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The Interaction of Wolof and French in Dakarois Families: A Specific Look at Ouakam Households

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The Interaction of Wolof and French in Dakarois Families:

A Specific Look at Ouakam Households

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to show the unique multilingual situation in Dakar, which manifests itself most frequently with a mixture of Wolof and French use. By using the neighborhood of Ouakam as an indicator of Dakar as a whole, one can see the immense impact of both Wolof and French in family settings. More importantly, the interaction of Wolof and French in Ouakam households is used as a lens to show the social impact language has on families in Dakar.

Introduction and Historical Background

Dakar, the capital of Senegal, was once the capital of French West Africa. It was the first place in Western Africa that the French settled and French has long been the official language of Senegal. However, “Wolof is frequently referred to as the national language, not only by native Wolof speakers, but by speakers of many of the other languages spoken in Senegal.”¹ It is this dichotomy between an official colonial language and a majority national language that creates such a complex and lively linguistic situation in Senegal, and in Dakar in particular because of the prolonged and concentrated contact with the French.

Dakar has 968,426 residents (as of 2007) within an area of 8,238 hectares (7,843 hectares of which is “urbanized”). It is comprised of many ethnicities, but Wolof is the dominant ethnicity (about 43.7% of the population according to the 1988 census) and Wolof is also the dominant language (more than 80% of the Senegalese population speaks Wolof).² Dakar is divided into many neighborhoods, each with a slightly different vibe and demographic. Ouakam is the 7th largest in terms of population size, with 48,454 residents.

Ouakam was founded by Alé Ndoeye, of the Lébou people, in an attempt to flee persecution from the Djoloff people. In 1700, the first pirogue was built in the Ouakam Bay, and in 1800, the first well was constructed. Ouakam is 557 hectares in size, situated to the extreme west of Dakar, from the Île de Cap Vert to the foothills of Mamelles. It is south of Ngor and Yoff, and northwest of Mermoz/Sacré Cœur. Originally, the main industries were fishing and agriculture because of the dense forest that was in the area and the access to the sea. However, with the French influence, Ouakam quickly became the central military neighborhood of Dakar.³

¹ McLaughlin p. 159

² McLaughlin p. 159

³ Ouakam government documents

In the beginning, Ouakam was divided into seven sectors by the three elders that were in charge. The sectors resembled the setup of traditional villages. The seven original neighborhoods were Gouye-Sor, Ripp, Sinthe, Medina, Boulga, Mboul, and Toglou. In the 1970's, there was an extension of the original subdivisions to the newer *cités*: Comico, Avion, Ballon, Enseignant, Mamelles, Assemblée Nationale, Air France, and Asecna. All the subdivisions are considered to be part of Ouakam, but the residents are often divided by profession. For example, teachers commonly live in Cité Enseignant (in French, *enseigner* means “to teach”), and employees of ASECNA, a national security company, frequently live in Cité Asecna.

The French established a military post in Dakar and annexed the Lébou Republic in 1857. However, the first French military camp in Ouakam was established in 1914. Originally it was called Paul Lapeyre, but now it is called Mame Bounama Fall. In 1940, the French established the DA 160, the French military base of Ouakam. Since 1945, there has been a well-established cohabitation and a cooperative military. According to my interview with an official in the Ouakam town hall⁴, the relationship between the French and Senegalese, at least in terms of the military and civilians of Ouakam, has been amicable from the beginning. Ouakam has been one of the calmest neighborhoods in Dakar in regards to French relations. This can perhaps be attributed to the need and desire for the French and Senegalese military to work together efficiently. There is a lot to be said for the bond that can be formed from a common goal.

The relation in Ouakam was also social. There were *employeurs civiles*, which were French residents of Ouakam, who hired Senegalese people for civilian jobs. Some limits were put in place by French military leaders to prevent too much familiarity between the French in power and the Ouakam residents. However, the proximity of the French military led to many marriages between French men and Senegalese women and the people and languages of both

⁴ Tidiane Niang, interview held in Ouakam, 20 April, 2012.

groups had a lot of contact. In general, Ouakam was and remains a “cosmopolitan village living in perfect symbiosis”⁵ among different Senegalese ethnicities (Wolof, Pulaar, Séreer, Diola, etc.) and the French.

