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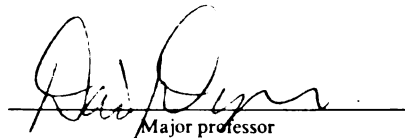
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING
THE PRE-COLONIAL AND EARLY COLONIAL PERIODS IN THE FORMER
FRENCH SUDAN

presented by

Ellen Jacobson

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Anthropology


Major professor

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**THE "COLONIALISM OF LANGUAGE":
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED
DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL AND EARLY COLONIAL PERIODS IN THE
FORMER FRENCH SUDAN**

By

Ellen Jacobson

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

2001

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ABSTRACT

THE “COLONIALISM OF LANGUAGE”: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL AND EARLY COLONIAL PERIODS IN THE FORMER FRENCH SUDAN

By

Ellen Jacobson

The “colonialism of language” explores how language is both a means (i.e., discourse or communicative action that the colonizer attempted to control and which facilitated the process of colonialism) and an object (i.e., the language varieties of the Other) of colonialism. This study adds to a growing body of literature on the “colonialism of language” by examining the specifics of the “colonialism of Bambara” through a critical discourse analysis of texts, concerning a West African language variety commonly known as Bambara, that were produced during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods in the former French Sudan. These texts include collections of vocabularies of African language varieties, grammatical essays, dictionaries, comprehensive linguistic studies, scholarly studies and articles, and collections of proverbs and stories. This examination reveals that Bambara was indeed both a means and an object of colonialism in West Africa and that the actions that discourse participants took in the production of these texts contributed to the construction of what is known as Bambara today – a language variety and people located in present-day Mali. The critical discourse analysis of these texts also illustrates the hidden links between language and power in discourse production; contributes to a larger

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discourse on ideology by demonstrating how ideology is truly effective when it appears to be commonsensical; and emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between oppositional behavior and resistance when examining the intended and unintended consequences of discourse participants' actions.

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LIST OF

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INTRODU

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3.3 Poss

4.0 Summ

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	
THE “COLONIALISM OF LANGUAGE”	5
1.0 The Relationship between Linguistics and Colonialism	7
1.1 The Development of Linguistics	8
1.1.1 “The Pyramid” – Sixteenth Century	9
1.1.2 “Royal Power” – Seventeenth Century	11
1.1.3 “Language, Jargon, and Inequality” – Eighteenth Century	12
1.1.4 “Defense and Illustration of Aryan Europe” – Nineteenth Century	13
1.1.5 The Emergence of Structural Linguistics – Twentieth Century	14
1.2 Dialect and Language	15
1.3 The Colonial Process at the Linguistic Level	17
1.3.1 Nascent Colonialism	18
1.3.2 Triumphant Colonialism	18
1.3.3 Successful “Glottophagie”	19
1.4 Linguistic Traces of Colonialism	20
1.4.1 Loan Words	21
1.4.2 The Naming of Peoples and Places	26
2.0 Case Studies of the “Colonialism of Language”	28
2.1 The Colonialism of Amerindian Languages in the New World	31
2.2 The Colonialism of Hindustani in India	33
2.3 The Colonialism of Shaba Swahili and Sango in Central Africa	36
2.3.1 Shaba Swahili	36
2.3.2 Sango	43
2.4 The Colonialism of Shona, Tsonga, and Tswana in Southern Africa	47
2.4.1 Shona	47
2.4.2 Tsonga	52
2.4.3 Tswana	57
3.0 Resisting the “Colonialism of Language”	61
3.1 Critical Language Study – Connections between Power, Ideology, and Language	61
3.2 Social Struggle and Resistance	67
3.3 Possibilities for Resisting the “Colonialism of Language”	69
4.0 Summary	72

CHAPT
THE "C

- 1.0 P
- 2.0 F
- 3.0 T
- 4.0 E

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- 2.0 In
- 3.0 E

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DESCRIP

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- 1.5 Co
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- 1.7 Sch
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- 2.4 Spo
- 3.0 (Re)
- 3.1 Sou
- 3.2 Geo
- 3.3 Histo
- 3.4 Char
- 3.5 Char
- 4.0 Summ

CHAPTER 5
FRAMEWOR
BAMBARA T

- 1.0 Frenc
- 2.0 Missio
- 3.0 Summ

CHAPTER 2	
THE "COLONIALISM OF BAMBARA"	74
1.0 Mande, Mandekan, and Mande Peoples	76
2.0 Present Day Definitions of Bambara	83
3.0 The "Colonialism of Bambara"	87
4.0 Evidence of the "Colonialism of Bambara"	91
CHAPTER 3	
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS	103
1.0 Description of Text	105
2.0 Interpretation of Text	108
3.0 Explanation of Text	112
CHAPTER 4	
DESCRIPTION OF BAMBARA TEXTS	113
1.0 Discourse Types	113
1.1 Collection of Vocabularies of Non-European Language Varieties	114
1.2 Dictionary of a Non-European Language Variety	115
1.3 Grammatical Essay or Manual of a Non-European Language Variety	116
1.4 Comprehensive Study of a Non-European Language Variety	117
1.5 Collection of Proverbs and Stories	118
1.6 Scholarly Study of Non-European People	119
1.7 Scholarly Article Concerning Non-European People	120
2.0 Discourse Participants	122
2.1 Authors of Texts	122
2.2 Source of Data and Informants	123
2.3 Audience of Texts	124
2.4 Sponsors and Publishers	125
3.0 (Re)presentations of Bambara	126
3.1 Source of Bambara Material	126
3.2 Geographic Location Associated with Bambara	127
3.3 Historical Context Associated with Bambara	128
3.4 Characterization of Bambara as a People	128
3.5 Characterization of Bambara as a Language Variety	129
4.0 Summary	139
CHAPTER 5	
FRAMEWORK FOR SITUATIONAL AND INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXTS:	
BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD	140
1.0 French Encounters with Bambara in Senegal	142
2.0 Missionary Encounters with Bambara on the Lower Guinea Coast	156
3.0 Summary	163

CHAPTER
FRAMEV
BAMBAR
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1.0 C
2.0 E
3.0 S

CHAPTER
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1.0 M
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1.3 Inter

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2.2 Expla

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2.2

2.2

2.3 Expia

CHAPTER 6	
FRAMEWORK FOR SITUATIONAL AND INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXTS:	
BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE PENETRATION INTO THE	
FORMER FRENCH SUDAN	165
1.0 Conquest of the Former French Sudan.....	165
2.0 Early Missionary Activity in Senegal and the Former French Sudan	171
3.0 Summary	182
CHAPTER 7	
FRAMEWORK FOR SITUATIONAL AND INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXTS:	
BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL	
PERIOD	184
1.0 Missionary Activity in the Former French Sudan.....	185
2.0 Colonial Activity in the Former French Sudan.....	190
3.0 Interpreters' Activity in the Former French Sudan.....	198
4.0 Summary	203
CHAPTER 8	
INTERPRETATION AND EXPLANATION OF BAMBARA TEXTS	205
1.0 Interpretation of Bambara Texts	205
1.1 Interpretation and Situational Context.....	206
1.1.1 What's Going On?.....	207
1.1.2 Who's Involved?.....	208
1.1.3 In What Relations?.....	208
1.1.4 What's the Role of Language?.....	210
1.1.5 Summary.....	210
1.2 Interpretation and Intertextual Context.....	221
1.3 Interpretation and Ideological Presuppositions	229
2.0 Explanation of Bambara Texts.....	233
2.1 Explanation and Ideological Presuppositions.....	233
2.1.1 Why These Ideological Presuppositions?	233
2.1.2 When Did Discourse Participants Attempt to Creatively	
Use MR?	236
2.1.3 What Were the Effects?	237
2.2 Explanation and the Colonialism of Bambara	238
2.2.1 European Ideas about Language and Perception of	
Bambara	238
2.2.2 Perception and Construction of Bambara as the Other.....	239
2.2.3 Ideological Dimension of Bambara Language Materials	240
2.2.4 Sources Available for the Study of the "Colonialism of	
Bambara"	241
2.3 Explanation and Critical Discourse Analysis	241

CHAPTER
CONCLU

- 1.0 Un
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APPENDI

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- Append

NOTES

REFERENC

CHAPTER 9	
CONCLUSION: RESISTING THE COLONIALISM OF BAMBARA.....	243
1.0 Unveiling the "Colonialism of Language": To Whom and For What Purpose?.....	245
2.0 Ideological Presuppositions: What is Commonsense and How Is It Identified?	246
3.0 Applied Linguistics: When Is Application of Theory an Act of Resistance?	248
APPENDICIES.....	250
Appendix A – Description of <u>Dard's Dictionnaire français-wolof et français- bambara, suivi du dictionnaire wolof-français</u>	251
Appendix B – Description of Clarke's <u>Specimens of Dialects</u>	263
Appendix C – Description of Koelle's <u>Polyglotta Africana</u>	275
Appendix D – Description of Binger's <u>Essai sur la langue bambara</u>	286
Appendix E – Description of Tautain's "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et mallinké ou mandingké"	306
Appendix F – Description of Toulotte's <u>Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de segou)</u>	311
Appendix G – Description of Delafosse's <u>Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mandé ou mandingue</u>	315
Appendix H – Description of Bazin's <u>Dictionnaire bambara-français</u>	329
Appendix I – Description of Sauvant's <u>Manuel bambara</u>	341
Appendix J – Description of Henry's "L'ame d'une peuple africain"	348
Appendix K – Description of Brévié's "A propos d'une chanson bambara" ..	354
Appendix L – Description of Tauxier's <u>Le noir du yatenga</u> and <u>Le noir de bondoukou</u>	358
Appendix M – Description of Monteil's <u>Les bambara du ségou et du kaart</u>	368
Appendix N – Description of Travélé's Texts	380
NOTES	403
REFERENCES CITED.....	416

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 – Arabic and French Loan Words in Bambara	21
Table 2 – Bambara and Malinke Numeration Systems	23
Table 3 – “Mande Dialects” Identified by Delafosse (1901)	93
Table 4 – Bambara Sources Cited by Delafosse (1901)	95
Table 5 – “Mandingue Dialect Groups” Identified by Delafosse (1929)	97
Table 6 – Bambara Sources Cited by Delafosse (1929)	99
Table 7 – Bambara Texts	102
Table 8 – Collection of Vocabularies of Non-European Language Varieties	115
Table 9 – Dictionary of a Non-European Language Variety	116
Table 10 – Grammatical Essay or Manual of a Non-European Language Variety	117
Table 11 – Comprehensive Study of a Non-European Language Variety	118
Table 12 – Collection of Proverbs and Stories	118
Table 13 – Scholarly Study of a Non-European People	119
Table 14 – Scholarly Article Concerning a Non-European People	120
Table 15 – Authors of Bambara Texts	123
Table 16 – What is Bambara?	130
Table 17 – Spiritains’ Missions in Senegal and Sudan	177
Table 18 – White Father’s Missions	180
Table 19 – Situational Context of Bambara Texts	212
Table 20 – Summary of Participants’ Interpretation of Situational Context	222
Table 21 – Participants’ Interpretation of Intertextual Context	226

Table 22	
Table 23	
Dictionar	
Table 24	
Table 25	
Table 26	
to Dard's	
Table 27	
"Dialecte"	
Table 28	
Table 29	
Table 30	
Table 31	
Table 32	
Table 33	
Mandén ga	
Table 34	
Table 35	
Table 36	
Table 37	
Table 38	
Varieties Ar	
Table 39	
Table 40	
and Language	
Table 41	

Table 22 – Ideological Presuppositions	231
Table 23 – Bambara and Wolof Terms for Days of the Week in Dard's Dictionary	255
Table 24 – Bambara and Wolof Terms for the Months in Dard's Dictionary	255
Table 25 – Bambara and Wolof Color and Racial Terms in Dard's Dictionary ..	256
Table 26 – Terms Used to Describe Language Varieties in the "Avant-propos" to Dard's Dictionary.....	258
Table 27 – Number of References to "Langage", "Langue", "Idiome", and "Dialecte" in the "Avant-propos" to Dard's Dictionary.....	261
Table 28 – Clarke's "Specimens of Numerals"	265
Table 29 – Clarke's "Specimens of Dialects"	266
Table 30 – Clarke's "Specimens of Languages"	267
Table 31 – Meanings Associated with "Dialect" and "Language" in Clarke	271
Table 32 – Koelle's Classification of African Languages.....	278
Table 33 – Koelle's Classification of North-western High Sudan Family, or Mandén-ga Family of Languages.....	279
Table 34 – Color and Racial Terms in Koelle's "Polyglotta"	282
Table 35 – Language Related Terms in Koelle's "Polyglotta"	282
Table 36 – Religious Terms in Koelle's "Polyglotta"	283
Table 37 – Binger's Division of the "Race Poul" and "Race Mandingue"	287
Table 38 – Geographic Locations Where Various West African Language Varieties Are Spoken According to Binger	289
Table 39 – Binger's Phrases Related to Descriptions of African Peoples	295
Table 40 – Binger's Phrases Related to Descriptions of African Languages and Language Acquisition.....	296
Table 41 – Binger's Phrases Related to Military/Administrative Needs.....	296

Table 42	
Table 43	
Table 44	
Table 45	
Table 46	
Table 47	
Vocabula	
Table 48	
Table 49	
Table 50	
Table 51	
Table 52	
Table 53	
<u>vatenga</u>	
Table 54	
<u>vatenga</u>	
Table 55	
<u>vatenga</u>	
Table 56	
<u>vatenga</u>	
Table 57	
Table 58	
Table 59	
Table 60	
Table 61	
Table 62	

Table 42 – Binger’s Phrases Related to General Needs.....	297
Table 43 – Language Related Terms in Binger’s Vocabulary	299
Table 44 – Racial Terms Used in Binger’s Vocabulary	300
Table 45 – Religious Terms in Binger’s Vocabulary.....	301
Table 46 – Terms Relating to “Peoples” in Binger’s Vocabulary	302
Table 47 – Terms Related to Military/Administrative Concerns in Binger’s Vocabulary	303
Table 48 – Numeration in Tautain.....	308
Table 49 – Principal Dialects of the “Groupe de Tan”	324
Table 50 – Principal Dialects of the “Groupe de Fou” and Region.....	324
Table 51 – Terms of the Months in Sauvant	345
Table 52 – Terms for the Days of the Week in Sauvant.....	346
Table 53 – Bambara and Samo Racial Terms in Tauxier’s <u>Le noir du yatenga</u>	361
Table 54 – Bambara and Samo Religious Terms in Tauxier’s <u>Le noir du yatenga</u>	362
Table 55 – Bambara and Samo Language Terms in Tauxier’s <u>Le noir du yatenga</u>	362
Table 56 – Bambara and Samo Administrative Terms in Tauxier’s <u>Le noir du yatenga</u>	363
Table 57 – List of Sections in Travélé’s <u>Petit manuel français-bambara</u>	382
Table 58 – Terms for Geographical Locations in Travélé’s <u>Petit dictionnaire</u> ...	388
Table 59 – French Terms for “Peoples” in Travélé’s <u>Petit dictionnaire</u>	389
Table 60 – Bambara Terms for “Peoples” in Travélé’s <u>Petit dictionnaire</u>	389
Table 61 – French “Racial” Terms in Travélé’s <u>Petit dictionnaire</u>	390
Table 62 – Bambara “Racial” Terms in Travélé’s <u>Petit dictionnaire</u>	390

Table 6

Table 6

Table 6
Travéie

Table 63 – French Religious Terms in Travélé's Petit dictionnaire 390

Table 64 – French Language Related Terms in Travélé's Petit dictionnaire..... 391

Table 65 – Descriptions of “Bambara”, “Malinké” and Other Peoples in
Travélé's Proverbes et contes bambara 400

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 – Classification of Mande Language Varieties	78
Figure 2 – Map of Mande Language Varieties	79
Figure 3 – Map of Mande Heartland	82
Figure 4 – Map of Mali	84

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how lang

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INTRODUCTION

The “colonialism of language” must be studied in order to fully understand the construction of the Other. The study of the “colonialism of language” explores how language is both an object and means of colonialism. In the phrase “colonialism of language”, I use the term “language” to refer to how all the language varieties of the Other were objects that the colonizer wanted and needed to control. In addition to using the term “language” to refer to an object, I also use it to refer to the means by which colonialism occurred. In this sense, language refers to discourse (or communicative action). The focus is on how the colonizer controlled the discourse that took place and how this discourse served to facilitate the process of colonialism.

In order to add to a growing body of literature in this area, I examine the specifics of the “colonialism of Bambara” through a critical discourse analysis of 17 texts that concern a West African language variety commonly known as Bambara. These texts include collections of vocabularies of African language varieties, grammatical essays, dictionaries, comprehensive linguistic studies, scholarly studies and articles, and collections of proverbs and stories. Using a variety of techniques I carefully and closely examine each text. This examination reveals that Bambara was indeed both an object and a means of colonialism in West Africa and that the actions that discourse participants took in the production of these texts resulted in the construction of what is known as Bambara today – a language variety and people located in present-day Mali.

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In Chapter 1, I contextualize my study of the “colonialism of Bambara” within the study of the “colonialism of language”. I examine the relationship between linguistics and colonialism, describe several case studies of the “colonialism of language”, and discuss resistance to the “colonialism of language”. In the process, I raise certain theoretical and methodological questions concerning the study of the “colonialism of language”. The literature review provided in this chapter is important as it makes an early study of the “colonialism of language” (Linguistique et colonialisme), produced by the French scholar Louis-Jean Calvet in 1974, accessible to an English language audience. Calvet’s study is particularly relevant to my work as it draws on West African data and experiences including that concerning the “colonialism of Bambara”. In addition to reviewing Calvet’s study, I also include a variety of case studies that demonstrate different approaches to and methods employed in the study of the “colonialism of language” in order to provide a framework for my own study of the “colonialism of Bambara”.

I focus specifically on my study of the “colonialism of Bambara” in Chapter 2. First, I position the term Bambara in relation to Mande, Mandekan, and Mande peoples and discuss the difficulties posed in defining Bambara as a people and language variety. Next, I describe present-day definitions of Bambara in order to highlight the “constructed” nature of Bambara as both a language variety and people. Finally, I outline the evidence available for the study of the “colonialism of Bambara” and identify which Bambara texts I use in my study.

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In Chapter 3, I describe the model of critical discourse analysis I employ in my study of the “colonialism of Bambara”. This model is based upon Norman Fairclough’s 1989 work in critical discourse analysis. It is comprised of a descriptive phase (i.e., the act of examining the product of discourse – the text), an interpretation phase (i.e., how discourse participants interpret the production of texts in terms of their current situation and in relation to other texts), and an explanation phase (i.e., making the links between relations of power and discourse production). I originally chose to utilize Fairclough’s work as it is intended to provide a set of tools that a layperson can use to uncover the hidden links between language and power. One of my objectives in studying the “colonialism of language” is to make those outside of academia aware of how there are struggles to control language as an object and how language is used to control and shape our actions. I had hoped that Fairclough’s model would be useful in bridging the gap between academia and applied linguistics as practiced by the layperson. However, in the process of applying Fairclough’s model to my study of the “colonialism of Bambara” I found it necessary to adapt it to meet my needs. Therefore, I follow the spirit of his approach, rather than applying it methodically.

In Chapter 4, I summarize the descriptive phase of my critical discourse analysis of the Bambara texts I selected to examine. I describe my classification of discourse types, identify different groups of discourse participants who engaged in the production of these texts, and present an overview of how

Bambara is (re)presented in each text. I provide more detailed description of each of the 17 Bambara texts in Appendices A-N.

In Chapters 5-7, I present a historical framework in order to provide a context for my analysis of the Bambara texts. Chapter 5 focuses on the texts produced during the pre-colonial period, Chapter 6 focuses on the texts produced during the colonial penetration into the former French Sudan, and Chapter 7 focuses on the texts produced during the early colonial period.

I turn to the interpretation and explanation phases in Chapter 8. Based upon the historical context outlined in Chapters 5-7, I examine the interpretations given by discourse participants to situational and intertextual contexts, as well as the ideological presuppositions drawn upon in their production. I also describe what traces of resistance to the colonialism of Bambara can be discerned in these texts as part of the explanation phase.

In the final chapter, I position my dissertation in a larger effort to resist the colonialism of language and briefly explore potential challenges I and others can make to the ongoing use of language as both an object and means of domination and construction of the Other.

CHAPTER 1 – THE “COLONIALISM OF LANGUAGE”

Despite Balandier's call for the study of the "colonial situation" in 1951, Mignolo (1992) claims that the "colonialism of language" has not been, for the most part, an issue of interest for historians, sociologists, economists, and anthropologists. Mignolo highlights two works that made important contributions to the development of the study of the "colonialism of language" – Foucault's L'archéologie du savoir (1969) and Said's Orientalism (1978). The importance of Foucault's "archaeology of knowledge" is its emphasis on the social and historical importance of language and discursive formation. But, for Mignolo, it is Said's discussion of the Other that allows one to go "one step further than Foucault by departing from his notion of discursive formation to confront the West's construction of the East" (1992:301).

Since Said's Orientalism, scholars interested in the construction of the Other have produced a body of literature which emphasizes language as a "means" of colonization and as an "object" of colonization. In their discussion of "language ideology", Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:67) describe this area of research as "colonial linguistics" and claim that these studies are "some of the most provocative recent work on linguistic ideology, clearly tracing the links among linguistic, ideological, and social forms." They identify several concerns of these recent studies of "colonial linguistics": (1) choice of language for administrative use; (2) the ideological dimension of language materials (such as dictionaries and grammars) which had previously been considered a "neutral" enterprise; (3) how Europeans' ideas about language affected how they

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perceived indigenous linguistic conceptualizations; (4) the construction of language varieties; (5) how European linguistic activities shaped and contributed to the construction and perpetuation of the Other; and (6) the availability of sources for the study of "colonial linguistics". The concerns that Woolard and Schieffelin identify demonstrate the richness of this body of work and its potential for illuminating the connections between power and language in the colonial context.

In this chapter, I examine the "colonialism of language" in order to provide a framework for my own study of the "colonialism of Bambara" during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods, as well as to raise certain theoretical and methodological issues which I address more fully in Chapter 3. In the first section, I examine the relationship between linguistics and colonialism. In the second section, I describe several case studies of the "colonialism of language". In the final section, I discuss resistance to the "colonialism of language".

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1.0 The Relationship between Linguistics and Colonialism

In this section, I review an early study of the "colonialism of language" by Louis-Jean Calvet. Calvet's Linguistique et colonialisme: petit traité de glottophagie (1974) is one of the earliest studies of the "colonialism of language". In this study, Calvet examines the relationship between linguistics and colonialism. He argues that the study of languages has always suggested a certain vision of linguistic communities and their relations and that this vision has been used to justify the colonial enterprise (Calvet 1974:10). Calvet (1974:12, translation mine) characterizes the "colonialism of language" as the process of "glottophagie", or the consumption of the languages of the colonized:

The colonies would become therefore empty countries in which the colonists coming from the other side of the shore were able to settle without any problems. There is no lapse of memory there, or rather this lapse of memory is not due to chance: to justify the colonial enterprise in the terms of Western "culture", of the humanism which one keeps harping about to us, it is necessary to forget the existence of others. The first cannibal came from Europe; he devoured the colonized. And, on a particular level that concerns us, he ate their languages, *glottophage* therefore. Moreover, these languages did not exist, is that not so. All just dialects, behold patois...¹

A review of Calvet's study of "glottophagie" provides a good springboard for defining what the general study of the "colonialism of language" and my specific study of the "colonialism of Bambara" should encompass. First, it is one of the earliest general studies concerning the relationship between linguistics and colonialism. Second, Calvet's work has been ignored by many recent studies of the "colonialism of language". By including a review of it here, I hope to make it more accessible to an English language audience. Third, Calvet draws on

various West African examples, including the "colonialism of Bambara", to illustrate his argument.

In Linguistique et colonialisme, Calvet proposes a theoretical model for the study of the "colonialism of language," but he argues that significant work remains to be done. Calvet (1974:11-12) calls on linguists to contribute to the study of the "colonialism of language", not just to elaborate on a theoretical model, but to combat neo-colonialism through applied work such as the establishment of transcription systems and editing works in dominated languages. This perspective is important as it illustrates the connections between the "colonialism of language" and academic disciplines, such as linguistics, both historically as well as in the continuing reproduction of and resistance to the relations of power that emerged during the colonial period.

I am interested in three areas of Calvet's work in relation to my study of the "colonialism of Bambara". First, his discussion of development of linguistics illustrates how linguistics served the colonial enterprise. Second, Calvet outlines various stages of the process of the "colonialism of language". Third, he examines linguistic traces of colonialism, i.e., how one can reconstruct a history of the "colonialism of language" through "archaeological" and "superstructural" traces.

1.1 The Development of Linguistics

Calvet defines and delimits what he means by the term "linguistics" by tracing its historical development. Calvet (1974:15-16) differentiates between linguistics and other theories of language. Calvet criticizes those who construct

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the history of the origin of linguistics from the point of view of Saussurean structural linguistics as they often ignore earlier philosophies of language. Even when histories of linguistics do include precursors to Saussurean structural linguistics Calvet claims that these inclusions are ideologically motivated as they are incorporated from the viewpoint of the structural school. For example, Panini's grammar² is characterized as "non-scientific", yet at the same time is made relevant to linguistics. Calvet, like those he critiques, focuses solely on the development of linguistics and ignores the contributions of other theories of language as he wants to demonstrate how the development of linguistics helped to justify the colonial enterprise.

Calvet identifies four periods in his discussion of the development of linguistics from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Below, I describe what Calvet identifies as the major contributions to the development of linguistics during each of these periods.

1.1.1 "The Pyramid" – Sixteenth Century

Calvet (1974:15-16) begins his discussion of the development of linguistics with the sixteenth century because it is during this period that he identifies the conjunction of two elements – an embryo of a "Western" theory of language and European knowledge of previously unknown languages. In place of an earlier Platonic metaphysical view of language, one finds a theological view of language. Calvet (1974:17-22) claims that the search for the origin of the multitude of human languages (i.e., the "Word" that preceded the destruction of

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the Tower of Babel and the many "words" that followed) was the focus of an increasing number of studies of language during the sixteenth century.

One result of this search for the "Word" was a dichotomy between "noble language" and "vulgar language". The "noble languages" included Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which were sacred languages with an ancient written literature, that were emphasized in European education. In contrast, ordinary people spoke "vulgar languages" which were characterized as oral languages. Despite the fact that many of these languages had been written, they were associated with the Reformation, which only served to emphasize their "non-noble" status. The dichotomy between "noble languages" and "vulgar languages" was ordered in a hierarchical fashion, which Calvet characterizes as a pyramid. The "noble languages" (i.e., Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) occupied the top level of the pyramid, European "vulgar languages" were located in the middle level, and non-European "vulgar languages" were found at the bottom.

Calvet identifies three major characteristics of this period that influenced how language was perceived – Eurocentrism, nationalism, and centralization. With increasing knowledge of other peoples and their languages, scholars began to distinguish between European and non-European languages. In addition to this distinction, various theories were advanced which postulated relationships between different European languages and the "noble languages". For example, the French claimed that the Gauls were the descendants of Noah and therefore their language must be directly related to the "noble languages". The French demonstrated their direct relationship to the Roman and Greek civilizations by

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proposing affinities between the French language and Greek. The nationalism that inspired these types of linguistic activities was related to increased centralization in European nations.

1.1.2 "Royal Power" – Seventeenth Century

Centralism and nationalism continued to influence the development of linguistics in the seventeenth century. Calvet (1974:22-27) describes the contributions of two influential individuals – Malherbe and Vaugelas – during this period. Malherbe was concerned with the presence of loan words, from foreign languages and other French language varieties, and provincialisms in the French language. Vaugelas' concern was with good and bad usage of the French language, which he related to an opposition between the Parisian court and the people. Thus, both Vaugelas and Malherbe contributed to a perception of language that needed to be "purified" and modeled after that spoken at court.

According to Calvet, this view of language is reflected in the creation of French Academy, which was intended to regulate the French language in order to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of expressing the arts and sciences. In addition, Calvet characterizes the mission of the French Academy as centralizing, (i.e., the identification of the language of the royalty as the language of France).

Another important development during this period was the Port-Royal Grammaire générale et raisonnée. Calvet contends that only a few languages are cited in the Port-Royal grammar, in particular Latin and French. The authors

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of the Port-Royal grammar mention other languages only to reinforce a pre-established framework. As the authors had access to linguistic data from around the world, Calvet claims that the exclusion of other languages was an ideological choice. One aspect of the Port-Royal grammar that Calvet emphasizes is the positioning of French as the most "noble" language because it most closely approximates the logical order inherent in all languages.

1.1.3 "Language, Jargon, and Inequality" – Eighteenth Century

There were several continuities between linguistic thinking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the theory of the sign postulated in the Port-Royal grammar. However, in the eighteenth century a new concern with how to account for the origin and formation of languages arose. Europeans were faced with the problem of comparison (i.e., how to relate European languages to those of the Others they were increasingly encountering). During this period, scholars believed that languages started out simple and became increasingly complex in tandem with the development and refinement of thought. Therefore, in order to understand better the origin of European languages, one only had to look at the "jargons" spoken by "primitive" and "savage" peoples located outside of Europe.

The contrast between European languages and non-European jargons was not only spatial, but also temporal (i.e., modern European languages were opposed to prehistoric non-European languages). Calvet (1974:30-31) argues that the relation to the Other was contextualized within European history; they

became a reflection of an earlier European. These “jargons” served as proof of the superiority of European languages and therefore of Europeans as well.

