Orthographic Policy and Planning in Sénégal/Senegaal: The Détournement of Orthographic Stereotypes

Cécile Evers

Orthographic Policy and Planning in Sénégal/Senegaal: The Détournement of Orthographic Stereotypes

Abstract

This paper examines the interlocking nature of corpus policy and cultivation planning through a case study of the Wolof orthography and its changing role in the Senegalese educational landscape. Until recently, local language orthographies have been the purview of a very limited slice of Senegalese society. Absent, as they were, from formal education in the post-independence period, Wolof orthographies were practiced only by a small group of leftist Senegalese intellectuals, and later by the informal education movement. I trace how the various orthographies of Wolof (viz., French, indigenous, and standard orthographies of Wolof) have been taken up by (often) unexpected actors - new political players, international bodies, and many Senegalese youth - and look into what enables orthographies to function as useful tools in the construction of a post-colonial state, particularly one comprising such different social projects for the future.

Orthographic Policy and Planning in Sénégal/Senegaal: The *Détournement* of Orthographic Stereotypes

Cécile Evers

University of Pennsylvania

This paper examines the interlocking nature of corpus policy and cultivation planning through a case study of the Wolof orthography and its changing role in the Senegalese educational landscape. Until recently, local language orthographies have been the purview of a very limited slice of Senegalese society. Absent, as they were, from formal education in the post-independence period, Wolof orthographies were practiced only by a small group of leftist Senegalese intellectuals, and later by the informal education movement. I trace how the various orthographies of Wolof (viz., French, indigenous, and standard orthographies of Wolof) have been taken up by (often) unexpected actors - new political players, international bodies, and many Senegalese youth - and look into what enables orthographies to function as useful tools in the construction of a post-colonial state, particularly one comprising such different social projects for the future.

Introduction

The Republic of Senegal celebrated its 50th anniversary of independence from France on April 4th, 2010. And still, French continues to be the medium of instruction in Senegalese schools from the primary to the university level. The six languages recognized as "national languages" by government Decree n° 68-871 of 1968 (i.e., Wolof, Pulaar, Sééréer, Mandinka, Joola, and Soninké) have yet to pull alongside French as official languages, while the remaining thirty-one languages spoken by the Senegalese population (Ethnologue, 2009) remain unaccounted for in Senegalese policy documents.[1] The Ministry of Preschool, Elementary, and Secondary Education and National Languages (*Ministère de l'Enseignement Préscolaire, de l'Elémentaire, du Moyen Secondaire et des Langues Nationales*) can currently be said to face a local language impasse. This impasse has been attributed to a "shadow politics of procrastination" on the part of the Senegalese government since 1960, which, by its disconcerted efforts to legislate and implement a coherent plurilingual

---

[1] I will reserve the term "national languages" to refer to the six *langues nationales* specified in the 1968 Decree. "Local languages" will refer to all the languages spoken in Senegal as mother tongues.

education policy, has in effect made a language choice for French (Cruise O'Brien, 1998, p. 25).

As Spolsky (2007) has articulated, "The goal of a theory of language policy is to account for the regular choices made by individual speakers on the basis of patterns established in the speech community or speech communities of which they are members" (p. 1). Theoretical frameworks in language policy and planning, as such, must seek to explain how *regular* these choices really are and also how much of a *choice* individuals can be said to be making. When an individual elects one rendering of a sound, word, or sentence over another, whether in speech or in writing, is their choice of that feature attributable to domain-specific norms or are interactional criteria at the individual level more salient? Certainly, a tension holds between the use of the term "choice" to describe language behaviors, implying that humans behave linguistically as a function of individual, identity-motivated criteria, and the idea of language choices being socially patterned at the level of domain.

This paper uses various theoretical frameworks to approach the question of corpus planning realities and pitfalls in Senegal, focusing in particular on the case of Wolof. The first section gives a brief review of the literature on the sociolinguistic construct of "domain," one which I find useful in the Senegalese landscape. The second outlines the history of Wolof graphization in Senegal, with an attentive eye to the charged ways in which missionaries and colonial era educators constructed Wolof, a language of the West Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo phylum, based on its purported domains of use historically. In the third section, I will discuss national language orthographies: their policy history post-independence and their conflicted relationship to formal education. How do residual ideas from the colonial period of the requirements for a standard literary language affect the implementation of the (*de jure*) standard orthography of Wolof? Here I will also examine the different camps, or political personae, that are readily associated with different orthographic renditions. How have Senegalese people shaped different corpus planning activities – graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation (Cooper, 1989) – and how do existing stances affect the prospects for local language education? I end with the suggestion that a linguistic ecological perspective lends a less purist and more practicable view of syncretism in corpus planning (Dorian, 1994; Hornberger, 2002). For it seems that rigidity, of the sort that characterizes the standard Wolof orthography and its teaching in experimental bilingual schools, works not only against the sociolinguistic grain (how youth speak and write in Senegal today) but also against the prospects of a sustainable bilingual education policy, by which I mean one that does not alienate youth and their (still hesitant) parents.

In the conversations and interviews I have held with Senegalese friends and colleagues across the disciplines regarding this topic, concerns with authenticity and the derivation of linguistic forms figure much less than personal educational trajectories and their practical effects on an individual's choice of script. For most Senegalese youth today – in Senegal and in the diaspora – *de facto* forms of linguistic simultaneity (Woolard, 1999) between national languages, French, and English such as appear in speech and in orthographic exchanges have unseated former reservations about the directionality of borrowing. Mixed language no longer represents to its users an "autochthony revised by colonial contact" (Diouf, 1998, p. 675) but rather a productive meeting place for cosmopolitan *and* autochthonous expressivity.

Following the suggestion of Boyer and Lomnitz (2005, as cited in Arnaut & Blommaert, 2009), this working paper provides glimpses into Wolof orthographic projects as framed, less by a formalist epistemology of nationalism, than by a social reading of nationalist intellectuals' life works, one informed by the "lifeworlds, careers, and experiences of their principal authors" (Arnaut & Blommaert, 2009 p. 567). Much of the appeal of orthographic studies of this sort resides in the interplay between the object discourse and the metadiscourse (Agha, in press), or between the propositional content of texts and the metacommentary incarnated in the use of an orthography. Both layers are by nature inseparable from the material artifacts on which they are inscribed and the production format (Goffman, 1981) for their articulation. I argue that the greater the degree of interpenetration between these various levels of denotational code (Silverstein, 2006), that is, the more tightly bound the propositional content is to the social indexicality of the orthography, the less amenable the orthographies are to "re-routing" (*détournement*). It remains to be said that any misguided views found within this paper lie with the author and will be subject to ongoing revision.

"Domains" in the Literature

The construct of domain differs slightly in Fishman (1972), Blom and Gumperz (1972), and Agha (2007), and yet elements from each model remain complementary to one another. Fishman (1972) is concerned with "the larger societal patterns and sociolinguistic norms of a multilingual setting" (p. 440). Though he recognizes the variable effects of role relations (participants), physical locales (location), and topical regulation (topic) on individual instances of behavior (Fishman, as cited in Spolsky, 2007), in fact Fishman (1972) uses domain to describe clusters of behavior at the abstract level. Thus, he describes his domains as "extrapolated from the *data* of 'talk' rather than being an actual component of the *process* of 'talk'" (p. 451, italics in original). Institutions are the regulating entity for these clusters, and it is a description of their higher-order influence in terms of norms that leads Fishman to discriminate between "individual behavior and societal patterns," the latter identifiable only at the level of domain (p. 442). This approach, it should be noted, carries a similar distinction between individual-level and society-level phenomena to that made by Saussure (1949) between *parole*, or individual speech, and *langue*, the language system viewed as a whole from the societal perspective.

Fishman's (1972) application of domains to diglossic contexts resonates nicely within the Senegalese sociolinguistic context, in which both languages (e.g., French vs. local languages) and varieties (e.g., Wolof vs. Urban Wolof) are used under different conditions by the same speech community. French has since the nineteenth-century, even before the establishment of the Federation of French West Africa (*Afrique Occidentale Française*) in 1895, been perceived in Senegal as the language of public affairs, writing and scientific knowledge, and Christianity, linked to the respective domains of government administration, schools, and the church. Wolof and other national languages, by contradistinction, have long been perceived as oral, handy, interstitial, and affectively charged languages, linked to the domains of the street, the market, Senegalese institutions, and the home. The language ideologies associated with each of these languages perfectly illustrates Fishman's

(1972) point that members of diglossic speech communities ascribe different values to languages or varieties—not because they are inherently so—but because the behaviors associated with the domains in which they are most spoken affects the perception of the languages or varieties themselves. The question is, then, how do language behaviors and domains become associated? Which forms represent which domains and how can language planners make desirable forms multi-functional across domains? Given the interlocking nature of values and forms, or status and corpus planning (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger, 2006), such an analysis of the Senegalese context is of utmost importance if national languages are to assume any significant role in the educational domain.

Communicative contexts that provoke switching between linguistic codes may be defined widely as different spheres of activity or narrowly as sequential or simultaneous switches based on individuals' readings of contextual cues (Woolard, 1999). When viewed from an utterance perspective, the relationship between domain and linguistic code-in-use ceases to look uni-directional and alternation between codes in some cases defines or redefines a communicative context (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). Thus, social regularities may exist but these never equal more than the sum of individual interactions in speech events. In a slight variation on the idiom used by Williams, who held that individual commitments become authentic within the "living organization of the society" (1961, p 104), Blom and Gumperz (1972) take the interactionist approach that individual choices become recognizable from a social standpoint, and social regularities take shape in repeated interactions among individuals. Unlike Fishman (1972), Blom and Gumperz find that only insofar as speakers' ability to pick up on embedded dimensions of context is variable do social factors "constrain" speakers' choice of linguistic variables (1972, p. 421). Such a model evidently allows for a measure of "actor's choice" (ibid, p. 16), meaning Blom and Gumperz relax somewhat the variable-governed and domain-specific norms posited by Fishman. Roles and statuses assumed by speakers, then, do not inhere in the individual; rather they follow from interactional positioning.

Agha (2007) defines domain in terms of people, not spaces. Echoing Labov, who defined a speech community by shared evaluations and not shared behavior (1972, pp. 120-1), Agha (2007) distinguishes social domain, the larger set of people who can recognize or evaluate a behavior, from social range, being the individuals who actually demonstrate the behavior. Identity considerations feature more prominently in this definition of domain; thus, the use of a language form can over time come to function as a "role diacritic," linking the speaker to a stereotypical identity associated with the form (Agha, 2007, p. 136). When a language choice no longer simply indexes a fleeting positionality vis-à-vis one's interlocutor, but instead a bundle of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors have been grouped together so as to make performable culture-specific "models of personhood," one is dealing with the diachronic phenomenon of register formation (ibid, p. 135). Orthographies provide a concrete example of role diacritics, in that their use signals the user's identification with a particular social persona that is recognizable by a domain of evaluators. By illustration, the choice of the standard orthography of Wolof over the French orthography of Wolof, to cite one possible choice, carries with it the expectation of the performance of stereotypical identities associated with the standard. Reading of this stereotypical identity across different social

domains of evaluators, however, often yields variable construals. The Senegalese orthographic landscape yields rich examples of how a particular stereotypical identity holds within its social domain but may be rendered "defeasible" by its incongruent use in other social domains (ibid, p. 49), as outlined in the section on *détournement* ["diversion"] of orthographic stereotypes.

