

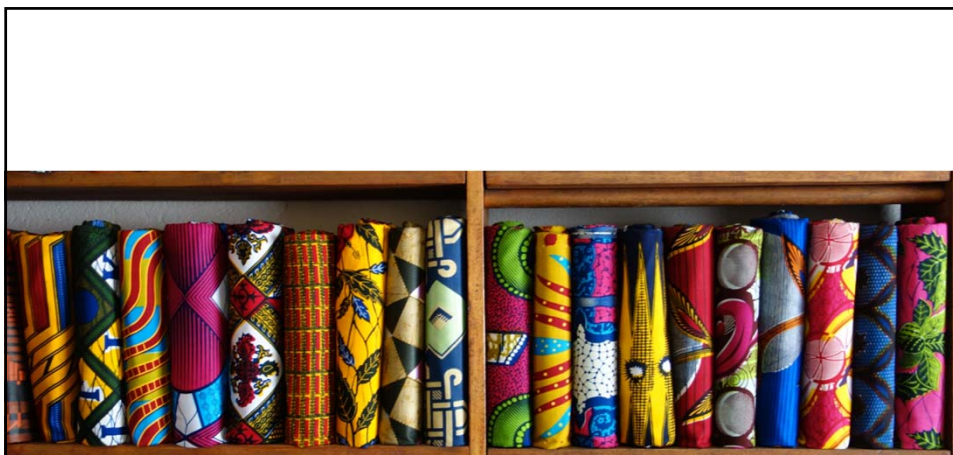
The social realities of literacy learning in Senegal



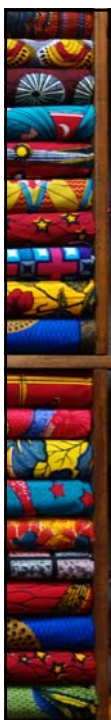
Friederike Lüpke
Crossroads Project
SOAS, University
of London

“African languages were socially constructed as part of the ‘invention’ of Africa (Mudimbe, 1988). If African languages are ‘inventions’, then indigenous African languages are historical products and, therefore, a result of prolonged interaction between colonialists and Africans. In fact, if indigenous languages are a by product of continuous and prolonged interaction, then, ironically, powerful advocacy of indigenous languages is a re-inscription, of the colonial mentality they are seeking to challenge and undermine. “

(B. Makoni 2013: 91)





Multiple visions of writing



(Trans)languaging vs. writing languages: Moussa Travelé

<i>Génie (diable),</i>	Guoumaguag.
<i>Génisse,</i>	Djine A).
<i>Genou,</i>	Diaga, diaga-guéro.
<i>Genre,</i>	Sén-kourou, kounbéré.
<i>Gens,</i>	Sifaya, tioko.
<i>Génuflexion,</i>	Má, mogo, moko.
<i>Germe</i>	Gaonkirini.
<i>Germer,</i>	Férèn-koun, félèn koun.
<i>Gésier,</i>	Félèn, férèn.
<i>Gésine,</i>	N'kosi, késékélé.
<i>Gibier,</i>	Tindimtio.
<i>Gifle,</i>	Donso-sogo, koungo-sogo.
<i>Gigot,</i>	Tégué gnau kélé tji daro.
<i>Gigoter,</i>	Saga ouoro.
<i>Gilet,</i>	Séréké-séréké, sén sèriséri.
<i>Girafe,</i>	Djileti (f).
<i>Glace (miroir),</i>	Klèn, koungo-guamé.
<i>Glace (rau congelée),</i>	V. Miroir.
<i>Gland,</i>	Galási (f), dji gouéréné.
<i>Glane,</i>	Boumou fiéré, boumboun fiéré.
<i>Glamer,</i>	Kansiri (ex. : fiuin kansiri kélé).
<i>Glaneuse,</i>	Gno noron-tomo.
<i>Glisser,</i>	Gno-noron-tomona.
	Ténénké, téné.





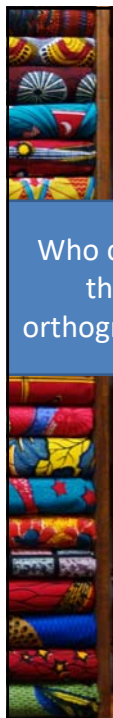
The (post)colonial verdict

Who is the reader?

Who has the authority to judge?

Why is the text deemed illegible?

“à vrai dire, le lecteur ne peut vraiment tirer profit que des traductions françaises et l’abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké. Quant aux textes bambaras, ils sont notes d’une manière telle qu’ils sont quasiment illisibles à moins de s’astreindre à un pénible decryptage. L’auteur a en effet écrit sa language comme il l’entendait certes, mais dans les strictes limites des conventions de l’orthographe française.” (Houis 1978: 128)




The (post)colonial solution: standard languages

Who created these orthographies?

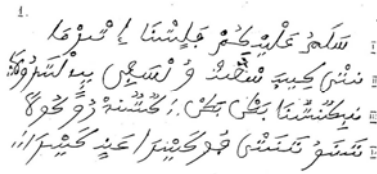
Who reads and writes them today?


Nɲɲ
aááá eééé éééé iííí
oóóó ɔɔɔɔ uúúú


Bamànanw ko :
ɲɔni ni nun be mɔ
Bamànanw ko :
ɲɛnaɲɛ be dɔgɔba diya
Bamànanw ko :
hɔrɔnya ka fisa jɔnya ye
Bamànanw ko :
nɔmu kɔrɔlen tɛ dɔn fan na
Bamànanw ko :
nɛɲɛ beɛ tigɛyɔro ye fanda ye



Unrecognised, yet persisting writing







Existing grassroots literacies in Africa mostly follow a “lead language” model (Lüpke and Bao-Dipp 2014, Lüpke 2017), i.e. they are language-independent.