⁵ Tidiane Niang, interview held in Ouakam, 20 April, 2012.

Linguistic Background

Many French people living in Ouakam, and Dakar in general, see the need to learn Wolof, as it is the *langue du milieu*⁶. However, there is a reciprocal (albeit not necessarily equal) need for native Wolof speakers to learn French to use in commerce, academia, or as a common denominator with the few Senegalese people who do not speak Wolof. However, this duality in Dakar has created a complex linguistic atmosphere and gave rise to the emergence of what has been dubbed by many scholars, “Urban Wolof”.

Urban Wolof (UW) has three defining characteristics. First, it is a mixture of Wolof, French and occasionally other languages. Second, it is unmarked (in other words, unexpected). Third, it is used primarily in informal situations.⁷ UW is the most common form of communication one encounters in Dakar. UW goes beyond just code-switching (the mixture of more than one language in a given sentence or conversation); it is also code-mixing. Code-mixing is “a more local switching of codes in which a single word may contain morphemes from two different grammatical systems”.⁸ For example, one might hear:

UW: Seer-ul!

Grammatical element: [*cher*] expensive-3S.NEG

Translation: [*Ce n'est pas cher.*] It's not expensive.

UW is a case of code-switching or code-mixing, but it is not considered a creole by most. A “creole starts as a pidginised interlanguage, a code that is devised in order that people sharing no language may communicate, an urban variety emerges for the opposite reasons. It is a code used by speakers who share more than one language and who wish to use both in order to communicate more fully.”⁹ UW is most prevalent among those who are bilingual in both Wolof

⁶ commonly spoken language

⁷ Swigart, p. 176

⁸ McLaughlin p. 159

⁹ Swigart p. 178

and French, as opposed to those who only speak French or Wolof.

However, one could argue that “Urban Wolof as a cultural creole reflects more an affinity for African urban life and all it has to offer than any particular attachment to France.”¹⁰ That is to say that as a cultural creole, UW has become its own cultural entity indicative of life in Dakar. Those who are educated use UW as a way of showing their proficiency in French (which equals status), while maintaining a solidarity with Wolof (which is often their mother tongue, and the common language on the streets). However, those who are uneducated may still use UW, but may be unaware of the French influence. For example, the French word for “school” is *école*, which is commonly used in Wolof sentences, even by those who are not proficient in French.

One can see the difference between those proficient in French and those who are not through the pronunciation of the French word in the Wolof sentence. “Isolated French lexical items have a different status in both populations: they are loanwords in the speech of monolinguals and genuine instances of CS [code-switching] in bilinguals.” Bilinguals say the French words as if they were speaking French, but monolinguals pronounce the French words in a wolof-ized or “assimilated” way. One can see the dichotomy more clearly in comparison to loanwords from English—both bilinguals and monolinguals (French and Wolof versus just Wolof, respectively) pronounce borrowed English words the same as one another, but different from the way an English speaker would pronounce the word. For example, “‘girl’ and ‘crazy’ as [g•l] and [karajis], respectively.”¹¹ It is evident that the mixture that occurs in UW is semantic, syntactic, and phonetic.

¹⁰ Swigart p. 186

¹¹ Legendre et al.

Methodology

I did some preliminary research using online databases, where I found some useful articles on code-switching. However, the majority of my research took place in the archives of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Dakar (CLAD). CLAD is a small one-room library and research center next to the large library on the campus of Cheikh Ante Diop University (UCAD). The center is open to everyone, and was frequented by many people interested in different areas of linguistics each time I visited. In addition to housing many articles and books about language, history, and education, CLAD compiles and publishes a series of linguistic articles. CLAD was particularly useful because most the research focuses on the linguistic situation in Senegal, often concentrating specifically on Dakar.

