ma-légume zi-a o-mingi  
NP<sub>9</sub>-Gemüse PP<sub>9</sub>-KON QUANT  
zi-enye zi-na-tok-ak-a Kibumba  
PP<sub>9</sub>-REL SP<sub>9</sub>-PRS-komm.aus-HAB-FV Kibumba  
,viel Gemüse kommt (für gewöhnlich) aus Kibumba'  
[lots of vegetables usually come from Kibumba]

(Yabacrâne)

- (7) *iyi maborite haitokaa apa*  
i-yi ma-borite ha-i-ta-tok-a apa  
PP<sub>9</sub>-DEM1 NP<sub>9</sub>-Ding NEG-SP<sub>9</sub>-FUT-komm.aus-FV hier  
,diese Dinge werden hier nicht herauskommen'  
[these things will not come out from here]

(Fendt 2020: 28–29, also discussing the data with regard to Shinagana 2007 on Sheng)

#### 4.2 How to interpret these data with regard to ecologies and translanguaging

- "Yabacrâne" = a fluid practice of multilingual resources from Swahili, French, English, Lingala, Kinyarwanda
- Instead of relying on one determined matrix language, Yabacrâne speakers employ grammatical categories from other languages than Swahili
- Rather than speaking of separate language systems or ensembles that are mixed, speakers' repertoires can be seen as "semantic workshops", where creative bricolage, concealment, play and transgression take place
- streetwise *bacrâne* or *bakankala* of Goma translanguaging at different levels: lexical and grammatical level, and language being recontextualized, relexified and manipulated, and being multilingually encoded, stylized through gestures, fashion accessories etc.
- translanguaging practice therefore not only occurs on a structural level but also includes semantic play and concealment techniques, i.e. playing with meaning and with meaning-making
- languages are no longer separated from each other holistically as different systems, but speakers emphasize that words, sounds or affixes may be "reminiscent" of something else: Yabacrâne does not mix, embed, switch or borrow, but constitutes a linguistic and social practice on its own
- the language ecology ("organism") of Swahili interacts with and adapts to "invasive species" such as Lingala: Goma as a spatial heteroglossic pool for young speakers' creative language use, the city as 'urban metrolingual playground' (in analogy with Pennycook & Otsuji 2015)

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#### 4.3 Emergent Afrobeats/Amapiiano from Lubumbashi: "Un style lushois modernisé"



RJ Kanierra - TIA (Official Video)

RJ Kanierra Official / 112K subscribers

RJ Kanierra (2023):

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pa1CFC\\_6ahg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pa1CFC_6ahg)

#### 4.3 Emergent Afrobeats/Amapiiano from Lubumbashi: "Un style lushois modernisé"

**RJ Kanierra - TIA** (This is Africa) (0'00"–1'00") Posa

koperna? Heh, kufa kasi!

Orgi-original ligangi di-chitutsi ya bra

... *mbarabwiro*

Nibeimbe je? Nibeseme je? Nifurahi je? Nibibambe je? Nibikunye je?

Ne[ agent ya leta bafutaka te, ba-heir na biso eleka ebele, ezoposa nkanda mais choix eza te, mosala makasi mais mbongo eza te.

Piga miziki, miingiyi (mi-ingi-e) [mu] deni, nipe deni, leta atalipa. (2x)

Tya! Tya! Nzambe oyo moko aloba mpo nalia natoka mpo moto akolia na matoki na yeee (2x)

Kolo akosaka tel

Tya, tya, tya!

Hela iko, shi makuta iko, mbongo ezali, sasa bapende ripa.

Lingala / Swahili (no tone marking)

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#### 4.3 Emergent Afrobeats/Amapiiano from Lubumbashi

**@thandaa3hede337** 1 week ago  
Un refrain en swahili et des couplets en lingala, je crois. Les langues parmi les plus belles du continent. Validé depuis Lubumbashi au Togo. J'écoute en boucle.

**@MarvellousPen** 12 days ago  
RJ nous a rendu fiers avec ce son! Un Style Lushois modernisé.

**@marvelouspen089** 2 weeks ago  
Même le refrain est à Lingala

**@marvelouspen089** 2 weeks ago  
@marvelouspen089 Non, c'est swahili

**@marvelouspen089** 2 weeks ago  
C'est vraiment du lourd! C'est captivant surtout pour ceux qui comprennent le Swahili de Lubumbashi. La voix d'Eric Flash est wow! Keep up the good work!

