

# **Sub-Saharan immigration in France : from diversity to integration.**

**Caroline JUILLARD**

**Université René Descartes-Paris V**

The great majority of Sub-Saharan African migration comes from West - Africa, more precisely from francophone countries as Senegal, Mali, and into a lesser extent Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania. There are also migrants from other francophone African countries such as : Zaïre (RDC), Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Niger. Migrants consist mostly of workers and students.

I shall speak principally of West-African migration for which sociolinguistic sources are not many.

My talk will have three main parts.

## **I General characteristics of this migration.**

### **A/ Census data**

First of all, I will discuss census data. The major trend of immigration to France nowadays comes from Sub-Saharan Africa ; it has tripled between 1982 et 1990 and almost doubled according to the last census of 1999 (Cf. Annexes). According to 1999 census, this migrant population counts more or less 400.000 persons. Official data are multiple and differ from one source to the other. Variations are important.

Children born in France from immigrant parents do not participate to the immigrant population and, so for, are not included in the migration population recorded by the national census. They are recorded by the national education services. Moreover, there might be more persons without residency permit within the Sub-Saharan migration than within other migrant communities. I

mention here well-known case of “les sans-papiers”, people without residency permit, who recently asked for their integration to France. Case of clandestines has to be mentioned too. Data of INSEE<sup>1</sup> do not take into account these people. So, it is impossible to know exactly how many they are.

Ethnies mostly represented in 1990 were : the Soninke (from the three countries, Senegal, Mali, Mauritania), the Toucouleur and Peul (valley of the river Senegal), and to a lesser extent : the Bambara (Mali), the Malinke (group of people speaking some mutually intelligible dialects, located in Senegal, Mali, Guinea and Guinea Bissau), the Wolof (Senegal), the Soosoo (Guinea), and so on.

Generally, Sub-Saharan migration concerns first of all single workers, then families, with the development of family gathering policy initiated by the French government in 1974. This population is much younger and includes more women than that recorded before. Senegal is still the first country of origin of Sub-Saharan migration to France .

The last census refers to the category of “African” for all these migrants ; however, it doesn't reflect the diversity of migratory situations ; the ethnic variable is not taken into account by official statistics ; only the national one is accounted for (80 African nationalities were recorded in 1990).

In conclusion, official and public stereotypes on African Sub-Saharan migration converge in ignoring the specificity of its characteristics and diversity. Lately, this migration has become more and more visible and worries French public institutions who fear its multiplication.

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<sup>1</sup>INSEE : Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, Paris.

## **B/ General linguistic characteristics of these migrants in Africa and in France**

First, it has to be said that migration may begin in Africa itself, with urbanization of rurals escaping drought and looking for jobs. They form a vast group of new citizens, from diverse origins, usually occupied with informal jobs. Children born in towns from migrants coming from the hinterland tend to use the local African dominant language more than the family languages. In Senegal as well as in Mali, Wolof and Bambara, formerly ethnic languages, are mainly used in towns as broad communication languages, widely spoken in the streets. A vernacularization process is at work in towns. The family or village languages are then used between adults, less with the children. Most children learn to talk these city languages and tend to identify themselves to the urban culture that they carry, more than to the original culture of their family. Moreover, schooling, and the learning of French, is developing at a fast pace. Young bilingual citizens tend to use a wide range of linguistic variation, implying more or less mixing the African dominant language and local French. Those who only received some years of primary education tend to learn and use French through code-switching and borrowings ; they speak a more or less kind of “African-French”.

It can be said that the modernization of African linguistic repertoires is made through different input and imbalance of languages of origin and of city languages, mainly French and the broad African vehicular language. Young migrants coming to France have then a different linguistic repertory, less traditional, than the older ones.

In France, the majority of West-African migration is represented by people who had no education or a very short one ; most adults are illiterate.