To get information about Ouakam, I went to the mayor's office in Ouakam and spoke with a staff member. I conducted a short interview with him, but the bulk of my information came from the governmental documents he provided me. The documents described the demographics, history, resources, and politics of the neighborhood. The documents gave me the background information needed to understand how Ouakam is both unique (because of the long-standing and close ties to the French military bases) and indicative of Dakar as a whole (because of its cosmopolitan makeup).

Observation techniques were also key to my research. I used participant observation by living in a Senegalese host family for three months and seeing their language choices firsthand, as well as interacting and communicating with them personally. I also used participant observation in my interactions with people on the street and in boutiques in Ouakam. I did not do any quantifiable research through participant observation, but my contact with Ouakam residents on a daily basis provided the foundation on which I chose to start my archival research. This

contact was also what first introduced me to the complexity of the linguistic situation in *Dakarois* households.

I used non-participatory observation in the streets of Ouakam, on the *car rapide*, and in the homestay when I was not involved in the interactions (especially when guests came to the house). This was useful in tandem with the participant observation because I could compare and contrast the language choices people made when I was directly involved versus when I was simply a bystander. It was interesting to see when people would use Wolof with me, when they would only use French, or when they would use a mixture of the two languages. Even if people started the conversation in Wolof, it could obviously only continue to a certain degree in Wolof before needing to switch to French because of my inability to converse in Wolof. The reactions would either be genial and appreciative that I spoke even a little Wolof, slightly hostile while reprimanding me to stop speaking French, or neutral because they assumed I would be unable to speak Wolof in the first place. Given my foreigner status and my extremely limited knowledge in Wolof, this differentiated my interactions from the interactions of Senegalese people amongst themselves.

I conducted interviews with five Ouakam residents. The interviews were useful in comparing people's language attitudes with their actual language choices, because often they did not coincide. Basic questions about daily linguistic occurrences were difficult for people to answer, showing how subconscious most linguistic choices are. The difficulty of responses may also be indicative of how individualized speech is, so that may have contributed to people having trouble making generalized comments about language in Senegalese households.

Interviews

All the people I interviewed lived in either Cité Comico or Cité Asecna. Three interviewees were students (one in medical school, one in undergraduate university, and one in high school) and two were teachers. There were four ethnicities represented between the five respondents. They all said everybody in their family could speak both Wolof and French, except one respondent. His family is from Casamance, and he grew up speaking primarily Mindinka in the home, with a mixture of Peul Fouta, Wolof, and Jiola. He said everybody in his family can speak Wolof, but many people are not able to speak French. He made the distinction that everybody in his family could understand French (although he did not specify to what degree).

Each respondent said that children generally start school around the age of five or six, but they had varying answers in terms of when they start learning French. Some interviewees said they started using French when they started school, but others said their families habituated them to French before they could even start talking. However, the person's level of comfort with using French did not seem to directly correspond with the age of introduction to French, at least overtly. Those who were introduced to French at a very early age said they were more comfortable using French in certain domains (like education and sometimes with friends), but everyone agreed that they were most comfortable using Wolof in the home. The only exception was with the interviewees from Casamance, whose first language was not Wolof. He said he was most comfortable using Mindinka in the home, then French, then Wolof.

For most of the interviewees, they did not have any overt problems with people who were either unable to speak Wolof or French (or both). They simply said it might be difficult for such people to communicate. However, two respondents said that for some people, being without French is a serious handicap. It is a symbol of education and the key to finding a good job. It is

associated with urban life (as opposed to only speaking a national language, which is common in villages).

Everyone agreed that the time it took for children to learn and become fluent in French was dependent on the quality of schooling¹² and the age at which they were introduced to French (the earlier they were introduced to French, the earlier they mastered the language). Wolof is not formally taught in schools, and it is rare to see it written, but if it is written, the spelling is based on the French phonetic alphabet. Even those who said they were most comfortable speaking Wolof in the home said they leave notes for family members only in French because writing is associated solely with French.