**@michailoyange0139** 2 weeks ago (edited)  
Le Lingala est une langue... il bien utilisé par le directement à son âme ou à l'Africain original millénaire qui repose dans son ADN... c'est pour ça beaucoup d'Africains ont l'air de comprendre à travers l'émotion de la chanson... spiritus toujours !!! ah ba tika biso

**@autalife1835** 1 month ago  
Le son de la gloire en tout cas suis fier d'être congolaise! courage mes frères

**TikTok**  
@marvelouspen089  
This song it's deep I don't understand it but I feel it deep inside. Love Lingala and Swahili.  
One love from Cameroon

#### 4.4 (Street) youth in Lubumbashi, Haut Katanga

Lingala's impact on Swahili in Lubumbashi can be identified in the following categories (based on analyses of data from the microvariation project):

- Plural marking
- Diminutives
- Deontic modality
- Negative
- The enclitic =ko

N.B. Problems of/with glossonyms:

KimL = Kiswahili kya mu Lubumbashi = Swahili ya Grand Katanga (in the older literature, seen: Shaba Swahili, Katanga Swahili, Lubumbashi Swahili)

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(4.4 cont.)

### i. The noun phrase: Plural

**marking**

multiple plural prefix stacking (NP2+NP4 / NP2+NP6 / NP2+NP8)

(8) *banamuke i mashiku ni problème, bashakwa ba-ma-scène*

‘women these days are a problem, they have already been at specific “places of drama” (= pentecostal churches / sites of prostitution (meant here))’ (rec WS.1a)

b. *bale batoto ba vile njo banekalaka ba-ma-scène*

‘those kids of that kind usually stay at those specific (well-known) places of pentecostal churches’ (rec WS.1a)

c. *bale ba-ma-calcul bako pembeni abapusake*

‘these two specific (renowned) dealmakers that are near do not push it’ (rec WS.1a)

→ Increased use of NC2 *ba-* in prefix stacking processes, more than in Kkml, e.g., YL *babor, babintu* ‘some things, worthless things’ etc., see Mulumbwa (2009: 131) for Kkml: *bankaka bamoja* ‘specific thieves’.

Used in Kkml but with less semantic specificity: “Par exemple *kijana* “jeune homme” donne au pluriel *biyana* (C18, *Biya*, en SL peut être préfixé de *ba-* donnant: *babiyana*. Rappelons que la préfixation de *ba-* n’est pas obligatoire pour la formation du pluriel contrairement aux accords de classes plurielles” (Ferrari et al. 2014: 31)

→ Potential contact with Lingala (Meeuwis 2020); but also has to do with animacy: In Swah., NP6 tends to turn into a “general PL marker”. Kkml however shows animacy-based agreement and a higher occurrence of NP2 than in KV etc.

31

(4.4 cont.)

### ii. The noun phrase: Diminutives

- Kkml: NP12 *ka-* = DIM/PL *katoto* ‘pe[te] enfant’, *tutoto* ‘pe[te] enfants’, *kanyumba* ‘pe[te] maison’, *tunyumba* ‘pe[te] maisons’ (Ferrari et al. 2014: 33–34)
- Besides the widely used *ka-* (NP12) and *tu-* (NP13, PL) young people also make use of *mwa* preceding the head. This does not occur in common Kkml.

(9) a. *mwa bijoux yangu ekonajisha i mashiku*

‘(s)he is selling some small quantity of jewellery of mine these days’ (rec WS.1a)

b. *kukonapartagé mwa evangile, unamudamé, unamukurya, anasentir* (rec WS.1a)

‘we have occasional sex here and there (“we share a bit of the gospel”), you fuck (“eat”) her, you do her, she is feeling it’ (rec WS.1a)

→ the pre-head *mwa* is only used in YL practices (KV–YL and Kkml–YL) and Lingala from where it has most likely been borrowed from Lingala (in Lubumbashi most youth speak Lingala). In Lingala, it is used as follows: “Others are the agentive *mwa* ‘bit’ and the diminutive-deprecatory *ka* ‘trifling’, ‘meaningless’, ‘small’, which are always preposed to the noun, adjective, or adverb they modify. *Mwa* and *ka* must be considered unbound morphemes.” (Meeuwis 2020: 93). Ex. *mwa elembo* ‘a small sign’, *alia mwa lipa* ‘let him eat some bread’ etc.