According to Calvet (1974:31-32) racist attitudes can be discerned in the linguistic texts produced during this period. For example, dictionary authors often glossed the word “Negro” as “slave” reflecting their status in the European world view. However, Calvet believes that during this period, racist attitudes were tempered by a humanism that allowed for the possibility of advancement from one stage of historical development to another, (i.e., a jargon could become a language).

1.1.4 “Defense and Illustration of Aryan Europe” – Nineteenth Century

The formation of the discipline of historical linguistics at the beginning of the nineteenth century marked the emergence of modern linguistics. While languages were placed into hierarchical typologies during earlier periods, what distinguishes the work of linguists during the nineteenth century is the notion that languages evolve over time. Language change cannot be attributed simply to the actions of its speakers, but reflects a conceptualization of language as a living organism which develops and changes over time moving towards an inevitable death. In addition, linguistic change is regular and reflects the internal organization of the language

Calvet argues that the comparative grammatical work during the first half of the nineteenth century carried out by historical linguists such as Bopp, Schlegel, Grimm, and Schleicher served to establish Indo-European languages

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as superior to other language groups. For example, Schlegel proposed the following typology of languages based upon the internal structure of words: (1) isolating – words are invariable; (2) agglutinating – words are comprised of a root and segmentable and analyzable affixes; and (3) inflecting – affixes are not segmentable and their use is governed by precise rules. Non-European languages such as Chinese and Turkish were identified as isolating and agglutinating languages, while ancient and modern European languages and Sanskrit were identified as inflecting languages. During the second half of the nineteenth century the Neogrammarian School combined the historical and comparative approach to language with positivist principles. For example, Neogrammarians insisted on providing explanations for and causes of linguistic change in rather than merely describing it.

What is important here is that the notion of Self during the nineteenth century, as reflected in language, is enlarged to encompass all Europeans, in contrast to narrower nationalistic notion of Self during the sixteenth century (e.g., French versus German). In addition, the unity of European language varieties is linked to European racial unity as illustrated by the term “Aryan”. Thus, relations of difference were transformed into relations of superiority.

1.1.5 The Emergence of Structural Linguistics – Twentieth Century

The role played by modern linguistics in intertwining ideas of language and race in the construction of the Self and Other carried over into the twentieth century and the emergence of structural linguistics. The publication of Saussure’s

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lecture notes in 1916 marks a turning point in the study of language. Saussure conceived of language as a system of signs and linguistics as one branch of a larger science of signs, or semiology. Saussure defined the sign as an arbitrary link between a “signifier” and a “signified” and divided language into two parts – “langue” (i.e., the structured system of relationships between signs) and “parole” (i.e., the actual unique speech act.) By separating language into two parts, Saussure was able to isolate “langue” as the object of inquiry for linguistics. Linguistics, therefore, focused on the discovery of rules that determine combinations of signs. Unlike the comparativists that preceded him, Saussure emphasized the necessity of analyzing language within an historical context and therefore differentiated between two types of linguistics – synchronic and diachronic.

1.2 Dialect and Language

In reviewing the history of linguistics, Calvet argues that the use of the terms “dialect” and “language” is contested, definitions of the terms are often contradictory, and the history of these terms is intertwined with the “colonialism of language”. Calvet illustrates his point by describing how Delafosse identified Bambara, Dioula, and Malinke as three dialects of one proto-language (Mande) from which they evolved. While Calvet agrees that Bambara, Dioula, and Malinke are historically related and evolved from Mande and therefore may have been considered “dialects” in the past, he questions why Delafosse does not identify them as “languages” at this point in time, as Mande has disappeared. He notes

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that Latin is identified as a “language”, as are Italian, French, and Spanish are considered to be “languages”, not “dialects”, although they also evolved from a proto-language (Latin).

Identifying how the terms “language” and “dialect” are used (as well as other terms used to identify language varieties) is one of the central tasks of the study of the “colonialism of language”. Dwyer (N.d.) points out that popular notions of “dialect” (i.e., they are structurally, communicatively, and orthographically inferior to languages) have led to the association of “dialect” with non-Westerners and “backwards” Westerners. In contrast, the term “language” has been reserved for Westerners and a few exceptions in the non-Western world (e.g., Japanese, Chinese). Looking for evidence of how these popular notions emerged and became relatively accepted and unquestioned is one of the contributions that specific studies of the “colonialism of language” can make.

Even the terms used by linguists themselves are problematic. For example, the term “idiolect” is often used to refer to an individual’s speech pattern, the term “dialect” to refer to a set of similar idiolects, and the term “language” to refer to a set of mutually intelligible dialects. While these distinctions may seem to be clear-cut, they are not consistently used. For example, Norwegian and Swedish are mutually intelligible, yet are identified as “languages” (Dwyer N.d.).

Calvet suggests abandoning the use of the terms “dialect” and “language” in both popular and academic use. This is in fact one of the ways in which the ongoing “colonialism of language” can be resisted. Therefore, the study of the

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“colonialism of language” necessitates identifying how terms such as “dialect” and “language” have been used historically, demonstrate how they continue to be used, and advocate for the use of “neutral” terms (such as “language variety”) or attach new meanings to the terms “language” and “dialect”.

1.3 The Colonial Process at the Linguistic Level

Calvet defines colonialism as economic and political phenomena that reproduce class divisions. But what Calvet wants to emphasize in his discussion of the colonial process at the linguistic level are the non-economic aspects of colonialism (i.e., the superstructure), which he feels earlier Marxist studies of colonialism have ignored. Calvet argues that one can see relations of power reflected in and governing relations between dominated and dominant languages. Calvet identifies three components in the study of the linguistic level of colonialism (1974:84). The first component involves an examination of economic and social conflicts in the mode of production in order to account for linguistic conflict. From this perspective, all colonialism involves “glottophagie”. Second, Calvet identifies the judicial component that refers to the fact that colonialism is enacted through the state apparatus. The reproduction of the state apparatus involves the judicial realm in its traditional sense (e.g., courts, legislation), as well as the educational system. The final component, ideology, refers to the justification of the "glottophagie" inherent in colonialism.

In his analysis of the “colonialism of language”, Calvet emphasizes the importance of the “right to name” (1974:56-60). From a European point of view,

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the lands and peoples that were colonized did not exist before their arrival, i.e., they did not have a name. In order to understand how Europeans claimed the right to name the Other and in effect devoured the languages of the Other, Calvet divides the “colonialism of language” into three stages – nascent colonialism, triumphant colonialism, and successful “glottophagie”.

1.3.1 Nascent Colonialism

During the stage of “nascent colonialism”, Calvet (1974:60-72) argues that the initial linguistic battle takes place in the domain of local collaborators and domestic servants (i.e., those who are the first to utilize the language of the colonizer). This stage is the result of an economic situation. In other words, the dominant language is adopted by those closest to those in power or by those who deal with them. Thus, only a small faction of the Other are bilingual (i.e., speak the dominant language and dominated languages), while the large part of the population remains monolingual (i.e., speak only dominated languages).³ Calvet stresses the fact that this initial phenomena is outside of all ideology as it is not reflective, but simply a linguistic manifestation of existing relations of force.

1.3.2 Triumphant Colonialism

While the first stage, nascent colonialism, is vertical in nature, Calvet depicts the second stage, triumphant colonialism, as horizontal. By this he means that linguistic differentiation is established along a geographic axis. During this stage, the upper classes of the colonized who had acquired the

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dominant language tend to abandon use of the dominated language(s) and the lower classes located in urban areas begin to acquire the dominant language. Calvet depicts this situation as a new linguistic superstructure. He argues that factors such as legislation, tribunals, and schools contribute to the reproduction of this superstructure. The result can be depicted as a series of oppositions – industry/commerce vs. agriculture, urban vs. rural, dominant language vs. dominated languages, and language vs. dialect.

1.3.3 Successful "Glottophagie"

One would expect to find a third stage in the "colonialism of language" – successful "glottophagie". The problem with identifying this final stage is that when "glottophagie" is successful, very few traces can be discerned in the historical record, due to the very fact that the dominated languages have been completely devoured.

Calvet (1974:79-85) uses the case of West Africa as one example of the difficulties in reconstructing a linguistic history. Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries two large linguistic groups coexisted in West Africa – Sarakolé (associated with Koumbi and the Ghana Empire) and Malinke (associated with Niani and the Mali Empire). These two languages were in opposition at the borders of these two empires, but, after the victory of Sundiata, Malinke became the dominant language. Calvet argues that perhaps the language spoken in the region of Kayes today is the product of the linguistic relations between the dominant language, Malinke, and the dominated language, Sarakolé. But without

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recourse to written documents and other evidence of linguistic struggle, Calvet concedes that it is difficult to reconstruct the exact nature of the linguistic relations between these two groups.

Calvet (1974:81- 83) argues that successful “glottophagie”, or the disappearance of a language, depends upon a number of factors, in particular that of resistance by the people who speak the dominated language. For example, Calvet contends that one of the reasons that French in Algeria has not devoured Arabic is due to non-urban Berbers’ resistance to the economic and political presence of the French. Their continued use of Arabic is a form of resistance at the linguistic level to French colonial activities at the political and economic level.

1.4 Linguistic Traces of Colonialism

Calvet (1974:86-87) views diglossia as a producer of linguistic changes, as well as the product of history and the relations of power that shaped this history. As such, diglossia allows one to read linguistic traces of colonialism. Calvet identifies two types of linguistic traces. The first, an archaeological trace, allows one to reconstruct history through the study of linguistic debris. The second, a superstructural trace, demonstrates the results of colonialism. In this section, I examine two areas where linguistic traces can be seen – the case of loan words and the naming of peoples and places.

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1.4.1 Loan Words

Calvet believes that most definitions of the term “loan word” abstract this phenomenon from the historical conditions of production. Calvet (1974:90) states that loan words testify to the types of relations between two linguistic communities. In order to uncover the relation between loan words and the relations of production, Calvet examines the number of loan words present and determines whether there is a equilibrium or disequilibrium in the distribution of the loan words and outlines the semantic domains of the loan words.

Calvet has examined the presence of Arabic and French loan words in Bambara (1974:204-215). He established a corpus of Arabic and French loan words by drawing on Maurice Delafosse's French-Mandingue dictionary⁴ and a Bambara lexicon prepared by government of Mali. His findings are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 – Arabic and French Loan Words in Bambara

Language	Number of Loan Words	Semantic Domains	Types of Loan Words
Arabic	50	• religious (16) • writing (6) • concepts (6) • diverse terms, some of which are technical (12)	• nouns (98%) • verbs (2%)
French	182	• technical terms (108) • military (14) • administration (13) • education (11) • agriculture (18) • commerce (10) • political (7) • religious (1)	• nouns (93%) • verbs (6%) • adjectives (1%)

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Calvet first notes that the situation of French and Arabic loan words in Bambara is one of disequilibrium, as despite the number of French and Arabic loan words in Bambara, there are no Bambara terms used in either French or Arabic. This state of disequilibrium indicates the relations of power between these three languages and their speakers. Second, Calvet examines the semantic domains of the loan words as indicators of the areas of contact between these linguistic communities. In comparing Arabic and French loan words, Calvet notes an absence of Arabic terms concerning commerce, war, and administration in Bambara. While the lack of terms related to war and administration can be accounted for by the brief presence of the Almoravids in this region, Calvet argues that the lack of terms concerning commerce is more difficult to understand given the long history of trade between the Sudan and Northern Africa. Calvet proposes the use of Muslim intermediaries who spoke the language varieties used in the Sudan as an explanation for this situation. While the influence of Arabic on Bambara is mostly confined to the religious domain, the semantic domains of French loan words reflects the political and economic impact of French colonialism on Bambara. The final point that Calvet makes is that the greater number of French loan words demonstrates a stronger linguistic oppression of Bambara by the French.

Calvet argues that the most significant loan words are those which are structural in nature. One example of how a loan word can effect structural change is the numeration systems used by Mande peoples (Calvet 1974:194-203). Traditional Bambara and Malinke numeration systems were based on

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cowry shells which were counted in groups of eighty units for Bambara and sixty units for Malinke as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 – Bambara and Malinke Numeration Systems

Term	Bambara “kémé”	Malinke “kémé”	“Silamiya kémé”
"kémé"	80 units	60 units	100 units
"ba"	800 units	600 units	1,000 units
"ba tan"	8,000 units	6,000 units	10,000 units

Due to contact first with Arabs and later with the French, the terms "kémé", "ba", and "ba tan" began to be used to represent 100 units, 1,000 units, and 10,000 units respectively. This system was adopted by the Dioula and the new "kémé" became known in Bambara as "silamiya kémé" (Arabic "kémé"). Therefore, three numeration systems – Bambara "kémé", Malinke "kémé", and "silamiya kémé" – coexisted in West Africa. Calvet argues that the distribution and use of these numeration systems reflects the extension of "glottophagie". The "silamiya kémé" system is used most frequently in Bamako (the capital city of present-day Mali), less frequently in other Bambara speaking cities (e.g., Segou, Sikasso), and with the least frequency in the countryside. With an increased French colonial presence, the French franc replaced cowry shells as the primary unit of currency and the "traditional" numeration systems were transformed once again.

Calvet examines this example of numeration systems from two levels. From a diachronic point of view this example illustrates how linguistic "interference" can transform a linguistic structure over time. In addition, it also demonstrates the link between colonialism and "glottophagie". Calvet uses

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descriptions of “kémé” numeration systems in linguistic texts concerning to illustrate his contention. Example A is taken from a French-Bambara manual produced by Moussa Travélé in 1910. Travélé was an interpreter in the French Sudan and as such he shaped the ways in which Bambara was recorded and understood by the French. Example B is taken from the colonial administrator Maurice Delafosse's study of the Mandingue language published in 1929. Example C is taken from a Bambara grammar compiled by the White Fathers, missionaries active in the French Sudan, and published in 1956.

Example A
Travélé's French-Bambara Manual (1910)

The same word *kémé* is used with the meaning of 60 among the Malinké, 80 among the Bambara and 100 among the Dioula...The Bambara numeration stops at 80...However the other people of the Sudan count to 100 and commercial relations oblige the Bambara sometimes to accept this numeration. They then precede the word *kémé* (80) with the word *silamaiya*, which means ‘Islamism’: *silamiya-kéme* 100 of the Muslims,” that is to say the French hundred.”⁵ [Travélé 1910:15-16, translation mine]

Example B
Delafosse's Study of the Mandingue Language (1929)

It seems that in the Manding empire, the *kémé* was worth 60; among the Egyptians *hemen* corresponds to 80, as today again *kémé* among the Bambaras; finally, everywhere where Islam was introduced, the value of 100 was attributed to *temed* among the Berbers, as *hemere* among the Peuls, as *kémé* among the Dioulas and the Muslim Malinkes. By themselves, several groups of animist Malinkes have retained until our days the value of 60 for *kémé*...It follows that the same phrase has, according to regions, very different numerical values: when a Malinke who remains faithful to the old habits speaks of *ba kémé saba*, one hears 180 goats, while a Bambara by the same expression designates 240 goats and a Dioula and a Muslim Malinké or one who has simply crossed swords with Muslims, designates 300 goats by the same words.⁶ [Delafosse 1929:274, translation mine]

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Example C
White Father's Bambara Grammar (1956)

In Bambara, numeration is decimal up to 80...from 80, *kémé*, one adds tens to the same: *kémé ni tan*, 90...From 30, the decimal numeration among the Malinkes, of which *kémé* goes to 100 and which is more simple, supplants more and more that of the Bambara. One keeps the Bambara words for money...In the examples and exercises of this Grammar, one will use the numeration above.⁷ [Molin 1956:62-63, translation mine]

In Example A, written in 1910, Travélé is describing a system of co-existence of three numeration systems and translates "silamiya *kémé*" as the Muslim "*kémé*", but identifies it as the French franc. In Example B, Delafosse also depicts the co-existence of these three numeration systems. But, as seen in Example C, by 1956, the White Fathers state that the Malinke "*kémé*" has a value of 100, do not reference Islam, and choose to use this numeration system in their grammar. Calvet believes these descriptions show that the adoption of the "silamiya *kémé*" numeration system as the standard was widespread within a short period of time (i.e., less than 50 years). In addition, he believes that the "silamiya *kémé*" is not related to the spread of Islam throughout this region, but rather that the French language imposed its own numeration system. According to Calvet, any reference to Islam ("silamiya") is merely rhetorical in nature. In addition to demonstrating the link between French colonial activity and changes in Mande numeration systems, Calvet argues that this example also illustrates how the domination of one language is often subtle, insidious, and not always clearly visible. In this case, French did not merely supplant an existing

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numeration system with its own. Instead, a new meaning was given to an existing sign.

At the synchronic level of analysis, Calvet identifies a linguistic situation where Mande speakers do not share a single numeration system. He argues that this represents a different organization of mass numbers, rather than simply a difference in denomination. He uses this point to demonstrate how the Saussurean conceptualization of the sign allows one to see that language reflects cultural specificities, rather than a universal pre-linguistic order. Therefore Calvet (1979:202) argues that the domination of one language can manifest itself as either the disappearance of a language or in changes in the internal structure of a language. Both manifestations reflect relations of power between the Self and the Other.

1.4.2 The Naming of Peoples and Places

Calvet argues that another fruitful area to look for linguistic traces is the naming of peoples and places. This allows one to uncover the process of conquest, population movements, and the limits of expansion. J. Bazin (1985) provides an illustration of how the naming of Bambara as a people and place reflects how language was used to fulfil the European need to identify, classify, and order the Other in time and space. According to J. Bazin, there were multiple meanings associated with the term “Bambara” and other related terms (e.g., “Bamana”, “Banbara”) through time. For example, the Dioula used the term “Bambara” to refer to both the peoples who lived between the Niger and Kong

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and to all “pagans” (or non-Muslims). Early Portuguese writings use the term “Banbara-na” as a toponym referring to area inhabited by the “Banbara”. Prior to their penetration of the interior of West Africa, Europeans attached the meaning of a “reservoir of slaves” to the term “Bambarana”.

What J. Bazin stresses here is that the multiplicity of meanings attached to the term “Bambara” is not uncommon and the need to name peoples and places is shared with the Other. However, with European colonialism of West Africa and the economic and political factors that shaped it, the naming of peoples and places takes on a new dimension. J. Bazin identifies three stages in the process of naming peoples within the context of the European colonial enterprise and its associated ethnographic activities. First, the procedure for identifying a people must be fixed. In the case of the Bambara, previous peoples who were designated as Bambara were now considered “false” Bambara, the Bambara population was counted, and they were identified on a map. Second, the ethnonym is neutralized. The term Bambara, therefore, was disassociated from all other meanings except those identified as part of the defining characteristics. Finally, all other competing terms (e.g., “Bamana”, “Banbara”) are disassociated from their social and classificatory usages. Thus, tracing the naming of Bambara enables one to uncover linguistic traces of colonialism and “glottophagie”.

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2.0 Case Studies of the “Colonialism of Language”

In this section I examine several case studies of the “colonialism of language” in order to: (1) define how I use the term “colonialism of language” in my specific study of the “colonialism of Bambara”; (2) demonstrate how the nature of the “colonialism of language” changed over time and how these changes reflect the development of the fields of linguistics and ethnology; and (3) illustrate some of the ways in which both participants resisted the “colonialism of language” and present-day scholars resist the continuing “colonialism of language” through their case studies which demonstrate that the practice of linguistics is not a neutral enterprise.

The area of research described in these case studies has been called such things as “colonial linguistics” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), the “social history of language” (Lelyveld 1993), the study of the “linguistic aspects of colonialism” or the “linguistic world of colonialism” (Samarin 1984), and the “colonization of language” (Mignolo 1992). It is this latter term, modified as the “colonialism of language”, that best expresses what I feel should be the domain of this field of study. In this context, I use “colonialism” to refer to the control over a dependent area and/or people. I have purposefully chosen to utilize a nominalization, “colonialism”, in my description of this field. The expression of a process as a noun obscures causality, responsibility, and reference to time (i.e., who colonized language and how this process unfolded) (Fairclough 1989; Street 1993). This use of the term “colonialism” reflects the ways in which relations of power are veiled from human actors. It also underscores the ultimate goal of this

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field of study (i.e., to uncover the often obscured relations of power and (re)present this entity as a process). In doing so, the researcher can reveal possibilities and moments of resistance.

In the phrase “colonialism of language”, I use the term “language” to refer to how the language variety used by the Other was an object that the colonizer wanted and needed to control. The use of the term “language” here refers to all of the language varieties used by the Other regardless of whether they were labeled as language or dialect during the process of colonialism. In addition to using the term “language” to refer to an object, I also use it to refer to the means by which colonialism occurred. In this sense, language refers to discourse (or communicative action). The focus is on how the colonizer controlled the discourse that took place and how this discourse served to facilitate the process of colonialism. In my study of the “colonialism of Bambara”, I use the term “language variety” as a neutral term for the ways in which both Africans and Europeans communicated; I identify non-neutral terms used to identify these language varieties (e.g., dialect, language, patois); and I use the term “language” to convey the dual sense of an object and a means of colonialism. Likewise, in my specific study, the term “Bambara” serves as a reminder that the language variety now identified as Bambara was an object of colonialism and the discourse around Bambara was a means of colonialism.

These case studies illustrate the variety of ways in which language was both a means and an object of the colonial enterprise. In addition, they show how the specific ways in which language was colonized differed according to time,

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place, and the composite of participants. First, I examine the Mignolo's (1992) study of the colonialism of Amerindian languages in the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and how ideas about literacy influenced the Spanish views of the language varieties they encountered. Second, Lelyveld's (1993) study traces the colonialism of Hindustani from the late 1700's to the 1940's and the resulting identification of Hindi and Urdu with two different social roles and groups. Next, I turn to the colonialism of two language varieties in central Africa – Shaba Swahili and Sango. In his study of the emergence of Shaba Swahili, Fabian (1986) challenges normative theories of language (i.e., structuralist and evolutionary approaches) and demonstrates the rich amount of data for the study of the colonialism of language that can be found in linguistic texts such as grammars and vocabularies. Samarin's (1982a, 1982b, 1984) study of Sango highlights the impact of the relative level of European linguistic competency in African language varieties had on the colonialism of language and the role that interpreters played in this process. Finally, I examine the colonialism of Shona, Tsonga, and Tswana in Southern Africa. In their studies, Ranger (1989) and Chimhundu (1992) demonstrate how the linguistic actions of Europeans and Africans contributed to the construction of Shona ethnicity. In his study of Tsonga, Harries (1988, 1989) also explores the construction of ethnicity and demonstrates the links between the rise of ethnic consciousness and the changing political economy. Using the case of Tswana, Comaroff and Comaroff (1989) argue that resistance to the colonialism of language cannot be understood through a simple dialectic of resistance and domination.

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2.1. The Colonialism of Amerindian Languages in the New World

Mignolo (1992:302) emphasizes the "convergence of the geographical, religious, and economical expansion of the West toward the end of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth centuries with the ideology of the letter built around alphabetic writing and printing technology." Therefore, he stresses the need to examine the "consequences of literacy". For Mignolo, literacy does not refer merely to the use of writing, but rather to the links between economic and political structures and the uses of writing in a society.

Mignolo examines the philosophy and ideology of writing which underlay the decision of the Spanish to write grammars of Amerindian languages based on a model of the universal grammar of Latin. The philosophy of language of Elio Antonio de Nebrija is central to the particular kind of colonialism of language undertaken by the Spanish. Nebrija was a sixteenth century "man of letters" who persuaded Queen Isabella that Spanish conquest of the Americas should be a matter of civilizing the Amerindians. Nebrija drew upon St. Augustine's synthesis of Platonic and Christian ideas of language, as well as Valla's "*Latinae linguae elegantiarum libri sex*", a fifteenth century treatise. St. Augustine provided Nebrija with a way to understand the exiting plurality of languages, while Valla's treatise provided Nebrija with a way to make connections between language and empire. Valla saw language as a unifying force and believed that one could build an empire through "letters", rather than arms. Nebrija translated these ideas into a model of Castille as the center of the empire, Castillian as the language of empire, and Latin serving as a model of language. This formulation reflected the

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tension between the use of Latin as the language of learning and the use of Castilian as the language of politics and conversion.

Nebrija's philosophy of language and belief in the superiority of alphabetic writing was reflected in Spanish attitudes towards Amerindian history and linguistic knowledge. Missionaries and men of letters recognized that Amerindians had a way to record past through oral narratives, pictoideographic writing, or through quipu. However, they perceived the Amerindian "history" as incoherent and did not equate it to their own form of historiographical writing. In the absence of an Amerindian historiography, the Spanish took it upon themselves to record one. In addition, they also wrote grammars of Amerindian languages. Mignolo (1992:310) argues that, "written grammars took the place of the natives' implicit organization of languages, and writing histories took the place of natives' explicit recording of the past."

To illustrate his point, Mignolo offers the example of Diego de Landa's attempt to translate Mayan hieroglyphs into letters of the Roman alphabet. According to Mignolo (1992:312-313), Landa's assumption that correspondences can be found between the two systems as they both represent classes of sounds indicates "not only a conception of writing which is clearly evolutionary but also the assumption that the best form of writing is to represent speech in letter form."

Mignolo contends that writing is more likely to be successfully colonized than speech as evidenced by the fact that traditional Amerindian writing has disappeared, while millions of people still speak Amerindian languages. Amerindians actively resisted the colonization of their languages and memories.

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For example, in the early 1500's the Franciscans required that all Mexican noble families send their children to them for education. However, not all Mexicans trusted the intentions of the Franciscans and sent their vassal's children instead. One of the unintended consequences of this form of resistance was that the vassal's children learned how to read and write and this knowledge enabled them to take power from their former rulers.

2.2 The Colonialism of Hindustani in India

In his study of the colonialism of Hindustani, Lelyveld (1993) explores the political and social circumstances that led to the division between Hindi and Urdu and the identification of these two languages with two different social roles and group identities (i.e., Hindi with Hindu and Urdu with Muslim). He positions his study as a social history of language, which involves studying how people acquire linguistic competence and how this competence is tied up with questions of authority. For Lelyveld, language use involves "the marking of particular linguistic features to communicate meaning, including ideologically relevant meanings" (1993:667). Thus, he adopts a sociolinguistic stance that does not view language as an enclosed and uniform system.

In this article, Lelyveld focuses on the role of "colonial knowledge" in order to see "how language was construed by the power of a foreign regime into bounded institutions and communities with defined roles in an overarching political structure" (1993:668). The colonial project resulted in a post-colonial situation where standard languages can be identified by the political boundaries

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of India's states, with the important exception of Urdu. Lelyveld (1993: 682) argues that Urdu "is not only almost universally identified as a language for a regionally unspecified Muslim population but is also the would-be official, non-regional, language of a foreign country, Pakistan."

According to Lelyveld, the colonialism of Hindustani began in earnest in 1772 with George Hadley's grammar of the "Indostan language". With the establishment of direct political authority, serious study of Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindustani was undertaken. Lelyveld (1993:669) claims that in addition to the pragmatic usefulness of these grammars, the British also developed "an ideology of languages as separate, autonomous objects in the world which could be classified, arranged and deployed as media of exchange." Lelyveld offers the case of John Gilchrist as an example of how a Hindustani grammar and lexicon could fill a need in the market. In 1782, Gilchrist, with a long black beard and dressed in Indian clothing, settled in Faizabad, a center of Urdu literature. There he gathered Hindu and Muslim informants and collected a Hindustani lexicon. Gilchrist's characterization of his informants emphasized the difficulties he had in keeping them focused solely on Hindustani:

My learned associates, were some of them with their mind's eye roaming for farfetched expressions on the deserts of Arabia, others were beating each bush and scampering over every mountain of Persia, while the rest were groping to the dark intricate mines and caverns of Sanskrit lexicography. [Gilchrist (1820:xiii-xiv) quoted in Lelyveld (1993:671)]

Gilchrist was faced with positioning Hindustani relative to Persian and Sanskrit. The use of the former he described as "all art and ceremony", while the latter was "a cunning fabrication...by the insidious Bruhmuns." In contrast,

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Hindustani was "their native speech...the genuine effusion of nature, and the heart" (Gilchrist quoted in Lelyveld (1993:671). Gilchrist resolved his confusion over his informants' use of Hindustani by identifying three major varieties of Hindustani, which he distinguished according to their use Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, or unmarked Hindi words. Drawing upon his classification scheme, Lelyveld created linguistic products that he sold to the general British public. Lelyveld notes that Gilchrist's work was not intended explicitly to serve the needs of the colonial state, as Gilchrist devoted his own time and money to his linguistic activities.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the British developed an analysis of the languages of India that differed from the analysis developed during the period in which Gilchrist worked. This analysis is typified by H.H. Wilson's glossary of judicial and revenue terms published in 1855. Wilson depicts two classes of Indian languages – Hindustani (an admixture of the original languages of the Muslim conquerors and those of the Hindus) and all other Hindu dialects. The former was correlated with the government, army, merchants, and urban areas. The latter was correlated with distinct geographical areas and an estimated number of speakers. While Hindustani had a number of linguistic materials (such as Gilchrist's grammar and lexicon) to facilitate language learning, the other Hindu dialects lacked sufficient linguistic resources.

In contrast to Gilchrist, Wilson's glossary was intended to benefit the colonial government as it contained a standard terminology for use in judicial and revenue administration. Wilson and others advocated for the need of the British

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government to actively engage in linguistic work on Indian languages in order to facilitate the colonial agenda. One area of research that the British government undertook was to conduct a linguistic census that was repeated every ten years after its inception in 1881. What the census results show is that the linguistic categories and data varied greatly each time it was administered. For example, in 1911 less than half a million people identified themselves as Urdu speakers, while in 1921 over a million and a half claimed this status.