Haddy Ceesay
hi its b a while
14 January 2015



Rohi Jallow
Hej sis long time. Miss u.
14 January 2015



Maimuna Jagne
waaw bi cutena suma borombi
See Translation
14 January 2015



Isatou Jagne
Thanks suma rakagee, suma jambi namanala. Naka Yafatou?
19 January 2015 • Edited • 1



Isatou Jagne
Hello my big sisters Haddy and Rohi! Hope all is well with you and your families. Miss U guys too. They ga si suma jamyee doye na contanteh
19 January 2015



Rohi Jallow
Hi Ida we are all fine. Happy to meet u at fb. Stay bless. Love



Lissa (Mame Diarra Thiam)
25 April

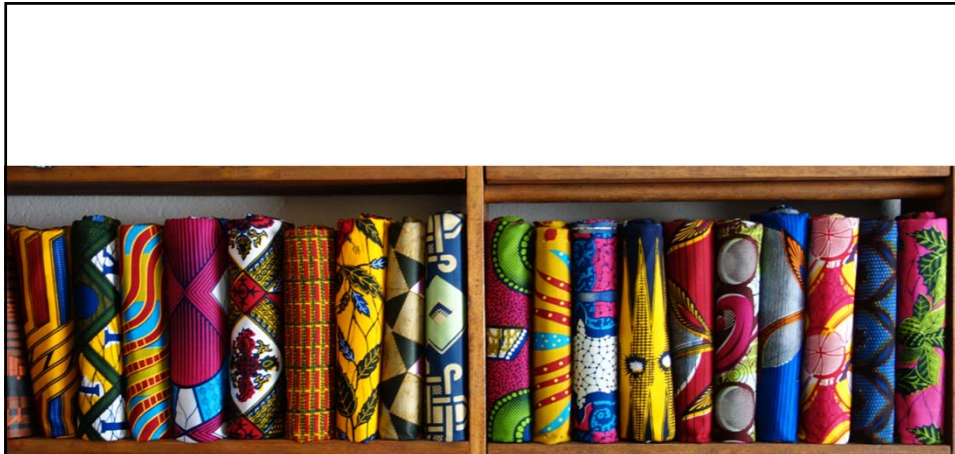
Boula gneup diapé té YALLAH diapoula daguay torokkhh....boulaa gneup bayé té YALLAH diapela daguay tédeu ba faw...
YALLAH nagnou YALLAH diap ba faww!!!
AL JUMMAH MUBARACK....❤️❤️❤️❤️

See translation

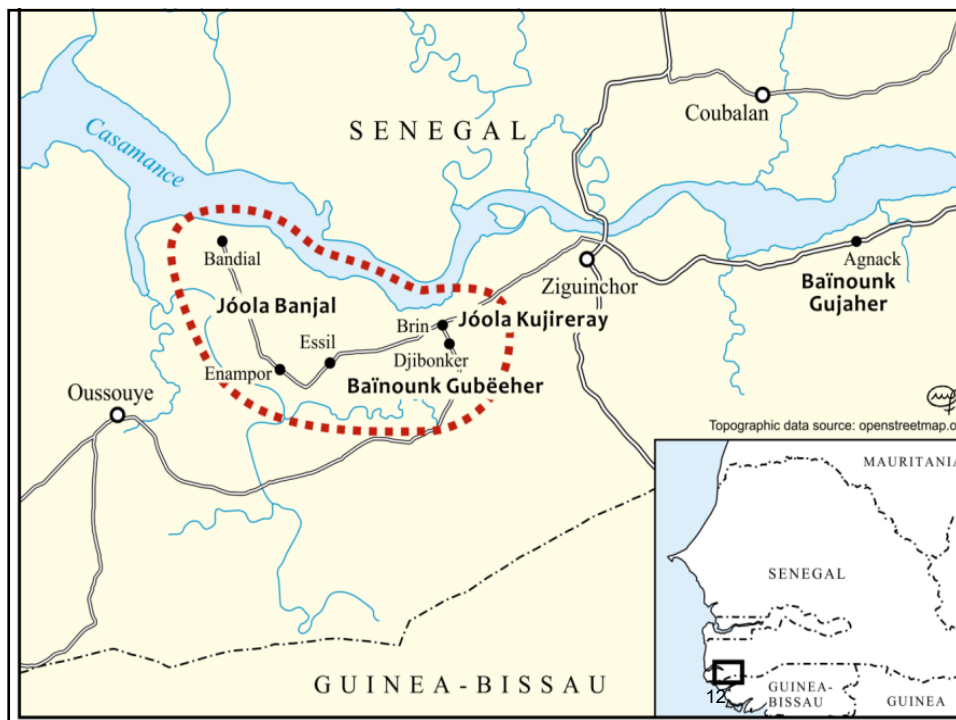
Write a comment...