While Swah. YL in DRC have adopted *mwa* from Lingala, Lingala YL has taken over NC12 *ka-* from Swahili.

32

(4.4 cont.)

### iii. The verb phrase: DeonAc modality and -faa

- The defective verb *-faa* (expressing necessity, as free variant of *il faut*) can be inflected in the YL (=Kkml) (<Std. Swah. *kufaa* ‘to be suitable’):

(10) a. *ekonemita pa express asema yaya minafaa kupuka yaya unileteye ata préservatif*

‘she calls me quickly saying ‘older brother, I must have sex, older brother, bring me even a condom’ (rec WS.1a)

b. *kama tena anafaa kujiconcentré mu ma-mambo ingine ni mwenyewe*

‘if again (s)he must concentrate on such other things it’s him/herself’ (rec WS.2a)

There are no differences in the expression of volition (*-penda, -taka*) and possibility (*-eza, -weza*).

→ turning *-faa* into a fully inflected verb in analogy with *kupash(w)a* in varieties of Congolese Swahili, regularization (and simplification):

inafaa + SP–V–FV:SBIV → change of mood: SP–faa–FV:IND + INF

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(4.4 cont.)

### iv. The verb phrase: NegaAon (of copula constructions)

With regard to the negation of ‘to have’ in Kkml, “we may find copulas of both ‘possessive’ and ‘locative’ type realising all three predicative functions – a feature proper to SL: ‘equivalence of different copula forms in nominal predicates’” (possessive copula *ha+SP+na* / locative copula *ha+SP+ko* (/mo/po) / combined forms such as *ha+SP+na+ko* etc.) (Schicho 1992: 80), e.g., *ba6 ya mwipwa aina ya muyomba* ‘the chance of the nephew is not that of the maternal uncle’ (Nassenstein 2022: 100).

- Out of these, in Kkml–YL, one clear preference seems to be the use of the *-shi* negation (secondary negation) with possessive copula *-na*:

(11) a. *utaona mu local mutu ekonapita ashina na manguho*

‘you see in local contexts a person is passing you who has no clothes’ (rec WS.2a)

b. *coach asema niko bon joueur mais mishina na manguho*

‘the coach says I am a good player but I do not have (right) clothes’ (rec WS.2a)

→ Schicho (1992) analyzed different co-occurring negative constructions, ranging from less creolized (ECS-like) to more creolized forms. In Kkml–YL however, always the same negation pattern seems to be used SP–shi–V–FV:NEG (secondary negation turned general negation). Especially i. the more ECS-like *ha-/a–V–FV:NEG* construction is very rarely used, but also ii. the ‘broken Swahili’ forms negating the phrase with invariable *hapana* / *bado*, and iii. double negations are very rare (while they are common in Kkml, 75% in Schicho’s 1992 corpus, as in *habawezi kumupiga hapana* ‘they won’t beat him’ (ibid, p. 85). → commonalization of one NEG-type in Kkml–YL in all contexts

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(4.4 cont.)

### v. The enclitic *=ko* as merger of Kkml *=ko* and Lingala *kó/kó*

- In Kkml, postverbally the enclitic *=ko* can be employed as a modal marker, originating from the locative of NC17 with different politeness / discursive functions, asenuating or relativizing one’s words. Ferrari, Kalunga & Mulumbwa (2014: 97–98) state: “Le suffixe *-ko* peut être utilisé avec un verbe, un nom, un adjectif ou un adjectif. Il semblerait qu’il provienne de *kiloko* “un peu, peu”, Il sert à adoucir le sens du verbe ou de l’adjectif.”
- Vwala muzuriko! / Sema polepoleko! / Beko bamingi ko. / Aina mbali sana lakini ni mbaliko.
- Devo & Kalunga (2014): Hyp. asenuaf-<NC12? vs. loc.<NC17 / Conclusion: all<NC17!
- In the YL, however, the enclitic *=ko* merges with the phrase-final Lingala expression *kó*, expressing insistence or emphasis, especially with orders / requests, or reprimands. In Lingala, the (non-related) homophonous *kó/kó* is used as in: *Mwana, kende kó!* ‘Kid, go (already / just ... already / no discussion)!’