Lelyveld uses the dictionary completed by All-India Radio in 1945, but never published, as a historical marker to indicate the end of Hindustani's role as an all-encompassing language variety. Faced with political pressures from both Muslim and Hindu constituencies, All-India Radio had attempted to establish a common lexicon to bridge the gap between Hindi and Urdu, but by the time that the All-India Radio was completed and reviewed by influential Hindu and Urdu leaders, separate Hindi and Urdu broadcasts had been launched.

2.3 The Colonialism of Shaba Swahili and Sango in Central Africa

2.3.1 Shaba Swahili

Fabian (1986) originally intending to describe the worker's culture of Shaba through an analysis of communicative and cognitive aspects of language use. However, he discovered that these more normative approaches to language in the field of anthropology were ill suited for the study of the realities of the use of Shaba Swahili by speakers. Instead, Fabian focuses on the ways in which both Europeans and Africans in the former Belgian Congo appropriated Swahili.

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Several themes run through Fabian's analysis. These include: (1) an analysis of the genres of literature, such as Swahili vocabularies, which informed and reflected the agendas of missionaries and colonial administrators; (2) the status of Shaba Swahili as a pidgin and/or creole; and (3) the role of missions in the educational domain. All of these themes are framed within a critique of more normative theories of language.

Fabian's critique of normative theories of language informs and lends continuity to the other themes he explores. One of the assumptions he challenges is the belief that each language has a high degree of structural stability. By dichotomizing language into two components (i.e., "langue" and "parole") many structural linguists approach language as a static and unchanging entity. When language does change, it does so by advancing from one discrete stage to another (i.e., the entire structure of the language changes). Fabian argues that the evidence of Shaba Swahili usage does not support this structuralist and evolutionary approach to language. For example, Shaba Swahili is characterized by a large degree of internal variation and lexical borrowing. Thus, Shaba Swahili is not a bounded entity with a stable structure, but in fact is extremely permeable and interacts with the other language varieties employed in southeastern Zaire.

Fabian argues that the permeability of Shaba Swahili must be interpreted in a processual framework. Traditional approaches to language use diffusion as an explanation for language emergence. For example, one theory of the origin of Shaba Swahili is an Arab trader (Tippo-Tip) introduced the language in the Congo.

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Fabian finds the evidence for this theory insubstantial. De-emphasizing how Swahili got to Katanga, Fabian examines why and in what form it emerged in Katanga through an examination of interactional spheres. A sphere of interaction is an area in which language varieties are spoken. By defining a sphere linguistically, the researcher is also defining an area in which the interplay between historical events, political decisions, socioeconomic, demographic, and ecological conditions can be studied.

By using a non-normative approach to language, Fabian is able to view Shaba Swahili not just as a language that developed "naturally" (as in an evolutionary model), or as a language that was imposed upon Africans through colonial, missionary, and mining companies' policies, but instead as a result of certain processes that occurred within a sphere of interaction in which both Europeans and Africans engaged in a dialectical process of actual language use that led to the emergence of Shaba Swahili as the dominant language of southeastern Zaire.

This critique of normative linguistic theory guided Fabian in the selection and use of his sources. He utilized government regulations, publications in the colonial press and scholarly sources, oral histories, and correspondence of private employers, missionaries, and government agencies. In addition, Fabian drew on a corpus of dictionaries, grammars, and phrase books as historical accounts to illustrate the configuration of the interactional sphere in which Shaba Swahili emerged. Drawing on upon literary theory, Fabian analyzed these vocabularies in terms of the genres to which they belong. One of these is the

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"military-expeditionary" genre. One of the major characteristics of these works is their polyglot nature. These language guides were designed to be used by the European "on the road" and therefore contained necessary words and phrases in several African languages along with glosses in one or more European languages. These language guides did not attempt to define and present these African languages as bounded systems contained within specific geographic areas.

Appropriation of African languages for later colonial conquest was the most important function of these early vocabularies. There was no attempt to standardize and regularize the language varieties that the explorers encountered. Their primary goal was a pragmatic one (i.e., to be able to communicate with the African peoples). Later genres of vocabularies compared and classified African languages establishing them in a hierarchical relationship with European languages at the apex. These types of vocabularies, in contrast to those of military expeditions and explorers, reflect the need of colonial administrators to centralize and order their newly established territories. Thus, African languages, which had been appropriated through descriptive grammars and vocabularies, were now codified and ordered, resulting in prescriptive grammars.

The second theme that runs through Fabian's analysis, the role of missions in the educational domain is also linked to Fabian's selection of sources. A large portion of the vocabularies and grammars of Shaba Swahili were generated by missionaries. Their interest in languages was guided by the premise that native languages were best suited for the transmission of Christianity. In addition, the

colonial government relied upon the scientific data that the missionaries gathered from their scholarly comparison of African languages to support government language policies.

The relationship between the missions and the colonial government was centered in the educational domain. In return for land grants and permission to establish missions, the missionaries agreed to provide the colonial administration with educational services and linguistic descriptions of local languages. The evangelical work of the missionaries was often in direct contradiction to the desire of the colonial administration and independent companies to produce a cadre of wage laborers. The missionaries had local and regional interests that conflicted with the centralizing agenda of colonial administration. For example, the missions promoted the use of local languages in the school while the colonial administration was in the process of choosing a single African language to be used in the colony. In addition, education was the cornerstone of the missionaries' evangelical work, but colonial officials were discovering that the class of African elite produced through the educational system was dangerous to the security and authority of the colonial regime.

Despite the dangers that the African elite presented, the educational system succeeded in reproducing a desired social order. For example, by 1925 the educational system had been structured in such a way that African languages were the medium of instruction for the working class, while French was the medium of instruction for the elite. Thus, access to the language of the dominant

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class was denied to the mass of laborers, thus reproducing a hierarchy between colonizer and colonized in the realm of language.

The third theme that Fabian explores is the status of Shaba Swahili as a pidgin and/or creole language. In present-day Zaire, Shaba Swahili is defined as a creole. Pidgins are traditionally defined as a rudimentary language with simplified grammars that arise in a trading or contact situation in which the participants are speakers of two or more language varieties. Pidgins may evolve into creoles if this language is learned by children as their primary means of communication. A creole has native speakers just as any other "fully developed" language. Fabian argues that this conceptualization of pidgins and creoles is dependent upon an evolutionary model of linguistic development.

Pidgin-creole theory is based largely on Caribbean creoles in which a large multilingual African population co-existed with a smaller stable European population, a situation that was characterized by a plantation economy. From this research, certain conditions have been isolated that must be present for creolization of a pidgin to occur. One of these conditions is that there must be a stable population of speakers of the dominant language, usually that of the colonizer or the plantation owners. At the time when creolization must have taken place (i.e., within one generation after the development of a pidgin) the European population of Katanga was heterogeneous. For example, before 1900 Europeans did not live in substantial enough numbers in Katanga to constitute a significant pattern in the development of a pidgin, let alone a creole. In fact, there were never more than six Belgians living in Katanga between 1892 and 1900. The

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European population increased after the establishment of the Star Mine and the Union Minière du Haut Katanga in 1906. However, even this population did not qualify as a stable homogeneous linguistic group, as there was linguistic conflict among the Europeans in regards to French versus English, as well as French versus Flemish.

Another condition of pidgin-creole development is a simple contact situation in which a larger multilingual population is placed in a situation with a smaller dominant population. This contact situation, as modeled after Caribbean creole situations, is usually one of isolation such as a plantation located on an island. The linguistic context of Shaba Swahili cannot be characterized as a simple contact situation due to the nature of labor recruitment and the relationship between urban and rural areas. Initially, when high-grade ores were mined, labor was recruited from a considerable distance for a short-term period. With the adoption of more complex technology to mine low-grade ores, a more stable labor force was necessary. A greater proportion of the social reproduction of this labor force was carried out in the urban areas, but just as with short-term migration, the mine's administration and labor recruiters emphasized the eventual return of the labor force to the rural areas. Thus social and cultural ties between the workers and their villages were encouraged as a measure of economic and social control, as well as a means to produce "healthy" workers. Therefore the emergence of Shaba Swahili cannot be located in an isolated area, such as the urban compounds of the mines, as there was considerable movement of individuals and goods between urban and rural areas. If this linguistic context

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cannot be defined as a simple contact situation, Fabian claims that the notion of a diachronic movement from simple to complex language forms must also be rejected.

2.3.2 Sango

Like Fabian, Samarin (1982a, 1982b, 1984) is concerned with the formation of a pidgin language in Central Africa. Samarin focuses on the development of Sango as a contact language in the Ubangi basin during the late nineteenth century when “foreigners” (Europeans and the Africans they brought with them) came into the Ubangi Basin from the south. Samarin (1982a) stresses the fact that the history of Sango can not be written without also writing the history of the French and Belgian colonization of the Ubangi basin. In studying Sango, Samarin endeavors to make explicit the linguistic aspects of colonization that includes not only what languages were used, but also who used them and how they used them.

Two important issues emerge from Samarin’s work – the relative linguistic incompetence of Europeans during this initial period and the role that interpreters played in the colonialism of Sango. Samarin (1982b:412) points out that the goals of colonialism changed over time which in turn impacted the roles that Europeans played and their linguistic needs. For example, the goal of the *Association Internationale Africaine* in the 1880’s was to obtain sovereignty over all the land adjacent to the banks of the Congo by signing treaties with the natives. Samarin (1982b:412) argues that:

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The roles that Whites played in pursuit of this goal were those of rich traders and powerful representatives of rich and powerful rulers. They needed very little competence in indigenous languages to accomplish their purpose. They needed for themselves and their men food, transportation, porters – not much else. The treaties they struck, elegant thought they may have been in written English or French, must have been simple affairs.

Interpreters were essential to the success of the European exploration of the Ubangi basin. However, according to Samarin (1982b:413-414), the interpreters that early Europeans brought with them were only useful in the Lower Ubangi. At a certain point, when the river turned eastward, Bantu-speaking populations disappeared to be replaced with Adamawa-Eastern ones. Samarin claims that at this point in their voyages, the Europeans and their African companions were exposed to “absolutely meaningless speech” which sounded primitive to them, as it was structurally different from Bantu language varieties. When faced with this linguistic situation, the Europeans relied upon “their” Africans to learn the local language varieties, rather than learn them themselves. In addition, they also took local children into their service during which they had the opportunity to learn French.

Attitudes towards language learning and the practices of collecting linguistic data at this point in time were informed by the belief that that all African languages were sufficiently alike and relatively simple. Therefore, early explorers expected to collect word lists along the way and borrow word lists from other Europeans. In addition, there was a premise that even Africans who spoke different types of languages (i.e., Bantu and Adamawa-Eastern language

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varieties) shared enough in common so as to easily learn the others languages (Samarin 1982b:415).

Samarin (1984) claims that the Europeans had very little linguistic competence during this period due both to pragmatic constraints and attitudes towards language learning. The Europeans delegated responsibility to foreign blacks for language learning. In addition, their interests in African language varieties in the Ubangi basin often did not exceed that of word lists and useful phrases. Even when they talked about learning a language, they did not generally mean learning the grammatical structure and principles of the language.

At times, the lack of understanding of African culture and language use led to linguistic acts with unintended consequences. Samarin (1984:450) argues that Europeans were ignorant of fact that serious discussions always took place through intermediaries. For example, Samarin describes how in 1895 the missionary Father Goblet was trying to get some children for mission school from a Sebangá chief utilizing the services of an interpreter. After some time it appeared to Goblet that the negotiations were not leading anywhere and he abruptly interrupted the conversation stating, "You are no longer my friend," most likely with a gesture and look of disappointment or disgust. This interjection was completely unanticipated by the Africans and appeared to them to be brusque and brutal. The effect of this statement was that "Goblet had the last word – only two, but with this limited declaration he delimited, for a period of time at least, the person and statues of the Negro and the European." (Samarin 1984:450). Thus,

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what might have been merely a linguistic act brought on by impatience served to demarcate those who were “friends” and those who were not – a powerful act during a time of cultural contact within the colonial context.

Samarin also points out the dangers of relying uncritically on written sources in constructing the history of Sango as the use of language was often very different then from how it was reported in the colonial context (1982b:417). In order to reconstruct colonial communication Samarin (1982b:416) argues that it is necessary to:

ascertain the number of Whites in each expedition, their previous experience in equatorial Africa, and their responsibilities in the expedition; describe the Black contingent (its size, its ethnic and linguistic composition, and its responsibilities); determine the time, duration and nature of contact of the foreigners with the natives. Obviously every mention of an interpreter is precious.

Samarin draws upon historical records in order to argue against the belief that Europeans created a pidgin through their actions (e.g., they simplified native and European languages). Instead, he argues that Europeans provide the context, but foreign Africans themselves achieved communication by creating pidgins. Samarin (1982b:418) does not agree with the premise that the interpreters and other foreign Africans were “implicated” in the colonial actions because of their relative willingness to accompany the Europeans. Instead, Samarin offers a more complex depiction of the interpreters’ role, one in which the creation of a pidgin reflects their solidarity with the native Africans of the Ubangi basin.

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2.4 The Colonialism of Shona, Tsonga, and Tswana in Southern Africa

2.4.1 Shona

In his study of the colonialism of Shona, Ranger (1989) demonstrates how the linguistic actions of missionaries, African converts, and labor migrants contributed to the development of Manyika identity. Prior to 1890 two historical realities for the Shona-speaking peoples existed. First, Shona speakers had a common language and certain shared cultural traits. Despite the existence of a Shona culture, these groups were not conscious of a cultural identity, let alone a political one. Second, Shona speakers were conscious of the existence of local chieftaincy groups. Ranger (1989:120) argues that, "between the Shona culture as a whole and the local chiefly group there existed no intermediate concept of ethnicity." The terms applied to Shona sub-ethnicities, such as Manyika and Zezuru, existed prior to the colonial period, but they did not convey the ethnic homogeneity that they do in present-day Zimbabwe.

According to Ranger, three groups of missionaries were active in the Makoni and Umtali districts. The first of these, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, believed that Africans wanted Europeans to reduce their language to writing, with a formal orthography and regular grammar. Thus, they worked with their initial converts to produce a written language which had two significant attributes: (1) it was a unique instrument accessible to only those educated at the mission and (2) it created one specific dialect of Shona. Ranger (1989:127) claims that:

Missionary linguists created discrete dialect zones by developing written languages centered upon a number of widely scattered

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bases...the Anglicans...and the Mariannhill fathers...together produced Manyika; the Jesuits...produced Zezuru; the Dutch Reformed Church...produced Karanga. Differences were exaggerated, obscuring the actual gradualism and homogeneity of the real situation. And once these new forms had been codified, they then expanded out from these missionary centers by means of the mission out-school networks until specific dialect zones had been defined.

Teachers and evangelists brought the Methodist Manyika dialect to Makoni, an area where people had distinguished themselves from the Manyika until the early twentieth century. Through the association of this Manyika form with modernization, many individuals in Makoni came to identify themselves with Manyika.

In addition to the Methodist influence which led people in Makoni to claim Manyika identity, the Anglicans and Roman Catholics played a role in the emergence of this ethnicity. While the Methodists were most prominent in areas of large-scale maize production for market, the Anglicans were concentrated among smaller surplus producers, and the Catholics influenced subsistence production areas in the east of Makoni.

Migrant laborers from the eastern region to southern African towns further heightened Manyika identity. These laborers, whether mission Christians or not, found it advantageous to attach themselves to the Manyika label. For example, the Manyika became thought of as natural domestic servants. Ranger (1989:141) claims that this "Manyika identity was not just a convenient reference group, but an ideal which sustained them during their migration." Thus, by the 1930's the Manyika identity was a reality both in the migrant diaspora and in the districts that had originally resisted identification with the Manyika, such as Makoni. At this

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time there was no a wider sense of Shona identity. However, during the 1930's the combination of certain forces led to the creation of a single Shona identity. On one hand, Africans employed by the government, who could be posted anywhere in the territory, wanted command over a new language of their own in order to challenge the authority and prestige of the older generation of teachers and evangelists. On the other hand, European administrators wanted a more effective way to communicate across dialect provinces. People in Makoni who had considered themselves Manyika in the 1930's thought about their identity in terms of a general Shona ethnicity and a sense of greater nationalism that cross-cut regions by the 1950's.

Chimhundu (1992) examines the specifics of the role missionaries played in drawing up an ethnolinguistic map of Shona in order to critique the unquestioning and unreflective use by historians and other scholars of ethnolinguistic maps of Africa as part of the process of establishing European hegemony. He explores early missionary activity, prior to the publication of Clement Doke's Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialect in 1931, in order to demonstrate how the "language politics" of various missionary orders contributed to the emergence and creation of Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Ndau, Kalanga, and Korekore as the six major dialect groups of the Shona language and associated "tribes".

From 1903 to 1928, the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference (SRMC) attempted to come to agreement on a common orthography for Shona. Missionaries needed to be able to publish scripture and school texts in Shona in

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order to achieve their evangelical objectives. Due to the number of denominations active in this area and the relatively small Shona market, it made more sense for the various missionary groups to collaborate together. However, the SRMC's task proved challenging because of the extremely different orthographies that had been developed and the protective stance of missionary groups towards their dialects. One factor that contributed to the differing orthographies was the fact that missionaries worked in "peak dialect areas". Missionaries groups established their own spheres of influence at some distance from each other. Therefore, the language variety that was recorded in each mission's area would appear to be very different from those recorded by other mission groups and did not take into account gradual variations in language use across space. Compounding this situation was the fact that missionaries often used foreign Africans, who were second language learners themselves, to collect and interpret linguistic data.

When the missionaries were unable to resolve their linguistic conflict, they obtained funding from the Carnegie Corporation and the government of Southern Rhodesia, which enabled them to commission Clement Doke, a linguist and professor at University of Witwatersrand in South Africa. Doke described his commission as "a settlement of the language problems involving the unification of the dialects into a literary form for official and educational purposes, and the standardization of a uniform orthography for the whole area." (cited in Chimhundu 1992:105). According to Doke, the missionaries lacked proper

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Doke's Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects, presented in 1931 to the government of Southern Rhodesia, had significant impact on the linguistic policy of Southern Rhodesia. This impact included the identification of Shona as the official name, the recognition of Shona and Ndebele as the only two official languages, and the creation of a unified literary language that was to be developed in the Shona-speaking area drawing its vocabulary from Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika and Ndaou while excluding Kalanga (Chimhundu 1992:105). In addition to his report, Doke also published a comparative study of Shona phonetics in which he outlined a standard Shona writing system known as "Union Orthography".

Chimhundu's study of missionary linguistic activity and Doke's work demonstrates the need of both missionaries and the state need for a common, fixed understanding of the peoples and languages in this area for evangelical and administrative purposes. As a result, according to Chimhundu, the act of partitioning Africa and categorizing its inhabitants during the early colonial period resulted in fixed geopolitical and ethnolinguistic maps. The belief in their accuracy was such that linguists and historians did not need to look at the maps again. Chimhundu (1992:88) calls on scholars to look beyond the boundaries of their own disciplines and question categorizations of ethnic groups and languages so that their research does not have "the effect of perpetuating certain

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exaggerated and false assumptions about Africans by the Europeans of the early colonial period, and thus of turning 'invented tribalism' into reality."

2.4.2 Tsonga

In his studies of Tsonga, Harries (1988, 1989) argues that the notion of a Tsonga ethnic group has little objective value, as it is more a product of their social and intellectual environment. Tsonga ethnicity emerged as an expression of group consciousness only with the development of a local petty bourgeoisie. The local petty bourgeoisie was literate in a missionary-constructed lingua franca, which later developed into the Tsonga language. The ethnic consciousness of this group of petty bourgeoisie, representing a new form of production, resulted from their conflict with the traditional chiefs. Their ethnic consciousness was coupled with the identity formed by Tsonga-speaking industrial workers. Thus, Harries (1989:82) argues that:

this consciousness grew on the base of a modern economic infrastructure, and it should not be seen as a residual or transitional political identity that will be eventually transformed, by the same process of modernization, into a broader national identity.

In fact, Harries claims, it was only in the 1950's and 1960's that the government actively intervened, through their Bantustan policy, to create ties between traditional chiefs and members of the petty bourgeoisie by imposing a centralized homeland on widespread population of speakers of Tsonga dialects.

The people who would be later identified as the Tsonga originally occupied all of Mozambique in the early nineteenth century. In two waves in the mid-nineteenth century peoples originally living in Mozambique migrated to the

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Transvaal. By the 1860's four semi-independent clusters of East Coast refugees emerged in this area. These groups were augmented by immigrants from the East Coast who were attracted to work in the mines, as well as those who had suffered military defeat. Harries illustrates how misleading it is to label these peoples as Tsonga-speakers in the nineteenth century, as no single language linked the East Coast refugees who had settled in the Transvaal.

Tsonga was categorized and codified as a language at the end of the nineteenth century by missionaries. Harries (1988:26) argues that:

One of the first reactions of European explorers and colonists, on being confronted by a world that was wholly novel and outside the bounds of their experience, was to reorder it according to their existing structure of knowledge...Linguistic and other borders and boundaries were erected in order to restructure the African world in a way that would make it more comprehensible to Europeans. Once linguistic experts had anchored languages spatially, by erecting borders around their regularities of grammar and vocabulary, they sought to stabilize them over time by tracing their historical roots.

Swiss missionaries arrived in the Spelonken in 1873. One of the first activities they engaged in was the reduction of the various dialects spoken by the East Coast refugees to a single, written language through the publication of language primers and religious works in the 1880's and early 1890's. They termed this lingua franca Gwamba. Their codification of Gwamba was influenced by the northern Delagoa Bay dialect spoken by their assistants and by most of the immigrants in the Spelonken. Swiss missionaries were next sent south to the Lourenco Marques area (Maputo). There they codified another local lingua franca, which they termed Ronga.

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The cultural and linguistic distinction between Ronga and Gwamba led to a debate within the Swiss mission over how best to categorize their speakers. Henri Berthoud argued that printing a single language with a common grammar was more cost effective for the mission. In addition, he asserted that the classification of these people by his opponent, Henri Junod, was arbitrary and he disputed Junod's claims that he used scientific criteria.

The debate ended with the death of Berthoud in 1904 and distinct Ronga and Thonga/Shangaan (Gwamba) written languages with separate grammars and orthographies were established. Evolutionary ideas, the work of Frazer, and concepts of nationalism and the role of language in classifying national groups and their characteristics influenced Junod's work. Harries claims that Junod used "pseudo-history" to hypothesize that in the past migrants from different areas adopted the language of an earlier proto-Thonga people. For Junod, language was the common thread that tied the Thonga together as a tribe or nation.

By assuming that language could be associated with culture, Junod attributed distinctive social customs and traits to the speakers of these two artificially defined languages. These classifications were further reinforced and emphasized by other Europeans in the Transvaal who described the cultural and physical differences of the Tsonga-speaking immigrants. Harries terms these differences as "symbols of exclusion", as these traits were shared with many non-Tsonga speakers.

The distinction that the Swiss missionaries made between written languages and oral dialects was political. By creating a standard, written

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language, these missionaries simultaneously defined dialects and patois. Harries (1988:44) sees this linguistic hierarchy as:

imbued with a spatial political identity as Thonga was conceived of as the ethnic...language. Under the influence of contemporary philology and nationalism it was believed that to purify the language meant ridding it of its foreign influences, which were then relegated to "dialects" and "patois".

By returning the language to its original state, the identity of the Tsonga as a "tribe" or "nation" could be "reawakened" from the unconsciousness. Thus, by fixing a language in writing, the previously mobile and dynamic oral language became bound by rules that delineated it and located it in time and space. The written Tsonga became an instrument of modernization, while the oral dialects were linked to the backward chiefs.

In contrast to the framework of ethnicity employed by Europeans to make sense of the African context, Harries argues that Africans conceptualized and ordered their world in a very different way. The chiefdom was the basis of political and social life, and the Tsonga-speaking chiefdoms of the Transvaal remained small and independent. Until the twentieth century, there was no move to unite and grow together through conquest. The new Tsonga identity that emerged in the twentieth century resulted from the introduction of a new economic infrastructure and the erosion of the power of the chiefs. At the end of the nineteenth century, white settlers moved in great numbers into the northern Transvaal causing changes in the conditions in which Africans held land in this area. These economic changes increased the dispersion and movement of Tsonga speakers in the Transvaal in the early part of the twentieth century. By

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the 1930's, the chiefs had little power to protect their followers that lived outside of the reserves and the amount of available farmland decreased due to the influx of whites. Thus, deprived of the ability to control and distribute land, the chiefs lost most of their power and legitimacy.

With the decline of chiefly power, the chiefdom and the clan decreased as the focus of political consciousness. New institutions and cultural forms emerged under the influence of the Tsonga-speaking petty bourgeoisie. This group's ethnic consciousness can be seen as a defensive reaction to the growing politicization of ethnicity. In order to maintain a balance of power within the nationalist movement, the Tsonga-speakers had to mobilize ethnicity. In addition, the absence of a paramount chief to act as a spokesperson for the Tsonga-speaking peoples made them appear inferior to more politically centralized African peoples.

The rise of ethnic consciousness, although sparked by threats to the petty bourgeoisie, was the product of the rural and urban areas and the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. The politicization of ethnicity weakened and divided labor as a class. Thus, in order to mobilize the interests of their class, workers turned to ethnic ties for political and social solidarity. Ethnic consciousness helped to mask growing class divisions. Workers in urban areas would return to rural areas to spread their ideas of ethnic consciousness back home.

Apartheid continued to fuel ethnic consciousness as Tsonga-speakers moved from white farms and industrial areas into homelands. Migration into urban areas was channeled along ethnic lines. The inter-ethnic fighting and the

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ethnic solidarity of Tsonga-speakers have helped to partially legitimize the Bantustan government of Gazankulu. In addition, one of the few legal ways in which Tsonga-speakers can express opposition to regional exploitation is through political mobilization along ethnic lines.

Harries views the emergence and acceptance of ethnic identity as dependent upon the various class interests created by the regional division of labor that developed in southern Africa. In other words, people created and adopted cultural symbols as signs of a shared historical Tsonga identity for class and regional benefits. Harries' analysis of the case of Tsonga speakers illustrates the problems of fusing two forms of ethnicity (i.e., early classificatory ethnicity and later politicized ethnicity). By fusing these two forms of ethnicity, historians and others have presented politically and socially unified ethnic groups, such as the Tsonga, as existing in previous centuries, when in fact they only emerged recently.

2.4.3 Tswana

Comaroff and Comaroff (1989) discuss the imposition of a particular way of seeing and being, or the "colonization of consciousness" of the southern Tswana by the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society beginning in the early 1820s. The interaction between the Europeans and the Tswana and attempts at communication forced each group to "objectify their world in relation to a novel other, thereby inventing for themselves a self-conscious coherence and distinctness " (1989:276). The opposition

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between "sekgoa" (European ways) and "setswana" (Tswana ways) caused the Tswana to view "setswana" for the first time as a coherent body of knowledge and practice. Comaroff and Comaroff (1989:277) argue that in this self-objectification lie the "cultural origins of modern Tswana ethnicity. For, until this time, 'the Bechuana'...were divided into political communities distinguished by their totemic affiliations, a quite different form of collective consciousness."

In "colonizing the Tswana consciousness", missionaries relied on the potential of the Tswana language to convey the meaning of their civilizing mission. But in translating the scriptures into Setswana, they succeeded in transposing "the bible into a cultural register true to neither, a hybrid creation born of the colonial encounter itself" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1989:283). For example, Robert Moffat used the term "badimo", which signified ancestors, for the concept of "demons". Comaroff and Comaroff argue that this translation did "violence" to both the biblical and conventional Tswana uses of these concepts. In appropriating terms, such as "badimo", the missionaries subverted "native" signs. This "colonization of language" was not simply and passively accepted by the Tswana as it contradicted the logic of their "cultural sphere", but through time this logic altered. Such practices as the European use of Setswana terms led the Tswana to develop "an awareness of the relativity of meaning, and the politics of managing cultural distinctions" (1989:283). The use of English and Dutch loan words by the Tswana aided in demarcating the semantic boundaries of the "sekgoa" domain.

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Part of the "colonization of language" involved the simplification of spoken Setswana to a written form. As the missionaries believed that the natives were unaware of the underlying structure of their language, they utilized Western linguistic categories to (re)present Setswana to the Tswana. In doing so, the missionaries omitted much of the complexity and poetics of Setswana. In addition, the Tswana linguistic ideology was dismissed and used as evidence of the "primitive mentality" of the Tswana. For example, the Tswana believed that language was not an object in itself. The missionaries erroneously translated term "setswana" as the language of the Tswana. It more accurately refers to the culture of the Tswana; language being one component of this whole. The Tswana also emphasized the power of speech to act upon the world, through such things as curses and praise poetry. The weight of speech was tied intimately to the status of the speaker. Thus women, defined as inferior social beings, were excluded from certain speech events, such as public debate.