The mastery of Wolof is simply assumed in the five households I interviewed. However pride in the ability to use Wolof as a mother tongue differed by family. One interviewee said he was most comfortable with a mixture of Wolof and French, because although Wolof is his mother tongue, he is unable to speak pure Wolof. He said if he were to go to a Wolof village, he would have trouble communicating. For the respondent from Casamance, it was important to him that people learn many languages (which makes sense given that he grew up speaking four languages in his home). But for him, mastery of the mother tongue is a matter of pride; if someone is unable to speak their mother tongue properly, it is shameful. Two interviewees were fairly neutral in their responses, saying that it was good to be bilingual and it was important to start learning French from a young age. However, that leaves it to be assumed that a mother tongue is still a large presence in their lives, because otherwise, there would be no need to introduce French early (or at all) because it would be the only language in the household. For one respondent, she said everyone loves their mother tongue, and it is important to parents that

¹² Private schools are more likely to use complete French immersion, and are therefore more efficient at teaching students French.

children speak both the mother tongue and the *langue du milieu* (which in the case of Dakar, is Wolof). She did not mention the role of French in terms of pride, but it was assumed that children also learn French through schooling.

In terms of mixing languages, people had varying responses, regardless of the fact that they all mix languages on a daily basis. One person said it was a necessary part of his speech because he was unable to speak pure Wolof, but he was slightly more comfortable speaking Wolof in general than French. One respondent was neutral, saying people are accustomed to it and the mixing of languages comes with colonization. One person was also somewhat neutral, saying that mixing is fine, but sometimes it blocks the ability to learn/speak French (that gives way to the assumption that the mixing is predominately Wolof, with the addition of some French elements, rather than the other way around).

One interviewee said mixing was fine in an informal setting, but in a professional or academic setting, it prevents a high level of French learning (again, implying that Wolof or another national language is the predominant language). However, he went on to say that the mixing of languages kills each language. It creates a superiority complex in an urban setting like Dakar because “old Wolof” and that used in the villages is looked down upon in comparison to borrowed words. He said Wolof is the most susceptible to this loss in linguistic value because it was the first to come in contact with the French during colonization. The Wolof people were “citizens”, while other ethnicities were “indigenous people”. Therefore, the other ethnicities preserved a firmer grasp on their national language, whereas the Wolof assimilated their language to French, “modernity”, and assimilation. The last respondent said mixing absolutely does not work, and one has to choose a single language in order to speak each language correctly.

When asked if there were things either Wolof or French could not express, everyone said there were things in Wolof that could not be expressed in French. These were cultural concepts that had no direct translations, like *gej*, which means to stay somewhere for a long time, or *laax*, which is a common Senegalese meal consisting of millet and a sweet milk and yogurt mixture. With the exception of technological words, such as *radio*¹³, there is little or nothing that French can describe that Wolof is unable to express. However, many people choose to use certain French words, even in the middle of a Wolof sentence, because of ease of pronunciation. Words like *après* vs. *gannaaw*, *merci* vs. *jërejëf*, or *école* vs. *dara*¹⁴ are often said in French, rather than in their Wolof counterparts.

The interviews were useful in seeing what people agree on and disagree on, even within the context of a neighborhood the size of Ouakam. It was interesting to contrast the respondents' actions with the attitudes they were willing (or able) to express. There remains a disconnect between how people supposedly feel about code-switching and how prevalent it is in daily life. There is also a disparity between people's attitudes toward Senegalese French-speakers and the introduction of French to children in comparison to how they admit to feeling about the subject. Based on my observations, people have much stronger opinions on the matter than they are willing to admit, or perhaps than they even realize.

¹³ In English, also "radio"

¹⁴ In English, "after", "thank you", and "school", respectively

Analysis

The information from my interviews matched fairly closely with prior research that has been done about linguistic attitudes and practices in Dakar. In general, code-switching is devalued as vernacular or improper, but there is a nearly constant use of UW and a high level of acceptance, sometimes to the point of encouragement. Sometimes there will be a “snicker from young male bystanders” if someone uses the old Wolof word “*cooro*” versus the borrowed English word “girl” to talk about a girlfriend.¹⁵ The same is true when people say “*ndaxte*” versus the French “*parce que*” to signify “because”.¹⁶ So, it seems code-switching occurs on an individual basis based on ease of pronunciation (as described by an interviewee), but there is also some social pressure in Dakar to be modernized and urbanized via language use.