(12) a. *munapika=ko ka-tour mu ville* SWAH.LOC.USE ✓ / #LING.USE

‘you are doing a small round through the city’ (rec WS.1a)

b. *minachoka minasema pardon uniliberé(=ko)* (rec WS.1a)

‘I am getting tired (of sex), I say please release me a bit’ SWAH.USE ✓

‘I am getting tired (of sex), I say just release me already’ LING.USE ✓

c. *petit, unipathiye lion lion ko*

‘Kid, just bring me a 1000 FC note already!’ LING.USE (SYNTAX) ✓

\*‘Kid, bring me “a bit” a 1000 FC (polite)!’ #SWAH.USE (SYNTAX)

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### 5. Preliminary conclusions and final thoughts

- Lingala has been influencing the urban language ecologies of Goma and Lubumbashi in formerly Swahili-speaking areas, inverting the negative image & covert prestige of Lingala – now indexing *congolité*, ‘modernity’, ‘urbanity’ etc..
- Goma & Lubumbashi → Different translingual realities, affecting different structural recompositions of the languages Lingala and Swahili (and others) in the two segs (due to different language ecologies)
- Individuals navigate through urban space with their linguistic practices – I thus suggest to understand the city as a place of *linguistic symbiosis* (i.e., the evolutionary innovation of a linguistic practice based on a recombination of relationships, being a translingual agreement of some sort (cf. also García’s 2020 idea of a ‘symbiotic city’)
- Young people’s Swahili in the discussed spaces as an organism determined by speakers’ translingual symbiotic interactions (speakers as either *mutualistic*, *commensalistic*, or *parasitic* (?) symbionts), in analogy with de Bary’s (1879) basics of “the living together of unlike organisms”. N.B. also Lingala, as “endosymbiont” in “the Dissues” of Swahili spaces, changes and adapts itself (Lingala in speakers’ Swahili practices is no longer “real Lingala”).

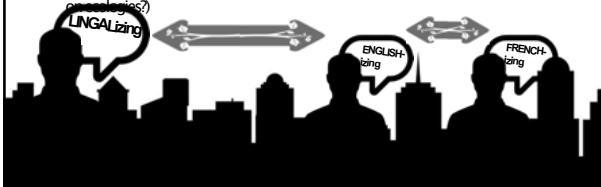
See also: “A communication community is an ecological unit conceived as a whole system in which all language resources within a region are evaluated in terms of their functional relationships to each other, their speakers, and the contexts in which the languages are used.” (Wendel 2005: 52)

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## 5. Preliminary conclusions and final thoughts

- Code-switching or translingual practice? In music, in the language use of the army, in the churches "codes" are often separated and urban place-making does not play a major role, but in youth's practices in Goma and Lubumbashi urban place-making takes place based on embodiment of and performance of translingual spatial repertoires, helping to adapt the "organism" of Swahili to changing ecological conditions (→ the organismal ecology of Swahili is the adaptation across/beyond language boundaries that lets it survive in new ways in its urban Congolese "habitats")
- Where to go from here? A sociolinguistic study on Lingala in Lubumbashi is needed, and more language-ideological work in both urban contexts, plus rethinking youth language studies in these contexts (with focus on microvariation?)



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microvariation &  
youth language  
practices in africa

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International WS @ILCAA

## Review of recent studies on multilingual practices in Africa and future perspectives

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## Introduction

### General agreement:

- African linguistics widely acknowledges that most speakers are multilingual, engaging with several languages daily.

### Ambiguity in Understanding:

- There's ambiguity about what "several languages" entails (Storch 2016: 2).
- Despite being a common theme, the complexity of communicative repertoires is not uniformly understood.

### Shifts in Analysis:

- Different approaches and shifts in analyzing multilingualism co-exist within the field (Storch 2016: 3).

### Critical Perspective:

- Limited participation of African linguists in discussions challenging traditional language structures (Storch 2016: 8).