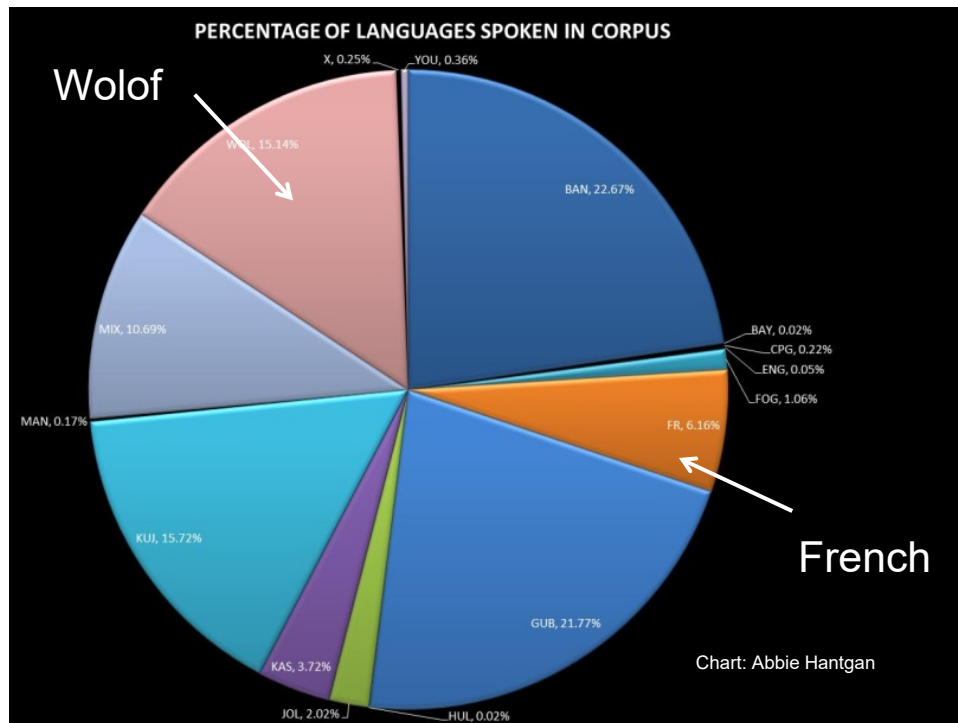
Alyco Vivi Coly Machallah ont aime plus o aujourd8, sougnou mbeuguel bou yokoul dou messeu wagnékou, lei mannequin sont trei nombreux mei c toi kon a choisir ya féss si sougnou xol yalla boula thiat topou yalla mayla catane danga bakh ba fou bakh yam khamnasi dara...machalla mame diarra

Like · Reply · 86 · 11 January at 09:45



Letting go of the notion of language areas

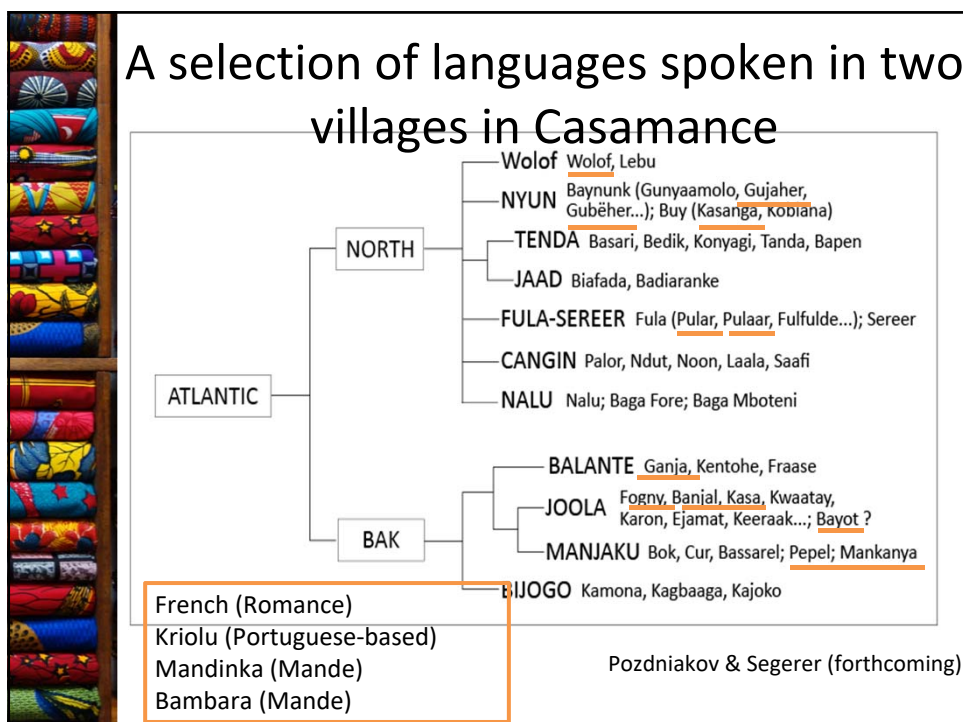




Crossroads transcription of multilingual discourse

Jóola Kujireray Bāinounk Gubēeher **French** Wolof

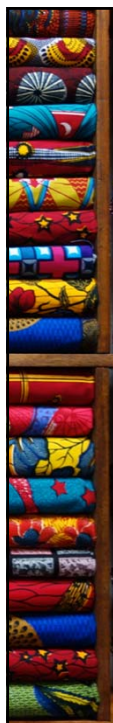
Line	Text	Translation	Participant	Observed communicative event during a card game
1	<i>acingi acingi</i>	il est sorti, il est sorti	Antoine	
2	<i>ihokoro ajiiba</i>	je vais beaucoup gagner	Isidore	
3	<i>uruk gahuy boneh nini bimber bēlbaf</i>	si quelqu'un avait pris (...)	Alian	
4	<i>an mi mehun gumehun nah mes six kart</i>	et que je mette mes six cartes	Alian	
5	<i>angu suwe Alian neh ajiba balób</i>	maintenant joue Alian comme il parle trop	Isidore	
6	claudio	Claudio	Juliette Biagui	
7	<u>naam</u>	oui	Claudio	
8	<u>añ</u>	déjeuner	Juliette Biagui	
9	<u>waw magi ñów</u>	d'accord j'arrive	Claudio	