In their discussion of the "colonization of the Tswana consciousness", Comaroff and Comaroff argue that the reactions of Africans to this colonization included acceptance, resistance, and reshaping European forms in their own terms. Comaroff and Comaroff claim that these processes and resulting struggles are too complex to be "captured in mechanical equations of domination and resistance – or, for that matter, in grand models of the political economy of colonialism and the modern world system" (1989:268). They depict the "colonization of consciousness" of the Tswana as composed of two levels: (1) conversion, the effort to convince the Tswana of the ideological content of

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Christianity and (2) reformation, "the inculcation of the hegemonic forms, the taken-for granted signs and practices, of the colonizing culture" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1989:289). These two levels do not necessarily occur together or in any particular order, thus Comaroff and Comaroff argue that:

the discontinuities between them often lie at the very heart of the history of consciousness and its struggles. That is why people who reject an ideological message may yet be reformed by its medium; why new hegemonies may arise amidst the most bitter of ideological battles.

What Comaroff and Comaroff's study reveals is that the colonizing process of the Tswana cannot be defined in terms of a simple dialectic of resistance and domination. The reactions of the Tswana to the missionary efforts were recognition of "varying degrees of inchoateness and clarity" and experimental practices that sought "techniques of empowerment and the signs of collective representation".

3.0 Resisting the “Colonialism of Language”

Recalling Calvet’s study of the relationship between linguistics and colonialism and the case studies of the “colonialism of language” described above, underscores the importance of the study of the “colonialism of language” in order to: (1) reveal the hidden connections between power, ideology, and language and the hidden effects of these connections upon the system of social relationships; (2) illustrate how the history of modern linguistics is intertwined with the history of colonialism; (3) demonstrate the need to use materials resulting from the “colonialism of language” critically; and (4) identify possibilities for resisting the “colonialism of language”.

3.1 Critical Language Study – Connections between Power, Ideology, and Language

As illustrated by Fabian’s study of Shaba Swahili, the study of the “colonialism of language” must be predicated on a conception of language as discourse (i.e., as social practice determined by social structures). Fairclough’s non-normative theory of language and his model of critical language study provide a useful framework for understanding the connections between power, ideology, and language. In his model Fairclough rejects: (1) the individualism of “parole”; (2) a sense that “langue” is unitary and homogeneous; and (3) the idea that “langue” is neutral (i.e., that everyone has equal access to and command of it). In addition, Fairclough claims that the Saussurean notion of “langue” can be used in a “rhetoric of standardization”. He argues that rhetorical claims about language aid in the “transmutation of standard languages into mythical *national*

languages" (1989:22), as seen in the case of Shona and Tsonga. Therefore, Fairclough focuses on language as discourse (or as a social practice).⁸

Fairclough's model of language as discourse implies that language and society are connected by an internal, dialectical relationship. This means that all linguistic phenomena are social, they are determined by social structures and affect social structures. The relationship between language and society is not symmetrical. Fairclough argues that "not all social phenomena are linguistic – though even those that are not just linguistic (economic production, for instance) typically have a substantial, and often underestimated, language element" (1989:23).

Fairclough emphasizes the processual nature of language in his model. Discourse involves the *process* of production, the *process* of interpretation, and the text (including both written and spoken texts) or the product of discourse. The formal properties of a text can be examined as traces of the process of production and as cues in the process of interpretation. The process of production and the process of interpretation can only be understood by examining how they are conditioned by non-linguistic aspects of society. In other words, when people produce a text or interpret a text, they draw on their "members resources" (MR) or the knowledge that they have in their heads (e.g., values, beliefs, representations of the world, knowledge of language).

It is important to stress that MR is socially conditioned. Therefore, in order to understand what is happening when people engage in discourse (production or interpretation of a text) it is necessary to look at three levels of social

organization: (1) the social situation (where discourse occurs); (2) the social institution (the larger context of the discourse); and (3) society as a whole.

Fairclough (1989:43-76) distinguishes between two aspects of the relationship between power and language – "power *in* discourse" and "power *behind* discourse". "Power *in* discourse" refers to "powerful participants *controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants*" (1989:46). The three types of constraints Fairclough identifies are constraints on contents (what is said or done), relations (the social relations people enter into in discourse), and subjects (the subject positions people can occupy). All three types of constraints are interrelated, but Fairclough contends that it is helpful to attempt to distinguish between them to effectively analyze texts. The powerful participants exercise constraints both directly and indirectly. Direct constraints are evidenced in particular linguistic forms used by the participants, while indirect constraints are evidenced by the fact that powerful participants are able to control which discourse type(s)⁹ the participants draw upon.

In studying any discourse it would seem that expressions of power would be clearly evident, yet power is often hidden. Fairclough refers to this as "power behind discourse". Fairclough (1989:55) defines "power behind discourse" as the idea that "the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power." Fairclough (1989: 61-62) makes the following statements about "power behind discourse".

It is the "power effect" that causes a particular discourse type(s) with certain conventions to be imposed on all involved parties.

In the case of Hindustani, Wilson compiled a glossary of judicial and revenue terms. A study of the colonialism of Hindustani must ask why this particular discourse type (i.e., a glossary) was chosen to facilitate judicial and revenue related administrative tasks. When attempting to reveal traces of the colonialism of Hindustani, certain questions can be posed around the choice of a discourse type(s) such as, "Were there other discourse types that could have been employed?" and "How does the act of a European inscribing in writing an official list of judicial and revenue terms reflect relations of power between the British and their Indian subjects?"

The "power-holders" in an institution have control over the conventions of a particular discourse type(s). This control does not belong to the institution itself.

Recognizing that this control does not belong to the institution means that one has to focus on the actions of the participants themselves as they continually create and recreate the conventions of discourse types. By focusing on the actions of the participants (both "power-holders" and others) enables one to identify possibilities of resistance to the "colonialism of language", as well as the unintended consequences of participants' actions. This is reflected in Harries' study of the Tsonga in which the linguistic texts such as grammars and vocabularies resulting from discursive actions involving both Europeans and Africans contributed to the creation of present-day Tsonga identity.

The fact that it is "power-holders" who control these conventions, and not the institution itself, is demonstrated in part by the fact that these power-holders "police" these conventions. This policing occurs at various levels.

For example, Samarin describes the essential role that interpreters played in the colonialism of Sango as discourse participants. However, it is the Europeans who controlled the production of linguistic texts such as word lists and the conventions employed by themselves, the interpreters, and the local Africans they encountered. The Europeans directed the interpreters to collect certain terms and not others thus policing the content of the discourse. They determined if an individual was qualified to act as an interpreter thus policing the roles that Africans played in these discourses.

It is through ideology that these conventions are "shaped".

Stating that "common-sense" is "substantially, though not entirely, ideological", Fairclough (1989:84) draws on Gramsci to define the relationship between common sense and ideology. Seeing "ideology" as "an 'implicit philosophy' in the practical activities of social life" (1989:84), and that this philosophy is essentially unseen by actors enables Fairclough to view "common sense" as essentially ideological as it serves to sustain unequal power relations. Fairclough (1989:85) argues that it is when one becomes aware of or questions common sense that "it ceases to be common sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities, i.e., to function ideologically."

While Fairclough characterizes common sense as ideological, he argues that ideology is not "inherently commonsensical". Fairclough chooses to emphasize ideological common sense over other aspects of ideology as the goal

of critical language study is to uncover hidden connections between power, ideology and discourse. Therefore commonsense is of particular interest because "when ideology becomes common sense, it apparently ceases to be ideology; this is itself an ideological effect for ideology is truly effective only when it is disguised." (1989:107).

For example, Mignolo's discussion of the colonialism of Amerindian languages illustrates the unquestioning acceptance of the belief that alphabetic writing is superior to any other form of writing such as Mayan hieroglyphs. This commonsensical notion of what constitutes the best form of writing served to sustain power inequalities between the Spaniards and the Amerindians.

In contrast to the institutional order of discourse, these conventions can also be viewed from the societal order of discourse.

Fairclough's model of critical language study poses problems for the study of the "colonialism of language" as he refers to the "order of discourse of modern society". He does not expand on the difficulties involved in defining the societal order in situations where there is a cross-cultural encounter embedded in a colonial situation or in examining the process of the "colonialism of language" through time. For example, Comaroff and Comaroff describe how the interaction between Europeans and Tswana forced each group to define their world, or societal order, in relation to a new Other.

Nonetheless, it is important to move to the level of society in order to identify relevant institutions and how discourse types are structured and restructured during the production and interpretation of discourse. In doing so,

the ways in which the relationship between Self and Other has developed over time can be revealed.

3.2 Social Struggle and Resistance

Fairclough emphasizes the importance of social struggle over power in discourse and behind discourse. Fairclough (1989:89) states that:

Seeing existing language practices and orders of discourse as reflecting the victories and defeats of past struggle, and as stakes which are struggled over, is, along with the complementary concept of 'power behind discourse', a major characteristic of critical language study (CLS) which differentiates it from descriptive 'mainstream' language study.

While Fairclough provides provoking examples of social struggle, he does not adequately elaborate his conceptualization of social struggle.

One example of this weakness is Fairclough's treatment of the concept of resistance. Resistance can be thought of in terms of appropriating the category of the Other. For example, in order to constitute women as a separate group from that of men, feminists have had to challenge the ways in which women are viewed through the lens of patriarchy. These views of women are based on and inform certain assumptions, such as a dichotomy between the public and private realms. In order to "re-vision" women, gender must be used as the primary category of analysis in order to tease out the way in which women are viewed through more traditional units of analysis, such as class and ethnicity. This centering of women uncovers the active and vocal nature of women that has been hidden by more "traditional" accounts of society. In effect, through centering women, feminists are appropriating the category of the Other, a group that the

Self speaks for, and transforming it into a category of the Self by speaking for themselves.

If resistance can be thought of in terms of a dichotomy between the Self and the Other, the question must be raised as to how one determines when individuals have "successfully" appropriated the category of the Other for themselves. When does social struggle result in resistance? Giroux (1983) makes a useful distinction between oppositional behavior and resistance. For Giroux, a dialectical notion of agency is necessary to understand the dynamic nature of processes of negotiating power and domination. Thus, the dominated are not passive respondents to their environment, but rather are actors engaging within a field of structures of domination and reacting to that domination.

Some of these reactions appear as challenges. The task of resistance theory is to determine when these actions have radical significance. McRobbie (1978) offers an example of working-class girls who engage in "hyper-feminine" behavior in the classroom (e.g., applying heavy make-up, writing their boyfriend's name on the desk). At one level, one could argue that these girls are resisting the school through their non-compliance with classroom standards (e.g., attentiveness, passivity) that middle-class girls exhibit. But from the perspective of Giroux's distinction between oppositional behavior and resistance, their actions clearly fall into the former category. First, they are acting within a patriarchal framework that defines women as sex objects and mothers. Second, they are acting within a class structure that orients their focus on boyfriends/husbands

and ideas of "true romance" which leads them towards positions as wives and mothers, not towards careers. Thus, their actions do not effect structural change.

The rise of Tsonga ethnic consciousness described by Harries provides an example of the distinction between oppositional behavior and resistance in terms of the "colonialism of language". At one level increasing Tsonga ethnic consciousness can be seen as an act of resistance to a definition of them as inferior to other more politically centralized African peoples. The Tsonga attempted to appropriate the category of the Other in reconstructing their identity. However, by turning to ethnic ties to increase political and social solidarity, the Tsonga contributed to the reproduction of relations of power by masking growing class divisions. From this perspective, their actions can be defined as oppositional behaviors that do not effect structural change.

3.3 Possibilities for Resisting the "Colonialism of Language"

Ultimately what makes the study of the "colonialism of language" not only interesting, but also important is the opportunity it provides to identify possibilities for resisting to the "colonialism of language". I am deliberately using the term "resisting" rather than "resistance" here. When referring to the "colonialism of language" I choose to use the nominalization "colonialism" in order to highlight how the relations of power are obscured during the process of colonialism. Through the study of the "colonialism of language", we can unveil these relations of power, question commonsensical notions, and identify how actors attempted to resist (whether successfully or not). In doing so, we ourselves actively resist

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the “colonialism of language”. Thus, I speak of process here, of “resisting”, rather than “resistance”.

Such a view of resistance implies that the “colonialism of language” is an ongoing process, that language is still an object over which people seek control and is still a means by which people seek to control the Other. This broader notion of the “colonialism of language” allows us to transform what otherwise might be interesting observations on the relationship between the Self and the Other during the colonial period into moments of teaching and learning so that future social struggle results in resistance.

Two areas around which potential moments of teaching and learning can occur are (1) the relationship between the history of modern linguistics and the history of colonialism and (2) the need to use materials resulting from the “colonialism of language” critically. Calvet’s work demonstrates that “glottophagie” (the consumption of the languages of the colonized) was made possible by a science of language which provided a means to make sense of the Other through such things as genetic classifications of languages, evolutionary frameworks of language change, notions of dialects and languages, and ideas about literacy. By describing the role linguistics played in the “colonialism of language”, we can demonstrate that linguistics is not a neutral enterprise and as a consequence its claims to an objective understanding of language and culture are suspect. In a related vein, both colonial and present-day linguistic texts (such as grammars, dictionaries, and linguistic maps) must be used critically as

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4.0 Summary

In this chapter, I provided a context for my own study of the “colonialism of Bambara” within the larger study of the “colonialism of language”. I examined the relationship between linguistics and colonialism by drawing on Calvet’s 1974 study and various case studies of the “colonialism of language”. These case studies highlight the overall richness of this field of study, the variety of approaches utilized in attempting to demonstrate how language was both a means and an object of colonialism, and how this took place in different points in time and space.

As a result of this literature review, I raised certain theoretical and methodological questions concerning the “colonialism of language”. I introduced Fairclough’s model of “critical language study” as a framework from which some of these questions can be addressed in my own study of the “colonialism of Bambara”. In describing “critical language study”, I drew on examples provided in my summaries of Calvet and the case studies to illustrate my points. During this discussion, I raised the issue of resistance as what ultimately makes the study of the “colonialism of language” important (i.e., the identification of possibilities for resisting the ongoing control over language as a means and object of social struggle).

In the next chapter, I turn to my specific study of the “colonialism of Bambara”. I highlight the “constructed” nature of Bambara as both a language variety and people, outline the evidence available for the study of the “colonialism of Bambara”, and identify which Bambara texts I use in my study. In Chapter 3, I

describe Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis that I employ in my study of the "colonialism of Bambara". Chapter 3 expands upon the discussion of critical language study above and connects it to the specific methodology employed in my own study.

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CHAPTER 2 – THE “COLONIALISM OF BAMBARA”

Whenever someone asks me what I am writing my dissertation on, I find myself assessing first if s/he is genuinely interested or is just being polite while edging by me to get another drink from the bartender. If s/he seems genuinely interested (or the bartender is busy), I next try to determine if s/he belongs to the academy (then I can talk about the “colonialism of Bambara” and use terms such as “hegemony” and “ideology”) or if s/he is a non-academic (yet educated). If the latter is the case, I generally describe my work as something like, “I’m studying a bunch of linguistic texts (such as dictionaries and grammars) to understand what happened to Bambara, a language spoken by ten to twelve million people in West Africa, when the French came in and colonized the area.” With such a response, I am trying to convey several points about an African language and its speakers – it has a lot of speakers (it is big, just like a European language), the French changed things during the colonial period (there were relations of power at work, the French are the bad guys), and it is a language (therefore you have written texts to learn it).

Hopefully, by this point my listener has become so fascinated (or the bartender is busy) that the conversation continues. “So what happened, did it die out?” (Oh no, it is very much alive, it is spoken all over West Africa by a lot of people, it is like Swahili.) “Do they write? How do they write it? Did the French teach them how to write?” (Oh no, they knew how to write before the French came. They used Arabic to write their language. Since the French colonization, our alphabet is used.) “What are they like? What kind of animals do they hunt?

Do they live in huts?" (Oh no, they aren't members of a primitive tribe. Before the French, they were associated with big states or kingdoms.)

Despite my attempts to use such opportunities as a moment of resistance to the "colonialism of language", when I return home and think about the encounter, I find that all of my answers at one level have contributed to the ongoing "colonialism of language" as they draw upon and recreate the opposition between Self and Other. For example, in associating the Bambara with literacy I have implied that oral languages are in some way inferior. In associating the Bambara with states I have placed them into a developmental hierarchy. What this reflects is my perceived need to have a concrete definition of Bambara in order to provide my listener with a framework from which I can work backwards and explain how Bambara came to be defined in such a way – a need which in and of itself reflects the "colonialism of language". In this chapter, I will embrace this need as the first step in presenting my study of the "colonialism of Bambara", hoping that the other participants in this discourse are sufficiently engaged to follow my argument through to the final chapter where I identify possibilities for resisting the "colonialism of language". In turn, I hope that the other discourse participants themselves will find ways to resist the colonialism of language so that perhaps one day the notion of language as a discrete bounded entity is no longer commonsensical.¹⁰

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1.0 Mande, Mandekan, and Mande Peoples

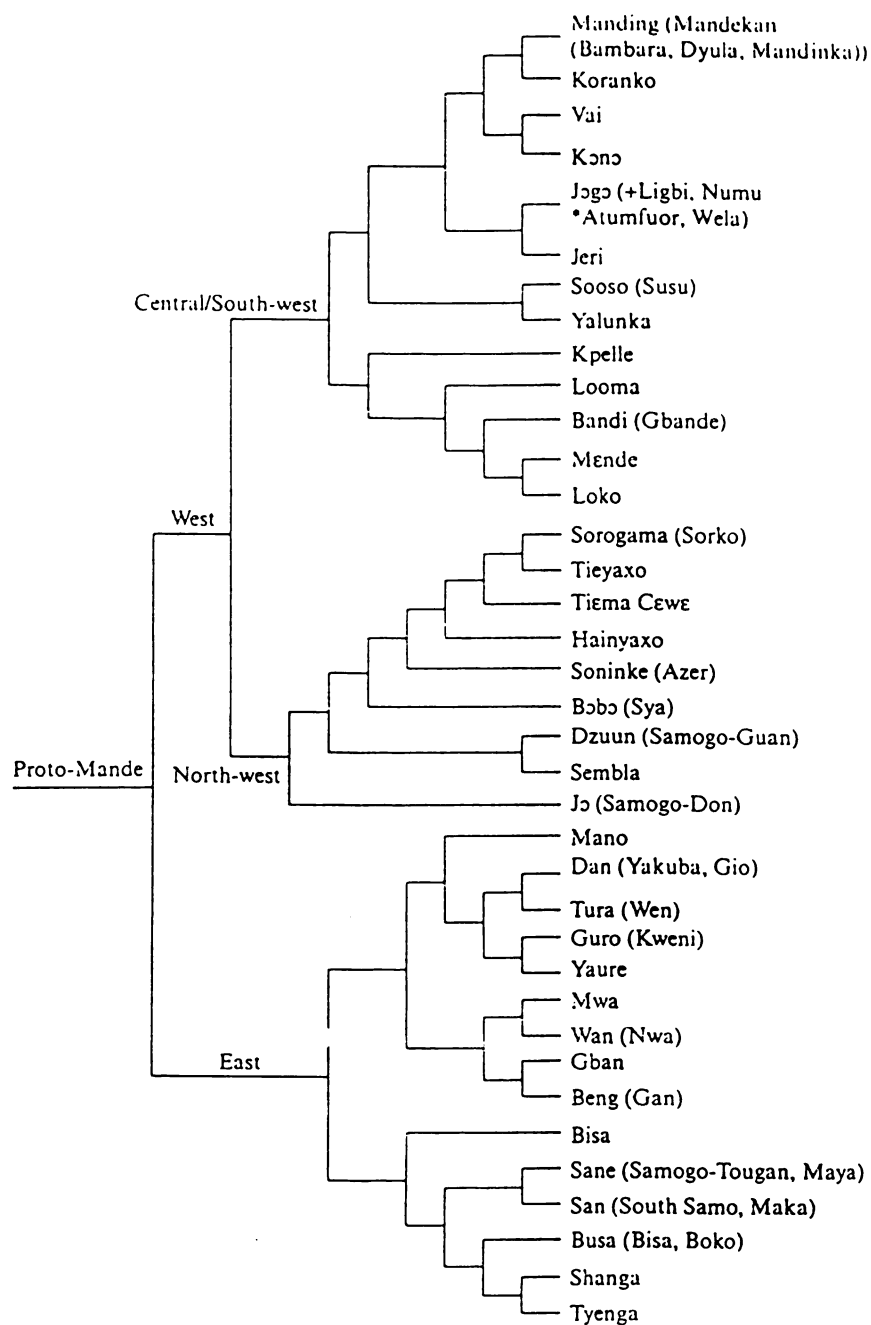
The term Bambara is often defined as an ethnic group residing in present-day Mali and as one of the principal dialects of the Mandekan language, which in turn is part of the Mande group of languages.¹¹ Figure 1 illustrates a present-day linguistic classification of Mande languages and Figure 2 shows the distribution of Mande languages in West Africa. The introduction to the Peace Corps introductory Bambara textbook states that (Bird et al. 1977:2):

Mandekan is the term used to refer to the language known by the dialect names Bambara, Maninka, Dyula, Malinke, Maraka, Kuranko, Mandingo, Wangara, Many and several others. These dialects extend over a vast region of West Africa from southern Mauritania to the shores of the Ivory Coast and from central Upper Volta in the east to the Atlantic coast in the west.

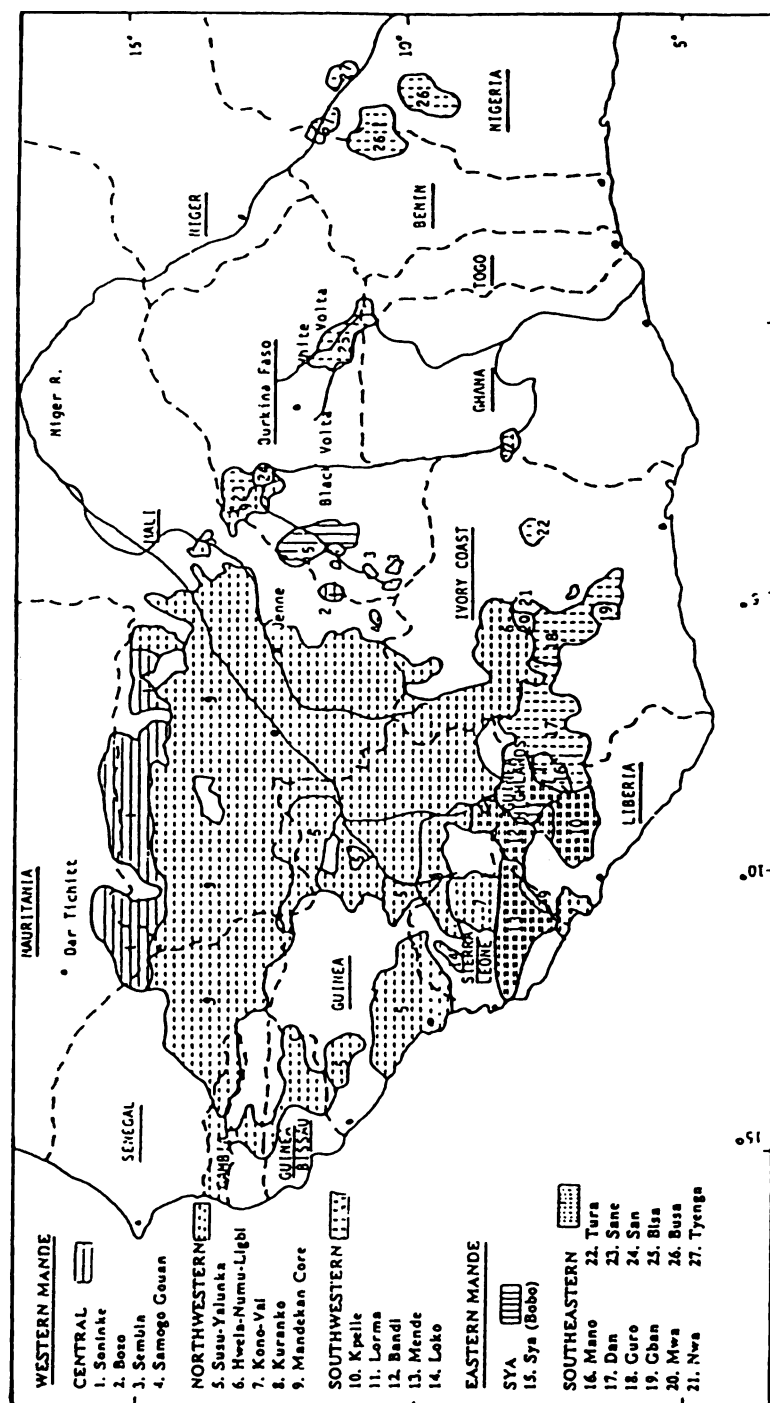
Despite the number of dialect names for Mandekan, or the number of language varieties included in a linguistic classification, Mandekan is often presented as having three principal dialects or varieties – Bambara, Maninka (or Malinke), and Dyula. For example, Bird (1976:iii) refers to the “Bambara-Maninka-Dyula world”. The following passage from a Bambara text in the Peace Corps intermediate Bambara textbook also illustrates this reduction to three dialects or varieties: “An ka nin kitabu bè kan min kan, tògò caman bè fò o ma. Dòw b’a wele ko bamanan-kan; dòw b’a fò a ma ko maninka-kan, dòw fana ko a ma ko jula-kan.” (Our book is on this language; it has many names. Some call it Bambara; some call it Maninka; some call it Dyula.) (Bird 1976:2, translation mine).

The number of speakers of Mandekan varies from early estimates of approximately two million first language speakers and three million second

language speakers of all the language varieties that comprise Mandekan (Labouret 1934) to later figures which indicate that there are five to six million first language speakers and ten to twelve million second language speakers of Mandekan (Bird 1982). More recent statistics indicate four million speakers of Bambara; one million first language speakers and three to four million second language speakers of Dyula; 888,200 or more speakers of Malinke; and approximately 141,000 speakers of other varieties of Mandekan (Grimes 1992).



**Figure 1 – Classification of Mande Language Varieties
(Williamson and Blench 2000:20)**



**Figure 2 – Map of Mande Language Varieties
(Dwyer 1989:50)**

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Figures of the number of Mande peoples, such as the Bambara, vary according to the definition of "Mande-ness" that is employed. For example, Grimes (1992) indicates that there are 2,968,600 speakers of Bambara in Mali, of which 75,000 belong to the Gan, a "culturally distinct" group. She does not indicate whether or not the remaining speakers of Bambara belong to a similarly distinct group. Instead Bambara is portrayed as a "lingua franca" that is used to varying degrees by 80% of the population, is a national language, and is used in radio broadcasts. The implication is that Bambara is a language variety used by members of various groups, one of whom are the Bambara people.

Like Grimes, other authors define Mande first as a language variety, and second as a cultural identification. For example, in Peoples of the World: Africans South of the Sahara, an introductory text, the authors discuss the Mali kingdom as an example of an "old culture" of Africa noting that it "was founded by Mande-speaking people. Today the Mande languages include Malinké, Bambara, Soninke, and Kpelle-Mende." (Moss and Wilson 1991:12). The authors selected the language Malinke and its speakers, the Malinke, as a case study of "modern African peoples". They define the Malinke as a group of 700,000 people "whose ancestors once were part of the powerful kingdom of Mali." (Moss and Wilson 1991:224). What these figures illustrate is the belief that there are linguistic varieties and peoples that can be identified, classified, and counted. They also demonstrate the tension between presenting these language varieties and peoples as discrete, bounded entities and the recognition of the fluidity and permeability of such notions as ethnicity and language.

Many of the works that focus solely on Mande peoples and languages describe this tension more explicitly and attempt reconcile it, or at least come to terms with it. McNaughton (1988) provides an example of one contemporary anthropological approach to understanding this tension. In his study of Mande blacksmiths, McNaughton argues that the majority of speakers of Mande languages use the term Mande.¹² McNaughton's understanding of Mande rests on a notion of the "Mande heartland" (i.e., the geographical area where the Mali empire can be located historically) (see Figure 3). The term Mande can be extended to refer to all the lands occupied principally by Mande speakers. Mande includes several ethnic groups, "with the Bamana (or Bambara), Maninka (or Malinké), and Dyula constituting their linguistic and cultural nucleus" (1988:xix). He identifies the Bambara with the Kaarta and Segu kingdoms, the Maninka with the Mali Empire, and notes that the Dyula are traders. In addition, McNaughton acknowledges the linguistic, cultural and geographic ties of other Savannah groups – such as the Somono, Bozo, and Wasuluka – to this nucleus. These ethnic groups are presented as discrete entities that can "overlap". According to McNaughton, this "overlapping" results from the "kind of internal melding the Mande frequently display. They value their Mande identity above membership in the specific ethnic groups that compose the Mande at any given time." (1988:xix). Therefore, McNaughton emphasizes the importance of clans as the primary units, which constitute and reconstitute themselves into larger political and ethnic entities, and delineates the larger category of Mande as a discrete unit of analysis.

2.0 Present Day Definitions of Bambara

The Summer Institute of Languages' Ethnologue (Grimes 1992) claims to contain information (such as language names, number of speakers, linguistic classification, area spoken, and status of Bible translation) on all of the world's languages. It presents Bambara as a language spoken in Mali and provides the following data (Grimes 1992:297) and locates it on a map of Mali (see Figure 4):

Alternate Names: Bamana, Bamanakan

Number of Speakers: 2,968,600 in Mali (1991) including 75,000 Gan; 4,200 in Gambia (1991), 300 in Burkina Faso (1991), 55,000 in Senegal (1991), 14,300 in Cote d'Ivoire (1991); 4,000,000 total; also spoken in Guinea (no number)

Classification: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Northern, Greater Mandekan, Mandekan, Manding

Dialects: Dyangirte, Kalongo, Masasi, Nyamasa, Somono, Toro, Gan (Gana); the Gana are culturally distinct

Other: Spoken in varying degrees by 80% of population; national language, radio broadcasts and adult education in Bambara; religion - Muslim, traditional religion, Christian

On the surface, this seems to be a neat and tidy definition – Bambara is located geographically, its speakers can be counted, it has a place in a larger linguistic classification and can thus be related to other languages, and has several dialects. In addition, it provides additional information about the language's status in Mali and its speakers. However, it also reflects the slipperiness of Bambara definitions of Bambara (e.g., Why is it known by more than one name? What is the correlation between language, ethnicity, and religion? What is the relationship between the Bambara language and its dialects?).