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## Purpose of This Presentation

### Analyzing the Connection/Disconnection:

- Investigating the connection between language studies in Africa and the 'translinguistic turn'.

### Call for Evolution:

- Advocating for the evolution of translanguaging theory to be more inclusive by integrating African language studies.

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## Trans- Movement

### Conceptual Paradigms:

- Transidioma (Jacquemot, 2005), Polylingual Linguaging (Jørgensen, 2008), Truncated Multilingualism (Blommaert, 2010), Translingual Practice (Canagarajah, 2013), Transglossic Language Practice (Sultana & Dovchin, 2017; Sultana et al., 2015), Metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), Transglossia (Sultana et al., 2015), Linguascapes (Dovchin, 2018), Translanguaging (Li and Garcia 2014)

### The 'Trans-' Movement:

- Theories collectively known as 'trans-' movement, translingual turn, or translanguaging.
- Emphasize movement not just between languages but beyond (Canagarajah, 2013).

### Usage of Terms:

- Terms like "translingualism" and "translingual" are generic, denoting metadiscourse similarities, not a common framework.

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## Implication of Linguaging

### Language as an Active Process:

- Language is not a static entity but is actively reconstituted in social contexts (García, 2009: 47).

### Shift in Focus:

- Emphasizing creativity by moving from 'language' to 'linguaging' (Baynham & Lee, 2019: 15).

### Contrasting "Language Use" and "Linguaging" (Lee, 2017: 4-5):

- Language Use: Implies an ontological stability of language as a system utilized by a community.
- Linguaging: Represents an emergent process in social interaction.

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## Translanguaging

### Defining Translanguaging:

- A practical theory viewing language as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource for thinking and communication (Li, 2018: 26).

### Significance of 'Trans-' and '-ing':

- 'Trans-' Prefix (García & Li, 2014: 3):  
(1) Fluid Practices (2) Transformative Aspect (3) Interdisciplinary Impact
- '-ing' Suffix (Li & Lin, 2019: 210): Emphasizes the transient, momentary nature of communication, highlighting ongoing activities.

### Pedagogical Roots and Theoretical Evolution:

- Initially focused on modalities like listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Williams & Baker).
- Evolved to embrace a multimodal social semiotic view, recognizing linguistic signs as part of a broader repertoire with socio-historical and political associations (Kress, 2015).

### Insight:

- Translanguaging offers an encompassing and dynamic view of language practices, emphasizing fluidity, transformation, and interdisciplinary connections.

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## Translanguaging as a Decolonizing Project

### Rejecting Traditional Ideologies:

- Recent theories clarify positions by rejecting raciolinguistic ideology (Flora & Rosa, 2015) and abyssal thinking (Santos, 2007).
- Positions itself as a decolonizing project (Garcia et al., 2021; Li & Garcia, 2023).

### Inclusivity in Language Study

- Expanding the Scope:
  - Translanguaging includes meaning-making resources often considered para-linguistic or pragmatic.
- Rethinking Research Approaches (Aligns with the study of Nassenstein et al. (2021) ?)
  - Encourages seeking different research questions and alternative methods of data collection and analysis (Li 2023; Lee 2019)
  - Emphasizes the importance of how bilinguals and multilinguals use sights, sounds, objects, and instruments (Li, 2018; Li & Lin, 2019).

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## 'Language' and 'Multilingualism' in Africa

### Reconceptualizing Language in Africa

- Claimed to be "created" and "invented" (Lüpke & Storch, 2013; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).
- Absence of a clear notion of a language possessing a discrete identity in Africa (Lüpke & Storch, 2013; Mba, 2020).
- Speakers often control multiple linguistic varieties as resources for self-definition.

### Features of African Communicative Repertoires - Shift in Focus (Storch, 2016):

- Emphasizes features like languaging and mimesis, often overlooked in traditional linguistics.
- Advocates considering African language ideologies and linguistic epistemologies for analyzing communicative practices (Makoni et al., 2003).
- Multilingualism as a Cultural Technique (Lüpke and Storch 2013: 77)

### Not Only Urban But Rural Multilingualism:

- Exists in both urban and rural areas, with patterns of small-scale multilingualism.
- Diverse systems for linguistic valorization support the social value of languages, aiding their maintenance (Carlo & Good, 2020; Lüpke, 2016; 2018).