People who came at the time of the colonization and in the sixties, after the independence of their country, speak a fluent French. It is the same for students. Those who came more recently, either from villages or from towns, speak more or less a kind of "African French", that they usually have acquired without having been educated, or after only a few years spent at a primary school.

Most migrants coming from rural areas have a plurilingual repertory upon their arrival. In general, the languages of the father lineage and of the village (if not the same) are dominant and identify the relationship with the culture to which they feel they belong. In addition, they may use one or two vehicular languages for commercial or administrative needs, as Wolof or Mandinka in Senegal, Bambara in Mali. The hierarchy of the languages within their repertory tends to change in migration.

**C/ So, what is the effect of these differences on linguistic skills developed in migration and on language transmission in France ?**

According to Suzanne Platiel (1988), the gender difference is relevant.

First of all, in their traditional societies, women tend to adopt the dominant language of their husband's community. So, they are more inclined than men to renounce the habitual use of their language for a new one. Moreover, in France, for practical reasons, it is very difficult for women to maintain the links between themselves. It seems to have influenced their language skills in migration. When they learn French, they talk it more fluently than men and they tend to use it more systematically.

It is a frequent habit for singles or for married women going outside for work. It is the opposite for a married woman who does not work and who belongs, as does her husband, to an ethnic majority (Soninkes or Toucouleurs,

for example) : she might have been in France for several years and only speak a few words of French.

Men are much more attached to their native language. They will maintain their bilingualism in migration. The main factors of linguistic variation between them are : their age, their urban or rural origin, and whether they intend to stay in France, temporarily or definitively.

Married men, with or without children, tend to maintain the use of an African language with their friends, in parallel to the use of French at work. Their use of French depends on the kind of work they have, but it is fairly fluent and correct. They also integrate numerous French words in their native language.

S. Platiel divides single migrants in two groups.

The first category regroups men coming from African cities, who live in rooms or flats. Older ones (more than 35) are closely attached to their native language or to the vehicular language of the city from where they come. They tend to like using French, because they have more French friends than the married men. The younger ones (under 30), who arrived recently, develop this positive attitude towards French much more strongly ; however, they have a more limited education than their elders, and their French sounds more like "African - French".

The second category of single migrants reside in Centers for workers. Nearly all of them come from rural areas and only intend to stay temporarily. Most are unskilled workers ; their work mates are also migrants and they do not have many contacts with French people. With time, some of them can speak French almost fluently. If they come from an ethnic minority, they will learn in the Center the language of an ethnic majority or an African vehicular, so as to communicate with their fellows. Their language, to which they are deeply

attached, presents many integrated borrowings to French and their oral French always presents africanisms.

Finally, what about children ? S. Platiel testifies, through inquiries in primary schools, that nearly all children, whether born in France or arrived in France when young, speak fluent French. This is partly due to education. Platiel says that most African parents speak French to their children, because French is the dominant language of the broad community. Moreover, parents expect that education will be facilitated by fluent use of French. In these conditions, can children maintain bilingualism ? In fact, children usually forget the language that they used to talk at their arrival, and substitute French to their native language while communicating with their parents. Meanwhile parents still use it between themselves or with their friends. This state of facts create a cultural gap between both generations.

However, Fabienne Leconte's study (1997) on children's declarations in the boroughs of Rouen shows different habits, from one community to another : the Peul, Soninke and Manjak communities transmit their languages to the children, but the Wolof community and the lingalophone community coming from Congo don't transmit. The main factor of transmission, up to Leconte's study, is whether the community network in France is structured or not.

We need more research on that subject. Oummou Sow, a graduate student at Université Paris V, is now studying the Peul population of the Pairs region (Doctorate thesis conducted by Christine Deprez : "L'enfant peul et ses langues en France et au pays").

Now we have to look at the diversity of migration patterns and of sociolinguistic profiles.

## **II Sociolinguistic study of three West-African communities in France**

I will present here case studies of three different ethnic groups in France :

- Two ethnic minorities in their native countries,

The Soninke of the three countries, and the Diola of Casamance.