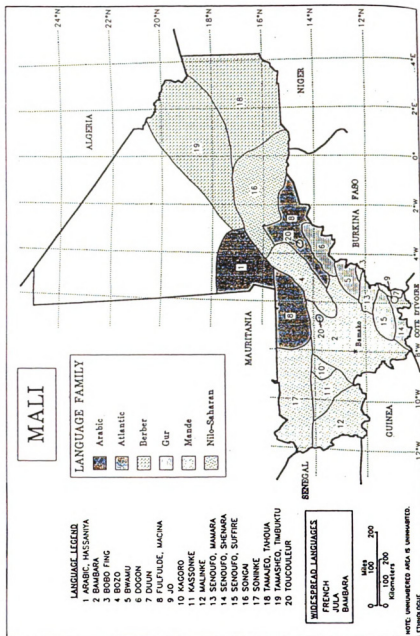


Figure 4 – Map of Mali
(Grimes 1992:297)

The language-dialect problem is apparent in the Peace Corps Bambara textbooks. In their language learning materials, Bird and his colleagues present Bambara as a language variety which is spoken by a people located geographically in West Africa who are related culturally to other Mandekan speakers. They distinguish between Mandekan speakers who are culturally related (i.e., have ties to the Mande heartland) and those who use Mandekan as a second language. Their identification of Bambara as a dialect or as a language varies. For example, when making references to the textbooks themselves, Bambara is presented as a language – this is a Bambara language textbook, therefore it is about the Bambara language. When making specific grammatical points about the linguistic differences between Bambara, Maninka, and Dyula, they present Bambara as a language variety (i.e., a variation of a larger language). Finally, they also differentiate between varieties of Bambara itself such as Standard Bambara and varieties spoken elsewhere in Mali. The Peace Corps textbooks use Standard Bambara, or the Bamako variety, as the government of Mali chose it for literacy activities.

In his work on Mandekan dialects, Bird (1982) confronts the relationship between dialect and language in Mandekan more directly. He admits to the non-discrete boundary between Standard Dyula and Standard Bambara arguing that he could present Dyula as dialect of Bambara, but chose to keep separate for political reasons. In addition, although Segou is the cultural center of Bambara country, he does not represent what Segou partisans would claim is the older, purer Bambara arguing that no existing dialect represents proto-Bambara.

What these examples demonstrate is that (like definitions of Mande and Mandekan) present-day definitions of Bambara are discrete and bounded, yet ambiguous and slippery. It is some measure of the success of the “colonialism of Bambara” that the dialogue around defining Bambara often focuses on the best way to categorize it as a language and ethnicity in order to resolve its ambiguity and slipperiness, rather than revealing the connections between power, ideology, and language. Kone (1995a:15) provides a definition of Bambara which illustrates the possibilities of resisting the colonialism as it highlights claims to Mande ancestry and juxtaposes modern concepts of nationality and citizenship with other forms of identification, thus implying a notion of Bambara as constructed:

Bambara is the Mande language that is the most widespread and whose grammar allows many non-Mande speakers to learn it easily. This has facilitated its becoming a trade language in most of West Africa. In the case of the Mande, many groups and subgroups, beyond the modern concepts of nationality and citizenship, claim some degree of Mande ancestry and share enough of the linguistic heritage, beliefs, and values which nation builders would envisage in their country.

3.0 The “Colonialism of Bambara”

It has been argued that the presentation of Bambara as a discrete, bounded ethnic and linguistic category is in fact a construction that emerged during the initial penetration and subsequent colonization of the former French Sudan (J. Bazin 1985; Grosz-Ngate 1986; Jacobson N.d.). Grosz-Ngate (1986) has examined the ethnographic construction of the Bambara and offers a useful periodization in her review of the ethnographic literature concerning the Bambara. In order to identify this ethnographic construction, Grosz-Ngate divides the encounter between Westerners and Africans into three phases. The first phase encompasses the pre-colonial period. Initially, European's knowledge of the Bambara was limited to hearsay and to encounters with Bambara slaves and refugees in Senegambia. The growth of travel literature on Senegambia during the eighteenth century led to the desire to penetrate the interior of West Africa. Groups, such as the African Association and the Paris Geographical Society, sponsored explorations into the interior.¹³ This phase is characterized by several themes, including the placement of peoples into a hierarchy and the underdevelopment of African peoples (both economically and technologically).

By the mid-1800's expeditions into the interior were increasingly linked explicitly to the political agendas of the colonial projects of France and Great Britain. With the appointment of Faidherbe as governor in Saint-Louis in 1854, the presence of the French in the former French Sudan changed from that of explorers representing a people based in western Senegal, to a military force which was engaged in constructing a series of forts. By 1855, the French had

established a fort at Medine, but in order to advance further into the interior it would be necessary to come into conflict with a number of existing African states. In response to pressure from home, as well as due to military and economic constraints, Faidherbe favored conquest through treaty and consequently sent a number of missions to negotiate with these states.¹⁴

The second phase that Grosz-Ngate identifies is the early colonial period. The beginning of this phase is marked by the appointment of Lt. Col Louis Archinard as *commandant-supérieur* in 1888. Through his military actions most of present-day Mali, from Kayes to Bandiagara, was brought under the control of the French by 1899. With the conquest of the Sudan, observations of African peoples became part of the colonial system of control. Ethnographic literature on the Bambara was produced by colonial officials, such Maurice Delafosse, Charles Monteil and Louis Tauxier, as well as by the White Fathers, a missionary group. Grosz-Ngate argues that in attempting to use a more “objective” and “scientific” language, their accounts differed from the more personal accounts produced during the first phase.

The third phase Grosz-Ngate identifies is professional ethnography. The entrance of professional ethnographers is marked by Marcel Griaule's Dakar-Djibouti expedition of 1931-1933. Griaule was encouraged by both the sociologist Marcel Mauss and the linguist Marcel Cohen to flesh out the ethnic categories that were generated earlier. Griaule and his students, following Mauss, believed that the totality of a society was reflected in its parts of organizing structures, and therefore their research focused on one aspect of a society in order to elicit an

understanding of the whole. Clifford (1988) argues that the presentations of the Bambara made by Griaule's students (such as Soulangue de Ganay, Germaine Dieterlen, and Dominique Zahan) depicted them as "noble savages" who, despite the inroads "modernization" was making, would continue to act in accordance with their timeless, idealized cultural system. Problematic Africans, such as *évolués*, who did not act in accordance with these cultural systems were treated as exceptions, as deviants from a norm, much in the same way that variations of Standard Bambara are viewed. In addition to the works produced by the Griaule School, Grosz-Ngate argues that other research on the Bambara by British, French, and North American scholars continues to identify the Bambara as a "subject-object".

Grosz-Ngate's work has been useful in understanding how anthropology "makes its object" and the dangers such an essentialist position poses. J. Bazin has gone one step further and illustrates how explorers, colonial officials, and missionaries created a very real ethnic group, which is felt outside of their accounts and the anthropological literature. J. Bazin's study differs from Grosz-Ngate's in two respects: (1) he is looking for the creation of an "ethnic group" and thus grounds his research in a larger theoretical critique of the usefulness of the concept of ethnicity; and (2) he incorporates the role that language and linguistics played in the creation of this "ethnic group".

Following Grosz-Ngate and J. Bazin's contention that the Bambara were in some way constructed or created, I examined the intersection between language and ethnicity in some of the linguistic materials produced during the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to demonstrate certain aspects of the "construction" of Bambara that occurred during this period (Jacobson N.d.).

While I illuminated certain aspects of the "colonialism of Bambara" during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods, I did not confront the larger process of the "colonialism of language" which reveals hidden connections between power, ideology, and language and the hidden effects of these connections upon the system of social relationships, as well identifying possibilities for resisting the "colonialism of language".

In this case study of the "colonialism of Bambara", I employ a model of critical language study and examine evidence of the "colonialism of Bambara" contained in texts produced during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods. In doing so, I contribute to a better understanding of how language was both a means and an object of colonization in West Africa, demonstrate the need to use materials concerning Bambara critically, and identify possibilities for resisting the ongoing "colonialism of Bambara".

4.0 Evidence of the “Colonialism of Bambara”

Following Said (1978:20), I examine evidence of the “colonialism of Bambara” in texts in order to describe “strategic location” – the author’s position in the text in relation to the Other he writes about – and “strategic formation” – the relationship between texts themselves (or types or genres of texts) and how they acquire referential power among themselves at one level and in society at another level. This notion of “strategic formation” is essential in order to explore adequately issues of power in discourse and power behind discourse. I focus on some of the texts concerning Bambara produced during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods identified by Maurice Delafosse. Delafosse is a key figure in the “colonialism of Bambara” due to his specific work on Mande language varieties, his actions as a colonial official in French West Africa, and his general influence on the fields of linguistics and ethnology. Therefore, the texts that he identifies are those with referential power.

Delafosse produced two important works concerning Mandekan – Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mande ou mandingue, published in 1901, and La langue mandingue et ses dialectes, published posthumously in 1929. The first of these works, Delafosse's "practical manual", focuses primarily on the Dyula variety of Mandekan. Delafosse does however contextualize his presentation of Dyula in a comparative study of the "principal dialects" of Mandekan, one of which he identifies as Bambara. In his second major work concerning Mandekan, La langue mandingue et ses dialectes, Delafosse elaborates on his 1901 study of Dyula and other Mandekan "dialects" and attempts to "give to the Mandingue

language a knowledge as complete and exact as possible and to facilitate the means of practically knowing it." (1929:1).

I use these two works as chronological markers in my study of the "colonialism of Bambara" during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods.¹⁵ During the pre-colonial period, prior to the conquest of the former French Sudan, European knowledge of Bambara was, for the most part, limited to: (1) encounters with Africans in the coastal areas of Africa, in Europe, and in the Americas; (2) accounts produced by European explorers and military personnel; and (3) early Arabic and classical sources. By the turn of the century, much of the former French Sudan, from Kayes to Bandiagara, was brought under French control through military actions. These actions allowed for the establishment of permanent colonial presence, including missionary posts in the former French Sudan. Therefore, Delafosse's 1901 publication, Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mande ou mandingue, provides a good breaking point between the pre-colonial and early colonial periods of the former French Sudan. This study represents the state of European linguistic knowledge of Bambara at the dawn of the early colonial period.

Beginning in early 1900's colonial officials, missionaries, and others gathered ethnographic and linguistic data concerning the peoples and language varieties of the former French Sudan. This information – coupled with the data collected prior to the establishment of a permanent colonial presence in this area – was used to (re)present the former French Sudan. By the 1930's the actions of both Europeans and Africans resulted in the emergence of certain

conceptualizations about Bambara as both an ethnic group and a language variety. These notions reflect the process of the “colonialism of language” in this area. I use Delafosse's La langue mandingue et ses dialectes (1929) to illustrate the crystallization of these conceptualizations about Bambara at the end of the early colonial period.

In the bibliography of his Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mande ou mandingue, Delafosse identifies all of the works or publications concerning the “Mande dialects” which appeared prior to 1901. These “dialects” are listed in Table 3 below using the terms given by Delafosse.¹⁶ I have indicated the number of sources available for each “dialect” in parentheses in order to ascertain the availability of Bambara sources vis-à-vis other “Mande dialects” at this point in time. As seen in Table 3, Delafosse cited a relatively large number of Bambara (or Bamana) sources at this point in time.

Table 3 – “Mande Dialects” Identified by Delafosse (1901)

Bamana (13)	Loma (2)	Ouassoulouké (3)
Dyalonké (3)	Malinké (17)	Oueïma (0)
Guio (1)	Manianka (1)	Sidianka (2)
Khassonké (2)	Manon (1)	Soninké (12)
Kouéni (1)	Mende (6)	Sosso (13)
Kpèlé (6)	Mouin (0)	Vaï (12)
Loko (1)		

In addition to the works and publications concerning specific “Mande dialects”, Delafosse also cites Binger's Du Niger au golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi (1892) as a general history of the “Mande people” and of the “tribes” of the “Soninké”, “Bamana”, “Sosso”, and “Dyola” (1901:301). The

specific Bambara sources that Delafosse identifies in this bibliography are listed in Table 4. This table also lists the agency or organization with which each author is affiliated, the area or source of the Bambara material, and the comments Delafosse makes about each work, if any, in the bibliography.

As Table 4 indicates there were two major types of Bambara sources cited by Delafosse during this period – information gathered prior to the conquest of the former French Sudan (i.e., Clarke 1848; Dard 1825; Koelle 1849; Norris 1841; and Steinthal 1867) and information gathered beginning in the late 1800's when France extended its sphere of influence into the interior of West Africa and Catholic mission societies established new posts in Senegal and the French Sudan (i.e., Bastard 1900; Binger 1886; Montel 1886, 1887; Pietri 1886; Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique 1897; Tautain 1887; and Toulotte 1897).

Table 4 – Bambara Sources Cited by Delafosse (1901)

Date	Title	Author	Sponsoring Agency/ Organization	Area/ Source of Bambara Material	Delafosse's Comments
1825	Dictionnaire français-wolof et français-bambara	Dard	Ministry of the Marine	Unknown – Most likely gathered from Dard's students at the Ecole mutuelle des garçons de Saint-Louis	No comments
1841	Outline of a Vocabulary of a Few of the Principal Languages of Western and Central Africa for the Use of the Niger Expedition	Norris	Church Missionary Society	Dard	Contains a Bamana vocabulary under the name of "Bambara"
1848	Specimens of Dialects: Short Vocabularies of Languages and Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa	Clarke	Baptist Missionary Society	Caillié; N. Ex. Vo.	Some words in Bamana
1849	Polyglotta Africana	Koelle	Church Missionary Society	From an informant (Furekaba) – a Bambara from Segu who settled in Sierra Leone	Bamana vocabulary
1867	Die Mande Neger-Sprachen	Steinthal	University of Berlin	Dard	Some words on the Bamana dialect and some examples
1885	Les Français au Niger	Pietri	Ministry of the Marine and Colonies	Unknown	Contains some grammatical notes on Bambara
1886	Essai sur la langue bambara parlée dans le Kaarta et le Bélédougou	Binger	Ministry of the Marine and Colonies	From three informants – a Massassi Kouloubali, a Diara, and a Fofana (all from Kaarta and Bélédougou); checked data at each post with "natives" who understood French	No comments
1886	Dictionnaire bambara-français	Montel	Spiritains	Unknown	No comments
1887	Éléments de la grammaire bambara	Montel	Spiritains	Unknown	No comments
1887	Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et mallinké ou mandingké	Tautain	Ministry of the Marine and Colonies	Unknown	No comments

Table 4 (cont'd)

Date	Title	Author	Sponsoring Agency/ Organization	Source of Bambara Material	Area/ Source of Bambara Material	Delafose's Comments
1897	Catéchisme bambara suivi d'un vocabulaire	White Fathers	White Fathers	Segu		No comments
1897	Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Ségou)	Toulotte	White Fathers	Segu		No comments
1900	Essai de lexique pour les idiomes soudanais	Bastard	Unknown	Unknown		Contains a Bamana vocabulary

In his bibliography of La langue mandingue Delafosse cites sources published prior to 1924 for “Mandingue” in general, as well as a number of “dialect groups” of Mandekan. In Table 5, I have indicated the number of sources Delafosse lists for “Mandingue” and each of these “dialect groups” (using the terms provided by Delafosse) that were published between 1901 and 1924.

Table 5 – “Mandingue Dialect Groups” Identified by Delafosse (1929)

Mandingue (3)	Malinké de l’est (1)
Bambara (13)	Malinké du nord ou khassonké (1)
Dioula (2)	Malinké du sud (1)
Malinké en général (2)	Malinké de l’ouest (4)

Delafosse also lists a number of sources for “mandingue” that were published prior to 1901 that were not included in the bibliography of his Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mande ou mandingue. These sources include:

- (1) Arabic accounts concerning “Mandingue” (i.e., El-Bekri, Ibn Battu, and Ibn Khaldoun) – Delafosse refers the reader to his article “Mots soudanais du moyen âge” (1913).
- (2) Explorers’ accounts – Delafosse lists two explorers’ accounts as sources of Bambara (i.e., Goldberry (1802) and Mage (1868)).
- (3) Vocabularies – Delafosse adds Hannah Kilham’s Specimens of Dialects of African Languages Spoken in the Colony of Sierra-Leone (1828) to his list of vocabularies that contain information on Bambara.

The addition of Goldberry, Mage, and Kilham to the list of Bambara sources published prior to 1901 raises the total number of Bambara sources prior to 1901 from thirteen to sixteen (see Table 4). Thus, according to Delafosse’s

identification of publications and works concerning Mandekan, the number of Malinke sources was greater than Bambara sources. But, between 1901 and 1924, the number of Bambara-related publications surpasses those related to Malinke.

The Bambara sources cited by Delafosse in La langue mandingue are listed in Table 6. As this table indicates, missionaries (i.e., Sauvart (1905, 1913), H. Bazin (1906), and Henry (1910)) continued to produce Bambara linguistic materials during the early colonial period. In addition to the missionaries' work on Bambara, colonial officials were engaged in the description of the former French Sudan, including its peoples and language varieties and provide another source of Bambara material (i.e., Brévié (1917), Tauxier (1917, 1921), and C. Monteil (1924)). Interpreters are another group that is represented in Delafosse's list of Bambara sources (i.e., Travélé). Delafosse also include the account of Desplagnes' (1907) "archaeological and ethnographic mission" in the former French Sudan as a source of Bambara material.

Table 6 – Bambara Sources Cited by Delafosse (1929)

Date	Title	Author	Sponsoring Agency/ Organization	Area/ Source of Bambara Material	Delafosse's Comments
1905	Manuel de la langue bambara	Sauvant	White Fathers	Segu	No comments
1906	Dictionnaire bambara-français, précédé d'un abrégé de grammaire bambara	H. Bazin	White Fathers	Dictionary is compilation of the work of many missionaries located throughout the French Sudan	Good work
1907	Le plateau central nigérien	Desplagnes	Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres	Does not indicate source	Contains a Bambara numeration
1910	Petit manuel français-bambara	Travélé	French colonial administration	Although Travélé is from Segu, the "sous-dialecte" presented is that of Bamako and Béledougou	No comments
1913	L'ame d'une peuple africain: Les Bambara	Henry	White Fathers	Does not indicate source	Contains some technical terms and formulas in Bambara with translations
1913	Manuel bambara	Sauvant	White Fathers	Segu	Very good work
1913	Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français	Travélé	French colonial administration	Does not indicate source	No comments
1917	A propos d'un chanson bambara	Brévié	French colonial administration	From D'Namba Kouloubali, an old woman from the village of Massantola	Bambara text and translation
1917	Le Noir du Yatenga	Tauxier	French colonial administration	Does not indicate source	Bambara vocabulary juxtaposed with a Samo vocabulary
1921	Le Noir de Bondoukou	Tauxier	French colonial administration	Does not indicate source	Bambara vocabulary juxtaposed with Sya, Lorho, and Kouliango vocabularies
1923	Proverbes et contes bambara	Travélé	French colonial administration	Does not indicate source	No comments

Table 6 (cont'd)

Date	Title	Author	Sponsoring Agency/ Organization	Area/ Source of Bambara Material	Delafosse's Comments
1924	Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta	C. Monteil	French colonial administration	Principal informants were two "dyell" from Djenné – Karé Tammoura and Gran Koaté – who C. Monteil had come to Segou; texts were collected in Médine and Djenné from people of Kaarta and Segou	Contains several prayers and ritual formulas as well as ten stories, Bambara text and translation

In addition to Delafosse's two texts, I selected certain texts listed in Table 4 and Table 6 for a careful and close examination in order to better understand how the actions of certain groups (the military, educators, missionaries, colonial officials, interpreters, and others) representing different empires (French and British) contributed to the "colonialism of Bambara" and how this process unfolded in different areas (Senegal, lower Guinea Coast, and former French Sudan) during the following periods. These texts are listed in Table 7.

I employ critical discourse analysis in order to examine these texts. In the next chapter, I provide a framework for my analysis of these texts by presenting an overview of my model of critical discourse analysis. In the remaining chapters (4-8), I present my analysis of these texts in an effort to better understand the "colonialism of Bambara".

Table 7 – Bambara Texts

Pre-colonial Period

1. French encounters with Bambara in Senegal
 - ◆ Dard's Dictionnaire français-wolof et français-bambara (1825)
2. Missionary encounters with Bambara on the lower Guinea Coast¹⁷
 - ◆ Clarke's Specimens of Dialects (1848)
 - ◆ Koelle's Polyglotta Africana (1849)

Penetration into the Former French Sudan

1. Conquest of the former French Sudan
 - ◆ Binger's Essai sur la langue bambara (1886)
 - ◆ Tautain's "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et mallinké ou mandingké" (1887)
2. Early missionary activity in the former French Sudan
 - ◆ Toulotte's Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Segou) (1897)

Transition between the Pre-colonial Period and the Early Colonial Period

- ◆ Delafosse's Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mande ou mandingue (1901)

Early Colonial Period

1. Missionary activity in the former French Sudan
 - ◆ H. Bazin's Dictionnaire bambara-français (1906)
 - ◆ Henry's L'ame d'une peuple africain: Les Bambara (1910)
 - ◆ Sauvart's Manuel de la langue bambara (1925)
2. Colonial activity in the former French Sudan
 - ◆ Brévié's "A propos d'un chanson bambara" (1917)
 - ◆ Tauxier's Le Noir du Yatenga (1917) and Le Noir de Bondoukou (1921)
 - ◆ C. Monteil's Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta (1924)
3. Interpreters' activity in the former French Sudan
 - ◆ Travélé's Petit manuel français-bambara (1910), Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français (1913), Proverbes et contes bambara (1923)

End of the Early Colonial Period

- ◆ Delafosse's La langue mandingue (1929)

CHAPTER 3 – CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

By selecting these Bambara texts, I in turn contribute to their authority.

The reader of my own text can reject my contention that Bambara was and is constructed in some way (both as a language and as a people) and state that in fact what I demonstrate is that the authors of these texts in fact are describing something natural (albeit imperfectly at times) and that I confer legitimacy on their attempts through my selection of them. Thus, my text may in fact be merely an oppositional behavior, rather than a true act of resistance to the “colonialism of language”. One way in which I can address this concern is to analyze them critically. A critical analysis of these texts, as well as the discourse that produced them, entails explicitly acknowledging and describing my role as the analyst.

Critical discourse analysis is a tool by which the connections between power, ideology, and language can be revealed in the study of these texts. I originally chose to use the model of critical discourse analysis proposed by Fairclough (1989) due to my desire to make my study accessible to the layperson. Fairclough’s intended audience is the layperson who wants a set of tools to employ in order to uncover the hidden links between language and power. I had hoped to demonstrate how this set of tools could be employed in my study of the “colonialism of Bambara” during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods so that others could employ them in examining contemporary Bambara texts. However, I found that applying Fairclough’s methodology rigorously to the Bambara texts problematic for several reasons. For example, one of the problems I encountered in applying Fairclough’s model to my study of the

“colonialism of Bambara” is that his focus on contemporary capitalism in Great Britain does not allow for an adequate understanding of what happened in the colonial context. Therefore, I follow the spirit of his model in study of the “colonialism of Bambara”, rather than adopting it completely.

There are three stages of critical discourse analysis: (1) description of the text (i.e., the product of discourse); (2) interpretation of the relationship between the text and interaction (i.e., the process of production and process of interpretation); and (3) explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (i.e., social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation) (Fairclough 1989:26). Zupnik (1990) has critiqued Fairclough’s distinction between the descriptive and interpretive stages. As Zupnik notes (and Fairclough acknowledges) much of what is involved in the interpretative stage is uncovered during the descriptive phase, something I encountered in my own study. However, I do not agree with Zupnik that Fairclough should have only proposed one level of analysis that combined description and interpretation. Instead the interplay between the two levels highlights the position of the analyst as interpreter. Second, I think the distinction between these two levels serves as a heuristic device as Fairclough’s model is intended for the layperson, not trained linguists.

1.0 Description of Text

The intention behind describing a text is to reveal its formal features (such as vocabulary, grammar, textual structures, and visuals) in order to provide an interpretation and explanation of the text. Formal features provide traces of the process of production and cues in the process of interpretation. While the goal of describing a text is to identify, label, and categorize formal features within a descriptive framework, its procedural nature does not mean that interpretation of the text is absent. In fact, adopting a model of critical language study entails recognition of the analyst's role in selecting what is worth describing, determining from descriptive framework to use, defining categories etc. As formal features are choices, the analyst has to alternate between describing what is in the text and what could have been in the text.

Following Fairclough (1989:112), formal features can be identified with one or more of the following values:¹⁸

Experiential – a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social world is represented; it has to do with "contents" and knowledge and beliefs

Relational – a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse; it has to do with "relations" and social relationships

Expressive – a trace of and a cue to the producer's evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to; it has to do with "subjects" and social identities

There are many different approaches that can be taken in describing a text in order to associate its formal features with experiential, relational, and expressive values. For example, Fairclough (1989:110-111) offers a list of ten questions

which can be asked of a text,¹⁹ Fabian identifies the genre to which each text belongs and estimates word counts in dictionaries, and Calvet examines loan words in Mandekan.

When describing the Bambara texts, I had three primary objectives:

- identification of discourse type;
- identification of discourse participants; and
- defining what Bambara is in the text.

Identification of discourse type

While the term discourse describes process, or discursive action, I use discourse type to refer to an agreed upon category which has a set of conventions that shapes the discourse. Discourse types are identified through reference to the societal order and its institutions. The relationships between discourse types and discourse and discourse types and the societal order are not mechanical, but rather dialectical in nature. In the case of the “colonialism of Bambara”, identification of discourse type could be very ambiguous for participants due to the nature of the colonial enterprise.

Identification of discourse participants

This involves identifying all participants in the discourse, which resulted in each Bambara text, not just the author of the written text. As Calvet notes, texts only provide linguistic traces of colonialism. Therefore, it is often difficult to identify all participants involved in the discourse. However, the silencing of participants reflects the very nature of the “colonialism of language”.

Defining what Bambara is in the text

Following Grosz-Ngate and J. Bazin's contention that Bambara was constructed, I wanted to ascertain how Bambara was re(presented) in each text. Based upon their work, I focused on the source of the Bambara material, where the Bambara material was gathered or attributed to, how Bambara was contextualized historically, and the characterization of Bambara as a people and language variety.

In order to accomplish these objectives, I employed a variety of approaches to examine each text carefully and closely. These approaches include investigating the vocabulary used (e.g., identifying what words might be ideologically contested and what classification schemes are employed), describing interactional conventions that determine who controls participants and how they are controlled (e.g., having a powerful participant author the foreword), and identifying larger scale structures used in each text (e.g., prefacing a grammatical study with a historical study of the language speakers). The approaches varied according to the nature of each specific text. For example, a word count of Bambara terms was appropriate for dictionaries, but not for scholarly articles.

2.0 Interpretation of Text

Using this process, I described each of the Bambara texts that I selected for analysis (a summary is provided in Chapter 4 and more detailed descriptions in Appendices A-N). In the process of describing these texts, I associated formal features with experiential, relational, and expressive values. These values are linked with structural effects on social identities, social relationships, and knowledge and beliefs. However, Fairclough (1989:140) cautions that one cannot jump directly from the formal features to these structural effects. Instead, this process:

is mediated first of all by the discourse which the text is part of, because the values of textual features only become real, socially operative, if they are embedded in social interaction, where texts are produced and interpreted against a background of common-sense assumptions (part of MR) which give textual features their values.

This mediation is the concern of interpretation, the second stage of critical discourse analysis. The term interpretation also refers to how participants in a discourse understand texts. This underscores the similarity in what both the analyst and discourse participants do. In effect, the analyst becomes another discourse participant once s/he engages the text.

There are four levels of interpretation which discourse participants and the analyst work through (Fairclough 1989:144):

Surface of the utterance – The interpreter draws on knowledge of a particular linguistic variety or varieties in question in order to decode the surface of the utterance.

Meaning of the utterance – The interpreter assigns meaning to the utterance by accessing knowledge of semantics and pragmatics.

Local coherence – The interpreter uses knowledge of cohesion and pragmatics to get at the local coherence of particular parts of the text

Text structure and point – The interpreter ascertains the global coherence of the whole text by drawing on schemata or “representations of characteristic patterns of organization associated with different types of discourse” in order to get at the point (including its topic)²⁰ of the text.

A text cannot be interpreted in isolation. Interpretation also involves interpretation of context. There are two levels of interpretation of context – situational context (the current situation the interpreter is involved in) and intertextual context (how the present discourse is connected to previous discourses). In order to get at situational context, I asked four questions of each text (Fairclough 1989:146-152):

- What's going on?
- Who's involved?
- In what relations?
- What's the role of language in what's going on?

What's going on?

This question addresses the contents (activity type, topic, and purpose) of a discourse type. The interpreter identifies a set of possible activity types (e.g., signing treaties, recording local language varieties) which are in turn associated with possible topics (e.g., list of terms, historical context of language variety). Each activity type is also associated with a purpose (e.g., to provide a means to learn a local language variety).