The UNESCO definition of literacy

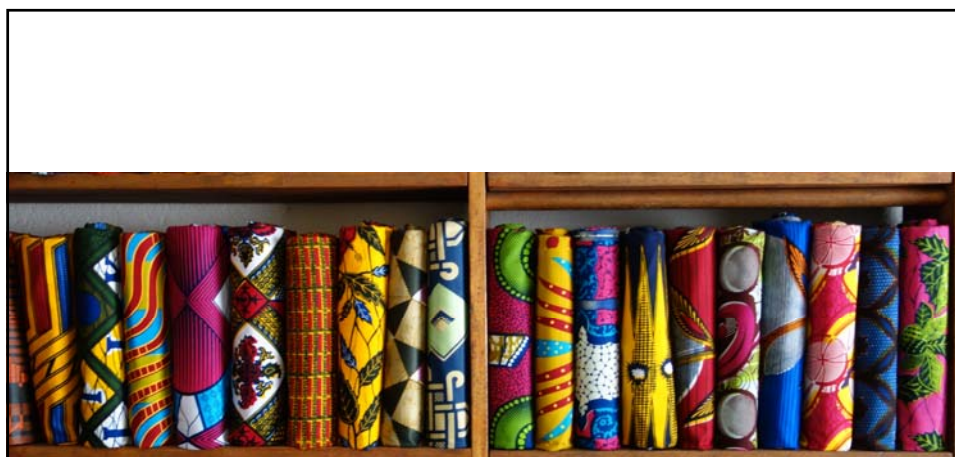
'a **literate** person is one who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on his or her everyday life.'

Question: how can we break with colonial ideas of language and take existing grassroots practice seriously?

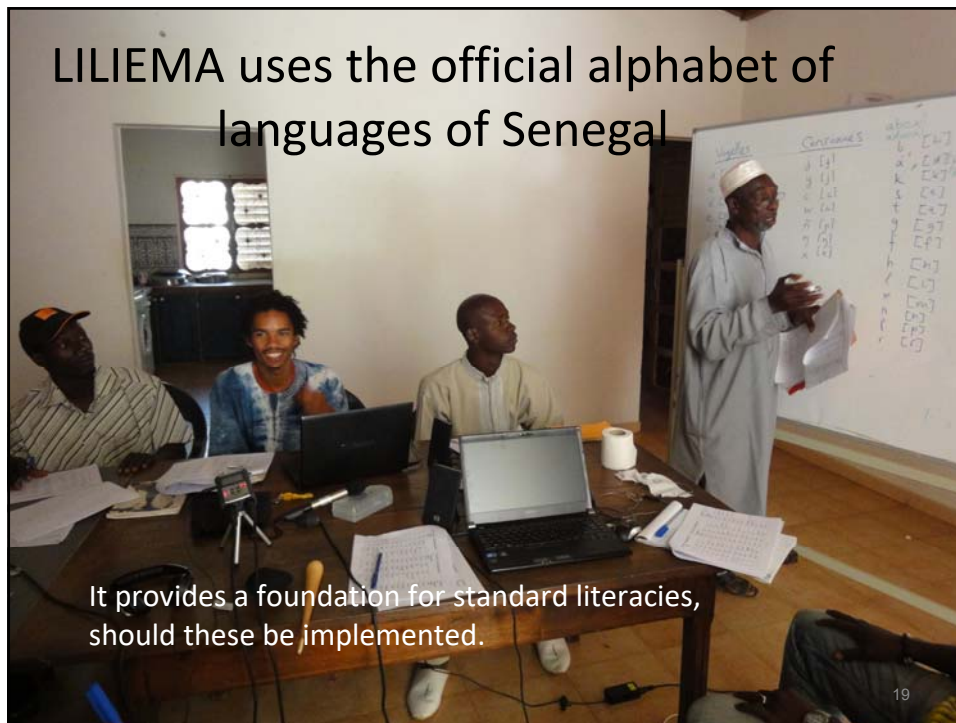


Ways to move forward


- Acknowledge all places as heterogenous
- Replace outdated “two solitudes” models with “(trans)linguaging ones
- Take inspirations from existing reading and writing practices
- Incorporate and adapt local practices and perspectives
- Question Northern language ideologies underpinning our entire thinking about languages



Language-independent writing following the LILIEMA method



LILIEMA is as mono- or multilingual as the teaching situation requires




erammun
ekoloy

j	i	g	e	e	n	Wolof
m	a	n	k	a	n	Creole
b	u	s	a	a	n	Joola

The words and illustrations for two objects in Joola (Kujireray).

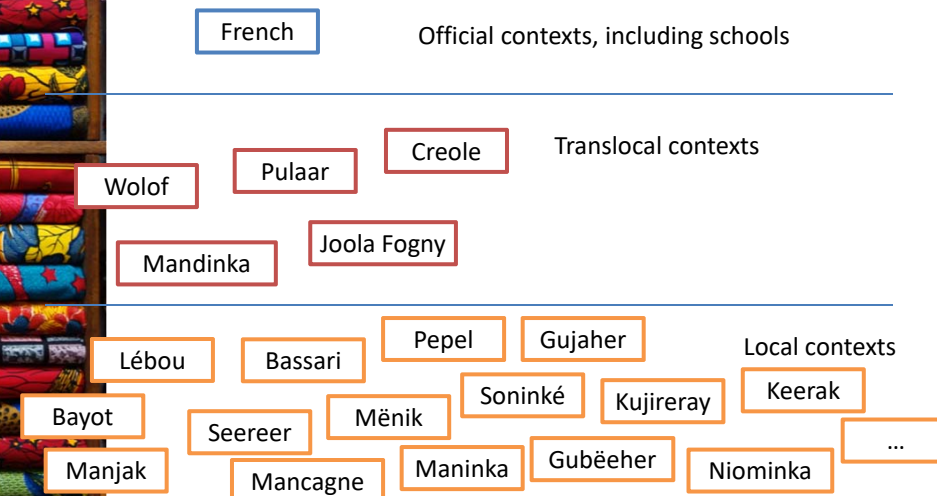
Gap text with words in three languages: Wolof, Creole and Joola.