- A linguistic majority in Mali,

The bambarophones in Marseilles<sup>2</sup>.

### **A/ Soninke immigration to France**

They are the most numerous migration from West-Africa in France. Most of them have not been urbanized in their native countries (Mali, Senegal and Mauritania). There has been a migratory tradition in Mali, for a long time : poor Soninké pastors, from the Kayes region, close to Senegal, were semi-nomadic people ; it was a seasonal migration : they used to migrate first to the south of Dakar (for cultivation of peanut), then to West - Africa and Europe. Migrants are organized in village associations and send part of their salaries to insure the living of their families.

The specificity of the Soninke case is that the use and transmission of the native language in France is in contradiction with the use of the Soninke language in Dakar. In Dakar, it is one of the inner country minority languages whose maintenance and transmission to children are weak.

Instead, in France, we can see linguistic and cultural promotion at work in the community through :

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<sup>2</sup>Sources : Fabienne Leconte's study on the second generation of African migration, located in the boroughs of Rouen (1997). Cecile Van den Avenne's study on Bambarophones in Marseilles (1999). Both are studies based on declarations, more than on observations and recordings.

For the Diola of Casamance : Martine Dreyfus et Caroline Juillard (2003).

- transmission of the language to the children (cf. Annexes),
- promotion of language and culture through associative work,
- publishing of teaching methods, and descriptions of the language (Galtier 1994).

Minorities in their native countries, Soninkes in France become more visible as a specific community in reference to other African ones. As well as other Sahelian communities (poulophones especially), the Soninke community shows during migration a greater social cohesion.

Despite the facts that :

- the nuclear families detach themselves from the large family and from the homeland,
- they live in a more socially and ethnically diverse environment,
- their family network is geographically scattered (according to Timera, 1992).

Galtier in his article about the teaching of African languages in France (1994) explains why and how some oral African languages (*pulaar* and *soninke*, principally) have been modelled for their written form and then taught. The transformation of the oral language into a written language is an act of identity which aims to distinguish one's community from others coexisting in the French territory. This competition is closely linked to the expansion of those languages in Africa and to language policy and alphabetization in the linguistic areas and States that are concerned. It should be pointed at, that Soninke and Pular are languages that do not identify any State in particular, and that their area of expansion covers different states, whereas Bambara and Wolof are now considered as national languages for Mali and Senegal and do not need external promotion.

On the other hand, there are no associations to promote native languages for the diverse communities coming from countries from the Coast of Guinea and from the Forest zone. These populations are mostly educated and they

speak French as a second language in their country. It seems that in migration, they do not search an identity through language as strongly as the Sahelian communities, who often coexist in migrants' centers.

### **B/ The Diola people of Casamance (Senegal) in the Paris Region**

The Diola are rice cultivators, living in isolated villages, whose dialects are not mutually intelligible. They have a long tradition of migration too. In their own country : first to the regional capital, Ziguinchor, then to Dakar, the Senegalese capital. Movements to and fro have existed for a long time between Dakar and Casamance in the south. Traditionally, the Diola's population of Dakar keeps closely in touch with its homeland and goes back for summer rice harvesting. This movement is of a lesser amplitude these last years, because of a civil war in Casamance.

In Ziguinchor itself, the Diola, a majority group in town as well as in Casamance, represent the less homogeneous regional group in its linguistic transmission to children. Most are close to their homeland and maintain strong ties with their villages ; they can therefore allow themselves to speak languages that are not theirs and that reflect urbanism, mainly Wolof. On the contrary, in Dakar, the Diola seem to maintain their native language, in a more affirmative manner, in order to distinguish themselves from the Northerners. In Dakar, young people and adults identify themselves as Diola, showing in that way that they belong to the Diola world, an enlarged group, and a culture different from the Northern one, more than to a village or a particular language or dialect. In Dakar, the Diola language is one of the migration languages that is transmitted the best, as is Pulaar.