In the following sections, I weave together the three concepts from these authors that I have found most useful in the case of Wolof orthographic planning: Fishman (1972), on domains as key realms of social life and spheres of institutional activity (i.e. school, home, work, place of worship) in which language varieties accumulate values and certain domain-specific norms hold across interactions; Blom and Gumperz (1972) on actors' choices and the space for playfulness across norms; and Agha (2007) on role diacritics. Which social personae can orthographies perform when pressed into service by different actors?

A History of Wolof Graphization

Lefebvre's Theory of Space and Orthographies

Graphization, at its simplest, involves segmenting human languages into visually recognizable alphabetic forms, or graphemes. From a metaphysical perspective, this means a reduction of three-dimensional reality to a two-dimensional code. It is at this juncture that misunderstandings may easily arise, for if three-dimensional reality is readily understood as the social world then two-dimensional reductions – alphabets, maps, drawings – may, by comparison, be said to solely convey a message, an abstraction from the social world. Abstractions, of which orthographies are but one example, are of utmost social utility however, and must be squarely replaced within their originating political projects. Their power resides in the homogeneity they project, under which are concealed many amorphous and indeed heterogeneous phenomena. Compare, for example, a standard orthography on the one hand, with the multitude of phonetic productions of its letters by the residents of one city block. Heterogeneity, of course, is at cross-purposes with most political projects, state-building being one example.

Spatial theorist and geographer Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) cautions that without a cogent theory of space, many attributes of what is rightly social space are bound to be transferred onto the level of mental space, left to be interpreted as mere codes. Examples of this theoretical risk would be to focus on graphization at the exclusion of phonics, or writing without simultaneously considering speech, for such a focus would privilege mental representations over social and physical space (Lefebvre, 1991). I propose to consider orthographies from a social and spatial—and hence a historically emplaced, not a mental—perspective. For orthographies cannot be analyzed independently of those who created them, nor of those who use them. Indeed, graphization has been defined as "the regular *use* of writing in a speech community" (Ferguson, 1968, p. 29). Orthographies, if imagined as codes functioning within social spaces, cannot be reduced to graphemic messages, and in like fashion, nor can the "inhabiting" of an orthography be reduced to "the status of a *reading*" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 7, italics in original).

Given this discussion, I now turn to graphization in the Senegalese context, bearing in mind a central question posed by Lefebvre (1991, p. 7): how do orthographies function as "a code which allow[s] space not only to be 'read' but also to be constructed?" This concern with codes in social space and their political instrumentality is importantly distinguished from the long-standing argument, exemplified in Walter Ong's (1982) "Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word" but also implied periodically in language planning literature, that the introduction of the written word brings with it cognitive changes within the individual that cannot but create "repercussions throughout the culture and social organization" (Ferguson, 1968, p. 29). This same reasoning that Ong (1982) uses to distinguish between "primary oral cultures" and those with writing remains consequential insofar as it resonates in the grammatical treatises of missionaries and in the speeches of the first president of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor. Nevertheless, I will treat the graphization of Wolof in the simplest sense, as no more than the introduction of a new variety to Senegalese society's repertoire (Ferguson, 1968). Much work (Gee, 1989; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1984) has shown that written forms of language are not technologies in the sense that they directly enable higher order cognitive functions (i.e. logical and syllogistic reasoning, subordination, categorization), and also that languages do not rank in terms of their precision or grammatical alignment with some "universal logic" (Whorf, 1956). Rather, referential explicitness as a criterion for comparative linguistics derives from the reductionist understanding that languages might be profitably compared solely at the lexemic level (Silverstein, 2000). Lexical comparisons, then, evidence a corresponding lack of attention to the systemic and categorical nature of language grammars and to the mutual negotiation of meanings in social interaction (Gee, 1989; Whorf, 1956). In summation, the concept of writing as a technology is quite detrimental because as soon as orthographies are reduced to tools, they may be thought to exist independently of the people who use them. Folk theories that view language from an instrumental perspective run precisely the risk of portraying codes (from orthographies to legal code pertaining to language use) as "*only* about language" and not intimately linked to social organization (Graham, Jaffe, Urciuoli, & Valentine, 2007, p. 32, emphasis mine).

A Brief History of Language Contact

The historical spread of the Wolof language, or Wolofization, receives widely varying appraisals among the Senegalese, who belong to various ethnic groups—Wolof (43.3%), Pulaar (23.8%), Seréer (14.7%), Jóola (3.7%), Mandinka (3%), Soninké (1.1%), European and Lebanese (1%), other ethnic groups from neighboring countries (9.4%)—85% of whom speak Wolof natively or use it as a lingua franca (Diallo, 2005; Ngom, 2010). The Wolof language has spread far beyond areas of Wolof ethnic predominance in the precolonial and colonial periods, and Cruise O'Brien (1998) has doubted whether without Wolof a Senegalese state could have come to pass. Nevertheless, the particular production of space that enabled Wolofization is firmly grounded in urbanization, occupational, religious, and cultural processes whose beginnings are traceable to changes wrought upon Senegalese social organization by the introduction of the Atlantic economy.

The area now known as Senegal was in the pre-modern period broken into several smaller kingdoms. Those to the east were under the influence of the Empire of Ghana between the eighth to 11th centuries A.D., while by the 11th century A.D. the Empire of Ghana's influence was superseded by that of the Berber Almoravids, a Saharan tribe of Islamic belief that converted the Northern Pulaar-speaking populations to Islam and ruled around the Senegal River (McLaughlin, 2008). In the 13th and 14th centuries the Senegalese kingdoms came to form part of the Mali Empire, which at its zenith in the mid-14th century and under the rule of Mansa Musa was administrated by literate Muslims (Levtzion, 1973). McLaughlin (2008) describes Islam during this period as a force both commercial, with the main trade routes for gold, slaves, and other goods coming across the Sahara, and religio-political, with the founding of an Islamic theocracy in Tekrur (northeastern Senegal) which would, in the 18th century, be a point of departure for "many West African proselytizing missions and jihads" (p. 83).[2] Through its encouragement of Oriental architecture, scholarly exchanges across the Muslim world, and the development of Islamic jurisprudence, the Mali Empire revived and enhanced Islam as it had been practiced during the Empire of Ghana.
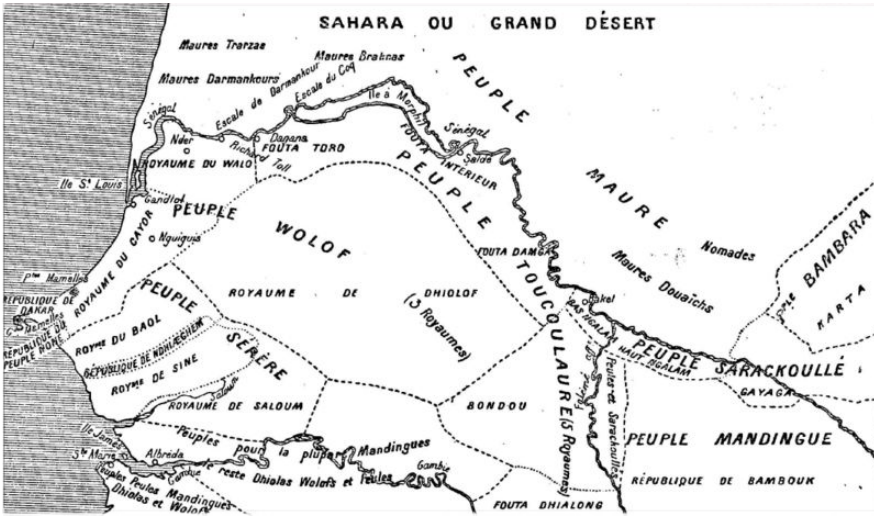

Figure 1. Map of the Peoples of Senegal by l'Abbé Boilat, 1853 (Beslier, 1935, p. 31)

Initial contact with Europeans began in the mid-15th century as Portuguese and Dutch navigators sought commercial inroads into West Africa (McLaughlin, 2008). The French followed shortly thereafter, establishing commercial ties in Senegal in the early decades of the 17th century. The slow proliferation of French *comptoirs* or commercial outposts along the Senegal River and the Atlantic coastline paralleled the decline of the Trans-Saharan trade, initiating the coastal focus which would

---

[2]McLaughlin (2008) suggests that the name given to the group within the Pulaar ethnicity and the inhabitants of the Fuuta Toro region (see map), the "Toucouleur" [Tukolor], is due to the theocracy founded among them by the name Tekrur. Note that I have left proper names (i.e. cities, people) in the French orthography of Wolof, though I often supply the standard orthography in brackets. Italics index a non-English term.

become the key historical factor in the Wolofization resulting from French contact (McLaughlin, 2008). In Figure 1, drawn by l'Abbé David Boilat, a French-educated Senegalese man and one of the first Catholic priests in Senegal, one can see the beginnings of Wolof dominance as the Wolof-speaking kingdoms and their coastal cities (see the Walo kingdom at the mouth of the Senegal River and within it Saint-Louis, the Cajor kingdom on the northern stretch of the Cap Vert peninsula and within it Dakar, Rufisque, and Gorée, the Baol [Bawol] kingdom to the southeast of the Cap Vert pensinsula, and the Dhiolof [Jolof] kingdom covering the interior) became central *entrepôts* for the Atlantic slave trade.

The declaration of present-day Senegal as a French colony following the establishment of the French Federation of West Africa's capital in what is now Saint-Louis, Senegal in 1885 further contributed to the use of Wolof as a language of wider communication. Saint-Louis, along with coastal center Gorée, and later Rufisque and Dakar assumed the status of communes vis-à-vis the French state, and their commercial and political prominence as French peanut exploitation intensified put these Wolof-speaking regions at the fore of Senegalese urbanization (Diouf, 1998; Eades, 1994). The *originaires*, or Senegalese inhabitants of these four communes, thanks to their special legal status as compared to the *indigènes* inhabitating other parts of the protectorate, created a cosmopolitan urban culture that merged civil manoeuvering power with local variants of Islam (viz., Sufi) practiced by literate urban dwellers. Civic and civil African identities were made possible as *originaires* "rooted" the revealed religions of Christianity and Islam in their local cultural contexts (Diouf, 1998, p. 683). The effect of urban development of this sort on Wolof as a linguistic medium for social intercourse was further cemented by the sacralization of Wolof as a medium of religious instruction. *Daara* Qur'ānic schools opened for Muslim children in these cities as Sufi *marabout* clerics moved from rural to urban areas around the turn of the 19th century (ibid), and Arabic and *Ajami* (an Arabic transcription of Wolof also known as *Wolofal*) were the scripts of choice therein. Just as *Ajami* Wolof was used for teaching in Sufi schools, the script also served as a medium for syncretic Islamic practices, such as the fetishistic divination rites linked to animism (Dalby, 1969). These took the form of inscribed charms and talismans; hence the dual reference of Wolof expression *téere bi*: "book"/"talisman." Levtzion (1973) dates the syncretic cast of West African amulets back to the beginning of Islamization with the ancient empires of Ghana and Mali, when the power of Qur'ānic verses inscribed in these objects was called upon by practitioners "who were neither real Muslims nor complete pagans" (p. 190). During colonial rule Wolof's identification with the realm of the sacred, whether through its patent use in a countervailing religio-legal sphere or its more subversive deployment in the form of a then unsanctioned religious syncretism (Diouf, 1998), laid the groundwork for the use of *Ajami* and 20th-21st century indigenous scripts *Garay* and *Wolof Saliww wi*,[3] calqued on mystical Islamic symbols (Rovenchak & Glavy, in press), in contemporary Senegal. The following sections consider four orthographies of Wolof: French, *Ajami*, C.L.A.D. standard, and indigenous.