Overcoming colonial borders



Spellings of the family name /jame/ in different postcolonial nation states of the area

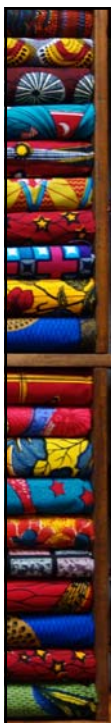
Overcoming the need to choose one language



French: Official contexts, including schools

Translocal contexts: Wolof, Pulaar, Creole, Mandinka, Joola Fogny

Local contexts: Lébou, Bassari, Pepel, Gujaher, Bayot, Seereer, Mènik, Soninké, Kujireray, Keerak, Manjak, Mancagne, Maninka, Gubëeher, Niominka, ...

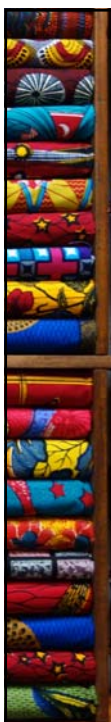


Catering for mobile learners

- Inhabitants of regions with high linguistic diversity adapt their repertoires throughout their life, based on their trajectories.
- Teaching only one local language would lock them in the local sphere.
- LILIEMA makes skills transferable.



Alpha Naby Mane learned Gujaher and Mandinka at home, Creole, Joola and Wolof in Ziguinchor and French at school and in France.

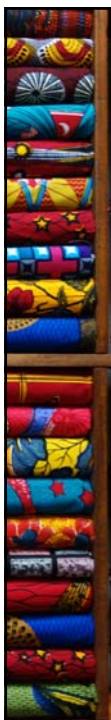


Catering for fostered children




- A high proportion of children are fostered in and out.
- In situations of high linguistic diversity, these children need to adapt to in very different linguistic environments.
- Teaching a local language gives them skills that can't be transferred to new contexts.

Yombe (left) was fostered in from Guinea Bissau at the age of 5.
Marianne (second to the left) now lives with her mother in Dakar.
Pros (right) was fostered out to Dakar at the age of 4.

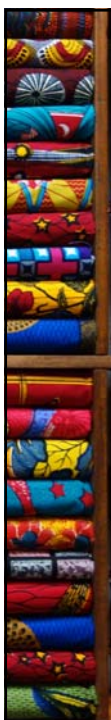


Catering for mobile women


- Women often marry into new communities and are not represented in the “ethnic” imaginations of these places.
- In situations of high linguistic diversity, they have to learn the languages of their new environment.
- They are often excluded from formal education or have been schooled in a different country.



Jacqueline Biai married into Agnack. She grew up in Guinea Bissau where she learnt Gujaher, Creole, Mandinka and Fula. She also speaks Wolof. She did not attend school and is now informally learning French.

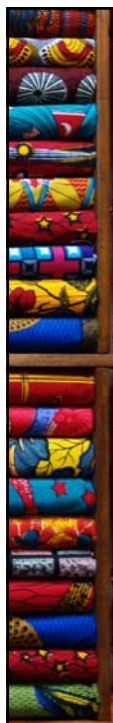


Valorising local and regional knowledge



- The language and curriculum of formal education has no connection to local culture and everyday life.
- LILIEMA valorises local and regional knowledge.

Women at a soap-making workshop in Agnack who actively demanded for help in being able to write down recipes. The women come from all over Casamance and speak ca. 10 languages between them.



Valorising multilingualism and peaceful co-existence in (post-)conflict areas

- Casamance is experiencing great population movement due to the Guinea Bissau independence war and the Casamance conflict.
- LILIEMA valorises the multilingual character of places and the longstanding tradition of integrations strangers, including refugees.



The NGO Usuforal lobbying in Joola for overcoming ethnic conflicts, ignoring the actual make-up of the population of Agnack.



Supporting basic literacy in languages the learners know


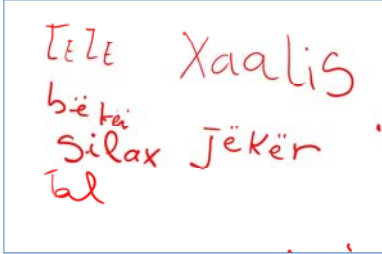
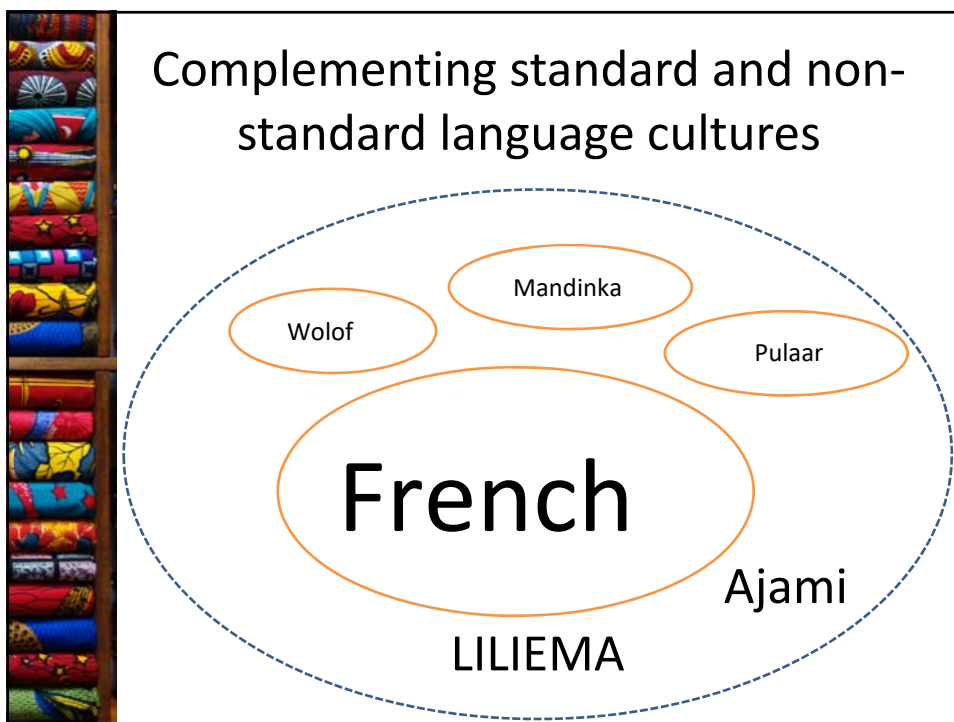