In France, on the other hand, French or a mix of French and Diola tends to be the dominant language among the Diola families, according to my observations, even if Wolof may also be used by women, as in Senegal. A large

number of Diola are Catholic and went to religious schools in Senegal. This is probably a factor for their quick linguistic integration to France. Diola language is spoken and transmitted only in the families deeply involved in associations of Diola expatriates. The young generation expresses itself in French, except sometimes in Diola with the parents. When they return to their country, young people tend to adopt the Wolof language which is becoming the national language of Senegal, rather than making efforts to consolidate their native language.

### **C/ The Bambarophone community in Marseilles**

Bambara is one out of ten national languages in Mali ; as three other local languages, it is now used as a medium for primary education. It is the language of the capital, Bamako, of the administration and political power, in addition to French ; all regional Malian languages borrow both to Bambara and to French.

Cecile Van den Avenne's study consists of an analysis of 18 biographic interviews of Malian bambarophone migrants, of first and second generation, chosen for their social and integration differences. Most of them, but not all, have Bambara as their native language. Others, coming from ethnic minorities, learnt bambara as a second language in Mali. These migrants have lived in France for 20 years on average. The analysis focusses on the story of their integration. Stories of men and women are different : men told a narrative of adventures, women told a story of their installation in France.

C Van den Avenne says that three major identities are at work in their stories : Malians of Mali, who have a complex link to their homeland, Malians of France caught in solidarity networks with their compatriots, and parents of French children. Moreover, in France they discover themselves as "African".

The linguistic repertory of Malian adults consists of 7 different languages, Bambara and Soninke being the main ones. Generally, Malian families are bilingual, Bambara and French. The other first languages of the parents are not used in migration and not transmitted. When Bambara is not the first language of the parents, its transmission isn't as fluent.

-Two out of 8 Families only show a more important use and transmission of the Bambara language. They are inserted in the Malian network and the parents play an important social role in the community. They keep strong links with their native country.

-The other families show less implication with the Malian network and with Mali itself, with which nonetheless they keep in touch. They have a "mixed" way of life, close to that of French families from popular milieu.

Bilingualism is evolutive in time : parents usually begin talking in Bambara to their eldest child ; when he begins to go to school, they tend to switch to French ; with their other children, they choose to talk mostly in French, and children together talk in French. All children speak a local French with a "marseillais" accent. During their education, children choose to put Bambara on a second rank, after French. Usually, they have a passive comprehension of the African language until their adolescence. If they return to Mali, for holidays, they may relearn Bambara. It is the same kind of linguistic evolution than the one we noticed in Dakar for children of the migration who usually speak Wolof, the urban vernacular, and who put aside their native language during education and eventually turned back to it after the difficult period of acquiring French. The same process of putting aside and reactivating the native language is observable in France as well as in Africa.

### **III Young people of African origin in France**

I recently participated in workshops for young people called "*parcours de formation continue*" that take place in Centers of PJJ<sup>3</sup> (93). These workshops consist of classes where trainers and educators help each individual shape a professional project. The larger aim is to reinforce future social and professional integration.

In these Centers, you find both young isolated African minors who fled their homeland after civil wars and young African immigrants born in France who have run into trouble with the authorities and failed school.

The young people are divided in the two following categories that have been institutionalized by the French authorities :

- first : French born youngsters born from foreign parents, who have been in school in France;
- second : so - called in French "Primo-arrivants" of foreign nationality ; for example young isolated minors who are under the care of social services and PJJ ; these minors can't be deported from France. They are awaiting to be given the right to stay in France. In the meantime, if they are under sixteen, they are sent to French schools ; if not, they reside in Centers run by the PJJ.

I would like to look into their linguistic behaviours, with three individual cases of young men who go to the PJJ workshops. In these workshops, you find other young immigrants (Maghreb, Pakistan, and so on) and young natives who are brought there because of their social difficulties.