The French Orthography of Wolof

As the French trained their colonial ambitions on West Africa and Senegal specifically, the 19th century saw also the proliferation of linguistic writings on

---

[3]Italics designate foreign (Wolof or French) words and expressions. When necessary, the glosses of these expressions are provided between double-quotes immediately following the expression.

West African languages. Jean Dard was a figure of utmost importance in this process, both as the first Frenchman to teach in a Francophone school on Senegalese territory and for his detailed writings on Wolof and Bambara (Bamana, in the language), a language of the Mande branch within the same language family as Wolof. Called upon by the Minister of the Navy and the Colonies (*Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies*) to found the first French school in Senegal, Dard began a public elementary school (*l'École Mutuelle*) in 1817 in the city of Saint-Louis, which at the time had a population of 8,000 people and a growing number of local elites seeking to counteract French assimilation policy in cultural terms (Diouf, 1998; Gaucher, 1968). Though his first class in 1817 consisted of a meager seven Wolof-speaking students—"seven pupils ready to learn to form letters on the sand bank!"[4] (Dard, as cited in Gaucher, 1968, p. 40)—[5] Dard continued to teach until his death in 1833 and won great acclaim for his contributions to francophone education in West Africa, not least because of the success of his *de facto* bilingual teaching method. Gaucher (1968) describes Dard's method thus:

> Practically-speaking, at school the instructors used nothing but Wolof as a medium of instruction (*langue véhiculaire*), and the students would first learn to read, write, and count in this language via the monitoral system of instruction (*enseignement mutuel*). Then (...) by translation the students soon learn French, which the most advanced among them perfect by practicing it in the higher grade levels. (p. 58)

Dard, who married a Senegalese woman of mixed ancestry (*signare)* and began a family in Saint-Louis, accumulated a sufficient knowledge of Wolof and Bambara from his experiences at home, in his classrooms, and with his local instructor colleagues, to publish French-Wolof, French-Bambara, and Wolof-French dictionaries (1825), and in the subsequent year (1826), a Wolof grammar under the aegis of the *Imprimerie Royale* in Paris. These seminal works, in which he details his teaching method, the Latinate orthography of Wolof and Bambara that he developed, and many grammatical and pragmatic pointers for the novice in West African languages, are crucial for understanding the development of the French orthography of Wolof, for Dard's transcription of the language would serve as a template for later linguistic works on Wolof. Baron Roger, Governor of Senegal from 1821-1827, published his Philosophical Research on the Wolof Language, with an abridged French-Wolof lexicon (*Recherches philosophiques sur la langue ouolofe, suivies d'un vocabulaire abrégé français-ouolof*) three years following (1829), and the crowning *œuvre* of Wolof linguistics and philology, *Grammaire de la Langue Woloffe,* by Senegalese priest l'Abbé Boilat (b. 1814-1901), was published in 1858. These processes of creating a written form, formulating grammar rules, and gathering lexical items, Haugen (1983) has described respectively as graphization, grammatication, lexication, all subsumed under a larger activity he terms codification (pp. 271-2).

Two examples of commentary from Dard's 1826 Wolof Grammar will suffice to illustrate the cultural zero-point of reference from which his work was conceived. Dard's opening preface reads, "Those who know how difficult it is to obtain a

---

[4]Though the exact referent of "sand bank" remains unclear, perhaps it refers to the island of Ndar on which Saint-Louis was built, a small land mass at the mouth of the Senegal River.

[5]All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

correct rendition in a Grammar of a language that has never been written, will easily pardon the imperfections found within this text" (p. xiv) [*ceux qui savent combien une correction parfaite est difficile a obtenir dans la Grammaire d'une langue qui n'a encore jamais été écrite, excuseront facilement les imperfections qui se trouvent dans cet ouvrage*]. On the one hand, Dard claims the primacy of his graphization of Wolof, a language never having been written by his estimation. And yet, he offers excuses for the "imperfections" or errors he may commit in his transcription of Wolof, as if there were some previously existing yardstick against which his rendition might be measured for precision. His comment motivates two possible interpretations, depending on the audience. For the French lay reader, imperfections in Dard's transcription of Wolof (for which he posits 5 vowels and 17 consonants) are easily pardoned based on Wolof's supposedly oral nature. Given the educational mission of the French in Saint-Louis, "to provide the natives with all the advantages of education, knowledge of conduct, of [the Christian] religion, of mathematics, and of drawing" [*de donner aux indigenes tous les avantages de l'instruction, la connaissance de la morale, de la religion, du calcul, et du dessin*; Dard, 1826, p. xxix), Wolof could be nothing but an oral language, new as it was to "education" in the French sense of the word.

Ajami: Another Script of Knowledge

For those aware that an orthography of Wolof existed in the 19th century, one deriving from an *Ajami*, or Arabic-scripted, transcription of various Mande and West Atlantic languages, dating as far back as the 11th century and used in the Mali Empire's centers of Islamic learning (Ngom, 2010), Dard's disclaimer attests to the French perspective on indigenous models of education. Ngom (2010) explains how, by the 14th century, "Qur'ānic schools were established in Senegal, and most Senegalese Muslims were already able to use the Arabic script to write their own languages" (p. 5). Whereas initially *Ajami* scripts were used during the Berber Almoravids' reign as tools to convert the Pulaar/Toucouleur peoples to Islam, with the Mali Empire's encouragement of Islamic scholarship, in due time they were used as scripts for scientific, philosophical, and religious writings, thousands of which are preserved today in Malian archives (Ngom, 2010). By the 19th century, *Ajami* had become the bedrock of the educational system of *daaras* used by Sufi Islamic brotherhoods (i.e. the Tijaaniyya, the Muridiyya, the Layéen, and the Qadiriyya) in Senegal, and was necessary for communicating information about the lives of the brotherhoods' holy leaders to disciples that could understand Wolof but not Arabic (Cruise O'Brien, 2002; Ngom, 2010). Sufi leader Cheikh Amadou [Amadu] Bamba (1853-1927), who founded the *Muridiyya* brotherhood, repopularized *Ajami* as a script that could transmit information and transcribe expressive forms, such as religious sung poems or *khassaide* [qasayid], to followers who had not been through the French school system.

Whether Dard's overlooking of *Ajami* was a sin of omission or not, he effectively disclaims *Ajami* as a "writing" system for Wolof. If education did not involve Western knowledge or Christian values, it was not education, and if writing was not in a Latin-letter orthography then it was not writing. Such an interpretation gains traction if one considers the present-day distinction in Senegal between literacy in French, known as *scolarisation*, and literacy in local languages, known as *alphabétisation* (Von Lexander, 2009, p. 291), to say nothing of the egregious absence from the state definition of literacy of local language literacy through the

Ajami scripts of Wolof, Pulaar, and Mandinka (Ngom, 2010). For those familiar with *Ajami* then, Dard simply discounts the *Ajami* alphabet as a transcription, and for those unfamiliar, Dard's comment implies that a Latin-based orthography of Wolof may communicate information but not scholastic knowledge, hence making its orthographic precision of little concern.

The Violence of Abstracted Codes: From Domain to Language to Orthography (and Back)

Though I will return to Boilat's 1856 *Grammaire de la Language Woloffe* and *Ajami* in the next section, I conclude here with the observation that when users of orthographies make claims about their graphic precision, these value judgments are inevitably linked to language ideologies relating the languages being transcribed to their imagined or real domains of use. Dard's judgment of Wolof as a language irrelevant to the domain of education, or even malapropos to knowledge, motivates his characterization of the language as oral, which in turn explains his willingness to tolerate the imprecision of the orthography that he was about to propose. These kinds of semantic extension, from domain to language to orthography, are quite productive and can also operate in the other direction. So, when for example, in a speech given in July 2007 at the University of Dakar, French president Sarkozy muses that "The tragedy of Africa is that the African has not fully entered into history" [*Le drame de l'Afrique, c'est que l'homme Africain n'est pas assez entré dans l'histoire*; Élysée, Présidence de la République] he links myths of African orality (lack of writing) to a lack of knowledge to a lack of history. From writing to language to domain it is but a short jump further to claiming that Africans lack ambition; Sarkozy's repeated allusions to cyclical time and the tormented and lethargic African man do little to suggest the contrary.

Though orthographic activities may deal in large part with "the *formal* aspects of languages/literacies" associated with corpus policy planning (Hornberger, 2006, p. 30, emphasis mine), diachronic processes show how deeply influenced graphization is by function, or domain. In other words, orthographies, if one examines the discourses surrounding them, represent ideologically charged codes that are deployed for precise social and political purposes. Users' evaluations of orthographic codes by psycholinguistic criteria (Cooper, 1989), such as Dard's criterion of technical (im)perfection, often confine the relationship between languages and orthographies to the mental space, making them appear extra-ideological. However, as Lefebvre (1991) has observed, "There is a violence intrinsic to abstraction, and to abstraction's practical (social) use" (p. 289). The question of how orthographies, as abstract codes practiced in social space, embody ideologies and are mobilized for competing political projects, is the subject of the next section.

National Language Orthographies: The Post-Independence Era

Finzan (1990)

The film Finzan (1990), by director Cheick Oumar Sissoko, provides a useful point of entry into the sociolinguistics of post-independence in West Africa. Set

in present-day Mali among Bambara-speakers, Finzan depicts a village meeting on the occasion of the visit of Malian government officials. The main government representative, Bala, arrives from the city wearing a business suit and sunglasses and attempts to conduct government business in French with the village men. This attempt prompts the response from the *Cheikh*, or village leader, that "You don't even know your own country, even less the Bambara. But you'll know that every clearing is not made to shit in" (33:00 mins.). The *Cheikh*'s response is anything but an indecorous joke. Rather, the *Cheikh* demonstrates his familiarity with language use across Malian domains: he reminds Bala that French may be used in the corridors of government but used with an elderly Bambara man, is the equivalent of "shitting in *any* clearing" (note here that using French ["shitting" in this metaphor] is appropriate in certain domains ["clearings"]).

The *Cheikh*'s own use of language, on the other hand, beautifully illustrates both Agha's (2007) distinction between social domain and social range and Blom and Gumperz' (1972) concept of actor's choice. The *Cheikh* is clearly a member of the social group of people capable of evaluating the behavior (i.e. speaking French in a government/business interaction). His very ability to play with the association of French with these settings by using a business register in Bambara ("Let's get right to the point, we all have other things to do") and asking his right-hand man to take "business notes" in Bambara ("Wali, take the notebook and write down everything they say. You never know with these people") evidences his familiarity with the sociolinguistic norms and styles to which the government official is accustomed. By continuing to speak Bambara, the *Cheikh* chooses, however, not to be part of the social range of people who actually display this norm-dictated behavior. His note-taking in Bambara script (which script is not made explicit) to keep track of Bala, a Malian francophone, is an ironic mirror-image of the colonial practice of keeping written records of the *indigènes* or "natives" as a surveillance tactic. The flexibility of norms evidenced in this interaction, which in a history register might be termed covert resistance, introduces the idea that certain orthographies may act as role diacritics flexibly used to perform social personae (Agha, 2007), in this case, that of the dignified yet facetious nationalist elder.