There are also some cases in which the blending of more than one language becomes a necessity. “A common reason given for the use of Urban Wolof is the lack of competence by native Wolof speakers in their own language.”¹⁷ This matches exactly with the interviewee who said that he is most comfortable with a mixture of Wolof and French, simply because of a lack of knowledge in pure Wolof. However, this is opposite what some other interviewees said about mother languages being of the utmost importance and a source of personal and familial pride. This shows that language attitudes differ between families, but these attitudes are almost definitely a product of the ways in which families view language, rather than the way the individual has come to feel about language. It seems as if the way one views language is engrained in them as a child, rather than being something that develops over time.

Senegal is a land of plurilingualism. “Il est rare de rencontrer un sénégalais unilingue. Dans un contexte de plurilinguisme, l'émetteur doit faire un choix lorsqu'il parle et ce choix

¹⁵ I encountered this in a personal conversation with some male students from UCAD.

¹⁶ Swigart p. 30

¹⁷ Swigart p. 29

d'utiliser une langue plutôt qu'une autre n'est pas neutre."¹⁸ Many interviewees specifically said it is important to speak more than one language. However, it is interesting to note that they did not place any value on French, Wolof, or any other national language in comparison to one another. This is indicative of the unique linguistic situation in Senegal, in comparison to other places that are almost entirely unilingual (like France), or bilingual but with highly polarized conditions where language becomes a source of tension (like Canada with French and English, or increasingly, like the United States as Spanish becomes more prevalent).¹⁹

Senegal is also exceptional in that Wolof speakers often do not learn other national languages, but speakers of other national languages (generally from ethnicities other than Wolof), feel compelled to learn Wolof. This means "un phénomène de bilinguisme unidirectionnel s'est développé ici pour des raisons stratégiques qu'on comprend aisément."²⁰ People learn Wolof out of necessity. Throughout much of the country, but especially in Dakar, Wolof is dominant and it is a clear advantage to be able to understand and speak Wolof. The interviewees did not have any overtly negative opinions of non-Wolof speakers, but some people specifically said people who were unable to speak Wolof were at a disadvantage in Dakar.

In general, language use and attitudes are very open in Dakar. Language use, whether "officielle ou nationale, majoritaire ou minoritaire, n'est jamais totalement possible ou impossible, obligatoire ou interdit, et l'alternance des langues est souvent la règle."²¹ That is to

¹⁸ "It is rare to meet a unilingual Senegalese person. In a context of plurilingualism, the transmitter must make a choice when he speaks and this choice to use one language rather than another is not neutral." (Dumont p. 116)

¹⁹ The United States is not technically bilingual because there is no official language, but English clearly dominates and Spanish is becoming increasingly important.

²⁰ "a phenomenon of unidirectional bilingualism has developed here for strategic reasons that are easily understood." (Diouf p. 105)

²¹ "official or national, majority or minority, is never totally possible or impossible, obligatory or prohibited, and the alternating of languages is often the rule." (Dreyfus p. 41)

say that there is little judgment based on language choices, making the conditions very conducive for the large amount of code-switching that occurs in Dakar.

In addition, the Wolof used in Dakar is heavily influenced by French and other loan languages. “Le wolof est une langue très dynamique et très ouverte aux apports extérieurs. Ces deux caractéristiques vont bien dans le sens de son enrichissement, mais en même temps, dans celui de sa ‘corruption’.”²² Multiple interviewees expressed this concern about “corruption” of language because of mixing. They said the mixing of languages should stay in an informal domain, or not happen at all. There were worries about preventing the acquisition of proper French, but also about children learning illegitimate or incomplete Wolof (or other national languages). Although these concerns were made known, the frequency and ease with which people mix languages in Dakar means that there is something underlying (and perhaps subconscious) that trumps these worries.