#### **A/ Linguistics skills of Yaya, a young Soninke<sup>4</sup>.**

Yaya (17 years old, Malian) is not illiterate as other trainees. His family language is soninké. He got literacy in French in his village school. He went

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<sup>3</sup>PJJ : Protection judiciaire de la jeunesse.

there to a coranic school too for one year and he says he only has limited knowledge of religious arabic. He left Mali when he was 11. He really started to speak French when he arrived in a migrant center near Paris, even though he was already francophone upon his arrival. He became one of those young isolated minors, too old to be scholarized and too young to be sent back to his home country. He spoke Soninke in the Center and learnt Bambara with his peers ; he also has some notions of Khassonké, a dialect of the Manding area. Since he joigned the workshop, he has been speaking Soninke less often.

His oral French is fluent. One can find Soninke phonic interferences. Yaya can argue, narrate a story, describe however enunciation does not always correspond with the expected ; he favors simple sentences, the present tense ; he has trouble conjugating ; he uses repeatedly time indicators as "avant, à l'époque, etc" to set events in time.

When reading, he easily gets an overall understanding ; however, he doesn't easily connect sounds and complex writing signs. His writing shows great respect of French norms and he often ask for help when given an assignment.

Overall, his linguistic skills in French are quite good. The literacy process is well advanced. Yet he regrets not being part of the regular school with young people of his age.

## **B/ How do young people of West - African origin feel about language ?**

Linguistic integration of young people from West-African origin is common to that of their peers, in the neighbourhood groups to which they belong. These groups are characterized by ethnic diversity, dominated by French young people from North-African origin. Many African young men testify that

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<sup>4</sup>Source : Elena Correia's interviews (2003) with young people at CAEI (Centre d'action éducative), PJJ, Val de Marne (94).

they would like to talk "normally" (in quote) but that it is difficult in their social networks<sup>5</sup>.

Samy, 17 years old, living in Aulnay sous Bois (93), from West - African origin, declares in a group interview made by his usual trainer that his language is not "normal french".

S : Samy (17)

I : the trainer (french adult)

BM, girl (19), from Algerian origin, living in Pantin (93).

AS, girl (18), from Algerian origin, living in Les Lilas (93).

- 1 S            on parle pas d'la même façon que eux hein ! (eux = les policiers)
- 2 I            pourquoi ?
- 3 ?            nan nan nan
- 4 S            c'est autrement::
- 5 I            attendez attendez ! laissez parler Samy
- 6 S            c'est autrement
- 7 I            comment ça ?
- 8 S            c'est :: si on parle normal XXX normal XXX<sup>6</sup>
- 9 I            attendez si qui parle normal ?
- 10 BM        les flics
- 11 S            parce que nous on parle caillera<sup>7</sup> et eux ils parlent:: heu:: tu vois:  
                  on est obligé d'parler en verlan
- 12 I            alors i parlent comment eux ?
- 13 BM        normalement !!
- 14 S            hé ! m'sieur ii comprend l'bon français nous on comprend pas  
                  l'bon français !
- 15 I            ben là vous êtes bien en cours et vous comprenez bien le:: c'que  
                  vous appelez le bon français
- 16 S            nan moi j'appelle pas ça l'bon français comment tu parles

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<sup>5</sup>Source : Study of Stephane Girard (1999), in the PJJ workshops of Villemomble (Seine Saint-Denis, 93) : *Etude des représentations et des pratiques linguistiques de jeunes adultes dans le cadre de la formation en Seine Saint-Denis*, DEA, University Paris III.

<sup>6</sup>XXXX : inaudible.

<sup>7</sup>"Caillera" is a verlan form of "racaille". A "caillera" refers to a young coming from the Cité.