Senghor and the National Languages

A series of decrees and laws between 1968-1977 were passed in recognition of the status of Wolof, Pulaar, Seréer, Jola, Mandinka, and Soninké as Senegalese "national languages" (*langues nationales).* In the introduction to the second decree (1971), which further fixed the rules for their transcription, Léopold Sédar Senghor, first president of the Republic (1960-1980), cautioned the Senegalese people:

> In the first place, to substitute French, as the official language and language of instruction, is neither desirable nor possible. That is, assuming we do not want to arrive late to our *rendez-vous* in the year 2000. Without a doubt, we would need at least two generations to make of our national languages an effective teaching instrument for the sciences and technology more generally. This possibility would depend, of course, on our securing the financial and human resources; in other words, experts and

> sufficiently qualified technicians. For we know that, in this second half of
> the twentieth-century, forty to fifty years of delay is not easily made up.
> (Senghor, as cited in Dumont, 1983, p. 207)

This quote illustrates a central tension in Senghor's thinking about national languages and formal education. In a country poised, at independence on April 4th, 1960, to become cosmopolitan, what would justify those who call themselves nationalists—asks Senghor—to claim that incorporating languages of *enracinement*, or "taking root" in traditional identities, into formal education would bring *ouverture*, or the "opening" of Senegal to progress and prosperity (Ndiang, 1996, p. 337)?

    A member of the party known as the *Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (U.P.S.), Senghor was strongly francophone in orientation to progress: he supported the idea of change for Senegal through a "new francophonie" (Dumont, 1983, p. 19), actively supported the creation of the International Organization of the Francophonie in 1970, and was the first African to be elected to *l'Académie Française* in 1983. He was also, however, a founding father of the movement for African nationalism known as *Négritude*. Thus, he consistently sought an approach to socialism that was African; though what was meant by "African" in the 1960s and 1970s was a matter of national contention. Senghor (as cited in Dumont, 1983), for one, considered the Senegalese identity a composite identity (i.e. *hommes intégraux*; p. 13), the French fraction of which could not be ignored. He exhorted his countrymen and African co-leaders:

> Let us stop denouncing colonialism and Europe and attributing all our
> ills to them. Besides not being entirely fair, this is a negative approach,
> revealing our inferiority complex, the very complex the colonizer inocu-
> lated in us and whose accomplices we thereby are secretely becoming...
> (Senghor, 1964, p. 80)

Others, such as the intellectuals associated with the University of Dakar (now, *Université Cheikh Anta Diop*), however, located "African cultural liberation" post-colonially in the rejection of all French influence, which they perceived as neo-colonial control (Cruise O'Brien, 1998, p. 28).

    Senghor was himself a qualified francophone linguist, having both passed the French national examination for instructors (*agrégé de grammaire*) and having taught at the University of Tours, France, for ten years (Senghor, 1983, p. 9). In a particularly vigorous comparative study in 1983, in which he weighs the referential weaknesses and strengths of French versus Senegalese languages, it is evident how his formulations laid the basis for his *de facto* policy throughout his presidency of diglossic or functional bilingualism (Skattum, 1997, p. 86; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, p. 183). He writes that though French "cannot express the mysteries of the Black soul," Wolof pales in comparison to French's "rationality and (...) her powers of abstraction" (p. 9, 13, translations mine). In a word, "Emotion is Black [*nègre*], as reason is Hellenic" (Senghor, 1939, p. 295). As examples of the French language's attention to phenomena of cause and effect and syntactic subordination, Senghor (1983, p. 10) cites the Wolof language's borrowing of subordinative conjunctions from French such as *komkë* ("like," Fr. *comme que*), *paskë* ("because," Fr. *parce-que*), *piskë* ("since," Fr. *puisque*), and *malgrékë* ("despite," Fr. *malgré que*). The "genius" of African languages is different, says Senghor: "It is that of life, of the concrete, and of imagery" (1983, p. 9). These characterizations of African languages as affective and

practical justify Senghor's claim in the 1971 quote with which I began this section, namely that Senegalese languages have far to travel —in lexical terms—before being compatible with the modern world, if indeed they are grammatically suited to it at all. Among the conditions that need to be fulfilled before national languages can even be considered for use in formal education are their lexical modernization, the money to fund such efforts, and the human willpower and intellectual capital to bring this "grand plan" to fruition, a process Senghor reveals "in my heart of hearts, will not be completed in full before the next hundred years" (1983, p. 15).

In 1963, the Ford Foundation funded the creation of a private linguistic body known as the *Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar* (C.L.A.D). The C.L.A.D. was entrusted with a three-pronged mission: to research the linguistic singularity of French as it is spoken in Africa, to investigate the prospects for the use of English in Francophone Africa, and to research African languages (Prinz, 1996, p. 47). C.L.A.D. linguists went to work creating a pedagogy entitled "To Speak French" (*Pour Parler Français)*, which aimed to tailor the "classic model" (*école classique*) of French education used in primary and secondary schools to the sociocultural realities of the Senegalese context (Cisse, 2008, p. 112). For Malian education, Skattum (1997) has described the "linguistic mismatch" of the classic model of French education with the sociolinguistic conditions of West African countries, in particular with those of exoglossia and orality. Children find themselves in a catch-22 dilemma, where their educational system is structurally inseparable from French (i.e., high-stakes examinations in French, instructors trained in French, teaching materials from France) and yet their classic model classroom represents an island for them "without bridges linking them to the mainland [*le pays*], not through the French language, not through writing, and not through curricular content" (Skattum, p. 84). The model developed by C.L.A.D. sought to rebuild those bridges, though between the Senegalese variety of French and children's environments outside the classroom. The method's adoption by the Senegalese state in 1965 served only to further underpin the implicit language policy of functional bilingualism that had been in effect since 1960. This is the idea that different languages could be unequal across domains and yet complementary in identity terms. Children were supposed to be functional in all their languages to be "integral beings" (Senghor, 1983, p. 13), and the level of functionality in each was defined in terms of the requirements of the language's "natural" environment upon the speaker (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, p. 183). Many have criticized the enforcement of this method on the grounds that such a tailoring of the classic model represented little more than a move from a total immersion model to a language policy of "francization" on vague "African" terms (Cisse, 2008, p. 112; Skattum, 1997, p. 84).

Despite the relative dearth of research on Senegalese languages by the mid-1960s, in the second half of the decade Senghor came under significant political pressure from Senegalese (ultra)nationalists to speed up the democratization of education, with language as a pivotal demand on their agenda. C.L.A.D. was brought into the state fold in 1966 when it was appended to the University of Dakar, and the original directors of the center, Frenchmen Maurice Calvet and Pierre Dumont, were joined by linguists associated with the university, notably Cheikh Anta Diop, Arame Fall Diop, and Pathé Diagne, astute Wolof intellectuals and steadfast linguistic nationalists (Prinz, 1996). Following the period of educational stability from 1960-1968, in May of 1968 the National Union of Senegalese Workers

(U.N.T.S.), the United and Democratic Senegalese Teachers' Union (S.U.D.E.S.), and the University of Dakar began a series of cyclical strikes (that would last until 1979-1980) for educational reform (Diouf, Mbaye, & Nachtman, 2001). Rallies were held, teachers boycotted examinations and withheld grades, and the University was shut down temporarily (1968-1969), events the head of state characterized dismissively thus: "the student revolt of 1968 [was] inspired, if not masterminded, by a spirit of mimicry that was parachuted in directly from Paris" (Senghor, 1983, p. 12). Mimicry or not, Senghor's passing of decree n° 68-871 on July 24th, 1968, which gave six national languages national (but not official) status, remains a testament to the political untenability of his stance on national languages and formal education.

A Shadow Politics of National Languages

Between 1969-1979, Senghor would pass a handful of decrees and laws to standardize the corpus forms of the six aforementioned languages. The most important among them were decree n° 71-566 of 1971, which provided more detailed rules for transcription than the 1968 decree; decrees n° 75-1025 and 75-1026 (1975), which determined the rules for the morphological separation of words in Seréer and Wolof, respectively; and Law n° 77-55 (1977), which instituted sanctions for those publishing national language-materials that did not respect the standardized conventions for orthography, at the penalty of up to the equivalent of U.S. $25,000 or three months in jail (Cruise O'Brien, 1998; Prinz, 1996, p. 60). Parallel, however, to these decrees, the government would also pass various corpus policy decrees relative to French (i.e., n° 73-955 of 1972, for the lexical enrichment of the French language; Law n° 74-57 regarding the transcription of Senegalese proper names; decree n° 75-262 of 1975 regarding the transcription of French words in national language texts and of national language words in French texts; Prinz, 1998, p. 61). Carbonneau (1981) suggests that decrees of this sort, by writing protection from "syntactical and lexical 'contamination'" into legislation, both encourage the use of French "in certain private commercial and government activity" and attempt to maintain French dominance as English gains rapidly in the business and technological sectors (p. 393). Hence the concurrent production of national language and French decrees might be understood as a class maneuver to maintain the socioeconomic status of French and its (largely elite) beneficiaries. According to Ndiaye (2008), class struggles in the Marxist sense of the term "explain the dilatory practices of the politicians charged with introducing national languages in primary school" (p. 50).

"Shadow politics" in political science has traditionally referred to the activities of a liminally positioned political group that counter the political practices of those in power (e.g. shadow cabinet in the Westminster system of government). When Cruise O'Brien (1998) writes that the Senegalese government practiced "its own shadow-politics of procrastination" vis-à-vis national languages in education during the 1960s and 1970s, this is a scalding critique of Senghor's administration (p. 25). Cruise O'Brien implies that so inept were government activities that they were analogous to those of the party that was not in power. It appears, however, that Senghor's administration was not so much inept as Senghor himself was unwilling to truly follow his corpus policies through the labyrinth of corpus implementation. Haugen (1983) explains corpus implementation as "the activity of a writer, an institution, a government in adopting and attempting to spread the language

form that has been selected and codified," citing among possible such activities government-backed publishing, the diffusion of the language by the media, and its integration into the school system as a medium of instruction (p. 272).

And why was Senghor unwilling to fill this gap in corpus implementation? A Wolof proverb he cited during a meeting of the French Economic and Social Council in 1974 sheds some light on Senghor's reasoning: "*Bëgg a dem taxul, mën a dem mooy tax a dem*" [Simply wanting to leave does not make one leave, it is being able to that permits leaving; Dumont, 1983, p. 28]. For Senghor, manpower and intellectual capital were the prerequisites of fruitful attempts by the government to make decisions. As will become apparent in the final part of this paper, Senghor lacked anything but manpower in the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, those capable of bringing national languages to the forefront of intellectual production were numerous: the Diop-*istes* at the University of Dakar and C.L.A.D. in the 1970s and early 1980s, then local N.G.O. s working in informal education in the late 1980s and 1990s, and most recently, avid educators in national languages to be found among the Sufi Islamic brotherhoods. Simply, these actors were not projecting political personae in line with Senghor's vision of Senegalese nationalism and progress.