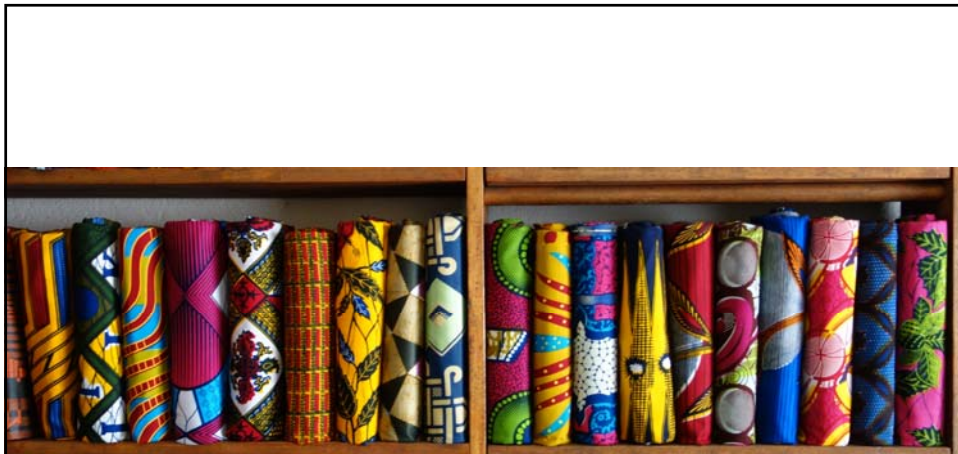
- Teachers are aware of the great cognitive difficulties faced by children who learn literacy and numeracy at the same time as the language of instruction.
- They welcome LILIEMA as formally recognising the languaging approaches they already informally use in the classroom.

Alida came to Agnack as a foster child 2 years ago. She has little occasion to speak Bayot, her L1, is still learning Gujaher and Creole, speaks a little Wolof and is now exposed to French at school.

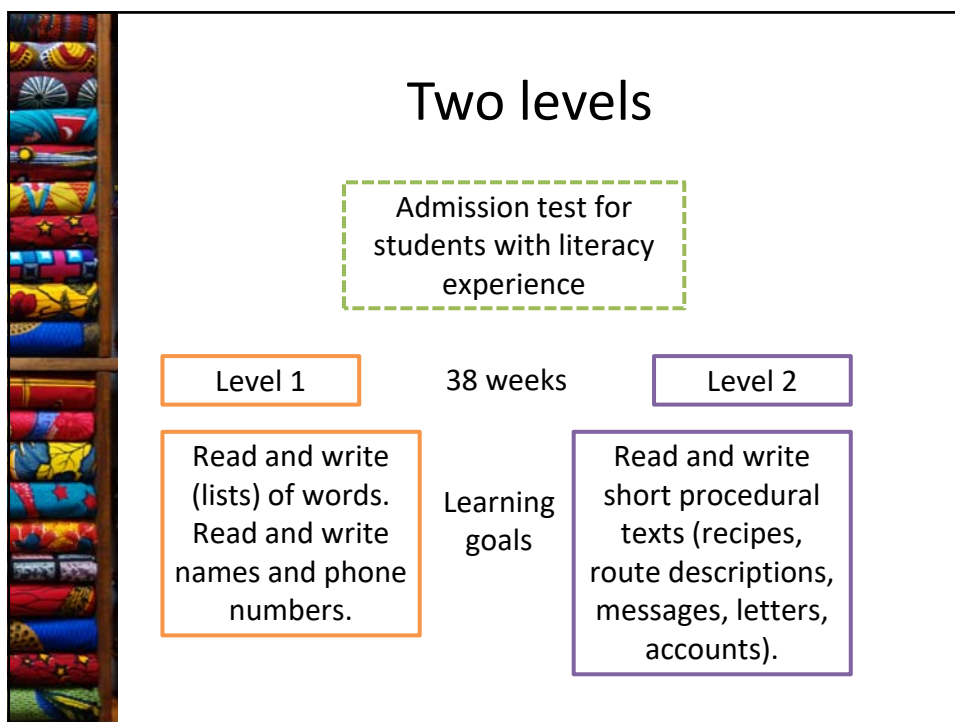
Creating spaces for small languages

- Speakers of locally confined languages want their languages recognised, but have little actual use for exclusively writing them because of the limited reach of the local.
- By not forcing the choice of either a local language or a lingua franca, LILIEMA opens a space in which all languages can co-exist.