- 17 BM du français d'avant hein !
- 18 S ouais
- 19 I pourquoi c'est pas du français ça ?
- 20 S c'est du français cassé
- 21 BM voilà c'est du français cassé parcequ'i z'ont changé quoi
- 22 ? XXXX
- 23 I c'est du français quoi ?
- 24 S du français beur<sup>8</sup> ch'ais pas moi !
- 25 I ber ? c'est quoi ?
- 26 S ch'ais pas moi !
- 27 I c'est du français beur ? ber c'est quoi ?
- 28 AS c'est beur !!
- 29 I c'est beur ? mais heu: et qu'est-ce que vous appelez français cassé ?
- 30 BM c'est plus l'même français qu'avant

In this interview, Samy mentions three different language varieties : first of all (l. 8), a certain type of French "si on parle normal ", second (l. 11) a "caillera" variety (inversed form of "racaille"), and third (l.20), another variety that he has trouble defining : "c'est du français cassé" (it's broken French). When answering the question of his trainee : "c'est du français quoi ?" (what kind of French is it ?), Samy answers : "c'est du français beur, ch'ais pas moi !". This implies, probably, the importance in his project of a mixed "français/beur" variety, which tends to be a kind of familiar French influenced by other languages in a mixed community dominated by adults of North-African origins. During their scolarity, even if it has been a short or unsuccessful one, trainees have integrated some social values linked with language use and tend to stigmatize strongly, in an interview situation, the behaviours standing beyond the norms.

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<sup>8</sup>«Français beur» refers to a rather ethnic way of speaking french, usually by people of Magrebine origin.

It can be seen however, that these young people are producers of language variation in French and are able to switch from one variety to another, according to the situation and interlocutors. This testifies their linguistic integration in the different societies to which they belong.

**C/ The third case study that I am going to introduce, concerns variation in use : divergent norms of language irrupt within interactions between young men of West-African origin.**

The case study is based on a recorded session of the cooking workshop of the PJJ<sup>9</sup>, taking place with two young men from African origin, Jonas from Zaïre (RDC) and Tierno, from Mali, and their teacher, Jean-Claude, a French adult. While cooking, Jonas easily interact with Jean-Claude, using colloquial oral French, in both a master/disciple relationship and a kind of more friendly connection. This can be noticed on the first extract, where more colloquial sentences (with mistaken form for negation, intonative questioning, grammatical repetition of the subject, and so on) are underlined.

Extract 1<sup>10</sup> :

**156. Jonas** : et après?/  
(silence = 9 sec)

**157. Jean-Claude** : alors/ tu vérifies ta sauce pour pas qu'elle bout trop trop fort/

**158. J** : ouais/ + on va goûter`  
(silence = 10 sec)

**159. J.C.** (from the far end of the kitchen to **Tierno**) : ça va?/ + prends du sopalin/ pour t'essuyer un p'tit peu` +

**160. J56** : elle est bizarre la sauce hein/ elle a un goût de: un goût bizarre`

**161. J.C.69** : elle a un goût bizarre?/

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<sup>9</sup>Source : Observation and analysis of the linguistic uses of young people in Centers of formation (PJJ, region of Paris). Cf Research report (october 2003).

**162. J57** : mm personnellement j'aime pas`

(silence = 15 sec)

**163. D5** : tiens Porto/

**164. J.C.70** : merci ++

**165. J58** : elle est bonne la sauce?/ +

**166. J.C.71** : on va l'arranger`

**167. J59** : ah j'avais raison alors/ elle est pas bonne`

(silence = 20 sec)

**168. J.C.72** : tu mets du poivre dedans?/

(inaudible answer)

**169. J.C.73** : tu sais pourquoi?/ + c'est la légère acidité` du fait que les échalotes ont un peu trop cuit`

**170. J60** : mm +

**171. J.C.74 ( à T)** : ça va mieux?/ + tu t'es pris un: éclat de d'huile dans l'oeil/ ou un: **XXX?**/

(silence = 5 sec)