One Orthography, Two Projects: The "Diopistes" and Informal Educators

A role diacritic, in Agha's (2007) formulation, refers to linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors that when considered together and in relation to interactional context, can act as "a meaningful emblem of social personhood when the actor is characterizable in some specific way" (p. 250). Role diacritics can be called "emblems" only if the behavior with the diacritic function consistently indexes the same meaning within a social domain of evaluators. By contrast, if a particular diacritic is evaluated differently within a social domain then it is no longer an emblem in the singular sense of the word. Rather, it is a simple role diacritic that can be drawn upon to enact varying stereotypes of social personae, readable as "different social attributes by differently socially positioned individuals" (p. 251). In the discussion that follows, I will argue that the potential for abstraction which orthographies carry as a matter of course results, on the one hand in the homogeneity of their form with respect to the variability of speech, and on the other in a heterogeneity of social personae indexable by their use. In other words, though both the followers of Cheikh Anta Diop (known as the *Diopistes*) and the informal education movement used the orthography of Wolof standardized by the C.L.A.D. and encoded in the decrees issued 1969-1979, the orthography resisted its projection onto the language policy stage as an emblem, remaining instead a role diacritic usable for diverse political ends. To better understand the stereotypical personae associated with the users of the various Wolof orthographies (viz., standard, French, *Ajami*, indigenous) it is necessary to attend to the "prototypical behavior" associated with each group of users and to how users' words and actions characterize orthographies as role diacritics (Agha, 2007, p. 247). Why, whereas the standard and French orthograhies of Wolof are severally deployed as diacritics of political personhood, have *Ajami* and indigenous orthographies of Wolof remained linked to their originating social personae?

The University of Dakar, and within it the C.L.A.D. (1963) and the African Institute of Basic Research (*Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire* [I.F.A.N., 1966]), were the centering institutions around which the movement for Senegalese linguistic and ethnic nationalism was built. Senegalese intellectuals who obtained their doctorates in France, including Cheikh Anta Diop (anthropologist), Arame Fall Diop (linguist), Pathé Diagne (linguist), and Sakhir Thiam (mathematician), returned to the University in the 1960s and 1970s as professors and as researchers for C.L.A.D. and I.F.A.N.[6] When the C.L.A.D. group was called upon to create a standard transcription of Wolof in the late 1960s, they based themselves on an earlier Wolof syllabary (*Ijjib Wolof*) published in 1959 by socialist and Marxist Senegalese students of the organization Federation for Students of Black Africa in France (*Fédération des Étudiants d'Afrique Noire en France* [F.E.A.N.F., 1950]). The introduction to the F.E.A.N.F.'s syllabary reads: "We hope that the reader will not let themselves be surprised by the use of Latin characters in this essay. Far from representing a potentially awkward decision, the choice of this writing system corresponds to the sole criterion of ease (i.e. simplicity in the styling of letters, a minimum of technology required for production)" (Prinz, 1996, p. 41). This remark is a tip of the hat to the numerous Muslim Senegalese literate in the *Ajami* orthography; for the criterion of simplicity, insofar as it suggests a smaller distance between the Latin orthography and that proposed by the F.E.A.N.F., than between the latter and the *Ajami* orthography, is meant to appease possible opposition on "linguistic" grounds.

Orthographic transparency, or the language-specific distance between graphemes (letters) and phonemes (distinctive sounds) in an orthography, is a formal criterion that can be used to compare orthographies only through reading assessment tasks. Though many variables factor into reading, phonological awareness is of utmost importance, for it refers to the ability to parse words and syllables into phonemes and to recognize phonemes in order to blend them back again into syllables and words. Phonemic awareness, then, represents a subcategory of phonological awareness and involves the reader mapping phonemes onto sounds. Durgunoğlu, Nagy, and Hancin-Bhatt (1993) have claimed that phonemic awareness holds particular importance for native speakers of those African languages that have not long had standard orthographies and who are learning to read, because "the mapping of written language to oral language is at the level of phonemes" (p. 454). Phonemic mapping of this sort may hold importance for readers of Latin-scripted orthographies of African languages. However, for students learning to read in an Arabic script, who frequently visualize the relationship between a consonant and its vowel counterpart as one sound (or vowelized consonant), phonemic awareness may be less important than overall phonological awareness. In light of this discussion, it seems F.E.A.N.F. approaches orthographic transparency from a perspective of Latinate orthographies.

In the following quote by the founder of the African Independence Party (*Parti Africain de l'Indépendence* [1957]), Mahjhemout Diop, it is made clear that from the very inception of the F.E.A.N.F. syllabary two competing social projects were at hand.

> For us, the national languages have been the combat of all-time. We were the first to alphabetize with the *Ijjib Volof*, a creation of the F.E.A.N.F.

---

[6] Proper names are bivalent and may be written to signal affiliation with the French or the C.L.A.D. orthography, respectively (e.g., Cheikh Anta Diop [Séex Anta Jóob]).

> We were the first to alphabetize the workers (*ouvriers)*: to go before the factory workers with our blackboards and try to teach the national languages, or at least to teach the alphabets for the national languages. We have even translated into Wolof, for example, the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx, the first scientific and modern work to be translated into Wolof. (Prinz, 1996, p. 58)

The two projects discernable in Diop's statement are to teach functional literacy in national languages, which was to become the territory of the informal education movement and later of larger-scale development projects, and to show that national languages could communicate any magnitude of knowledge, a life-long project for many intellectuals associated with the University of Dakar and her sister institutes. Both projects would use the standard orthography of 1968 (which drew upon the Wolof syllabary of 1959) yet to different effect, hence suggesting the orthography's diacritic role.

The latter, those associated with the University, were firm supporters of two political parties that specifically sought, among other things, the democratization of Senegalese class structure through educational and linguistic change (i.e. *Front National Sénégalais* [F.N.S., 1963], *Rassemblement Démocratique Sénégalais* [R.D.S., 1976]). Above all, the *Diopistes* were fervently committed to the importance of national languages for political self-determination and for scientific research. Prinz (1996) explains that for Cheikh Anta Diop, "it was first and foremost (...) about refuting the eternal prejudice that African languages were incapable of expressing theoretical and scientific thinking and that they were limited to a pre-logical state with respect to European languages" (p. 43). His writings, most famously the book *Nations Nègres et Cultures* (1979), provide detailed etymological, anthropological, and archaeological evidence to the effect that Egyptian Pharaonic civilization was of sub-Saharan African origin. Thus, for example, he used the historical method of comparative linguistics to relate Wolof words to Egyptian hieroglyphics. What is more, in his zeal to prove the anteriority if not superiority of African as opposed to Western civilization, Diop embarked on an immense corpus modernization project. Translating texts as diverse as Einstein's theory of relativity, mathematic theorems, and works of quantitative chemistry into Wolof (Diop, 1975), he believed not only in the ability of Wolof and other African languages to comfortably occupy such registers but also in the necessity of corpus modernization efforts —"it is indispensable that a conscious effort be applied to this [the evolution of a language] to elevate the level of abstract, intellectual, scientific and philosophical expression" (Diop, 1979, p. 417). If the cultural mismatch between French as a medium of instruction and the hearts and minds of the Senegalese people was to be mended, corpus planning was the key activity moving forward.

By contrast, the informal education movement took its cue from a conference in Addis Ababa in 1961. In this conference leaders of the newly independent African states agreed to achieve one-hundred percent scolarization by 1980, an ambitious goal considering Senegal's 43% scolarization rate in 1970 and even lower literacy rate (Dumont, 1983). In the 1970s local N.G.O.s and community associations sprung up to fill the gaps left by the formal sector. Given their independence from the Ministry of Education, they enjoyed the freedom to choose any codified local language as a medium of instruction in their schools and community centers. The

movement urged a return to "traditional" and often "functional" pedagogical models, the former emphasizing local knowledge and active participation in instruction, and the latter assuring the acquisition of skills linked to the local job market (Diouf, et al., 2001). Such activities touched the illiterate adult population but also children aged 9-14 who were marginalized from formal education, for whom schools known as basic community schools (*écoles communautaires de base)* were created (Diouf, et al., 2001). These schools' and programs' emphasis on "functional alphabetization" (*l'alphabétisation fonctionelle*) in local languages derived in part from the fact that many of them were rurally located and hence to educate their students in French seemed particularly unsustainable. Their focus on "social and professional integration" (Diouf, et al., p. 25), however, is traceable to the external funding received by local N.G.O.s and in some cases, to the management of local projects by N.G.O.s of external origin (*Aide et Action*, World Vision, SIL, etc.).

Despite their pioneering use of local languages and standardized orthographies for education, the informal education movement's association with external influence and funding—and their resulting emphasis on basic needs—were perceived by the *Diopistes* as a pale shadow of the kinds of highbrow corpus work needing to be done. Even N.G.O.s located in Dakar, such as CODESRIA or the Third World Forum (*Forum du Tiers Monde*), whose mission statement draws on Marxist and socialist narratives in a way akin to the leftist F.E.A.N.F. (from which the C.L.A.D. borrowed in creating the standard orthography) and which since 1980 has been headed by Dependency and World Systems theorist Samir Amin, were held at arm's length by staunch C.L.A.D. intellectuals. C.L.A.D. members' culturally radical activities were less and less compatible with those of the anti-imperialist and Marxist thinkers alongside whom they had sprung from indepence, and as in the case of other no-longer nascent West African countries, "emerging splits within the ranks of the nationalist intellectuals" revealed a generation of African intellectuals who had been busily nursing new epistemic projects in the name of a singular black belonging (Blommaert & Arnaut, 2009, 575; Mbembé, 2000). Baptized "chthonic science" by Blommaert & Arnaut (2009), its authors opposed the "bourgeois reformism" of Senghor and Césaire's *Négritude* as did leftist thinkers and yet dismissed populist social change in favor of an insular cultural alterity (p. 580).

Thus, when in 1978, the Senegalese N.G.O. ADEF and the Ministry of Education transferred an informal education initiative for bilingual tele-visual classes in Wolof to the formal sector, with funding from transnational N.G.O.s ENDA-*Tiers Monde* and *Aide et Action*, the C.L.A.D. group refused to work on publishing pedagogical materials for the experiment, preferring instead to stay within the domain of linguistics (Ndiang, 1996). Their participation was limited to a short linguistics "training workshop" for teachers in these Wolof-medium classrooms. Ndiang (1996) observes that the main reasons for the demise of the program in 1979 were the lack of pedagogical and subject material support, teachers' unease with regards to dialectal variation and how to deal with it in the classroom, and the fact that teachers "experience[d] difficulty to express certain notions and turns-of-phrases in Wolof, which they [were] inevitably forced to say in French" (p. 332). Given this unwillingness to join forces, it is unsurprising that the period of educational development between 1975-1980 has retrospectively been referred to as a time of "stalling and stagnation," followed by a period of "deceleration" between 1980-1989 (Prinz, 1996, p. 77). Despite the C.L.A.D. and informal education

camps' commitment to education in local languages and their use of the same orthography, this and other attempts at experimental bilingual schooling (1978-1979, 2001-2002, 2007-2010) evidence a grave lack of coordination with respect to modernization advances in the Wolof corpus. Short of an organized sharing of corpus planning products, how can the labyrinth of corpus planning be successfully navigated?