Structure of the LILIEMA programme



Structure and progression level 1

Semaines	Lettres-et-chiffres	Semaines	Lettres-et-chiffres
1	aA-bB	20	xX-hH
2	cC	21	O
3	eE	22	rR
4	nN	23	Révision
5	Révision	24	vV
6	o	25	zZ
7	1, 2, 3	26	wW
8	tT	27	nN
9	uU	28	Révision
10	mM	29	pP
11	iI	30	fF
12	Révision	31	gG
13	4, 5, 6	32	lL
14	dD	33	Révision
15	ëE	34	jJ
16	sS	35	ñÑ
17	7, 8, 9	36	yY
18	Révision	37	ÿ-çQ
19	kK	38	Fête-LILIEMA-et-remise-des-diplômes

Work sheets level 1

LILUEMA



n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n

n



ebe



banana



ceb



nana

Teachers have a manual explaining exercise types and pedagogical approach

Student and teacher work sheets level 2

LILUEMA

2.1

C c	J j	K k
Cob	ejw	Kanara
ceeb	Jilami	jak
icoci	ejamen	kajandu
buhuc	bajij	kona

C	A	C	E	C	I	C	O	C	U
J	A	J	E	J	I	J	O	J	U

Teachers have a worksheet with instructions

LILUEMA

2.4

1. Révision : Qu'est ce qu'on a fait pendant la dernière leçon ? Chacun doit donner au tableau un mot avec u et y qui a au minimum 5 lettres.

2. Introduction des lettres c, j et k et leur prononciation :

C c	J j	K k
-----	-----	-----

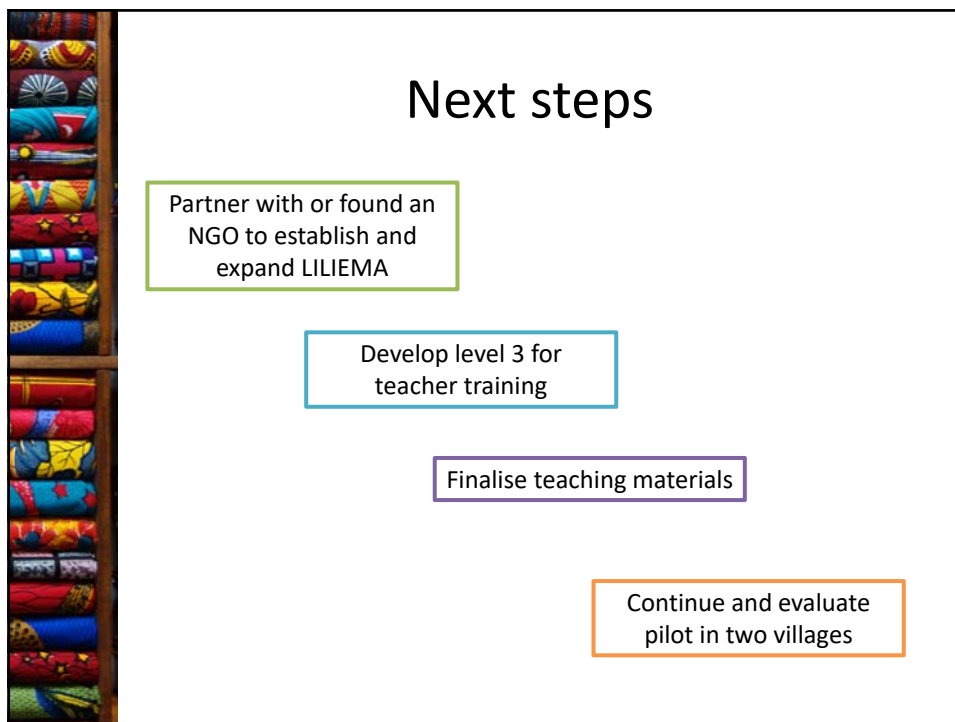
3. Lecture pour familiariser les élèves aux correspondances entre son et lettres :


C c	J j	K k
Cob	ejw	Kanara
ceeb	Jilami	jak
icoci	ejamen	kajandu
buhuc	bajij	kona

4. L'enseignant/e doit recopier les paires de lettres sur des bouts de papier. Ensuite chaque élève doit tirer une feuille et doit former 2 mots contenant ces lettres dans n'importe quelle position. L'élève doit écrire un des 2 mots au tableau, et les autres le copieront dans leur cahier.

C	A	C	E	C	I	C	O	C	U
J	A	J	E	J	I	J	O	J	U
K	A	K	E	K	I	K	O	K	U

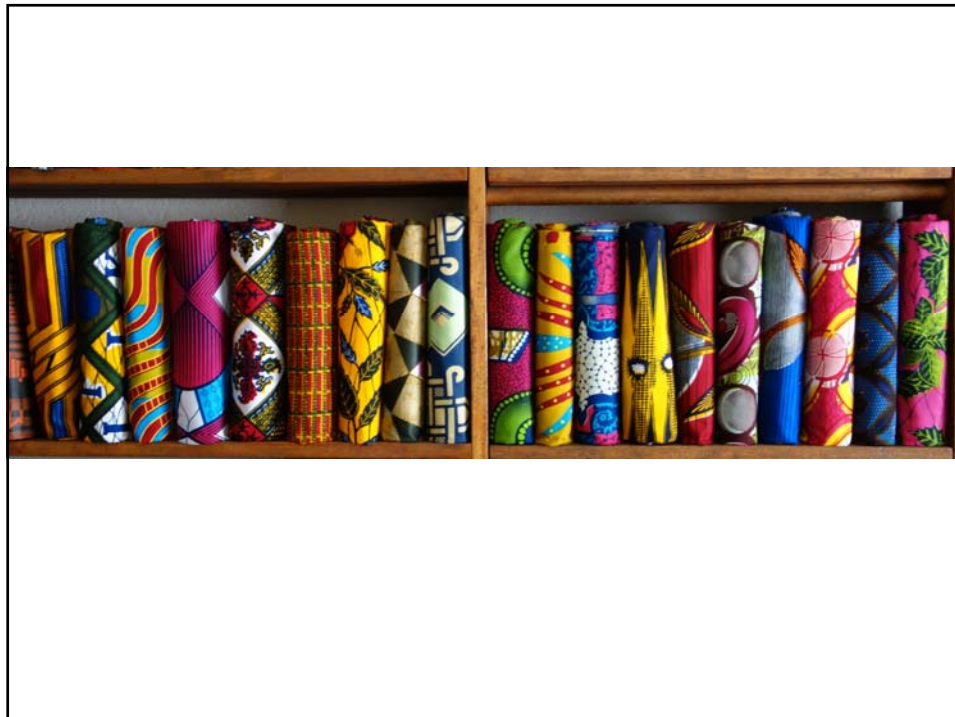
5. Pour les lettres c j et k trouver pour chacune 2 noms d'animal.