**172. J61** : le poivre i va changer quoi au goût?/ normalement i faut mettre du SEL:/

**173. J.C.75** : et ben bien sûr/ qu'i faut mettre du sel` pourquoi faut mettre du sel?/ parce que<

**174. J62** : (on a maxim tone of voice) parce que le poivre ne va jamais sans SEL +

**175. J.C.76** : non` + parce que le sel c'est un exhausteur de goût` ++ c'est lui qui diffuse les arômes et les parfums` + alors tu fais attention faut qu' ça reste comme ça` faut pas qu' ça bout trop fort`

**176. J63** : ouais ouais

**177. J.C.77 ( à T)** : tu vas t'en sortir quand même/ c'est bon?/ +

However, later on, the two young men, now by themselves, talk about the girls they look in the street through the windows ; they use a rather implicit language and verlan. Through this metaphoric switch (in the sense of J.P. Blom and J.J. Gumperz, 1972), Jonas takes a dominant role over his friend. But, later, Tierno introduces a word that Jonas does not know ("papouzes", tp 711 : May

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<sup>10</sup> Datas are the property of the PJJ and of the FASILD, both French institutions which

be a feminine for Papous and a metaphoric referent for large ladies ? ) et he takes advantage, too.

Extract 2 :

W is a young Chinese girl who serve the clients in the restaurant located next to the kitchen.

(...)

**707 J** : oh + elles jouent avec moi / les meufs aujourd'hui regarde + i prennent des pauses bizarres sont pas à poil mais z'ont des corps sensuels<sup>11</sup> /

(*silence = 9 sec.*)

**708 T** : t'façons même si s'ront gays XXX i s'ront bon

**709 J** : non / ça va

(*inaudible answer of T*)

**710 J** : celle en rouge / là-bas avec le truc euh : / bleu ouais : /

**711 T** : c'est des > c'est pire que des papouzes / non /

**712 J** : hein /

**713 T** : tu sais de quoi je parle / +

**714 J** : non

**715 T** : XXX avec sa grosse [ph]oitrine là

**716 W** : (en salle ) : la suite / table dix

**717 J** : la suite / table dix (*imitating her*)

**718 T** : voilà l'a un d'ces uc regarde

**719 J** : oh /

**720 T** : AH AH AH

**721 J** : ouais : / (*laughs*)

(*silence = 10 sec.*)

**722 J** : la suite de quoi ell'a dit / + table huit / +

**723 T** : table dix dix

**724 J** : table quoi / + deux rougaïs/ et un rouget

(*silence = 6 sec.*)

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demanded the research.

The two young men connected, thanks to language switch.

In both extracts, linguistic variation expressed by Jonas shows its convergence with his interlocutors, Jean-Claude and Tierno, representative of the different types of societies to which he belongs. The intervention of Tierno shows that the two young men do not share the same linguistic skills, and that language mastering is a significant mean of powership.

Linguistic integration should not hide however the biculturalism of these young people, as can be seen through their drawings which express the themes of mobility and travel.

Taking into account the biculturalism of the migrants, some initiatives are dealing with social education and integration, mental health, women's rights, and so on. I would like to mention the activities of a psychiatrist, Tobie Nathan (from university Paris X), who practices ethnopsychiatry, for bicultural people. I'll mention as well AIDS awareness programs that are given for the West-African migrants in centers, as well as support groups for expectant African mothers, so as to reduce the cultural and linguistic clashes during childbirth in French hospitals (at the maternity of Mantes la Jolie, in the district called "la Goutte d'or" (Paris, 19th district), in Pantin (93) as well.

I'll finally mention the work of local associations that specialize in mediation between children, parents and public institutions ; their activities consist of workshops ; their aim is to give codes and modes of communication in France, to young French people, born in France from African parents, educated in the same schools and dwelling in the same projects than North-African and French young natives. There they learn public speaking and conflict regulation, in the West-African manner of dealing between generations.