Who's involved?

This question is related to the subject aspect of a discourse type. This question attempts to define what set of subject positions pertain to the discourse

at hand. Subject positions are multidimensional. First, the activity type defines a set of possible subject positions (e.g., informant, linguist). Second, the institutional sphere in which the discourse takes place defines a set of possible subject positions (e.g., colonial official, porter). Finally, each situation defines different speaking and listening positions (e.g., language expert/author, reader).

In what relations?

As it is difficult to separate subjects from relations, this question is closely intertwined with the previous one. The purpose of this question is to get at how relations of power are set up in and enacted in discourse.

What's the role of language in what's going on?

This question explores the connections of a particular discourse type, i.e., how texts are tied to situational contexts and how parts of the text are connected to one another.

In addition to interpreting situational context, each discourse participant must also determine which historical series a text belongs to (i.e., its intertextual context). Each discourse is related to past discourses. Assigning a particular discourse to a historical series determines the common ground, or presuppositions, for participants. Acknowledging the intertextual context of a discourse means that neither the participants nor the analyst can view a discourse as an abstract, isolated event. Instead each discourse must be viewed from a historical perspective.

Of interest here are these presuppositions. Although there are cues to presuppositions in a text, they are not formal properties of the text. Therefore they only surface in the process of interpretation. In my study of the “colonialism of Bambara” I am focusing on ideological presuppositions (i.e., when what is assumed has the character of commonsense). If these ideological presuppositions are not made explicit, they can be difficult to identify, challenge, and reject. It is in the production and interpretation of a text that one can challenge and contest presuppositions through creative use of MR. In order to understand intertextual context, I looked at the relationship between interpretation of situational context and intertextual context and how this interpretation varied for different participants at different points in time.

3.0 Explanation of Text

While the level of interpretation seeks to make explicit commonsense assumptions, interpretation alone cannot explain the relationship between power, ideology, and language. The purpose of the level of explanation is to demonstrate how MR is socially constituted, reproduced, and changed in the production of these texts. In doing so, moments when discourse participants attempted to transform power relations can be identified. I use three questions to guide my analysis, at the level of explanation, of these texts (Fairclough 1989:166):

Social determinants – What power relations at the situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?

Ideologies – What elements of MR, which are drawn upon, have an ideological character?

Effects – How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional, and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is this discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?

In Chapters 5-8, I analyze the Bambara texts at the levels of interpretation and explanation in order to provide a better understanding of the “colonialism of Bambara” in the pre-colonial and early colonial periods in the former French Sudan.

CHAPTER 4 – DESCRIPTION OF BAMBARA TEXTS

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the descriptive phase of my critical discourse analysis of the Bambara texts, which I identified in Chapter 2 (see Table 7). Appendices A-N contain more detailed descriptions of each text. First, I describe my classification of discourse types. Second, I identify the different groups of discourse participants who engaged in the production of these texts. Finally, I present an overview of how Bambara is (re)presented in each text.

1.0 Discourse Types

As stated in Chapter 3, I use the term “discourse” to refer to a process (i.e., discursive action) and the term “discourse type” to refer to an agreed upon category which has a set of conventions that shapes the discourse. I identified seven discourse types in which the Bambara texts can be placed:

- collection of vocabularies of non-European language varieties;
- dictionary of a non-European language variety;
- grammatical essay or manual of a non-European language variety;
- comprehensive study of a non-European language variety;
- collection of proverbs and stories;
- scholarly study of a non-European people; and
- scholarly article concerning a non-European people.

Some of these discourse types were identified by others (e.g., Hair’s definition of “collection of vocabularies”); some were adapted from other definitions of discourse types in the literature of the “colonialism of language” (e.g., Fabian’s genres of vocabularies); while others were defined based upon my what I saw in my preliminary analysis of the Bambara texts. Below I describe each discourse type, provide a list of associated characteristics (some of which are shared

across discourse types), and identify which texts are associated with it. This overview of the seven discourse types will provide a framework for understanding what conventions discourse participants were drawing upon in the production of the Bambara texts, as well as moments of ambiguity that arose due to the fact that the relationship between discourse type and discourse is dialectical.

1.1 Collection of Vocabularies of Non-European Language Varieties

Hair (1966:208) argues that early vocabularies are important as historical documents for both the general and linguistic history of many African peoples, despite some of the problems inherent in using them (e.g., variation of language names). Hair (1966:208fn) defines West African "collection of vocabularies" as "a set of vocabularies of more than five languages of Western Africa appearing in one volume, each vocabulary being in print for the first time." Using this definition, he identifies five collections of vocabularies that were published prior to 1854 – the Compagnie royale du Sénégal's Dictionnaire des langues française et nègres (c. 1700), G.C.A. Oldendorp's Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder aus den Caraibischen Inseln, S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan (1777), T.E. Bowdich's Mission from Cape Coast to Ashante (1819), H. Kilham's Specimens of African Languages Spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone (1828), and J. Clarke's Specimens of Dialects: Short Vocabularies of Languages and Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa (1848).

I have adopted Hair's definition of early vocabularies for my first discourse type – collection of vocabularies of non-European language varieties. Table 8 lists the texts and characteristics associated with this discourse type.

Missionaries from the Baptist Missionary Society and the Christian Mission Society authored the two texts associated with this discourse type during the pre-colonial period. (See Appendix B for a more detailed description of Clarke (1848) and Appendix C for Koelle (1849)).

Table 8 – Collection of Vocabularies of Non-European Language Varieties

<u>Texts</u> • Clarke's <u>Specimens of Dialects</u> (1848) • Koelle's <u>Polyglotta Africana</u> (1849) <u>Characteristics</u> • Contextualization of speakers and language variety vis-à-vis European languages and other related language varieties • Presentation of “oral” language variety in written form (e.g., explanation of transcription, alphabet) • Comparison of several non-European language varieties
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1.2 Dictionary of a Non-European Language Variety

The second discourse type I identify is a dictionary of a non-European language variety. Like the collection of vocabularies, these dictionaries also contextualize speakers and non-European language varieties from a European perspective, even when the author himself is not European (i.e., Travélé). I have associated three Bambara texts with this discourse type (see Table 9). The authors of these dictionaries represent two different periods (pre-colonial period and the early colonial period) and differing perspectives (e.g., missionary,

African, experience in Senegal vs. Sudan), but each is concerned with providing a written dictionary of an “oral” language variety. (For more detailed descriptions, see Appendix A for Dard (1825), Appendix H for H. Bazin (1906), and Appendix N for Travélé (1913).)

Table 9 – Dictionary of a Non-European Language Variety

<u>Texts</u> • Dard's <u>Dictionnaire français-wolof et français-bambara</u> (1825) • Bazin's <u>Dictionnaire bambara-français</u> (1906) • Travélé's <u>Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français</u> (1913) <u>Characteristics:</u> • Contextualization of speakers and language variety vis-à-vis European languages and other related language varieties • Presentation of “oral” language variety in written form (e.g., explanation of transcription, alphabet) • Description of how words are and can be formed in non-European language variety in order to facilitate translation of European terms for which there has been no previous need • Presentation of non-European language variety terms and their European language glosses and European language terms and their non-European language variety glosses

1.3 Grammatical Essay or Manual of a Non-European Language Variety

The third discourse type I identify is a grammatical essay or manual of a non-European language variety. The authors of the Bambara texts I associate with this discourse type identify their texts as either manuals or grammars. I have combined both of these into one discourse type to highlight their shared purpose, i.e., to provide a grammar for Bambara. Like the previous two discourse types, the grammatical essay or manual also draws on a European perspective in an effort to present an “oral” language in written form. However, these texts provide

additional historical, geographic, and cultural information about the speakers of Bambara. (For more details, see Appendix D for Binger (1886), Appendix F for Toulotte (1897), Appendix G for Delafosse (1901), Appendix I for Sauvart (1925), and Appendix N for Travélé (1910).)

Table 10 – Grammatical Essay or Manual of a Non-European Language Variety

<u>Texts</u> • Binger's <u>Essai sur la langue bambara</u> (1886) • Toulotte's <u>Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Segou)</u> (1897) • Delafosse's <u>Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mande ou mandingue</u> (1901) • Sauvart's <u>Manuel de la langue bambara</u> (1925) • Travélé's <u>Petit manuel français-bambara</u> (1910) <u>Characteristics</u> • Contextualization of speakers and language variety vis-à-vis European languages and other related language varieties • Presentation of "oral" language variety in written form (e.g., explanation of transcription, alphabet) • Grammar of non-European language variety • Additional historical, geographic, and cultural information about speakers
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1.4 Comprehensive Study of Non-European Language Variety

The fourth discourse type I identify is a comprehensive study of a non-European language variety (see Table 11). I only associate one Bambara text with this discourse type – Delafosse's La langue mandingue (1929). This text is unique due to my use of it as a marker for the end-point of my study of the "colonialism of Bambara" and as the source of citations of Bambara texts. I characterize this text as "comprehensive" as Delafosse attempts to bring together a complete study of the Mande language.

Table 11 – Comprehensive Study of Non-European Language Variety

<u>Text</u> • Delafosse's <u>La langue mandingue</u> (1929)
<u>Characteristic</u> • Pulls together other discourse types

1.5 Collection of Proverbs and Stories

I associate the interpreter Travélé's Proverbes et contes bambara (1923) with the fifth discourse type I have identified – collection of proverbs and stories (see Table 12). This text differs from the collection of vocabularies, dictionaries, and grammars/manuals in that it is not primarily intended to teach someone Bambara. However, it does serve to increase one's competency in Bambara, as well as increase understanding about traditional Bambara culture as reflected in proverbs and stories. (See Appendix N for a more detailed description of Travélé (1923).)

Table 12 – Collection of Proverbs and Stories

<u>Text</u> • Travélé's <u>Proverbes et contes bambara</u> (1923)
<u>Characteristics</u> • Collection of proverbs and stories • Additional historical, geographic, and cultural information about speakers

1.6 Scholarly Study of a Non-European People

The sixth discourse type is a scholarly study of non-European people. I associate four texts with this discourse type (see Table 13). I describe these texts as “scholarly” as they reflect the shift from those texts with a more pragmatic purpose (e.g., dictionaries, grammars/manual) to those that are used by individuals engaged in the formal study of non-European peoples. These Bambara texts are intended to present the history, political structure, and socio-cultural practices of the Bambara and other African peoples. In doing so, the authors draw upon an indigenous perspective and data, although they continue the tradition of contextualizing the African from a European perspective. A missionary and colonial officials produced all of these texts during the early colonial period in the Sudan. (For more detailed descriptions of each text see Appendix J for Henry (1910), Appendix L for Tauxier (1917, 1921), and Appendix M for C. Monteil (1924).)

Table 13 – Scholarly Study of a Non-European People

Texts

- Henry’s L’ame d’une peuple africain: Les Bambara (1910)
- Tauxier’s Le Noir du Yatenga (1917) and Le Noir de Bondoukou (1921)
- C. Monteil’s Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta (1924)

Characteristics

- Presentation of history, political structure, and socio-cultural practices of non-European peoples
- Contextualization of non-European people vis-à-vis European peoples
- Use of indigenous perspective and data

1.7 Scholarly Article Concerning a Non-European People

The final discourse type I identify – a scholarly article concerning a non-European people – differs from the scholarly study in its length, specialized topic and presentation, and inclusion in an academic journal. However, it shares an academic orientation with the scholarly study. I associate two texts with this discourse type (see Table 14). These two texts were produced during two different periods – during the conquest of the former French Sudan and the early colonial period – by individuals associated with the French government. (See Appendix E for a more detailed description of Tautain (1887) and Appendix K for a more detailed description of Brévié (1917).)

Table 14 – Scholarly Article Concerning a Non-European People

Texts

- Tautain's "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et mallinké ou mandingké" (1887)
- Brévié's "A propos d'un chanson bambara" (1917)

Characteristics

- Relatively shorter length than other texts
- Journal audience dictates topic and presentation
- Use of specialized vocabulary

In identifying these seven discourse types with which I could associate these Bambara texts, I ultimately chose what works best for my study. As I worked through my initial analysis of these texts, I grouped them together in certain categories based upon shared characteristics. This enabled me to isolate conventions that shaped the production of each text and compare similarities and differences in these conventions across time and genre. Identifying these

seven discourse types helped me with the interpretation and explanation of these texts (see Chapter 8). However, they reflect the fact that there is not a uniform set of discourse types for the comparative study of the “colonialism of language”.

2.0 Discourse Participants

In this section I identify and briefly describe the various participants involved in the production of these Bambara texts. I divide the discourse participants into four groups – the authors of the texts, the sources of data and informants used to produce the texts, the intended and unintended audiences of the texts, and the sponsors and publishers of the texts. As noted in Chapter 3, these texts only provide linguistic traces of colonialism. Therefore, it is difficult to identify all of the participants who were involved in the production of these texts.

2.1 Authors of Texts

The authors of these texts fall into two major groups – those associated with missionary groups and those associated with the French state (see Table 15). The first set of authors represent three different missionary groups – the Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the White Fathers. I associate the second set of authors with the French state based upon the primary sponsor of the activities which resulted in the production of their texts. The bulk of these authors (Binger, Tautain, Brévié, Tauxier, C. Monteil, and M. Delafosse) were engaged in military and administrative activities, while Dard was an educator in Senegal and Travélé was an interpreter. Dividing the authors does not mean that each author was exclusively associated with either missionaries or the French state. However, the missionary/state opposition emerged as a critical factor in understanding the “colonialism of Bambara”. The relationship between the missionary groups and the state are complex and

intertwined. More details about the activities of each of these groups and individual authors are provided in Chapters 5-7. The amount of data available about each author varied according to availability of secondary source material and the individual's relative importance in the history of the former French Sudan.

Table 15 – Authors of Bambara Texts

Authors Associated with Missionary Groups	Authors Associated with French State
<u>Baptist Missionary Society</u> Clarke	<u>Educational System</u> Dard
<u>Church Missionary Society</u> Koelle	<u>Military/Colonial Administration</u> Binger Tautain Brévié Tauxier C. Monteil M. Delafosse
<u>White Fathers</u> Toulotte H. Bazin Henry Sauvant	<u>Interpreter</u> Travélé

2.2 Source of Data and Informants

The second set of discourse participants I identify is individuals that provided data on Bambara. The data source could be informants that the author directly worked with or those informants who were represented in other texts (either directly or indirectly). It is important to look for traces of the data source to highlight the fact that each text is the product of discursive action involving multiple participants. These texts were not created in a vacuum. In addition, the attempt to identify the data source also uncovers moments when informants are

silenced or their voices controlled. Identification of the source of Bambara data is provided in Tables 4 and 6 (see Chapter 2). The source of data and informants is also closely tied with how Bambara is (re)presented and is discussed further below.

2.3 Audience of Texts

The third set of discourse participants is the audience of the texts – both the intended and unintended audiences. During discursive action, the discourse participants draw on a set of conventions, which includes ideas about who the discourse is intended to include (either directly or indirectly). For example, H. Bazin (1906) states that his dictionary is intended for French speakers and as a consequence he used the French alphabet for the transcription of Bambara terms. In the case of a text, the author engages in discursive action with others (e.g., informants, reading other texts, speaking with colleagues about an article or book) prior to and during the act of inscribing the text. In addition to the intended audience, there are also other unintended audiences of these texts. For example, the authors may not have thought that someone like me would be reading these texts in the future in an attempt to study the “colonialism of Bambara”. Keeping the unintended audience in mind is important in understanding how the “colonialism of Bambara” unfolded in the past, continues in the present, and to identify opportunities for future resistance.

2.4 Sponsors and Publishers

The final group of discourse participants are the sponsors and publishers of these texts (see Tables 4 and 6 in Chapter 2). These sponsors and publishers include government organizations (e.g., Ministry of the Marine, Ministry of the Marine and Colonies, French colonial administration), missionary groups (e.g., Church Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, Spiritains, White Fathers), and universities or academies (e.g., Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres). The sponsors and publishers are often power-holders and therefore had control of the set of conventions shaping these discourses. For example, a publisher could edit an article before it was published or the orders given to a colonial official could dictate what type of linguistic data to collect.

Each of these four groups of discourse participants – the authors of the texts, the source of data/informants, the audience, and the sponsors/publishers – contributed in varying ways to how Bambara is (re)presented in each text.

3.0 (Re)presentations of Bambara

For each text, I addressed the issue of how Bambara is (re)presented in each text ("What is Bambara?"), by asking five specific questions:

- What is the source of the Bambara material?
- What geographic location is associated with Bambara?
- What historical context is associated with Bambara?
- How is Bambara characterized as a people?
- How is Bambara characterized as a language variety?

In other words, if I read the text in isolation (realizing that no text can ever truly be read in isolation), what sense of Bambara would I walk away with? By asking this question of each text individually and summarizing my answers in Table 16, I was better able to see changes in how Bambara was (re)presented through time and similarities and differences in (re)presentations of Bambara between the texts. This section is not intended to interpret or explain the data summarized in Table 16, but merely to provide an overview of how Bambara is (re)presented in these texts in order to set the stage for presenting my understanding the "colonialism of Bambara" presented in Chapters 5-8.

3.1 Source of Bambara Material

One of my concerns in exploring the "colonialism of Bambara" is to identify where and from whom the authors of the Bambara texts obtained their Bambara material. I identified the source from both the texts themselves and secondary sources. In some cases, I was not able to identify the source. This is both an opportunity for further research on the "colonialism of Bambara" (e.g., targeted archival research) and a reflection of the nature of the "colonialism of

language” itself (e.g., difficulty in finding archaeological traces, silencing the Other).

As indicated in Table 16, the source of Bambara material is not explicitly identified in certain texts (e.g., Dard (1825), Clarke (1848)). Other authors provide detailed descriptions of their informants (e.g., Koelle (1849), Brévié (1917)) and pinpoint the location where their data was gathered (e.g., Tautain (1887)). The source of Bambara is a key in interpreting and explaining these Bambara texts as the location where Bambara was gathered (e.g., Segu, Kaarta, Beledugu) is tied to the agendas of the colonial government and missionary groups.

3.2 Geographic Location Associated with Bambara

Another area of interest for me in identifying “What is Bambara?” is to explore what geographic location is associated with Bambara in each of these texts. As discussed in Chapter 1, the naming of peoples and places reflects the process of conquest, population movements, and the limits of expansion. In all of the Bambara texts (with the exception of Dard (1825)), Bambara is correlated with a geographic location. What is interesting is that the presentation of this geographic location takes on more clarity as the former French Sudan is explored and the area is absorbed into the French colonial sphere. Several of the authors also provide maps which locate Bambara and associated geographic locations visually (e.g., Koelle (1849), C. Monteil (1924)).

3.3 Historical Context Associated with Bambara

Understanding how Bambara is contextualized in time (history), as well as in space (geographic location), is important as the study of the “colonialism of Bambara” reflects the ways in which Europeans attempted to identify, classify, and order the Other and how this process changed through time. Providing a historical context for Bambara can be associated with certain discourse types (i.e., grammatical essay/manual, comprehensive study of a non-European language variety, scholarly study of non-European people). As Table 16 indicates, Segu and Kaarta emerge as an important aspect of the Bambara historical context, as well as linking the Bambara to the evolution of the Mande peoples and related political entities.

3.4 Characterization of Bambara as a People

Closely tied to geographic location and historical context is how the Bambara are characterized as a people. In this section, I highlight the association of Bambara with Islam or paganism; their place in the larger Mande family; their mode of economic production and socio-political structure; and their relationship to other Mande peoples, Africans, and the French. The Bambara texts provide a wealth of detail on how the discourse authors and others characterized Bambara as a people. This detail is found not only in sections of the texts explicitly dedicated to this task (e.g., introduction to a grammar, chapter on social structure), but also in such things as word lists, phrases, and proverbs included in these texts.

3.5 Characterization of Bambara as a Language Variety

The final area I considered in answering the question, “What is Bambara?”, was how Bambara was characterized as a language variety. Identifying how a language variety is characterized (e.g., dialect, language, patois) and how it is compared to other language varieties provides important data for understanding how the actions of the discourse participants contributed to the “colonialism of language”. As seen in Table 16, Bambara is characterized as a language variety in comparison to other language varieties (both African and European); placed in classification systems in relation to its “cousin” language varieties; and described in terms of its relative complexity. In addition, Bambara is presented in some texts as an essential tool to the successful implementation of missionary and colonial agendas.

Table 16 – What is Bambara?

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Dard (1825)	Not explicitly identified – could be one or more of his students	Not provided	Not provided	No explicit characterization; Bambara contrasted to Wolof; partially associated with Islam; not literate	Bambara presented as one of 15 West African languages (not in a genetic relationship)
Clarke (1848)	Not explicitly identified – assumed to be one of his “informants” who has knowledge of Bambara	- Text intended to correlate “languages” and “dialects” with geographic locations - Bambara identified as a “district” located in Mandingo - Its “capital” is Segu - Refers reader to Park’s account	Not provided	People who live in Mandingo; not explicitly characterized as either Muslim or pagan	- Bambara presented as one of 294 “specimens” - Bambara is identified as one “dialect” of the Mandingo “language”
Koelle (1849)	Provides a description of his informant – born in Segu and lived there for approximately 30 years; at time of interview had been a trader in Sierra Leone for approximately 15 years.	- Koelle provides a map to locate where Bambara is spoken and pinpoints Segu - Describes “Bambara country” - Indicates Segu is a “well-known town” on the Niger - Gives relational directions to Bambara	Not provided	Partially associated with Islam	Koelle developed a classification system of African languages, Bambara belongs to the “North-Western High-Sudan Family, or Mandén-ga Family of Languages”

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Binger (1886)	- Gathered information from three informants from Kaarta and Bélédougou and verified with other Africans at various posts - When informants better understand French our "knowledge" of Bambara will improve	- Bambara linked to the Segu and Kaarta states - Geographic locations related to history of people	- Traces history of "mandingue race" - Points out difficulty of ascertaining Bambara history as language is unwritten	- Branch of "mandingue race" "Mandingue race" contrasted to "poul race" - In the past, the Bambara were associated with states and great cities, now portrayed as a defeated people who live in villages	- Bambara "language" is related to that of their "mandingue cousins" but different enough to be a distinct "language" - Bambara "language" varies in different areas (e.g., Kaarta and Bélédougou)
Tautaln (1887)	Data collected in 1880 – 1881 from Segu	Bambara data gathered in Segu	Not provided	Bambara is not explicitly identified as a people	- Bambara is a language variety spoken in Segu - Part of the "Bambara-Malinke-Soninke" group –relationship between three language varieties unclear - Bambara differs from other African languages and Latin in terms of certain linguistic features

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Tou-lotte (1897)	Information gathered in Segou	Segou, Bamako, and Sigiiri are identified	Not provided	No explicit characterization; some "cultural" information provided in text	- No explicit definition of how Bambara is related to other languages - Focus on variety of Bambara spoken in Segou which is related to other varieties spoken in Bamako and Sigiiri
Del-afosse (1901)	Collected from bamana informants outside of areas where dialect commonly spoken	- Bamana dialect spoken in Kaarta, Bélédougou, Kalari, Mourdiadougou, Kourouma-dougou, along the north shore of the upper Sénégal from Médine to Badoumbé, and along the Niger from Bamako to the region of the Débo lake. "Colonies bamana" in Malinké country, Toucouleur and Songhaï country, and in Sarakolé country.	- Mali Empire – origin of Mande people - Struggle between Mali and Songhay – origin of Mande tribes	- Predominately "pagan" - Engage in civil war and wars with other neighboring peoples - Physically marked by scarification - Comprised of noble families (Kouloubali, Diara/Guiara, Konaré/Konaté, Taraoré/Taraouré) and other families	- Dialect of the mandé language - Part of the "groupe de tan" - Very similar to Dyoula and Malinké - Differences among varieties of bamana dialect, but not significant to formally divide into "sous-dialectes"

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
H. Bazin (1906)	Compilation of work of many missionaries posted throughout the former French Sudan	Pinpoints specific geographic locations – north of Cercle de Kita and south of Cercle de Nioro (i.e., "le Karta"), majority of Cercle de Bambake (especially in the two Bélédougous), all of the Cercle de Ségou, majority of the population of the Cercle de Sokolo, important colonies along the Bani and the shores of the Banifing, in the north on the Niger from Sompi to Timbuktu, and in the east among the "Minianka (tribu Sénoufo)" and the Bobos	Linked to Segou in the past when the Bambara had a "certain social organization" which was not truly a "nation" due to their lack of "cohesion"	- Bambara are the most "considerable" group of the Mande race (which is found in Guinée, Sénégal, Côte d'Ivoire, and Soudan français) - Initially resisted French occupation, then became "devoted" and "willing" - A people with a history (i.e., Segou) "Nègres" - On same intellectual level as "European villagers" "Fetishist" agriculturists – yet have lived among more civilized Muslims and adopted some of their customs - Social organization based upon primacy of chiefs and comprised of various "social classes"	- Bambara "idiome" or "dialecte" is part of the group of Sudanese languages known as "langues mandé" - Not part of Bantu languages which are more "complicated" in terms of morphology - Most "advanced" of all Mande dialects - Bambara is uniform and has a "monotony of style", yet the Bambara can be "eloquent" - Bambara capable of expressing abstractions - Only writing is through use of Arabic characters; this is limited to the few who attended Koranic schools - Regional differences in pronunciation of Bambara

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Sauvant (1925)	Possibly Toulotte's <u>Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Ségou)</u> (1897); Bambara and Malinké informants	Bambara language variety predominant in cercles of Segou, Bamako, Bougouni, Sokolo; a secondary language in cercles of Sikasso, Koutiala, Goumbou, San, niaro, Niafounké, Mopti and Dienné; and a less important language in other cercles	- Discusses the "origins" of the Bambara – pre-exodus (when the Bambara were located in the Mande heartland) and exodus (after the 13th century when they rebelled against "Malinké" and migrated north) - Discusses the establishment of the Segou and Kaarta kingdoms and Bélédougou	- A people with a "long" history - Part of the Mande peoples - Comprised of different factions (e.g., Kouloubali Bambara, Massassi Bambara) - Reject Islam	- Draws upon Delafosse's classification in Haut-Sénégal-Niger – Bambara is one of the principal "dialects" of "Mandingue" which is one of three groups of the "Mandé language" - Mandé language one of the most important "mother languages" spoken in French West Africa "Analytical" and "agglutinative" - Has Arabic loan words - Easy to pronounce – some "natives" dispense with special velar pronunciation
Henry (1910)	Uses specific examples throughout the text identified with dates and locations – some data collected himself	Cercle de Segou inhabited by Bambara fetishists and others	Archinard's actions gained cercle de Segou for France in 1890	- Fetishists who are unable to reason or think logically and therefore are enslaved to their ancestors' beliefs - Some Bambara are Muslims - Bambara "race" is part of the larger Mandingue "race" - African people	Bambara is one of the common languages of the cercle de Segou

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Henry (cont'd)	Includes photographs taken by fellow missionary (Dubernet)			- Majority of inhabitants in cercle de Segou - Dull-witted, lazy farmers who view the French as their masters - Women are free "nègres"; compared to "Arab" women who are not allowed to leave their compounds - Can be compared to other peoples subject to ethnographic description (e.g., Australians) and placed in a developmental hierarchy	
Brévié (1917)	Song performed by D'Namba Kouloubali and recorded by Brévié	- Cercle de Bamako - Cantons de Koumi and Massantola - Bambara country	- Describes insurrection among Bambara in 1915 in cercle de Bamako - In the past were independent, adventurous warriors	"Primitive" people who share unity of human spirit in terms of religion and literature - Have chiefs - Unsuccessfully rebellious against French authority - Griot caste traditionally produces songs - Able to engage in atypical cultural activities	Brévié does not explicitly characterize Bambara as a language variety

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Tau- xier (1917 and 1921)	Possibly obtained Bambara terms from Bazin's <i>Dictionnaire Bambara-Français</i> and Henry's <i>L'âme d'un peuple africain. Les Bambara</i>	Identifies specific areas where the Bambara are found (e.g., Segou, Bougouni) and a more general Bambara country	Refers to the Bambara located in Segou in the 18 th century	- Part of larger group of "nègres soudanais" who share certain common characteristics such as illiteracy - Part of Mande peoples who "twisted" Mossi legends to add to their own glory - People whose social life is shaped by their physical environment	- Refers to Delafosse's linguistic classification in Haut-Sénégal-Niger - Part of group of Mande languages - Can be used as point of comparison with terms from other Mande languages (e.g., Samo)
C. Montelli (1924)	- Published works of missionaries, explorers and military expeditions, the interpreter Travélé, and scholars - Informants from Kaarta and Segou	Segou and Kaarta (includes a map)	Focus is on Bambara of Segou and Kaarta whose history is well known	- Large group of West Africans as indicated by census figures - People who speak Bambara dialect and call themselves "Banaman" or "Bamana" – share a common language and customs - Segou and Kaarta Bambara associated with empires and have partial affiliation with Islam	- Mastery of an indigenous language is essential to be an effective colonial administrator and produce ethnographies - Bambara is a dialect that is well-known – therefore does not need to include a grammar or vocabulary - Bambara texts are included to supplement existing collections – represent variety of indigenous literary genres

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
C. Montell (cont'd)				• Concepts and institutions of Segu and Kaarta Bambara can be extended to other great lines of the Bambara • While presented as a specific group, linked to larger groups such as Sudanese, Africans, and "noirs"	
Travélé (1910, 1913, 1923)	• Self – Bambara is maternal language • Possibly other Bambara and Mande language speakers • Delafosse's research and publications	• Delafosse indicates Bambara spoken principally in cercles of Segou, Bamako, Bougouni, Goumbou, Nioro, Sokolo, Kita, Bafoulabé and Kayes, as well as in other parts of French West Africa • Travélé indicates spoken throughout French West Africa	Study of customary law captures "historical" past of Bambara that will soon disappear due to French occupation	• Capable of producing linguistic and ethnographic works • Bambara are a distinct group of people who are related (culturally and linguistically) to other Mande peoples (e.g., Malinké and Dioula) • Share similarities with other "noirs" in terms of customary law • Illiterate • Traditional Bambara contrasted with Muslims • Presented as society, people, and race • Compared to earlier Western societies	• In his introductory sections, Delafosse depicts Bambara as one of the principal and most important "dialects" of the "Mande language" • Focus on pronunciation that would hear from an "indigène" – regional variations in pronunciation • Bambara widespread and universal in French Sudan • Distinction between "rules" and actual usage of Bambara • Certain terms known only to specific groups of Bambara (e.g., botanical terms and hunters)

Table 16 (cont'd)

Text	Source of Bambara Material	Geographic Location	Historical Context	Characterization as a People	Characterization as a Language Variety
Del-afosse (1929)	Collected by Delafosse personally or drawn from existing texts	Located along the valleys of the Niger and the Bani between the Manding and the Débo lake and in the Sudanese Sahel	- History of Mandingue essential in order to understand how language has become so widespread - Mandingue people have been an influential people West Africa for a long period of time - Bambara associated with Segu and Kaarta	- One of three major factions of the Mandingue, a "black African" people - Agriculturists - Animists - Founders of Segu and Kaarta - Members of the French army - Speakers of Bambara dialects - Classified genetically in relation to other African, European, and non-European peoples	- One of three major dialect groups of the Mandingue language, a member of the "sous-groupe de centre" of the "groupe nigéro-sénégalais", which is part of the "famille des langues négro-africaines" - Mandingue is a widespread language spoken by a large number of people with potential to become a "universal language" in West Africa - Does not have enough dialectical variation to warrant division into "sous-dialectes" - Correlated with the Bambara people - Spoken by non-Bambara - Classified genetically in relation to other African, European, and non-European language varieties - Oral language

4.0 Summary

In this chapter I provided an overview of the description phase of my analysis. First, I identified and defined seven discourse types and correlated each Bambara text with one of these discourse types. These discourse types provide one way of understanding the similarities and differences between the Bambara texts in so far as the discourse participants draw upon a partially shared set of conventions during their production. The fact that the set of conventions is partially shared reflects the variety of participants involved in the discourse production. In the second section, I identified these discourse participants – the authors of the texts, the source of data and informants, the audience of the texts, and the sponsors and publishers. In the final section, I defined what Bambara is in each text by asking a series of questions designed to identify the source of Bambara material, geographic location and historical context associated with Bambara, and how Bambara is characterized as a people and language variety. The richness of data in each text, which is summarized in this chapter and explored in more detail in Appendices A-N, will be explored in more detail in the subsequent chapters as I move from description of each Bambara text towards the interpretation and explanation of these texts.