Another example of a dispute between users of the standard orthography took place between President Senghor and the *Diopistes* in 1979, when Senghor issued an official ban on the film by Sembène Ousmane entitled *Ceddo* (1977). The film was censored on the grounds that geminate consonants were not a feature of the standard orthography (Senghor, 1983), a claim which the *Diopistes* resisted by publishing new journals *Kaddu* and *Siggi*; Sembène Ousmane even re-named his house *Galle Ceddo* "house of the warrior" (McClaughlin, 2008). Some have speculated that Senghor's reluctance was due to the fact that Seréer, his first language, has no geminate consonants (Cruise O'Brien, 2002). McClaughlin's (2008) speculation seems more apropos however. She explains how Senghor looked to the work of Senegalese grammarian l'Abbé Boilat, who for his Grammar in 1856 won the Volney Prize, an honor awarded by the Institute of France (of which *l'Académie Française* is a member*)* for works in linguistics. Boilat's (1856) *Grammaire Woloffe* represents the culmination of the French orthography of Wolof, for the author uses digraphs (i.e. Boilat's *thiédo* "soldier" vs. the C.L.A.D standard *ceddo*, p. 34) and separates words morphologically according to French verb categories. Though he admits of vowel length alternations, he denies the necessity of double consonants—"but here I cannot accept the use of double consonants" [*mais ici je ne puis admettre de consonne a double emploi*] (p. 345)—and suggests instead that for words ending in a "heavy" consonant a schwa [ə] sound should be added in pronunciation (i.e. C.L.A.D. standard *magg* "older sibling" vs. Boilat's *mag* [magə], p. 364). Senghor's refusal of geminates is ironic on various levels. First, because though Boilat refuses the use of geminates in his French-inspired graphization of Wolof he nevertheless manages to use the French feminine adjective *Woloffe* in the title for his grammar! Secondly, because though Senghor was behind the decrees 1968-1977 that distanced the would-be-standard orthography of Wolof from the French orthography of Wolof by eliminating digraphs in 1971 and harmonizing rules of word division in 1975 (Diagne, 1978), his stance on the film *Ceddo* was reminiscent of the French orthography.

Perhaps this tension between Senghor's administration and the scientific community of linguists can best be understood as a clash between two differing visions of a Senegalese identity, informed in different proportions by French language and influence. The question of race, which Senghor cloaks in universalist discourse of a "co-membership in the human condition" between blacks and whites, and the *Diopistes* appreciate in terms of a black particularism and autochthonous traditions, assumes a central role in state-making, racial identifications serving as the moral base for political solidarity within both lines of thought (Mbembé, 2000, p. 27), At the end of the day Senghor, despite his politically smart choice to support these decrees, remained unconvinced of the *Diopistes*' model of literate Wolofization (Cruise O'Brien, 1998), calling them "irresponsible romantics" for their advocacy. He admonished them that, "Wolof will not be taught in Senegalese schools until it has been the subject of at least twenty doctoral theses. *Idem* for the other

national languages" (Cisse, 2008, p. 112). It appears that Senghor tread a political line of "multicultural tokenism" with respect to orthographic policy (Ouane, 1995, p. 107), providing just enough movement forward on national languages to appease the conscience of the scientific community, and yet all the while keeping a clear stance on the corpus planning still needing to be accomplished before policy changes could be pushed through.

Détournement (Diversion) of Orthographic Stereotypes

Another question is of utmost importance for understanding how one orthography, or role diacritic, can accompany such widely differing social activities and concepts of national identity. For the members of the C.L.A.D., Wolof language purism was held up as proof of the viability of Wolof-medium education. Thus, mathematician Sakhir Thiam taught advanced mathematics courses at the University (and continues to do so to this day) entirely in Wolof, an unprecedented feat of corpus modernization and stamina in the eyes of many of his students. In the eyes of others, however, Professor Thiam was largely unintelligible (Ousmane Traoré, personal communication, May 3rd, 2010), a point to which I return in the conclusion. In view of the C.L.A.D. group's conservative attitude towards national languages and their ultra-nationalist and anti-foreign position on educational activities, how is their adoption of a Latin orthography amid other more "indigenous" scripts to be understood?

Around the time when the F.E.A.N.F. was drafting their Wolof syllabary in Latin letters, "a self-taught tailor by the name of A. Fall, a language teacher, Seybatou Diop, and an Arabist by the name of Sokna actually reinvented orthographies (the former two for the Wolof language, the latter for Seréer), which were relatively close to those found in Sierra Leone as from the eighteenth-century" (Diagne, 1978, p. 2). Little is known about either of these scripts, though recent work has brought to light two other indigenous scripts of Wolof: *Garay* and *Wolof Saliww wi* (Dalby, 1969; Mafundikwa, 2004; Rovenchak & Glavy, in press). In 1961, Assane Faye [1932-], a member of the movement Instructors for the Teaching of African Languages (*Mouvement des Enseignants de Langues Africaines*, M.E.L.A.S.) created an alphabet that he asserted all Senegalese people could easily use, irrespective of ethnicity (Faye, 2010). The name itself *Garay*, Wolof for a type of gauzy cotton, makes reference to its shorthand, lightweight quality since the script, like Arabic and *Ajami*, reads right to left, but unlike these, disposes of diacritic dots (Wo. *tomb*) and other intricacies (Charles Riley, personal communication, October 10th, 2010). *Wolof Saliww wi* owes its invention to Saliou Mbaye, who published it in 2002 from Thies [Cées], Senegal (Rovenchak & Glavy, in press). Despite their claims to Pan-African universality, these scripts bely an etymological relation to Islamic magico-cryptic symbols and Egyptian hieroglyphics (Dalby, 1968) and a clear influence from Arabic script, graphically speaking (see Figure 2 for *Garay* and Figure 3 for *Wolof Saliww wi*). Reactions to these scripts from educated Senegalese youth progress from incredulity at their existence, to claims to their "exotic" appearance, to downright rejection (Dame Diene, Niane Mamadou, personal communication, November 18th, 2010). Perhaps too iconographically distinct, these scripts' desire to represent a Pan-African heritage is marred by the salience of their invented quality and their persistent affiliation with their

authors. Confronted to a pragmatic present, these scripts beg questions as to whether they can practicably fulfill their authors' autochthonous missions.[7]

Figure 2. Assan Faye's *Garay* alphabet, 1961 (Dalby, 1969, as cited in Rovenchak & Glavy, in press, p. 57)

Figure 3. Saliou Mbaye's Wolof alphabet, *Wolof Saliww wi,* 2002 (as cited in Rovenchak & Glavy, in press, p. 101)

---

[7] The invention of West African indigenous scripts is often related by their authors as inspired by a dream or a supernatural revelation, in many cases with overt religious overtones (Dalby, 1968). Faye is reputed to have been sitting on a mountain listening to Senghor announce independence on the radio when he dreamt of Garay (Charles Riley, personal communication, October 10th, 2010).

As it were, Sufi Islamic scholars and pedagogues preferred *Ajami* scripts of Wolof, Pulaar, and Mandinka to facilitate religious education in their independent, self-funded system of schools known as *daaras* (Diagne, 1978). Much remains to be learned about *Ajami*'s use and distribution. Informal conversations have pointed to a low degree of standardization for some users, where *Ajami* more closely resembles a transcription—hence variable—of Wolof as Arabic literates hear it (Dame Diene, Niane Mamadou, personal communications, November 14th/18th, 2010), than a conventionalized script. A modicum of this variation is depicted in Figure 4.

Wolof Phonemes with no Arabic counterparts	Wolofal letters used for these phonemes
1. p	ݒ
2. g	ݣ, ک
3. ñ	ݮ, ج
4. ŋ	ݣ, غ
5. č	ݮ, ج
6. mp	ب, ݒ
7. nt	نت, ت
8. nɟ	ݮ, ج
9. nk	نک, ک
10. mb	ݒ, ب
11. nd	ݓ, د
12. nč	ݮ, ج
13. ng	ݣ, غ
14. nq	ف, ق

Figure 4. Ajami: Arabic alphabet's adjustments to Wolof sound system (Ngom, 2007)

The *Ajami* scripts of national languages, the Latin orthographies, and the indigenous orthographies (which were proposed, as we have seen above, but were never widely used) each communicate a different religio-cultural philosophy of education. Therefore, "In practice, the choice of one system generally excludes in most minds all reference to another system, all the more so since one is concerned here with codifying and formulating languages for use in school and for official purposes" (Diagne, 1978, p. 4). One way to understand the C.L.A.D.'s adoption of a Latin orthography is to see it as *détournement* ("diversion"), or the "re-routing" of Latin letters into a revised orthography that the C.L.A.D. perceived as both orthographically transparent and sufficiently different from the French orthography of Wolof to be authentically Senegalese. Despite their claims to orthographic transparency, the indigenous orthographies were, on the contrary, too iconographically extravagant even for the C.L.A.D. Lefebvre's (1991) concept of *détournement* derives from the understanding that, in the capitalist mode of social life, creating entirely new spaces is less viable than appropriating old spaces and putting them to new functions. Translated into language policy and planning terminology, *détournement* has similarities with Cooper's (1989) concept of renovation, which refers to efforts "to change an already developed code, whether in the name of efficiency, aesthetics, or national or political ideology (p. 154).

Another example of *détournement*/renovation in the Senegalese orthographic landscape is the use of the standard orthographies of Wolof and Pulaar by the

World Bank, Research Track Initiative (R.T.I), and the Hewlett Foundation. Since 2001, these organizations have funded experimental bilingual education classes in these two languages in coordination with the Senegalese Ministry of Education (All Children Reading Workshop, 12-14 April 2010). As part of the Millennium Development Goals for 2015, R.T.I. has also developed an early grade reading assessment (E.G.R.A.) tool in a handful of African languages, among them Wolof and Pulaar.

Exemples :	o	uu	t		mb						
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*		
a	n	o	M	i	U	d	E	L	K	(10)
g	B	y	A	uu	x	t	w	N	f	(20)
s	r	c	j	p	ñ	s	i	à	m	(30)
ŋ	K	aa	R	ã	ee	ée	D	u	r	(40)
n	ii	b	L	g	Y	oo	e	a	b	(50)
óo	k	u	e	M	x	é	T	n	c	(60)
i	G	ëe	j	d	A	e	O	ng	o	(70)
y	O	A	L	m	nd	t	s	nj	L	(80)
ŋ	w	u	B	ë	n	i	a	y	e	(90)
i	a	o	k	d	U	o	mb	e	i	(100)

Nombre exact de secondes restantes indiqué sur le chronomètre : ☐

Cochez ici si l'exercice a été arrêté par manque de réponses correctes à la première ligne **(auto-stop):** ☐

Waaw-góor / waaw-kumba ! Nanu jàll ci leneen !   Codes :   Crochet ☐   # Incorrect ☐

Figure 5. Extract from phonemic awareness task, Wolof Early Grade Reading Assessment (R.T.I, World Bank, 2009)

In Figure 5, an excerpt from a phonemic awareness task on the Wolof 2009 assessment, the meticulous adherence of these foreign organizations to the standard orthography implies a re-routing of its original significance as embodied by the *Diopist* movement towards one closer to that of the informal education movement. This resemblance is unsurprising in light of R.T.I.'s hiring of consultants from a Pulaar NGO named ARED in the creation of their assessment (personal communication, Sarah Pouezevara, April 11th, 2010).