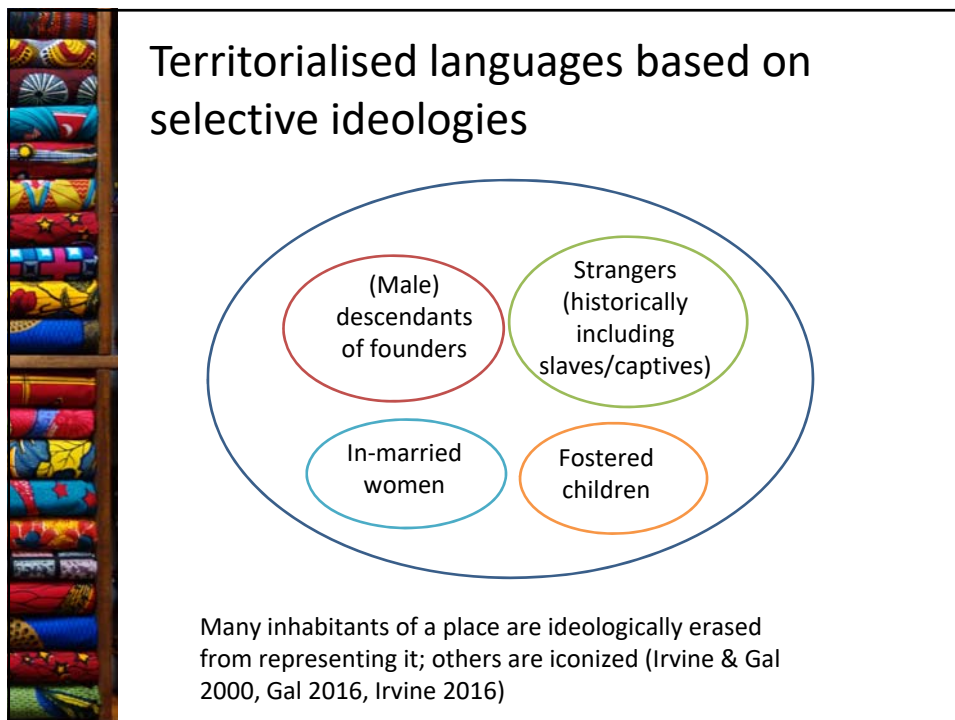
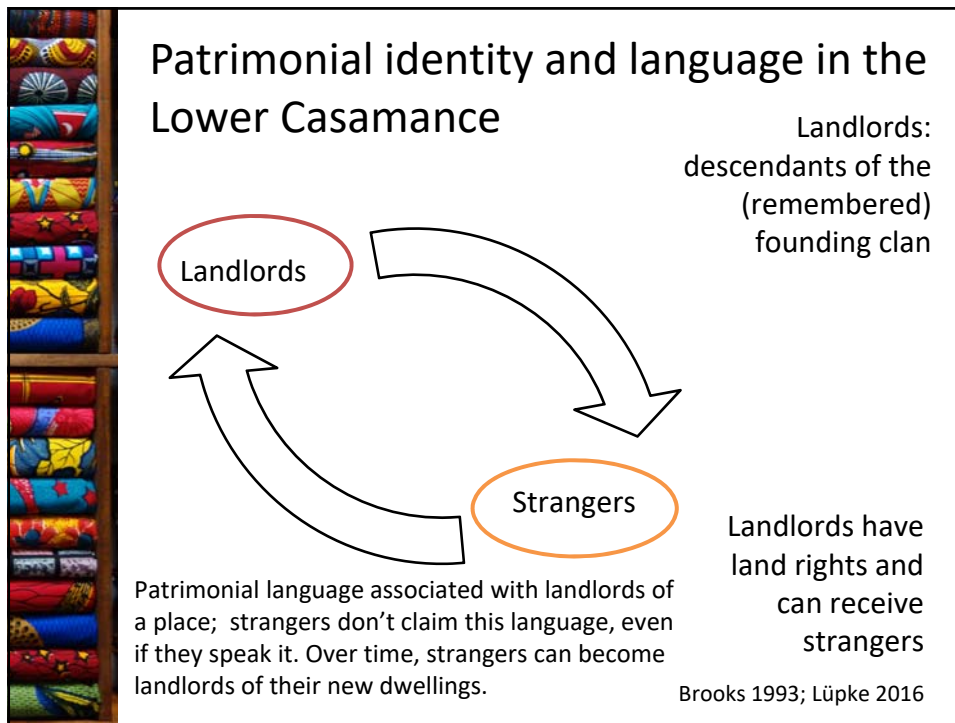






LILIEMA and the SDGs

<p>SDG 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.</p>	<p>LILIEMA includes all learners and is linked to their lived experiences.</p>
<p>SDG 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.</p>	<p>LILIEMA accounts for the often different trajectories and repertoires of women.</p>
<p>SDG 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.</p>	<p>LILIEMA caters for the needs of participants in the informal economy.</p>
<p>SDG 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.</p>	<p>LILIEMA promotes diversity and multilingualism as a resource rather than as an obstacle to civic participation.</p>





Categorical vs. relational indexicality

Categorical	Relational
	

Good & Di Carlo forthcoming; Lüpke 2013, 2016, 2017, forthcoming c