CHAPTER 5 – FRAMEWORK FOR SITUATIONAL AND INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXTS: BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

In this chapter, I present a historical framework for further exploration of the situational and intertextual contexts in which discourse participants produced Bambara texts during the pre-colonial period (i.e., Dard, Koelle and Clarke). This chapter is intended to flesh out certain aspects of the social world in which the discourse participants identified in Chapter 4 interacted and provide a detailed framework for the interpretation and explanation stages of analysis of all of the Bambara texts presented in Chapter 8. I provide a similar framework for the other Bambara texts in Chapter 6 (Bambara texts produced during the penetration into the former French Sudan) and Chapter 7 (Bambara texts produced during the early colonial period).

Chapters 5-7 are not intended to provide an exhaustive history of West Africa, the Bambara people and language, or the discourse participants, but rather to provide a preliminary foundation for the further study of the “colonialism of Bambara”. I chose to focus on certain aspects of the social worlds of the discourse participants based upon my interests as an analyst, certain themes that emerged consistently during the descriptive stage, and what was available in secondary sources (i.e., other related discourses). In other words, the production of this text is also the result of my interpretation of my current situation and how I see this discourse relating to a historical series of discourses around colonialism.

As discussed in Chapter 3, situational context refers to the current situation the interpreter is involved in and intertextual context refers to how the

present discourse is connected to previous discourses. For example, Dard collected the data he used to construct his dictionary during his tenure as an instructor at the *Ecole mutuelle des garçons* in Senegal (situational context). His perception of what Bambara was as both a people and language variety and how this was represented in his dictionary are related to previous French encounters with Bambara in Senegal and associated discourses (intertextual context). In critical discourse analysis, an understanding of situational and intertextual context is necessary in order to provide an adequate interpretation and explanation of a text.

In the first section, I first provide a context for French encounters with Bambara in Senegal (as represented by Dard's dictionary) by describing early European knowledge of West Africa, early European exploration of West Africa, French experience with Africans in Senegal and the West Indies, and European exploration of the interior of West Africa during the nineteenth century. Next, I describe Dard's work with the *Ecole mutuelle des garçons* in more detail and the circumstances in which he produced his dictionary.

In the second section, I first provide some background on the limited European experience with Mande peoples on the lower Guinea coast during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and subsequent settlement of the coast and penetration into the interior at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Next, I outline the activities of the Baptist Missionary Society in West Africa and Clarke's role as a missionary linguist. Finally, I

describe the Christian Missionary Society's missionary activity in Sierra Leone and the interior and Koelle's associated linguistic work.

In the final section, I provide a brief summary of the historical framework for the situational and intertextual contexts in which Dard, Clarke, and Koelle and other discourse participants produced their texts. Situational and intertextual context is examined in more detail in Chapter 8 when all of the Bambara texts are subject to interpretation and explanation.

1.0 French Encounters with Bambara in Senegal

Prior to the fifteenth century, European knowledge of West Africa was, for the most part, limited to classical and Arabic sources.²¹ Classical accounts included negative descriptions of the peoples of Africa. Herodotus, for example, stated that Africans "eat locusts and snakes, share wives, and speak no human language but rather 'screech like bats'." (Cohen 1980:1).

During the Middle Ages, many classical texts had "disappeared" from European knowledge and were embodied primarily in the writings of Solinus (a geographer of the third century). During the Renaissance, many classical texts were "rediscovered" (such as those of Pliny and Herodotus) and reintroduced negative images of Africa and its peoples to Europeans (Cohen 1980:1-2).

Arabic accounts (such as those of El Idrissi, Ibn Battu, and Leo Africanus) were another source of knowledge about Africa. Like the classical sources, Arabic accounts also presented negative stereotypes of African peoples even

while describing the relative complexity of the economic, political, and social structures of West African states (Cohen 1980:2-3).

European exploration of coast of West Africa began in the fifteenth century, primarily by the Portuguese. The Portuguese reached Cape Verde and the mouth of the Senegal by 1444-1445. They succeeded in capturing some Africans and taking them back to Portugal. Between 1469 and 1475, the Portuguese continued their exploration of the West African coast, reaching Fernando Po in 1475. Other Europeans mounted expeditions to West Africa²², but only the Portuguese had a permanent presence in the region until the seventeenth century. In addition to trade along the coast, the Portuguese sent an expedition into the interior of West Africa, reaching Mali in 1534, and perhaps as far as Timbuktu around 1565.

During this period, knowledge of Mande peoples and language varieties was confined to information gathered from peoples on the coast of West Africa, as well as from the Portuguese foray into the interior (Fage 1969:51-62). On the whole, Portuguese accounts reinforced previous negative images of Africans produced by classical and Arabic authors (Cohen 1980:3).

Portuguese domination of West African trade was challenged in the seventeenth century when other European powers (notably the Dutch, French, and British) entered into the Atlantic slave trade. This period witnessed the formation of national trading companies and the establishment of forts and trading posts on the coast in order for European nations to more effectively compete for a share of West African trade (Fage 1969:67-70).

France focused on the area around the Senegal River during this period, establishing posts at its mouth in the 1630's and making Saint-Louis the center of French activity in 1659. France extended its interest along the Upper Guinea coast by taking Goree and Arguin from the Dutch in 1677 and by establishing trading posts at Albreda on the Gambia River and at Bissau and Bulama (located in present-day Guinea Bissau).²³ In addition, the French attempted to penetrate into the interior of West Africa and reached such areas as Bambuk. Despite their efforts, the French found that their trade in gum, wax, ivory, hides and slaves was not very successful due in part to competition from established African trading networks (such as those of the Mande and Fulani), as well as the relatively sparse population in the northern Senegal valley (Fage 1969:70-73).

In addition to encounters with Africans as a result of their commercial activity in Senegal, French experiences in the West Indies also contributed to their image of Africans. In 1625, France began the official establishment of colonies in the West Indies. By the end of the seventeenth century, African slaves became the dominant labor force in the West Indies. According to Cohen (1980:xvi), slavery became the dominant lens through which the French viewed Africans. It reinforced pre-existing notions of inequality between Africans and Europeans that had been put forth by earlier travelers to Africa. The French assumed that the slaves in the West Indies had previously been enslaved in Africa. Therefore, the institution of slavery did not present an immediate "moral" problem for the French during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Slavery was seen as a better alternative to draining a much needed labor force at home.

With the shift towards a plantation economy in the West Indies and an increasing demand for African slaves, negative images of Africans increased in order to help justify the use of slave labor. Many French failed to recognize that it was in fact the conditions of slavery itself that produced "negative" behaviors (e.g., stealing food because of hunger) (Cohen 1980:35-59).

Negative images of Africans persisted in eighteenth century, but they were articulated within the intellectual framework of the Enlightenment. While it was believed that all people were equal, Europeans nonetheless noted differences in terms of social organization and cultural practices. The concept of "biological racism" developed as an explanation of the discrepancies between the ideal of the "equality" of humankind and the perceived "inferiority" of Africans and others (Cohen 1980:60-99). Throughout this period France and Britain struggled for control over the Senegambia area (Fage 1969:77-78) and there was little exploration of the interior of Africa (Cohen 1980:62).

By the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, France had lost much of her colonial empire²⁴ and all that remained were scattered posts in Africa and Asia. Senegal was one area in which French merchants wanted to resume commercial activity. France regained control of Saint-Louis and Goree from Britain in 1817, but was only able to retake two trading posts on the Senegal and Albreda on the Gambia. During this period, France chose to concentrate on the development of plantations on the lower Senegal and in the Cape Verde area rather than attempt to resume trading activities. Only after 1826, when it became clear that the plantations were a failure did France turn back to West African trade as an

avenue of profit. Given the presence of relatively strong states and Muslim control of trade in the Sudan, the French focused their attention on the Guinea coast rather than the Sudan until the 1850's (Fage 1969:161-162).²⁵

Although the French concentrated on coastal areas during most of the nineteenth century, European exploration of the interior of West Africa began in earnest during this period. Accounts of these expeditions expressed and reinforced notions of biological racism and evolutionism (Cohen 1980:210-262). The accounts of Mungo Park (Anonymous 1854; Park 1795; Thompson 1890) and René Caillié (1830) are two examples of early exploration during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Under the sponsorship of the African Association, Park undertook an expedition to ascertain the course of the Niger and to visit principal cities, such as Timbuktu. Before commencing his journey, Park stayed in Pisania in the Gambia for five months in order to learn the "Mandingo tongue, which is the language of general use throughout this part of Africa, and to collect information respecting the countries which he intended to visit" (Anonymous, 1854:19). Park collected cultural information about four "nations" which occupied the territories bordering the Gambia – the "Feloops", the "Jaloofs" or "Yaloofs", the "Foulahs", and the "Mandingoes". Park characterized all four of these "negro nations" as Muslim "nations", a fact that would be contrasted later with the traditional religion of the Bambara. Park and his guides labeled the majority of people they encountered on their expedition as "Mandingo". As a result, Park described the "Mandingo nation" as the "most considerable of these four nations."

With knowledge of the "Mandingo" language and a conceptualization of these four African peoples, Park left for the interior in December of 1795. One of Park's first characterizations of the Bambara was that of a hostile army who was threatening to invade the kingdom of Kaarta. In mid-July 1796, Park arrived outside of Segou, but was unable to obtain an interview with its ruler, as Mansong apparently feared the reaction of the "Moorish" inhabitants of Segou to the presence of a Christian in the city. Instead, Mansong presented Park with 5,000 cowries and a new guide. This guide cautioned him not to continue his journey to Timbuktu, as both Jenné and Timbuktu were firmly under the control of "Moors" who would not allow any Christian to enter their territories. This warning coupled with ill health and diminishing financial resources convinced Park to return to the Gambia in June of 1797.

Different speakers of the "Mandingo language" accompanied Park on his journey. He set off with an ex-slave from the West Indies who served as his official interpreter. This interpreter had been "born in this part of Africa" and presumably spoke the "Mandingo language", but which part of Africa he was born in and what group he identified himself with is not made clear. In addition to his interpreter, Park was accompanied to Kaarta by a man name Madiboo who was planning to travel to the "kingdom of the Bambara." From Ludamar to Segou, refugees accompanied him from Kaarta. Therefore, Park was clearly in the company of "Mandingo-speakers" during his entire journey and probably had to rely exclusively on this language variety after being abandoned by his interpreter outside of Ludamar. From the descriptions of Park's first expedition, it seems that

he was able to communicate without the assistance of an interpreter by the time that he reached Segu.

Park not only presents the "language" of the "Mandingo" people as a unified whole, which is contrasted with the languages of other "nations" or "peoples", but he also presents all the "negro nations" as having a common culture. One account of Park's travels states that, "all the negro nations that fell under Park's observations, though divided into a number of petty independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition." This "common negro culture" is contrasted to both the "Moors" and Europeans in terms of religion. Park notes the belief in "one God", but makes a distinction between the practices of Muslims and "pagans" (Grosz-Ngate 1986:1-25).

Caillié was the next notable explorer to encounter the Bambara in the Sudan. Motivated by the prize of 10,000 francs offered by the Société géographique de Paris to the first European to reach Timbuktu, Caillié set out in 1827 from Senegal and arrived in Tangiers in 1828. In contrast to Park, Caillié did not receive training in the "Mandingo language", but instead studied Arabic and Islamic "culture" through a grant from the Governor of Saint-Louis. Disguised as an Arab and traveling with other Muslims, the impressions that Caillié formulated about the Bambara were refracted through the eyes of Muslims, primarily those of "Moors". This Islamic-centered view helped to solidify the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim Africans. The primary distinction that Caillié makes between the Bambara and "Mandingo" is the acceptance of Islam.

For example, Caillié claims that in the village of Timé, both the "Mandingo and Bambara nations" coexist peacefully, intermarry, and have an economic dependency upon each other. Thus, Caillié's distinction in defining a "nation" in the context of Timé was religion, not language or marriage restrictions (Caillié 1830, vol. 1:345-360).

Like Park, Caillié portrayed Africans as "underdeveloped", but he also distinguished between levels of "development". He characterized the Bambara as the "most poor and wretched" in comparison to their Muslim counterparts. Caillié's description of the Bambara of Timé illustrates this comparison (1830, vol. 1:322-323):

Not having joined the standard of the Prophet, they cannot travel but at the risk of being captured and made slaves. They are in general indolent. Their soil, unlike that of the Foulahs of Wassoulo, is ill-cultivated, and their villages are disgustingly dirty. Their food is very bad; they eat all sorts of animals, dogs, cats, rats, mice, serpents and lizards; nothing escapes their voracity. They cultivate a little cotton which they exchange with the Mandingos for salt. I observed weaving in some of their villages; but they make very little cloth, scarcely enough to clothe themselves, for they go around almost naked...These people are governed by a multitude of petty independent chiefs, who often go to war with each other. In short they are in a savage state, compared with the nations which follow the religion of the Prophet.

The picture Caillié presents of the Bambara is often inconsistent. The primary distinction between a Bambara and a "Mandingo" is one of religion yet he describes a "venerable old man of the tribe of the Bambaras, but professing the religion of Mahomet" (1830, vol. 1:321). This may suggest that there are other criteria used by both the Bambara and the "Mandingo" in self-identification, as well as by Caillié. In addition, the status of the language varieties employed by

the Bambara and the "Mandingo" is unclear. While Park appears to portray both peoples as speaking a single language; Caillié at one point seems to indicate that they spoke two different languages.

In addition to accounts generated by these early explorers, the French experiences in Senegal during the nineteenth century shaped the ways in which they perceived Mande peoples and their language varieties. The French drew on a religious and ethnological framework in which Moors were associated with "white" racial features, superior personality traits (e.g., intellect, cunning), and an Islam that was more natural and more mature in light of their Arabic origins. In contrast, the "black" Senegalese peoples had a less authentic and developed Islam and were considered inferior to the Moors (Robinson 1992:223).

Another important distinction that the French drew was that between Muslim Senegalese who were supportive of European commercial and political activities and those Muslims who opposed them (e.g., populations located in Futa Toro). Mande-speaking peoples of the Upper Senegal were the center of this image of "tolerant and malleable Muslims." These people included the Soninke of Galam (who provided crews for boats and collaborated with the gum trade near Bakel), the Mandinka of Bambuk, and the Khassonke (who cooperated with the commercial interests of the French at Medine). In the late nineteenth century, after further French expansion, other Mande peoples in Senegal were added to this "inventory" (Robinson 1992:224).

Thus, during the first half of the nineteenth century, French experience with Bambara and the larger notion of Mande was confined, for the most part, to

Senegal and accounts of early explorers who reached the Sudan. These experiences were crucial to later French conceptualizations of the Sudan and its peoples and language varieties. It is in this context that Dard produced his dictionary.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the French felt that the indigenous population of Senegal was not yet ready for the introduction of Christianity. The implementation of elementary education was seen as one means to prepare the African to receive Christianity. Local authorities were free to determine how to implement elementary education, but they were expected to employ the mutual method (also known as the Bell and Lancaster method) (Bouche 1975:53).

The *Société pour l'instruction élémentaire* organized to promote the use of the mutual method. The premise of this method is that one instructor can teach an unlimited number of students through the use of more advanced students who spend part of their school day as "monitors" instructing less advanced students (Bouche 1975:54).²⁶ Two schools utilizing this method were opened in Saint Louis and Gorée (Bouche 1975:52).

In 1815, after holding a chair in mathematics at a college in Dijon, Dard enrolled in the normal elementary course offered by *the Société pour l'instruction élémentaire* in Paris. Due to a recommendation by the *Société*, the French government chose Jean Dard as the instructor for *the Ecole mutuelle des garçons de Saint Louis*. He directed the school from its opening on March 7, 1817 until September 1, 1820 (Bouche 1975:58).

When Dard arrived in Senegal, the population numbered 9,000 in Saint Louis. The majority of this population was mulattos or freed Negroes and Catholic. The population of Gorée was 2,000, of whom the majority was also mulattos or freed Negroes. A small percentage of the populations of Saint Louis and Gorée were slaves²⁷ (Bouche 1975:57). Dard claims that the majority of his students were slaves, but Bouche (1975:63) argues that this is unlikely as even if the fathers gave a young slave to their sons to share games and work it is still unlikely that they would form the majority of the school's population.

The school in Saint Louis appears to have been quite successful – Dard opened the school with seven students, by the end of 1817 he had 80 students, and his successor had 100 students in 1823 (Bouche 1975:62). The instructions of December 31, 1818 given to Col. Schmaltz indicate that the government felt the mutual method was successful in rapidly spreading elementary education in Saint Louis (Bouche 1975:53). In addition to the mutual method, Dard credited the school's success to the intelligence of his students (Bouche 1975:63).²⁸ Others seem to have shared Dard's opinion of the intelligence and capabilities of these students. Many of former students of the mutual schools of Saint Louis and Gorée went on to hold administrative posts in Saint Louis and at military posts on the upper Senegal. Others held positions with commercial companies performing such duties as conducting trade on the Senegal (Bouche 1975:83-84).

Although the language of instruction was French, Dard allowed the use of Wolof in the classroom (e.g., during recreation period). He believed that the difficulties some of his students experienced were due to the fact that French

was not their first language.²⁹ Dard even proposed the establishment of French-African or Wolof-French schools (cited in Bouche 1975:66, translation mine):

The civilization of the Wolofs is more than neglected; it is placed into oblivion as one has ceased to instruct the Blacks of Senegal in their own language. Because, although one has said it, it is necessary that the Blacks have instruction in their maternal language; without that, no durable settlement, no civilization... I have often remarked that the young Black spells French words only in the hope of forming the sounds characteristic of his natural language.³⁰

Dard felt that elementary education would develop more quickly once materials written in African languages were available. These materials would also ease the fear for the African students that what they were reading and writing was against their religious beliefs³¹ (Bouche 1975:66).

Dard also noticed that many of the younger students were able to read and write in French without understanding what they were reading or writing (Bouche 1975:65-66). Therefore, Dard decided to learn Wolof in order to habituate his students to translate and realize what they were doing (Bouche 1975:65). It would appear that Dard made very rapid progress in Wolof as in August 1818 the Ministry asked him to remit a copy of his vocabulary and grammar. The Ministry in turn gave these documents to a commission³² charged with ascertaining their value (Bouche 1975:65-66).

Dard left Senegal on November 18, 1820 on leave and was discharged by the Ministry of the Marine in April of 1821. Dard attempted to regain his appointment to Saint Louis, but was not successful until the end of 1832. Dard's return to Senegal was opposed for political and moral reasons. For example the

Baron Roger, former governor of Senegal, stated that (cited in Bouche 1975:59, translation mine):

Here, the opinion of him is not very favorable. A scandalous friendship, followed by a more scandalous quarrel again with the Abbot Giudicelli, some documents, rather some denunciations published on the subject of the treatment of Blacks, difficult and tiresome relations with the local authorities, a public cohabitation, and in later times an excessive and contagious distaste of the colony³³

Dard's credibility is an issue in examining his dictionary. Bouche (1975:58-59) points out the inconsistencies in his remarks stating that although he stayed in Saint Louis for four years, he pretends to have directed the school for five years. Then he speaks of research that he conducted on Senegal and its peoples during the space six years. He also states that his dictionary and grammar were the result of eight years of study in Senegal. Bouche questions how one can trust Dard's accounts and texts when he claims to know the Wolof language intimately, as well as have an understanding of the language of all of the peoples of central and western Africa.

Additionally, in 1824, Baron Roger stated that (cited in Bouche 1975:60, translation mine):

As for the talents of M. Dard, I have little data to judge, but I fear that his works on the diverse languages of our part of Africa do not match the good opinion one appears to have conceived.³⁴

A year after his return to Senegal, Dard died in Saint Louis (Bouche 1975:58). The schools continued to be operated in Saint Louis and Gorée until 1841, but Dard's arguments for instruction in African languages went unheeded, for the most part, by his successors (Bouche 1975:89-91).

Evidently the commission gave Dard's grammar and dictionary a good evaluation as they were published by the royal printing house as Dictionnaire français-wolof et français-bambara, suivi du dictionnaire wolof-français in 1825 and Grammaire wolofe in 1826 (Bouche 1975:65-66).

2.0 Missionary Encounters with Bambara on the Lower Guinea Coast

In addition to the Senegambia area, Europeans were also encountering Mande peoples and their language varieties on the lower Guinea coast. As described above, the Portuguese dominated West African trade and exploration until the seventeenth century with the expansion of the Atlantic slave trade. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European interest focused on the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast, and the Gulf of Guinea.³⁵ The Gold Coast was the initial focus of slaving activities due to the pre-existence of trading relations with African peoples and a good supply of slaves at the coast. Thus by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a large number of forts belonging to competing European powers had been established along the Gold Coast. Europeans turned to the Slave Coast and the Gulf of Guinea when demand for slaves could not be met in existing trading centers (Fage 1969:74-77).

Despite their commercial activities on the coast, Europeans were not very interested in penetrating the interior from the lower Guinea coast due to the abundance of slaves available to them at coastal trading centers (Fage 1969:97). Therefore, during this period European experiences with Mande peoples and their language varieties on the lower Guinea coast was limited to direct experience with Mande traders (e.g., the Dioula) in coastal areas and information about Mande peoples and their language varieties gathered from African peoples on the coast.

At the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, with the rise of abolitionist sentiment and activity, interest in the lower

Guinea coast shifted towards the establishment of colonial settlements along the coast, including settlements for freed slaves, and the penetration of the interior to eradicate the slave trade and "civilize" the African people (Fage 1969:118-123).

Encounters with Bambara on the lower Guinea coast were primarily limited to freed slaves of Bambara origin and information about Bambara and other Mande peoples provided by other Africans in coastal areas. The collections of vocabularies produced by Clarke and Koelle provide traces of the "colonialism of Bambara" during this period on the lower Guinea coast.

The Baptist Missionary Society established their own presence in West Africa in 1841 when the British began to use Fernando Po as a base for anti-slaving activities. In addition to Fernando Po, the Baptists were also active in the Cameroons due to the presence of British traders in that area. Eventually, when Spain took control of Fernando Po in 1858, the Baptists had to abandon their missionary work on the island and concentrate on the mainland (Fage 1969:129).

In 1829, the Baptist Missionary Society sent Clarke to Jamaica. S. Ardener (1972:3-4) describes the time that Clarke spent in Jamaica as very important in the development of his Specimens of Dialects, as illustrated by the following passage from the Missionary Herald (Newman 1842:325, cited in S. Ardener 1972:4):

It so happened, as I am informed, that in the church over which Mr. Clark [sic] presided in Jamaica, there were concentrated a greater variety of individuals from different parts of Africa, and speaking a greater number of languages, than in any other negro church on the island of Jamaica; and as a matter rather of amusement and recreation than with any specific object in view, Mr. Clark had, from time to time, employed himself in forming, as far as he possibly

could, vocabularies in the different languages and dialects spoken in West Africa...

In 1840, Clarke, along with Dr. George Kinghorn Prince, was sent by the Baptist Missionary Society to West Africa in order to lay the foundation for the establishment of Baptist missions there. Clarke describes that preparation he made for his work in West Africa (cited in S. Ardener 1972:5-6):

I have read such books as I thought would be of use to us in reference to Africa, its customs, and superstitions; applied a little to Arabic, and some of the African languages. Have been reading the Koran, and making myself better acquainted with the life of Mahomet, and the religion of that impostor. I have, likewise, been careful to note down in my journal all credible accounts relative to the state, manners, and customs of various parts of Africa, obtained from the captains with whom we sail, and the Kroumen, Cape Coast men, and Congo, on board. My attention has also been particularly directed to the languages and dialects of Africa. By a careful application to all societies and places in London where I thought books in the African tongue could be obtained, I succeeded far beyond my expectations and have now arranged the numerals of various African tribes, to the number of sixty-six, including their variations and a few common words in dialects and languages to the number of about fifty, to which I am now adding from native Africans. I thought of sending home a copy of these, but hope to enlarge and arrange still more, and shall wait a future opportunity, in the hope of being enabled to correct and increase by the delay.

Upon arriving at Clarence on Fernando Po in 1841, Clarke continued his linguistic work. According to Prince, Clarke had access to 903 European and African informants. According to Prince's figures there was one Mandingo³⁶ in the area. In addition to adding to his vocabulary lists, Clarke made a concentrated study of Bubi (a language variety spoken in the area) and Arabic (learned from a Hausa "mallam") (S. Ardener 1972:7). Clarke was also in contact with the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries who had participated in the Niger Expedition. He describes his discussion concerning the collection of African vocabulary with one of the CMS missionaries (cited in S. Ardener 1972:7-8):

Conversation with Mr. Schön on the best plan for collecting African words, and obtaining a clear view of the nature of a language. None can tell, but those who have experienced it, the difficulty of this work: you cannot find a man, suppose, who understands your language well: and you understand very imperfectly the manner in which he is able, in English, to express himself. Here are two fruitful sources of blunders. Then you pronounce a word, like to some different word, in his pronunciation. You want the word worm, and he without hesitation, gives you the adjective warm &c. The tiresome work, I have had with the old Mahomedan, none can tell, but myself. He understands English very imperfectly, but his Houssa is exceedingly good. Mr. Schön thought it a good plan to go on, somewhat in the following order.

1st. Take a few nouns of the most simple character and see in what way the plurals are formed, and if they are at all varied by gender or case.

2nd. [T]ake the Personal Pronouns, and ascertain if the second person has male- and fem- terminations or are alike - also whether the pronouns are the same to singular and plural nouns, or undergo a change of form &c.

3rd. [A]pply all the Possessive pronouns, and see if they are demonstrative, or indefinite.

4th. Take a few common adjectives. See if they have number, or are alike in both; ascertain the mode of comparison and whether they usually go before the noun, or follow it, and if they are affected by gender, at all.

5th. Try if the language has, or omits the verb, To be; and if you find it has, ascertain its forms, &c. Try active and passive verbs; and so go on, making yourself acquainted with the peculiarities of the tongue.

Clarke and Prince left Clarence in 1842 to report to the Baptist Missionary Society on their findings. Clarke was sent back to Africa to assist in the formation of a permanent Baptist mission at Clarence and arrived in 1844. During this period, Clarke published a Bubi vocabulary entitled "Fernandian Class Book", and continued to collect linguistic data in Clarence as well as on the mainland. Finally, due to ill-health, Clarke returned to England and completed his Specimens of Dialects as well as another book, Introduction to the Fernandian Tongue, which were both published in 1848 (S. Ardener 1972:9).