Another perhaps more compelling example is the adoption of the French orthography of Wolof by Senegalese youth. So frequent is this orthographic phenomenon, in their personal communication, in song lyrics, in text-messaging and blogs, and on street signs, that it has been little documented. Exceptions are a study by McClaughlin (2001) on comic strips in the written equivalent of the variety referred to as Urban Wolof, a variety spoken in most urban areas in Senegal since the 1990s and characterized by extensive lexical borrowing and morphological interference from French, and more recently, from English (Ngom, 2006; Cruise O'Brien, 1998; Swigart, 1994). Von Lexander (2009) has written a small-scale study of students at the University of Dakar and their use of online communications and texting, observing that even students who have studied the standard Wolof orthography as a mandatory subject at the University continue to use the French orthography of Wolof. The greater ubiquity of the French orthography of Wolof among Wolophones, considering Wolof is now spoken as a first or second language

by over 85% of the Senegalese population (Diallo, 2005), can likewise be viewed as a re-routing of the French orthography to reflect a "synthesis" of local orthographic practices and the ones the French tried to impose. To investigate the exact the nature of this synthetic orthography and the identity stereotypes associated with its use promises fruitful research.

Conclusion

Linguistic Ecology, Pitfalls in Corpus Planning, and Prospects for Bilingual Education

The previous two sections have demonstrated how, due to gaps in the implementation of corpus policy and planning and little coordination among users of the standard orthography to the benefit of bilingual education, the four Senegalese orthographies of Wolof were either not taken up (the case of the indigenous orthographies), somewhat insular and non-standardized (in the case of *Ajami*), or were "up for grabs" by actors whose political stance was at odds with the originating political projects within which the orthographies were conceived (the case of the standard and French orthographies of Wolof). Cruise O'Brien (1998) has persuasively argued that the non-officialization of Wolof is what let it grow to its current proportions. For had its status been officialized, he argues, significant resistance from other national and local languages would have arisen and blocked further Wolofization. Rather, Wolof, and more specifically the variety known as Urban Wolof, has become "the parallel language of the state" and that of Senegalese youth (Cruise O'Brien, 1998, p. 36), who under the age of 15 represent 42% of a Senegalese population of 11,841,123 in 2008, and 53.3.% under the age of 20 (*Agence Nationale de la Statistique et la Démographie*, 2009, p. 22). Sociolinguistic studies have shown that whereas French "is particularly confined to public institutions such as banks, post offices, workplaces, and, surprisingly, churches" (Diallo, 2005, p. 255), Wolof and Urban Wolof are the varieties in the corridors and cubicles of state bureaucracy, in the schoolyard, at the doctors' office, on the radio, etc. (Diallo, 2005; Cruise O'Brien, 19998). *Wolof bu xóot*, or "deep Wolof," still commands prestige in rural areas (as the analogous case of Mali has shown in the film Finzan), religious ceremonies (Perrino, 2002), among urban adolescent boys who compete to impress girls through *villageois* Wolof proverbs (personal communication, Ousmane Traoré, May 3rd, 2010), and undoubtedly in various other domains of interaction. Notwithstanding norms of purity, demographic changes in the structure of the population in terms of age and in terms of diasporic movement, with an estimated 648,600 Senegalese emigrants living abroad (66% of whom reside in Europe, 15.5% in the Americas) as of 2003-2004 (*Organization Internationale pour les Migrations*, 2009, p. 53), and whose composition disproportionately emphasizes youth of urban origin (ANSD, 2009, p. 34).

Likewise Mesthrie (2009) has made the argument that across Africa today standard varieties of African languages are generally low prestige. He raises the question of "whether the standardization of African languages via the mission presses, sermons, and nineteenth-century dictionaries may have taken place a century too early to be effective as a norm representing Black social and political aspirations" (p. 137). This question is relevant to Senegal in the sense that the

standard orthography of Wolof both stemmed from the French orthography of Wolof and diverged from it, at least to the extent the *Diopistes* could manage under Senghor's watchful gaze. Mesthrie (2009) observes that high prestige varieties today are those spoken by urban residents, whose cosmopolitan orientation is manifest in the "extensive borrowing of vocabulary, code-switching and neologisms" that mark their urban varieties (p. 137). In the Senegalese context, where national languages are only beginning to be brought into the formal sphere and "pure" Wolof is increasingly restricted in distribution, it is of utmost importance that educators in experimental bilingual classrooms remain flexible towards both Urban Wolof and its ubiquitous written equivalent, the acculturated version of the French orthography of Wolof. Indeed, the youth orthography of Wolof is itself characterized by flexibility; the accentuation of the French or CLAD variants is sometimes observed, othertimes not, and spellings vary across speakers as much as within a single person's orthographic repertoire.

If educators in both experimental bilingual and classic model classrooms would adopt a linguistic ecological perspective on their students' language use (Hornberger, 2002), this would help foster positive attitudes towards the linguistic reality of present-day Senegal, which as Urban Wolof has shown, is a product of a high degree of language contact. Dorian (1994) writes that especially when a language is not used in formal education, "An ecological perspective can see linguistic syncretism as having a positive, preservationist effect on a language when its speakers must adapt rapidly to changing circumstances" (Hill & Hill, as cited by Dorian, p. 486). In other words, language purism works against a language's full or sustained use, particularly when its socializing domains have historically been restricted. With respect to Wolof corpus purity in particular, Ndiaye (1996) has recommended a flexibility of standardized Wolof norms in bilingual classrooms moving forward. He reminds those concerned with purity that today's "errors" are tomorrow "norms" (p. 170), and says that in the interest of bilingualism, researchers and pedagogues alike must situate themselves between French and Wolof, at the very site of innovation, not close to a puristic ideal on either side. Such a sentiment reverberates in the writings of postcolonial theorist Achille Mbembé (2000), who likewise locates the construction of contemporary African identities at the crossroads of cosmopolitanism and autochthony.

The purism myth with which the *Diopistes* so beautifully brought national languages into the language policy sphere in the 1960s now calls for reformulation. Corpus modernization, as the *Diopistes* and many informal education N.G.O.s were to discover, is neither an intellectual challenge nor a simple translation process. Rather, as Saussure (1949) has illustrated, the true value of a linguistic sign is only clear when its value relative to all the other signs in a language are taken into account. A sign borrowed from another language, then, will always go through a process of conceptual adjustment once within the borrowing language (Mesthrie, 2009). Bearing in mind that "translation shifts the use of language as it proceeds" (Mesthrie, p. 143), and that local adjustments to corpus modernization work are both inevitable and desirable, it appears that corpus modernization is a process comprising both functional (planning) and formal (policy) considerations. Such an integrative orientation towards corpus policy and planning (Hornberger, 2006) suggests that Senghor's 100-year timeline for the implementation of national languages in education would have been much shortened had he attended to the need for reforming corpus policy in light of local negotiations of corpus planning. By

the same token, corpus policy on orthographies could have been more streamlined had the language ideologies and identity politics underpinning each orthography been made explicit in corpus planning activities.

Cécile Evers is a doctoral candidate in Educational Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education. She is interested in minority language education in Europe, specifically for West and North African immigrant and heritage language students. In Dakar, she worked previously for l'Association Nationale pour l'Alphabétisation et la Formation des Adultes (A.N.A.F.A). Their bottomless efforts for alternative education were the source of inspiration for this paper.

Email: ceve@gse.upenn.edu

References

Agence Nationale de la Statistique et la Démographie (Novembre 2009). Situation économiqe et sociale du Sénégal en 2008. Dakar, Senegal: A.N.S.D. Retrieved from www.ansd.sn/publications/annuelles/SES_2008.pdf.

Agha, A. (in press). Tropes of slang. To appear in I. Strecker & S. Tyler (Eds), *The Rhetoric of Social Relations*. Oxford, U.K.: Berghahn.

Agha, A. (2007). Language and Social Relations. Cambridge, U.K., New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Arnaut, K. & Blommaert, J. (2009). Chthonic science: Georges Niangoran-Bouah and the anthropology of belonging in Côte d'Ivoire. *American Ethnologist, 36*(3), 574-590.

Beslier, G. G. (1935). *Le Sénégal*. Paris: Payot.

Blom, J. & Gumperz, J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway. In J. Gumperz, J. & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (pp. 407-434). Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell.

Blommaert, J. & Arnaut, K. (2009). Chthonic science: Georges Niangoran-Bouah and the anthropology of belonging in Côte d'Ivoire. *American Ethnologist, 3*(36), 574-590.

Boilat, l'Abbé P. -D. (1856). *Grammaire de la Language Woloffe*. Paris: L'Imprimerie Impériale. Retrieved from www.books.google.com.

Boilat, l'Abbé P.-D. (1853). *Esquisses sénégalaises, physionomie du pays, peuplades, commerce, religions, passé et avenir, récits et légendes*. Paris, France: P. Bertrand Libraire-Éditeur.

Boyer, D. & Lomnitz, C. (2005). Intellectuals and nationalism: Anthropological engagements. Annual Review of Anthropology

Brock-Utne, B., & Skattum, I. (2009). *Languages and education in africa : A comparative and transdisciplinary analysis*. Oxford, U.K.: Symposium Books.

Carbonneau, T.E. (1981). Linguistic legislation and transnational commercial activity: France & Belgium. *The American Journal of Comparative Law, 29*(3), 393-412.

Cisse, M. (December, 2008). Langues, État, et Societé au Sénégal. *Revue Electronique International de Sciences du Language SudLangues*, N° 10. Retrieved from http://www.sudlangues.sn/.

Convention pour la promotion et la protection de la diversité culturelle et des expressions artistiques : Décret relatif à l'orthographe et la séparation des mots en Wolof, 1962. (2007). Dakar, Senegal: Enda: Alliance culturelle africaine. Études de linguistique appliquée.

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Cruise O'Brien, D. B., Diop, M. C., & Diouf, M. (2002). *La construction de l'etat au Sénégal*. Paris, France: Karthala.

Cruise O'Brien, D. (1998). The shadow-politics of Wolofisation. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 36*(1), 25-46.

Dalby, D. (1969). Further indigenous scripts of West Africa: Manding, Wolof and Fula alphabets and Yoruba 'holy' writing. *African Language Studies, 10*, 161–181.

Dard, F. (1826). *Grammaire Wolofe: ou, Méthode pour étudier la langue des Noirs qui habitent les royaumes de Bourba-Yolof, de Walo, de Damel, de Bour-sine, de Saloume, de Baole, en Sénégambie: suivie d'un appendice oú sont établies les particularités les plus essentielles des principales langues de l'Afrique septentrionale*. Paris, France: Imprimerie Royale.

Diagne, P. (July, 1978). Transcription and Harmonization of African Languages in Senegal. UNESCO Meeting of Experts on "Transcription and Harmonization of African Languages."