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<sup>11</sup> Jonas and Tierno here tend to use a more specific way of speaking, with inversions (*meuf* for *femme* (l.707), *uc* for *cul* (l. 718) ), lack of pronouns or mistaken ones (l. 707 , 708),

In conclusion, I would like to focuss on two points. First, I would like to stress the fact that the use of the French language by the African migration in France covers a wide range of variation, from local norms of African French to a more standard and frenchie way of speaking French. Not to say a word of the written language. Second, I would like to emphasize the important role that the urban vehicular or new vernacular languages in African capitals (cf. Wolof, Bambara) play in migration in France. Their new status in Africa is reinforced in diaspora.

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words with meanings that may or may not be shared (gays, papouzes).

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## **ANNEXE 1 :**

### **Census data in France**

Sources : INSEE (2002), Jacques Barou (1992)

#### **1999 :**

4.310.000 people born in foreign countries were living in France in march 1999. One upon three has acquired the French nationality.

A diversification of countries of origin is noticed. Still, the major trend of immigration to France come from Sub-Saharan Africa ; it has tripled between 1982 and 1990, and almost doubled since, according to the last census of 1999.

Sub-Saharan immigrants : more or less 400.000 persons.

Senegal : still first country of origin to France.

#### **1990 :**

Sub-Saharan migration : 235.362 persons.

213.714 persons came from francophone countries : first of all, Senegal (45.000), then Mali (34.937), Zaïre (22.568), Cameroon (19.145), Ivory Coast (16.987).

80 African nationalities were recorded.

Social characteristics :

80 % of the migrants were 20 to 39 years old. Mostly single. They were employed in industry (39 %), services (33 %) or construction (8 %). Unemployment rate : 25 %.

68 % of them were implanted in the metropolitan region of Paris.

This population was much younger and more feminine than the one recorded in 1982, thanks to the family gathering policy initiated by the French government in the eighties.

Since the 1982 census, Barou (1992) notes a steady increase of immigrants coming from old

French colonies and from other Sub-Saharan countries : + 129,72 %.

## **ANNEXE 2**

### **Mande languages' use in France**

Source : INSEE-INED, *Etude de l'histoire familiale*, 1999.

Data come from the analysis of the declarations on language use, in a sample population coming from the last French census (1999).

Languages were classified first by family of languages, then by geographic area, close to the model of Greenberg.

Recent data have been sorted out for some West- African languages.

The mande category regroups Bambara and Soninke.

The data show the maintenance and shift of native language(NL) use, from the parents to the children.

\* Case of Mande languages (Bambara + Soninke)

Reception and use of NL by immigrant people living in France in 1999, and transmission of NL to children.

	men	women	together
NL received from parents	23 000	16 900	39 900
NL use	15 100	12 400	27 000
NL use*	13 800 <b>60,1 %</b>	10 500 <b>62,4 %</b>	24 400 <b>61,1 %</b>
Have children	17 000	14 200	31 200
NL use **	9 800	11 300	21 100

\* for those who received it from their parents

\*\* received from parents and transmitted to children

1/ Use of a Mande language by adults living in metropolitan France :

3 400 adults use a Mande language in France without having received it from their parents.

2/ Gap between reception and use of NL : more or less 2/3

The difference between men and women is light.

3/ Gap between reception of NL and transmission to the children :

3/4 of women care about transmission of NL ; they are much more than men.

4/ Gap between use and transmission for men and for women.

2700 women and 6000 men having received a Mande language from their parents do not yet have children. This means a large proportion of young adults in the community.

#### Partial conclusions :

Women are better transmitters of NL than men. Mande languages are chiefly restricted to the family or peer circle.

<b>Reception of a Mande language</b> : 39 900
Habitual use of NL : 35 700
Occasional use of NL : 10 000
Alternate use of NL + French : 16 900
Alternate use of NL + another lgge : 3 700
<b>Transmission of a Mande lgge</b> : 21 000
Habitual use of NL : 14 300
Occasional use of NL : 8 000
Alternate use of NL + French : 15 600
Alternate use of NL + another lgge : 100

Plurilingualism is less operant in migration. Proportion of alternate use of French and NL is increasing with the children.