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## Critics and Concerns toward Translanguaging

### Insulting and Divisive:

- Wolff (2018): Concerns that translanguaging could be insulting and create meta-theoretical divides.

### Overlooking Marginalized Voices:

- Heugh & Stroud (2018): Critique of presenting multilingualism as a "new discovery" while neglecting research from marginalized communities.

### Inappropriateness in African Contexts:

- Lüpke (2016) argues against using terms like "translanguaging" in contexts without standard language culture, where language use is fluid and ephemeral. Critique implies that translanguaging presupposes separate systems to transcend, which may not be the case in Africa.

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## Call for inclusion of youth language

### Nassenstein, Hollington & Storch (2018) criticise the exclusion of youth language from theories of translanguaging.

- Calls for an inclusive approach that acknowledges the diversity and complexity of young people's languages in postcolonial contexts.
- Advocates exploring and expanding frameworks that focus on agency, creativity and resistance.

☞ This is in line with my call to enrich translanguaging theory by incorporating African perspectives for a more inclusive understanding.

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## Review of some recent studies along with translanguaging theory

- Costely et al. (2022) (Zambia)
- Milu (2018) (Kenya)
- Nassenstein and Hollington (2019) (Ethiopia & DRC)
- Makalela (2019) (South Africa)

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## Evolving Linguistic Landscape in Ndola, Zambia as translanguaging space

### Study by Tracey Costley, Nancy Kula, Lutz Marten (2022)

- Context: Changes in African Languages use in billboards and advertising in Ndola, Zambia.
- Concept: "Translanguaging Space" by Li Wei (2018)
- Findings and Significance:
  - Shift from English-dominated to multilingual advertising, featuring languages like Bemba and Nyanja.
  - Increase mirrors oral translanguaging practices.
  - Use of 'translanguaging spaces' to analyze languages in billboards.
  - Exploration of evolving language practices and socio-economic contexts.

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### Translingual Practices and Ethnicities in Kenyan Hip-Hop

**Study by: Esther Milu (2018)**

- Context: Kenyan hip-hop artists' translinguaging.
- Concept: Translinguaging, translingual practice, translingualism
- Findings and Significance:
  - Artists use linguistic activism to challenge racial and ethnic categorizations.
  - Contradictions in maintaining a "true" Kenyan identity.
  - Need for flexible translingualism theories for minority-language users seeking decolonization.

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### Linguistic Practice of Youth in Africa as Translinguaging

**Study by Nico Nassenstein and Andrea Hollington (2016)**

- Context: Youth languages in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and Kinshasa/Goma (DR Congo).
- Concept: Translinguaging
- Findings:
  - Translinguaging as a strategy to craft new linguistic repertoires.
  - Blend of global trends with local elements and music cultures.
  - Translinguaging creates a 'third space' for new identities and challenges power structures.

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### Ubuntu Translinguaging

**Study by Leketi Makalela (2015; 2016; 2017; 2019)**

- Context: Language use or languaging in complex multilingual settings in African (urban) context.
- Concept: 'Ubuntu' logic ("*I am because you are.*"), suggesting interconnectedness of languages.
- Findings:
  - Advocacy for Ubuntu translinguaging in education.
  - Translinguaging deepens understanding and fosters self-identity.
  - Examination of African classrooms and their multilingual complexities.

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### Some Limitation of These Studies

- Predominant focus on urban spaces for translinguaging studies.
- More research through translinguaging lens in rural areas in Africa is awaited.

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### Conclusion

**Overview:**

- Encouraging shifts towards inclusive and evolving translinguaging theories.

**Wider Perspective for Discussion:**

- Pennycook (2022): Terminologies alone don't make a project critical.
- Advocates for *translingual activism* (Pennycook 2019).
- Lee (2018): Emphasizes the need for translinguaging pedagogy research.
- Need for finding ways in which philosophy of language studies can be continually reconstituted in accordance with the principle of translinguaging.