Diallo, I. (2005). Language planning, language-in-education policy and attitudes towards languages in Senegal. (Ph.D. Griffith University, Australia). Received in personal communication, April 11th, 2010, Sarah Pouezevara.

Diop, B. (1990). *L'impact des journaux en langues nationales sur les populations Sénégalaises*. Dakar, Senegal: Association des Chercheurs Sénégalais.

Diop, C.A. (1979). *Nations Nègres et Cultures*, Second Tome. Paris, France: Présence Africaine.

Diop, C.A. (January, 1975). Comment enraciner la Science en Afrique: exemples walaf (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N.*, T. 37, séries B, n° 1, 154-233.

Diouf, A., Mbaye, M, & Nachtman, Y. (2001). Éducation Non Formel au Sénégal: déscription, évaluation, et perspectives. Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO. Retrieved from *unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001238/123892f.pdf.*

Diouf, M. (1998). The French colonial policy of assimilation and the civility of the Originaires of the four communes (Senegal): A nineteenth century globalization project. *Development and Change, 29*, 671-696.

Dorian, N. (1994). Purism vs. compromise in language revitalization and language revival. *Language in Society, 23*, 479-494.

Dumont, P. (1983). *Le Français et les langues Africaines au Sénégal*: Preface by L.S. Senghor. Paris, France: A.C.C.T.: Karthala.

Durgunoğlu, A. Y., Nagy, W. E., & Hancin-Bhatt, B. J. (1993). Cross-language transfer of phonological awareness. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *85*(3), 453-465.

Eades, J. (1994). Senegal. *World Bibliographical Series, 166*, 14-31.

Ethnologue: Languages of the World, "Senegal." (2009). SIL International. Retrieved from www.ethnologue.org.

Faye, A. (2010). *Découvrez l'alphabet "Garay."* Retrieved from http://garay-ecriture.com.

Ferguson, C. (1968). Language development. In J. Fishman, C. A. Ferguson, & J. Das Gupta (Eds.), *Language problems of developing nations* (pp. 27-35). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Fishman, J. (1972). Domains and the relationship between mico- and macro-sociolinguistics. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (pp. 435-453). Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell.

Gaucher, J. (1968). *Les débuts de l'enseignment en Afrique Francophone: Jean Dard et l'école mutuélle de Saint-Louis, Sénégal*. Paris, France: Le Livre Africain.

Gee, J. P. (1989). Orality and Literacy: From The Savage Mind to Ways with Words. *Journal of Education*, *171*(1), 39-60.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Graham, L., Jaffe, A., Urciuoli, B., & Valentine, D. (January, 2007). Why anthropologists should oppose English-only legislation in the U.S. *Anthropology News*, *48*(1), 32-33.

Haugen, E. (1983). The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice. In J. Cobarrubias (Ed.), *Progress in Language Planning* (pp. 269-290). Berlin, Germany, New York, NY, Amsterdam, Netherlands: Mouton.

Hill, J. & Hill, K. (1986). *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of syncretic language in central México.* Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Hornberger, N. (2008). Framework and Models in Language Policy and Planning. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (pp. 24-41). Malden, MA, Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Hornberger, N. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 24-41). New York, NY: Blackwell Publishing.

Hornberger, N. (2002). Multilingual Language Policies and the Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Approach. *Language Policy*, 1, 27-51.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lefebvre, H. (1991 [1974]). *The Production of Space*. D.N. Smith, Trans. Malden, MA, Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Levtzion, N. (1973). *Ancient Ghana and Mali.* London, U.K.: Methuen.

Mafundikwa, S. (2004). *Afrikan Alphabets: The story of writing in Afrika*. New York, NY: Mark Butty Publisher.

Mbembé, A. (2000). À propos des écritures Africaines de soi. *Politique Africaine, 77*, 16-43.

McClaughlin, F. (2008). Senegal: the emergence of a national lingua franca. In A. Simpson (Ed.), *Language and national identity in Africa* (pp. 79-98). Oxford, U.K., New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

McClaughlin, F. (2001) Dakar Wolof and the configuration of an urban identity. *Journal of African Cultural Studies, 14*(2), 153-172.

Mesthrie, R. (2009). Assumptions and aspirations regarding African languages in South African higher education: A sociolinguistic appraisal. In B. Brock-Utne & I. Skattum (Eds.), *Languages and education in Africa: A comparative and transdisciplinary analysis* (pp. 133-151). Oxford, U.K.: Symposium Books.

National Academies Press. (1995). Population Dynamics of Senegal. Retrieved from http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=4900&page=31.

Ndiang, G. (1996). Introduction des langues nationales dans l'enseignement élémentaire: une experience au Sénégal. *Études de Linguistique Appliquée, 103*, 329-338.

Ndiaye, D. (2008). L'enseignement des langues nationales à l'école primaire, le cas du Wolof au Sénégal. (Ph.D. Sorbonne University, Paris 8). Retrieved from www.bu.univ-paris8.fr/consult.php?url_these=theses/NdiayeThese.pdf.

Ngom, F. (2006). *Lexical borrowings as sociolinguistic variables in Saint-Louis, Senegal*. Munich, Germany: Lincom Europa.

Ngom, F. (2007). Ajami African Studies Association Presentation, Kent State University. Ajami Intellectual Heritage of sub-Saharan Africa. Retrieved from http://ajami.wikispaces.com/.

Ngom, F. (2010). Ajami scripts in the Senegalese speech community. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, *10*, 1-23.

Ong, W. (1982). *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word.* New York, NY: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Organization Internationale pour les Migrations (2009). Migration au Sénégal: Profile National 2009. Geneva, Switzerland: O.I.M. Retrieved from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/.

Ouane, A. (1995). *Vers une Culture Multilingue d'Éducation*. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO's Institut for Education (Études de la IUE).

Perrino, S. (2002) Intimate hierarchies and Qur'anic saliva (Tëfli): Textuality in a Senegalese ethnomedical encounter. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *12*(2), 225-259.

Prinz, M. (1996). *L'Alphabétisation Au Sénégal.* Paris, France: Édition L'Harmattan.

Roger, J. F., Dard, J., & Kilham, H. S. (1829). *Recherches philosophiques sur la langue ouolofe, suivies d'un vocabulaire abrégé français-ouolof*. Paris, France: Libraire Orientale de Dondey-Dupré Père et Fils.

RTI World Bank. (June 5th, 2009). Wolof Early Grade Reading Assessment. Received in personal communication, April 11th, 2010, Sarah Pouezevara.

Ricento, T. & Hornberger, N. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly, 30*(3), 401-428.

Rovenchak, A. & Glavy, J. (In press). *African writing systems of the modern age: The Sub-Sahara region*. New Haven, CT, Lviv, Ukraine, Abidjan, Côte d`Ivoire: Athinkra LLC.

Sarkozy, N. (2007). Discours à l'Université de Dakar. Présidence de la République. Retrieved from http://www.elysee.fr.

Saussure, F. (1949). *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (4th Ed.*)*. Bally, C. & Sechehaye, A. (Eds.). Paris, France: Payot.

Scribner, S. & Cole, M. (1981). *The psychology of literacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sembène, O. (1977). *Ceddo* [Motion picture]. Senegal: Filmi Doomireew.

Senghor, L.S. (1983). Introduction. *Le Français et les langues Africaines au Sénégal* (P. Dumont). Paris: A.C.C.T.: Karthala.

Senghor, L.S. (1964). *On African socialism*. M. Cook (Trans.) New York, NY: Praeger.

Senghor, L.S. (1939). Ce que l'homme Noir apporte. In S.E. le Cardinale Verdier, et al. (Eds.), *L'homme de couleur* (pp. 291-313). Paris, France: "Présences" Librairie Plon.

Silverstein, M. (2006). Writing at the Chronotopic Margins of Empires. In S.L. Sanders (Ed.), *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures* (pp. 149-155). Chicago, IL: Oriental Institute Press.

Silverstein, M. (2000). Whorfianism and the linguistic imagination of nationality. In P. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities* (pp. 85-138). Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Sissoko, C.O. (1990). *Finzan* [Motion picture]. Mali: Centre National de Production Cinématographique (CNPC); Kora Films; Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF).

Skattum, I. (1997). L'éducation bilingue dans un contexte d'oralité et d'éxoglossie: Théories et réalités du terrain au Mali. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *6*(2), 74-106.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1984). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities*. D. Crane & L. Malmberg (Trans.) Bristol, U.K.: Channel View Publications Ltd. Multilingual Matters.

Spolsky, B. (2007). Towards a theory of language policy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, *22*(1), 1-14.

Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice.* Cambridge, U.K., New York, NY: Cambridge University Press

Swigart, L. (1994). Cultural creolisation and language use in post-colonial Africa: The case of Senegal. *Africa*, *64*(2), 175-189.

Von Lexander, K. (2009) La communication médiatisée par les technologies de l'information et de la communication: la porte d'accés au domaine de l'écrit pour les langues Africaines? In B. Brock-Utne & I. Skattum (Eds.), *Languages and education in Africa: A comparative and transdisciplinary analysis* (pp. 289-299). Oxford, U.K.: Symposium Books.

Whorf, B.L. (1956). *Language, thought, and reality*. J. Caroll, J. (Ed.). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Encore Editions from Broadview Press.

Woolard, K. (1999). Simultaneity and bivalency as strategies in bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 8*(1), 3-27.

Appendix

Illustrations of Wolof Orthographies

Graphemes Inventory	French Orthography (Dard, 1826)	C.L.A.D/Standard Orthography	Youth Orthography
No.			
1. Vowel graphemes	a, é, è, e, i, o , u	a, e, é, ë, i, o, ó, u	a, e, é, ë, i, o, u
	an, aï, æ, eu, on, ou	aa, ee, ée, ii, oo, óo, uu	ia, eu, ou, ui, aa, oo
2. Consonant graphemes	b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w, y,	b, bb, c, cc, d, dd, f, ff, g, gg,	b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n,
	mb, mp, nd, nt, ng, gn, kh, thi, dh	j, jj, k, kk, l, ll m, mm, n, nm, ñ,	p, r, s, t, w, y, mb, mp,
		ññ, p, pp, r, rr, s, ss, t, tt, w,	ng, ng, gn, kh, thi, dh
		ww, x, y, yy, mb, mp, nd, nj, ng	
3. Lexeme examples			
a. fly	waigne (Dard, p. 2)	wéñ	wegne
b. father	bâye (*ibid*, p. 7)	baay	baye
c. woman	dhigêne (*ibid*, p. 25)	jigéen	djiiguene
d. a cure	mpadhie (*ibid*, p. 8)	paj	pathie
e. a sewing shop	gnawoukaye (*ibid*, p. 10)	ñawukaay	niawoukaye
4. Expression examples			
a. the door of the house	bounte ou keurre gua (*ibid*, p. 10)	buntu kër ga	bountou keur ga, bountou-kër ga
b. reading has a benefit	ndiangue ma mody diérigne (*ibid*, p. 12)	Njàng mi moo di njariñ	ndiangue mi modi ndiarigne
c. I will love…	de naa sop*a* (*ibid*, p. 40)	dinaa sopp	dina sopë, dina soppa, …
d. I do not love…	sopoñ ma (*ibid*, p. 64)	soppuma	soppouma