The use of French has long been a sign of modernization and development in Dakar. “La langue française est devenue dans les états [d’Afrique francophone] une des clés de la modernisation et du développement.”²³ This was very true when it was written in 1968, but now UW has become almost necessary for daily interactions. French remains the language of enterprise and education, but even in these domains, and especially in the home, UW dominates. UW is quickly becoming the new symbol of modernization in Dakar.

²² “Wolof is a very dynamic language and very open to outside contributions. These two characteristics work well in the sense of its enrichment, but at the same time, in that of its ‘corruption’” (Faye p. 2)

²³ “The French language in the states [of Francophone Africa] has become one of the keys of modernization and development.” (Calvet et al. p. 1)

Challenges and Limitations

The largest constraint on this project was time. With only four weeks to research, find interview subjects, conduct interviews, and synthesize the findings, it was pressed for time. I chose to focus only on Ouakam residents because I was able to draw on my personal observations from living in a homestay in Ouakam, and it seemed more time efficient to focus on one neighborhood. However, my pool of interviewees was very small (only five people) and because they only included residents from two subdivisions within one neighborhood in Dakar, it is difficult to know how indicative the findings were of both Ouakam and Dakar as a whole.

There were also other factors in terms of the interviews that may have posed problems in the study. It was difficult to build rapport with interviewees because it was a one-time interview. I was already acquainted with some of the interviewees, but with others, my interview was the first time I had met the subject. Perhaps if I had more of a rapport with all of the interviewees, they would have been more open with their reflections on language use in their homes. There was also the potential problem of a language barrier since the interviews were conducted in French. Everyone I spoke to was fluent in French, but it was not the first language for most of them (although some had grown up being completely bilingual in both Wolof and French), and French is not my first language.

The last factor that comes inherently with studies about language and family is the highly personal and reflective nature of the study. Especially when put on the spot, it is difficult for people to reflect on their own language and families, because it is rare to think about such habitual things without provocation (such as an interview). It is because of this difficulty that a more intensive observation period, or a series of interviews would have been more advantageous.

Conclusion

Ouakam is a microcosm of the linguistic situation found in the greater Dakar area. Its proximity to and long history with the French make it perhaps more likely to have ties to the French language than other neighborhoods, but UW still dominates interactions on the streets of Ouakam and in many households. Wolof in Ouakam, and Dakar in general, is nearly inescapable. Even though people often have outwardly negative opinions about the code-switching that essentially created UW, this urbanized version of Wolof is gaining in popularity, prevalence, and usefulness.

Colonization has large impacts on language use. In the case of Senegal, it has been argued that, “elle [la colonialisme] a réduit les langues nationales au statut de langues étrangères sur leur propre terrain d’existence.”²⁴ However, it can also be claimed that code-switching between French and Wolof has helped legitimize Wolof in the urban domain. UW has evolved with the presence of many national languages, French, and a desire to be modern. UW is used much more frequently than both Wolof and French, respectively, and is often better received than either language. Urban Wolof, with its unique blend of words, grammars, and pronunciations has truly become the language of the *Dakarois*²⁵. It is UW that has become the new language of a modern Dakar.

²⁴ “It [colonization] reduced the national languages to the status of foreign languages on their own land of existence.” (Dumont p. 118)

²⁵ People of Dakar

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Appendix

General Interview Questions:

1. Comment vous appelez-vous?
2. Quel âge avez-vous ?
3. Quel est votre profession ?
4. Où êtes-vous né ?
5. Vous êtes de quelle ethnie ?
6. Quel est votre niveau d'éducation ? Par exemple, le bac, un diplôme universitaire, etc. ?
7. Vous avez grandi en parlant quelles langues chez vous ?
8. Depuis quand est-ce que vous habitez à Dakar ?
9. Dans la maison, parlez-vous wolof plus, ou moins, ou autant qu'on le parle en public ?
10. Connaissez-vous des Sénégalais qui ne peuvent pas parler wolof ou français ?
Si on connaît quelqu'un qui ne peut pas parler wolof/français :
 - 10a. Est-ce qu'il y a une personne dans votre famille qui ne peut pas parler wolof/français ?
 - 10b. Les gens qui ne peuvent pas parler wolof ou français, comment sont-ils vus par les autres sénégalais, surtout les sénégalais bilingues ?
11. Que pensez-vous au sujet du mélange de deux langues, comme le wolof et le français ?
12. Est-ce que vous êtes plus à l'aise d'utiliser le wolof ou le français dans la maison ?
 - 12a. Ça change avec la situation, pour exemple en public ?
13. Quand on laisse un mot/une note pour quelqu'une dans la famille, est-ce qu'on écrit en wolof ou en français ?
14. Est-ce qu'il y a dans la langue wolof des choses qu'on ne peut pas dire en français, ou vice-versa ?
 - 14a. Pouvez-vous donner des exemples de mots ou expressions en français qu'on peut utiliser dans une phrase wolof ?
15. Quand est-ce qu'on choisit d'utiliser le français ou le wolof avec des enfants ?
16. À quel âge est-ce que les enfants commencent à apprendre le français ?
17. À quel âge est-ce que les enfants commencent à assister à l'école ?
18. À quel âge est-ce que les enfants sont-ils capables de parler français ?
 - 18a. À quel âge est-ce qu'ils parlent couramment le français ?
19. Pensez-vous que les écoles devraient enseigner en wolof ou en français, ou dans les deux langues ?
20. Pensez-vous que les enfants jeunes qui n'ont pas encore appris le français se sentent frustrés quand leurs parents et les autres plus âgés dans la famille parlent le français dans la maison ?
21. Avez-vous quelque chose pour ajouter au sujet de la langue dans les familles sénégalaises ?

*Habite dans quelle cité de Ouakam?

Translated General Interview Questions:

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your profession?
4. Where were you born?
5. What ethnicity are you?
6. What is your level of education? For example, high school diploma, university degree, etc?
7. What languages did you grow up speaking at home?
8. How long have you lived in Dakar?
9. In the home, do you speak more, less, or as much Wolof as you speak in public?
10. Do you know Senegalese people who can't speak Wolof or French?
If they know someone who can't speak Wolof/French:
 - 10a. Is there someone in your family who can't speak Wolof/French?
 - 10b. The people who can't speak Wolof or French, how are they viewed by other Senegalese people, especially bilingual Senegalese.
11. What do you think about the mixture of two languages, like Wolof and French?
12. Are you more at ease using Wolof or French in the home?
 - 12a. Does that change based on the situation, for example, in public?
13. When you leave a note for someone in the family, do you write in Wolof or French?
14. Are there some things in the Wolof language that can't be said in French, or vice versa?
 - 14a. Can you give some examples of words or expressions in French that can be used in a Wolof sentence?
15. When do people choose to use French or Wolof with children?
16. At what age do children start learning French?
17. At what age do children start school?
18. At what age are children able to speak French?
 - 18a. At what age do they speak French fluently?
19. Do you think that schools should teach in French, Wolof, or both languages?
20. Do you think that young children (who haven't learned French yet) feel frustrated when their parents and other older family members speak French at home?
21. Do you have anything else to add about language within Senegalese families?

*Live in which cité of Ouakam?

Interview Questions for Tidiane Niang:

1. Ouakam était établi dans quelle année ?
2. Comment est-ce que les cités de Ouakam sont organisées ?
3. Est-qu'il y a une grande différence entre toutes les cités de Ouakam ?
4. Pensez-vous que la proximité de la base militaire et de l'aéroport influence les gens qui habitent à Ouakam ?
5. Quelle est la relation historique de Ouakam avec des Français ?
6. Quelle est la relation linguistique avec le français et le wolof à Ouakam ?
7. Avez-vous quelque chose pour ajouter au sujet de Ouakam, les résidents, ou la langue ?

Translated Interview Questions for Tidiane Niang:

1. What year was Ouakam established?
2. How are the cités of Ouakam organized?
3. Is there a big difference between all the cités of Ouakam?
4. Do you think that the proximity to the military base and to the airport influence the people who live in Ouakam?
5. What is the historical relationship of Ouakam with the French people?
6. What is the linguistic relationship between French and Wolof in Ouakam?
7. Do you have anything to add about Ouakam, its residents, or language?