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International workshop “A new perspective on descriptive linguistics in Africa based on the translingual ecology” (04.11.2023, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, ILCAA)

## **What is Mbum and what is not? Addressing multi- and translingualism in the creation of a reference grammar**

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### **Some remarks on reference grammars..**

- manifold purposes, e.g., training for the linguist, documentation and preservation of an understudied language, university teaching/learning, language comparison and classification (genealogical and areal), reference for typologists, gateway for the advancement of linguistic theories and terminology in general, development of a standardized orthography,..
- structures and formal features:
  - written, written + audio, multimedia; print, digital, mix,..
  - running text: allows for explanations, thematic classification and context
  - examples: allows for efficiency, clarity, transparency and vividness
  - (more or less) common structure, (more or less) common terminology
  - idiosyncratic structure to stress the uniqueness of a language versus orientation towards a more universalist perspective to fit the language in linguistic tradition (Lau 2021, Lehmann & Maslova 2004) → different advantages and disadvantages: e.g., vividness vs comparability/ clearness
- the readership / the audience:
  - linguists (general linguists, typologists, sociolinguists..), language instructors and students, language planners, community members,..
  - a wide range of linguistic knowledge and education (trained linguist, language enthusiast, own fieldwork experience,..); range of knowledge of scientific practices and constraints (what is the background and training of the author; what are the limits of a grammatical description of ~250 pages; different styles/traditions; funding-related aspects,..); range of reading styles (from first page to last versus picking out specific paragraphs)

### **Challenges in grammar writing (Nakayama & Rice 2014)**

Identification of 3 major challenges

- “Mismatch between facts about language and the framework of grammar writing”
  - variability as the norm rather than the exception
  - differences in judgements of grammaticality
  - heterogeneity of a communities grammar
- “The scale of grammar writing as a project”
  - working on a project without limits (one could continue writing forever)
  - organizing the knowledge in a proper way
- “Context in which descriptive grammar is situated”
  - purposes and audiences of grammars have changed over time
  - new technological possibilities have to be considered

### **Contextualization of Mbum (Adamawa, Cameroon)**

- Classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Adamawa-Ubangi, Adamawa, Mbum, Southern (Boyd 1989)
- this (preliminary) inner classification of so-called “Adamawa languages” is highly disputed until today
- spoken in some areas of Cameroon, like in and around Ngaoundéré, Tibati, Bertoua, but also in the border region of Chad and the Central African Republic
- dialectal variation: Mbum Njal, Mbum Babal, Mbum Nger (or Mbere), Mbum Tiba, Kepere (Westermann & Bryan 1952)
- approximately 50 000 Mbum speakers “around [...] Mbang-Mboum and Ngan-Ha” (Markgraf 2012: 93)
- focus of this research: Mbum as spoken in Nganha, a village closeby Ngaoundéré with ~6000 or more speakers (of all ages), and Ngaoundéré, the capital of the Adamawa region



- the variety is, particularly in the multilingual setting of Ngaoundéré, in contact with various languages like Adamawa-Fulfulde, French, Hausa and Dii, and shows signs of a strong influence of Adamawa-Fulfulde on its lexicon and grammar

### Examples of contact-induced language change in Mbum

#### Lexical borrowing

- borrowing from Adamawa-Fulfulde, Hausa, French and other languages
- from ‘basic’ vocabulary to specific semantic fields (e.g. the borrowing of titles from Hausa)
- often borrowed lexemes are no more recognized as such and can only be identified based on their salient phonotactics and syllable structure

#### The pronominal system

- occurrence of inclusive / exclusive 1PL pronouns in current Mbum data → resemblance with the Adamawa-Fulfulde pronominal system (Taylor 1953, Fofana & Schleicher 2002, as cited in Markgraf 2012)?
- reinterpretation of the Adamawa-Fulfulde 1PL excl. pronoun *min* as a 1SG pronoun in Mbum, which is commonly used as an emphatic pronoun

<i>Ké</i>	<i>mú</i>	<i>lák</i>	<i>húr</i>	<i>ná?</i>	<i>Kái,</i>	<i>sá:</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>yà,</i>	<i>mìn</i>	<i>mù.</i>
3SG.S	COP	eat	couscous	Q	No	COP.NEG	3SG.O	NEG	1SG.S.EMPH	COP
‘Is he the one who ate the couscous?’					‘No, it’s not him, it’s me.’					

#### Demonstratives

- according to Markgraf (2012: 98), the demonstratives *dô* and *bo* are borrowed from Adamawa-Fulfulde, where *dô* is used as a “distal demonstrative” and *bo* as an “emphatic particle”
- in Mbum, *dô* is probably used for anaphoric reference and for enhanced topicality if in combination with the demonstrative *ai*
- *bo* has so far only been elicited in combination with *ai*, in which it was used to mark a subject newly introduced in the dialogue

#### Modal auxiliaries

- the auxiliaries *ndíkà* and *séí* are reported to be of Fulfulde origin according to Mbum speakers

<i>Séí</i>	<i>mì</i>	<i>nìŋ</i>	<i>pínà.</i>	<i>Ndíkà</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>nîŋ.</i>
must	1SG.S	do	work	must	INDEF.PRONOUN	do
‘I have to (do) work.’				‘It is necessary to do it.’ / ‘One must do it.’		

#### Interrogative particles

- polar questions are either realized (solely) by intonation or are marked with the sentence-final interrogative particles *ná* or *lè*
- according to speakers, *lè* is of Mbum origin and *ná* a Fulfulde loan
- *ná* is very commonly used, especially among young people; *lè* is, perceived(/reinterpreted?) as more polite

<i>Rù</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>dĩ</i>	<i>Gambi</i>	<i>ná?</i>	<i>Rù</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>dĩ</i>	<i>Gambi</i>	<i>lè?</i>
1PL.S	IPV	call	personal.name	Q	1PL.S	IPV	call	personal.name	Q
‘Do we call Gambi?’					‘Do we call Gambi?’				

#### ‘Le Mboum mélangé’: ‘Mixed Mbum’?

The sentence ‘I’m thinking of doing it’ can be realized, e.g., as follows:

<i>Mì</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>fil</i>	<i>níŋà.</i>	
1SG.S	IPV	think	do	‘real’ Mbum of Nganha? Acrolect?
‘I’m thinking of doing it.’				

<i>Mì</i>	<i>támm-à</i>	<i>níŋà.</i>	
1SG.S	think-VN	do	‘mixed’ Mbum?
‘I’m thinking of doing it.’			



Min tám̀m̀i wàdúgò.

1SG.S think do

‘highly mixed’ Mbum or Adamawa-Fulfulde?

‘I’m thinking of doing it.’

*Mbum in areal contact: Attrition of ‘salient’ consonants?*

- labial-velar stops: older speakers in the more rural context of Nganha realize /kp/, /gb/ and /ŋgb/ as labial-velar stops relatively consistently, whereas younger speakers in the more urban context of Ngaoundéré tend towards shifting /kp/ to [p] (or more rarely [k]), /gb/ to [ɓ] (or even [w]) and /ŋgb/ to [mb]
- implosives: variation between [ɓ] and [b], [d] and [ɗ]
- labial flap: relatively consistent use of [v] among older speakers; substitution of [v] with [w] among younger speakers

### What is Mbum and what is not?

How can this deep impact of language contact with Adamawa-Fulfulde and other languages of the area and the ubiquitous variation on all levels of linguistic description be dealt with in a reference grammar?

A genre which is supposed to..

- add to documentation and preservation efforts (ideological aspects)
- be a base for language comparison and classification (genealogical and areal)
- be a useful and concise reference tool for typologists
- ...

Incorporating linguistic variation when writing a reference grammar of an under or undocumented language can be „more time-consuming“, „if not impossible“ and „might affect the descriptive accuracy when variation is not clearly marked“ (Lau 2021: 174f; Rice 2005: 397).

### How to deal with this linguistic reality in a reference grammar?

- discussion of the multi- and translingual setting in a subchapter of the introduction only?
- labeling and describing the variation as different registers?
- consistent depiction and discussion of variation?
- emphasizing the personal profiles of the main informants to make clear the sometimes very idiosyncratic character of a reference grammar?

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### Abbreviations

1	first person	IPV	imperfective	S	subject
3	third person	NEG	negation	SG	singular
COP	copula	O	object	VN	verbal noun
EMPH	emphatic	PL	plural		
INDF	indefinite	Q	question particle		