Although the first British missionary society to work in West Africa was the Church of England Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, British missionary activity did not take root until the CMS was sent to establish a mission in Sierra Leone in 1806 (Fage 1969:128-129). The CMS is the missionary arm of the Church of England. Freetown was the center of the study of African languages since the early 1800's due in large part to the activities of the CMS. In West Africa, the CMS focused their attention on freed slaves³⁷ and they found them to be "willing, grateful and even devoted informants" in their study of African languages. John Raban was one of the early CMS missionaries to be charged with the study of African languages and his research provided the basis for the work of many later linguists.³⁸ Raban collected some of his linguistic data in CMS educational institutions, such as Fourah Bay Institute (Hair 1963:7-8). In 1841, the CMS sent two linguists – Samuel Crowther and J.F. Schön – on the Niger Expedition in order to collect information on the language varieties spoken on the lower Niger. Norris' vocabulary was intended to assist in the Niger Expedition.³⁹

Upon his return from the Niger Expedition, Schön wrote a memorandum on the relation of linguistic research to missionary activity. He stated that "more will not be done in the future unless the study of Native Languages be made a separate employment". The CMS agreed stating that "it had now devolved this branch of labour specifically upon certain Missionaries in Sierra Leone, of aptitude for lingual and philological pursuits, besides engaging the services of one individual exclusively as a linguist." Despite this, Schön found he was expected to engage in pastoral activities, in addition to his linguistic work. When Schön retired in 1847, the CMS appointed S.W. Koelle as a tutor at Fourah Bay Institute. Due in part to Schön's continued complaints about his workload, Koelle's position as tutor relieved him from any pastoral duties. It was during his

tenure in Freetown that Koelle gathered the information for his Polyglotta Africana (Hair 1963:8-9).

Koelle studied first at the Basel Missionary Seminary before he transferred to the CMS college at Islington. In addition to his seminary training, Koelle took a course in Arabic at Tübingen⁴⁰. As described earlier, Koelle took over Schön's linguistic duties for the CMS in Freetown in 1847 and remained there until 1853. While in Sierra Leone, Koelle made a concentrated study of Kanuri⁴¹ beginning in early 1848 and Vai⁴² in 1849, as well as collected data for his Polyglotta Africana beginning in April 1850.

Koelle viewed his linguistic work as a way to demonstrate the shared humanity of Africans (cited in Hair 1963:10):

It has often been observed that the Negro race is not a genuine branch of the human family, and that they occupy a kind of intermediate position between irrational animals and rational men. This view is not only opposed to the Bible, which speaks of the Negroes as men, but also to the results of an impartial examination of, and a close acquaintance with, the Negro race itself. The genuine humanity of the Negroes can be proved in a variety of ways: and one of them is philological. We confidently invite every man who can see in language the expression and counterpart of the mind, to an examination of the Bornu grammar, and ask whether the richness of its inflection, the precision in the use of its forms, and its whole vital organism, is not an incontestable demonstration that the mind of a people which daily weaves for its appearance so fitting and so artful a garb, must be allowed to claim fraternity with ours.

Koelle collected 60,000 terms between April 1850 and July 1852. In the text, Koelle provides notes on 210 informants. The majority of these informants were freed slaves (179), while the rest were primarily traders or seamen who had settled in Freetown. Only two of the informants were women. The notes regarding each informant supplied such information as the date of their enslavement and their age at the time of their enslavement. From this

information, Hair has concluded that most of Koelle's informants had been in Sierra Leone for ten to twenty years and were middle-aged. Hair judges Koelle's data to be relatively reliable, despite the fact that the majority of his informants had spent a long period in Sierra Leone, because "it demonstrates the persistence of the mother tongue in an individual, even in an apparently hostile environment, and the determination and care with which Koelle probed" (1963:14-15). Koelle most likely solicited the vocabularies using English with many of his informants, although he indicates at some points that some of his informants' competency in English was very limited (Hair 1963:15). Despite his use of English, William Welmers argued that Koelle's German language background influenced his transcription of African languages as he drew on a German phonological framework (personal communication with David Dwyer, c.a. 1968). The tables in Appendix B illustrate Koelle's transcription in his Polyglotta Africana.

Koelle's Polyglotta Africana was very successful, especially compared to Clarke's Specimens of African Languages. Hair attributes this success to Koelle's stay in Freetown during the mid-1800's (he was able to draw on speakers of a wide range of language varieties), his linguistic training, and his thoroughness (1963:14).

3.0 Summary

Several key points emerge in this historical framework for further exploration of situational and intertextual contexts. First, Europeans had little direct knowledge of West Africans until the fifteenth century when the Portuguese began their exploration of the coast. Second, specific knowledge of Mande peoples and languages was limited until exploration into the interior of West Africa became significant in the nineteenth century and encounters with Mande peoples increased. Third, images of Africans developed over time and became more complex as a result of increased experience with Africans and changing social, political, and economic circumstances.

The background on Dard highlights the interesting nature of the educational domain for the study of the “colonialism of language”. The educational domain in which Dard worked was a locus of competing interests. Discourse participants viewed education as having the potential to develop Africans, yet the exact nature of this development was contested as illustrated by the debate over the use of maternal languages in the classroom. In addition, Dard demonstrates the potential for resistance to the “colonialism of language”, as he often comes into conflict with other Europeans as a result of his ideas about language, Africans, and his lifestyle. Finally, the background on Dard indicates the roles that other discourse participants played in the production of this text (e.g., having a commission approve the publication of his dictionary), as well as the difficulty in finding traces of other discourse participants (e.g., Dard’s students and Bambara informants).

The section on European encounters with Bambara on the Lower Guinea coast illustrates British interest in West Africa and their role in the “colonialism of language”. The background on Clarke and Koelle demonstrates the importance of missionary linguistics including its methodology and purpose (i.e., prepare

Africans for Christianity and civilization). In addition, the relation of missionary work of the Baptist Missionary Society and the CMS to anti-slavery activities and certain populations of Africans is reflected in the sites where they collected their vocabulary specimens (e.g., Jamaica, Fernando Po, Sierra Leone) and the frequent use of former slaves as informants.

CHAPTER 6 – FRAMEWORK FOR SITUATIONAL AND INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXTS: BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE PENETRATION INTO THE FORMER FRENCH SUDAN

In this chapter, I present a historical framework for the Bambara texts produced during the penetration into the former French Sudan. In the first section, I provide a context for Binger's Essai sur la langue bambara (1886) and Tautain's article "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et malinké" (1887), two texts which provide traces of the "colonialism of Bambara" during this period. I briefly describe the events that led to the conquest of the former French Sudan and some of the images of Bambara generated by Mage and Soleillet's accounts of their expeditions into the interior. I also provide more detail on Binger due to his relationship with Delafosse, his views on missionaries, and his influential role as a colonial officer.

In the second section, I describe the early missionary activity in Senegal and the former French Sudan in order to provide a context for Toulotte's Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Segou) (1897). Toulotte's Essai was produced during this period, as well as the later texts produced by other White Fathers during the early colonial period (i.e., H. Bazin, Sauvart, and Henry).

1.0 Conquest of the Former French Sudan

Prior to the mid-1800's French interest in West Africa had been primarily confined to coastal areas. However, with the appointment of Louis Faidherbe as governor of Senegal in 1854 France directed her attention toward the penetration of the interior along the Senegal. In 1855, Faidherbe signed a treaty with the ruler of Khasso and erected a fortress in Médine. This fortress, along with those at Bakel and Matam, was designed to halt Umar Tal's advance to the west.

In 1860, Umar Tal sent an envoy to the French proposing to cede the area between the Falémé and the Bafing (comprising the left bank of the Senegal from Médine to Bafoulbé and the Guidiaka) while he retained control of Diomboko, Kaarta, Fouladougou, Bélédougou, Manding, and the areas to the north and east of this region. In response to this proposal, Faïdherbe sent *lieutenant de vaisseau* Eugene Mage and Dr. Quintin to Segou in 1863 to negotiate with Umar Tal. Upon arriving at Segou, Amadou held Mage and Quintin "prisoner" until May of 1866. At this time, Amadou was unwilling to let anyone advance to Macina knowing how serious the siege on his father, Umar Tal, was and perhaps being aware that he had already died. Delafosse notes that Mage and Quintin took advantage of their stay in Segou to record information on the history of the Sudan and the organization of Umar Tal's empire (1912, tome II:391).

Indeed, Mage's (1868) account of this expedition provides information about Bambara that was utilized in the "colonialism of Bambara". Like earlier explorers, Mage presented the Bambara in terms of their rejection of Islam, stating that "the Bambara, Negroes less beautiful than the Wolofs, came to the country situated to the south of the mountains of Kong, after fleeing the Islam that one wanted to impose on them. They remained pagans." (1872:33, translation mine). In addition to presenting the Bambara as pagans, Mage offers an image of the Bambara as lazy, disorganized workers:

These Bambaras work with a disorder that strikes me; they cry out, quarrel. No one directs the work; they make, unmake, and, despite their ardor, my hut is very far from being built. It is indeed the picture of their life and that of Negroes in general: disorder under all its forms!⁴³

This view of the Bambara as indolent laborers is contrasted later to the Massassi Bambara role as a military force opposing Umar Tal (Mage 1872:86-119, translation mine).

Mage contextualizes his images of the Bambara within a racial classification that opposes pure races with *metissee* and mulatto (e.g., the Khassonke are a mixture of Fulbe and Malinke). Mage argues that the *metissee* and mulatto peoples are superior to both the Black Muslim Africans and the pagan Africans. In addition to presenting mixed races, Mage also describes the existence of mixed language use. For example, upon his arrival at Guettala, Mage (1872:46, translation mine) remarked that:

all these people speak Bambara and Soninke, which stems from the two races which form the base of the population, as well as in Kaarta and in Segu and just to the mountains of Kong. In this vast country, it is they who people all the villages, sometimes separated, sometimes mixed, speaking one or the other language, sometimes the both. The only notable mixture apart from them is with the Fulbe race that one finds in all of Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean.⁴⁴

Faidherbe left Senegal in 1865 and French expansion into the Sudan was practically nonexistent due in part to the increasing weakness of the government of Napoleon III, her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, and the subsequent establishment of the Third Republic. By the end of the 1870's, France began her conquest of the Sudan in earnest under the governance of Brière d'Isle. In 1878, Paul Soleillet was sent by Brière d'Isle to Segu to negotiate a trade agreement with Amadou. Soleillet was the first European to enter Segu since Mage and Quintin and like Mage, Soleillet's (1887) account is an important discourse in the "colonialism of Bambara".

In his account, Soleillet (1881:168; 1887:211, 233) refers to three different groups that occupied the Segu area – the "Toucouleurs", the Bambara, and "sedentary Maures". Soleillet describes the Bambara as industrious farmers who

practiced "horrifying" customs such as female circumcision and child marriage. Soleillet contextualizes his discussion of the Bambara and other African peoples in an evolutionary framework and notes that these Africans had passed through two earlier stages of humanity (hunting and pastoralism) to the agricultural stage and were therefore ready for the introduction of "civilization".

While Soleillet was unsuccessful in his negotiations with Amadou, Captain J.S. Galliéni did get him to sign the Treaty of Nango in 1880. Lieutenant Valière, Lieutenant Piètri, Dr. Bayol, and Dr. Tautain accompanied Galliéni on this expedition. In addition to Tautain, Piètri also published a text that Delafosse identified as a source of Bambara.

In 1881, Lt. Col. Borgnis-Desbordes, the *commandement supérieur du Haut-Fléuve*, established a post at Kita and transferred the capital of the Sudan from Médine to Kayes. In 1883, Borgnis-Desbordes established a post at Bamako. The French continued their conquest of the Sudan during this period. They pushed Amadou east from Segou and Kaarta to Macina and entered Segou in 1890. They finally took control of Macina and Bandiagara in 1893 and Timbuktu in 1894. Amadou ended up in Sokoto, ultimately dying there in 1898.

In addition to their continuing conflict with Amadou, the French also engaged another Muslim power during the 1800's, the empire of Samori, which was based in Bissidougou. Treaties between Samori and the French gave Samori the area south of the Niger and Tinkisso rivers. Despite these treaties, the French occupied Bissidougou in 1891 pushing Samori to the east. The French finally captured Samori in 1898.

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, the French had gained control over the former French Sudan. Binger's Essai sur la langue bambara (1886) and Tautain's article "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et malinké" (1887) provide traces of the "colonialism of Bambara" during this period of conquest. While both Tautain and Binger contributed to the "colonialism of Bambara", Binger played a particularly important role as a member of the military and colonial administration.

Binger was first involved in the conquest of the former French Sudan as a member of the military. Binger later served as a colonial officer, eventually becoming the first governor of Côte d'Ivoire. He was stationed somewhere in the Sudan in the mid-1800's (perhaps at Bamako).⁴⁵ It was during this period that he collected the information for his Essai sur la langue bambara. Binger is an important figure in any study of the "colonialism of language" in the former French Sudan, not just because of his study of the Bambara language, but because of his expedition into the interior (1887-1889). This expedition was a political mission designed to link French establishments in the Sudan with the Gulf of Guinea. In his account of this expedition, Du Niger au Golfe de guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi (1892), Binger indicated that he chose to begin from the French Sudan, rather than the Gulf of Guinea, as he could travel partway under the protection of allied chiefs. In addition, he stressed the importance of being able to take "devoted" Africans who knew the languages of the interior.

Binger also played an influential role in Delafosse's career. Delafosse had been greatly affected by a lecture given by Binger regarding his expedition and

he would later describe Binger's account of this expedition as an important document concerning the French Sudan (L. Delafosse 1976:76). Through his influence, Binger helped Delafosse secure certain positions in the colonial administration (L. Delafosse 1976:95-96, 212).

Binger is also interesting as he had a favorable opinion of missionaries. During his travels into the interior, Binger noticed a disparity between how missionaries and other Europeans conducted themselves. He called upon his fellow Europeans to consider themselves to also be "missionaries" and set a good example for the Africans (Benoist 1987:42). In his book Esclavage, islamisme et christianisme, Binger (1891:76, cited in Benoist 1987:41-42, translation mine) stated that:

It is necessary to favor more the missionaries, in augmenting appreciably the number and having them penetrate everywhere. It is not several hundreds of missionaries spread on this immense territory that is necessary: it is legions and innumerable legions... There is not a European power which does not recognize the necessity of taking account of the participation of missionaries. There is not a country having interests in the colonies, which does not consider the intervention of missionaries as useful.⁴⁶

As Binger points out, missionaries played an integral role in the colonial enterprise. In the case of the former French Sudan, missionaries not only attempted to establish an African Church, but they engaged in linguistic work that contributed to the "colonialism of Bambara". In the next section, I describe the activities of two missionary orders that played an important role in the "colonialism of Bambara".

2.0 Early Missionary Activity in Senegal and the Former French Sudan

Beginning in the 1870s the French government, under republican rule, launched an attack on the Church. Among the measures taken by the government was removing the control of primary education from various religious orders. The pope, Leon XIII, took a diplomatic and conciliatory approach towards the conflict between the Church and state in France. He called on all French Catholics to work with the Republic to achieve tolerance (Benoist 1987:11). Leon XIII articulated a doctrine based on five ideas – condemnation of all racist attitudes, social justice, respect of human dignity, the supra-nationality of the Church, and the legitimacy of demands for independence of the colonies (Benoist 1987:11).

Although the relations between the Church and state were strained, French Catholic missionary orders dominated evangelical activities in the former French Sudan during this period. The *Congrégation du Saint-Esprit* (the Spiritans) and the *Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique* (the White Fathers) were the two principal Catholic missionary orders that were active in this area. The Spiritans established the first missionary posts in the former French Sudan and produced some of the earliest Bambara linguistic materials that addressed the needs of missionaries.⁴⁷

The *Congrégation du Saint-Esprit* was created from two institutions. In 1703, Claude Poullart des Places founded the first of these, the *séminaire du Saint-Esprit*. After his death in 1709, the seminary continued to produce priests who engaged in missionary work, except for a brief closure from 1792 to 1815.

One of these priests trained in the *séminaire du Saint-Esprit*, Father Deglicourt, was put in charge of the mission in Saint-Louis (Benoist 1987:33).

In 1841, François Libermann founded the *Congrégation du Saint-Cœur de Marie*, which sent missionaries to the islands of the Indian Ocean, Haiti, and Guinée. One of the priests sent to the Guinée went on to found a mission in Gabon and other missionaries of this order established a mission in Dakar (Benoist 1987:33).

In 1848, the *Congrégation du Saint-Cœur de Marie* and the *séminaire du Saint-Esprit* were joined, resulting in the *Congrégation du Saint-Esprit*. Libermann and his successors emphasized the importance of recruiting members internationally. Therefore they established missions and schools in many Western nations (Benoist 1987:33). The Spiritans continued in their missionary activity in Africa, as well as elsewhere in the world.

The goal of Spiritan activity in Africa was to introduce "civilization" so that a "native" African church could be established. This African church was to be established through five indirect means: (1) economic activity (e.g., agriculture and the establishment of technical schools and workshops); (2) charitable enterprises (e.g., the care of the sick and liberation of slaves); (3) the use of the Catholic press and youth organizations; (4) educational endeavors; and (5) scientific work including linguistic study (Koren 1958:454-455). Spiritan views on education and linguistic study are of particular interest for the "colonialism of Bambara". In the educational domain, the Spiritans were enjoined to "pay special attention to the children of chiefs and other leading personalities of the land so

that later on their influence might be put to use for the benefit of the people" (Constitution of the Congregation, 1878 edict, cited in Koren 1958:460).

According the 1874 edict of the Constitution of the Congregation, the Spiritan could not remain indifferent to the interests of science or the production of scientific work. Linguistic studies, in particular, were emphasized as a scientific activity "which readily fall within the scope of desirable occupations that contribute to the success of the apostolic ministry" (Koren 1958:467). Koren argues that the Spiritan linguistic work can be differentiated from that of the colonial officials by its attention to dialectical variations (1958:471).

Koren describes the nature of Spiritan linguistic work as difficult due to the many dialectical variations, interpreters, and a dearth of vocabulary needed for evangelical activities (1958:470-471):

While the modern apostle usually has at his disposal grammars, dictionaries, literature, and the accumulated experience of a hundred years of his predecessors to aid him in his linguistic efforts, the same was not true for the early pioneers. Their studies were often hampered by most discouraging difficulties. To begin with, they had to face a bewildering multitude of dialectal variations in village after village. Then after eight or ten miles of travel, the language would vanish completely and be replaced by another of an apparently different kind. Interpreters were frequently unavailable or unreliable. Hardly any of the languages had ever been committed to writing, and they appeared very difficult to understand and still more formidable to speak. The only possible start seemed to lie in listening carefully and trying to catch a word here or there...When, after many months of hard work, the Fathers finally came to know a language, they were invariably dismayed by its primitiveness. Though suitable for the simple needs of everyday life in the jungle, it wholly lacked the vocabulary that was necessary to express the more abstract concepts of Christian Faith and civilized thought. Thus the linguistic task of the missionary became more than a simple study of an existing language. He had to work toward the unification of dialects into a single language, the promotion of more universal language (such as Swahili in the East

and Lingala in the West), and above all at the enrichment of these language by strengthening them with new words to express ideas hitherto unknown to their users.

This passage is interesting as a discourse on the "colonialism of language" in French West Africa. Koren, writing in the 1950's from a perspective sympathetic to the missionary work of the Spiritans, describes the African languages as primitive and so dialectically diverse as to be an impediment to civilization.

In addition to these five indirect means of conversion, the Spiritans emphasized four direct means: (1) occupation of a territory; (2) the technique employed to convert Africans; (3) building of a Christian society; and (4) using native elements in the Church (Koren 1958:475). Effective occupation of the territory was initially difficult for the Spiritans given their small numbers and the dangers of penetrating inland. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Spiritans' formula for effective occupation consisted of the division of the territory into sectors, each with a central residence and a number of auxiliary stations. Two to four priests and one or two brothers occupied each residence. A typical auxiliary station consisted of a chapel and "bush school" which was run by a catechist and visited on a regular basis by one of the priests (Koren 1958:475-477).

Conversion of Africans rested on a program of sermons, informal talks, visiting villages, and gift giving. Difficulties arose in baptizing catechumens because of the "pagan" environment in which they lived. The Spiritans hesitated to baptize those who would be unable to lead a Christian life. Therefore, the building of a Christian society was essential. One method of building this society was through the establishment of boarding establishments. Initially, in

Senegambia, these establishments were organized like junior seminaries. The Spiritans felt that this was a mistake as providing a European education did not prepare them for return to African society, and instead "they became idlers, beggars, thieves, and prostitutes" (Koren 1948:482). The Spiritans turned to an emphasis on practical training in Senegal as well as in their other African missions.

The final direct means of establishing an African Church was the use of "native elements". This included material support from the native Catholic community and the formation of a lay apostate, religious men and women, and priests. A lay apostate was important to provide a corps of Africans to assist the Spiritans by providing religious instruction and basic secular education to children and adults. Koren notes that one of the reasons the Spiritans failed to make headway against Islam in Senegal was their failure to adequately utilize lay catechists. Instead, they focused on the development of a "native" clergy (Koren 1958:493-494).

It is important to note that while he provided an outline for Spiritan missionary activity, Libermann also emphasized the importance of flexibility and "openness to experience" (Koren 1958:454). Following Libermann's framework, the Spiritans established a number of missions in Senegal and the former French Sudan (see Table 17). The first mission established by the Spiritans in French West Africa was in Dakar in 1846. In 1850, Father Arlabosse established a mission at Bakel in order to be "in communication with the tribes of Boundou,

Bambou, Carta, Bambara, Timbuktu, etc." (cited in Koren 1958:448). This mission ultimately proved to be a failure and was closed.

Table 17 – Spiritans' Missions in Senegal and Sudan

Dakar	1846
Bakel	1850
Saint-Louis	1852
Kita	1888
Kayes	1892
Dinguira	1892

In 1885, the Spiritans expressed their desire to establish a mission at Bamako among the Bambara, which they described an important tribe that resisted in the past and continues to resist Muslim “propaganda” (Benoist 1987:54). Their next attempt at penetrating the Sudan occurred in 1888 after the French had pacified the area. Four fathers and two brothers established a typical Spiritan mission at Kita, which included schools, workshops, dormitories, and other installations (Koren 1958:449). In 1892, they established missions at Kayes and Dinguira and made plans to follow French forces to Timbuktu. These three missions were considered to be an extension of the *préfecture apostolique de Sénégal*. Their desire to establish a mission in Timbuktu was frustrated by Cardinal Lavigerie's claim of the area for the White Fathers.

Lavigerie, the archbishop of Algiers and the apostolic delegate for the Sahara and the Sudan, had established the White Fathers' order (*Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique*) in 1868 and a sister order (*Congrégation des Soeurs Missionnaires de Notre-Dame d'Afrique*) in 1869 in order to focus on evangelical activities in the midst of Islam (Benoist 1987:34).

The White Fathers had long wanted to establish a post at Timbuktu. Caravans were sent across the Sahara to Timbuktu in 1876 and 1881, but both groups of missionaries were killed. Therefore, the White Fathers had to wait until the French army conquered the Sudan in order to reach Timbuktu through Senegal. The French government approved the White Fathers desire to establish a post at Timbuktu due to their experience in North Africa, their knowledge of Arabic and Islam, and their relations with "nomadic" peoples. The French authorities saw the establishment of a post at Timbuktu as an advantageous link between Algeria and the Sudan. However, they felt it was necessary to ensure that all the missionaries working in this area were French. Intense negotiations between France and Rome over the issue of nationality ensued. A compromise was issued by Cardinal Rampolla that the Bishop would be French (Benoist 1987:60).

The White Fathers considered the French army to be less anti-clerical than the French government. Therefore, as the army had allowed their military posts to serve as oases for the White Fathers in the past, the White Fathers asked the army if they would allow them use of their posts in order to establish a missionary presence in the former French Sudan. The army agreed to the White Fathers request and in late 1894 Father August Hacquard⁴⁸ left Algiers for Saint Louis (Kittler 1957:215).

Upon arriving in Saint Louis, Hacquard conferred with the Spiritans. They warned Hacquard that the two major obstacles to evangelization in French West Africa were Islam and the French government (Kittler 1957:215-216). While in

Saint Louis, Hacquard addressed the *Alliance française*, praised their teaching methods, and stated that he hoped that the White Fathers could implement these methods in the Sudan. As a result, Hacquard obtained materials and some financial support from the *Alliance française* (Benoist 1987:64).

Hacquard and the White Fathers' caravan left Saint Louis on January 16, 1895 and traveled up the Senegal to Kayes. After arriving in Kayes in mid-February, the White Fathers rested for one week and then went with the army by rail to Bafoulabé. There they hired 150 porters and walked to Bamako. In Bamako, the army's boats took them to Koulikoro (headquarters of the Niger fleet). Two White Fathers stayed in Koulikoro to see to the caravans that would follow, while Hacquard and another priest traveled by boat to Timbuktu, arriving there on May 21, 1895 (Kittler 1957:214-219).

Bishop Anatole Toulotte (Lavigerie's coadjuter) was appointed to govern the Sudan. He resigned his post 18 months later and Hacquard was made a bishop and appointed to replace Toulotte. Hacquard drowned on April 4, 1901. (Kittler 1957:219)

In 1894, the *vicariat apostolique du Sahara-Soudan* and that of Senegal were delimited and the White Fathers began to establish missionary posts in the former French Sudan (see Table 18). The White Fathers quickly identified the Bambara as a good population on which to focus missionary efforts. Hacquard noted (cited in Benoist 1987:78, translation mine):

Of good people, not naughty at all, a little indolent, a race which does not have great qualities, but easy to lead for one who knows how to enter his world: a band of great children, naïve, credulous, often stubborn and not always reasonable... Since God was

capable of transforming the stones into children of Abraham, I believe that it is not beneath his power to make something of our Sudanese.⁴⁹

Table 18 – White Fathers' Missions

Segu	1895
Timbuktu	1895
Bouyé (outside Kissidougou, near Sierra Leone border)	date unknown
Bamako	1897 – 1899
Banakourou (outside of Segou)	1899

The Spiritans contact with Islam occurred in Senegal where there was a long tradition of religious coexistence. It appears that they were more tolerant of Muslims than the White Fathers. The White Fathers experience with Islam came from the North African context, and in comparison they believed that the Islam practiced in West Africa was superficial.

Their attitudes towards Islam in West Africa were contradictory. For example, Toulotte had established the first missions in areas dominated by Muslims (i.e., Segou and Timbuktu), despite his remarks that one should evangelize "idolaters" first. Hacquard established posts in "pagan" areas, such as Bouyé and the Mossi region in Koupéla. H. Bazin also shared this emphasis on "pagan" populations.

The White Fathers opened a school in Segou in 1896. They did not inform the colonial government of their actions, as they did not want the students to be recruited by force. When the colonial administration did discover the educational activities of the White Fathers in Segou, they found the results of the White

Fathers to be unimpressive in comparison with the Spiritan schools in Dinguira and Kita. In addition, the administration was upset that the White Fathers refused to use French as the language of instruction, did not reserve instruction in reading and writing to sons of notable families, and that they included Latin prayers in the curriculum despite the fact that Archinard had forbidden religious instruction in missionary schools. In addition to their school in Segu, the White Fathers had opened a school in Timbuktu in 1895. However, this school was practically closed by 1898.

3.0 Summary

This framework for situational and intertextual contexts for Bambara texts produced during the penetration into the former French Sudan highlights several key points which will be explored further in Chapter 8. The first section on the conquest of the former French Sudan illustrates how French interest and ability to expand into the interior was contingent upon the larger political economy and her relations with other European powers. Once the French did begin their penetration into the interior in earnest, they gained an increased knowledge of and experience with Bambara and identified the Bambara as a pagan population within a Muslim controlled world. Finally, the profile of Binger illustrates the interrelationship between those who authored the Bambara texts (e.g., Binger and Delafosse), the different degrees of influence discourse participants had in explicitly shaping the “colonialism of Bambara” (e.g., Tautain and Binger), and the relationship between colonial officials and missionaries.

The second section on early missionary activity in Senegal and the former French Sudan demonstrates the complex relationship between the Church and state. As Binger noted, the state depended upon missionaries to effectively colonize Africa, yet they needed to control the nature of their evangelical activities. In addition, the missionaries often resisted the state’s attempt to control them. Missionaries also had varying relationships with different groups of Europeans (e.g., military and colonial government). This section also points out that both the Spiritains and the White Fathers identified the Bambara as a pagan population ripe for conversion, the importance of education and linguistics for the

missionaries to achieve their goals, and the conflict at times between missionary orders.

CHAPTER 7 – FRAMEWORK FOR SITUATIONAL AND INTERTEXTUAL CONTEXT: BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

In this chapter I present a historical framework for the Bambara texts produced during the early colonial period. In the first section, I briefly describe the White Father's ongoing missionary activity in the former French Sudan after 1901 in order to provide a context for H. Bazin's Dictionnaire bambara-français (1906), Henry's L'ame d'une peuple africain: Les Bambara (1910), and Sauvart's Manuel de la langue bambara (1925).

In the second section, I describe the activities of Brévié, Tauxier, and C. Monteil during the early colonial period in order to provide a context for their texts (Brévié's "A propos d'un chanson bambara" (1917); Tauxier's Le Noir du Yatenga (1917) and Le Noir de Bondoukou (1921); and C. Monteil's Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta (1924)). In this section, I focus on the formation of colonial officers and the role that Brévié, Tauxier, and C. Monteil that played in this process.

In the final section, I examine the role of interpreters in the former French Sudan. The interpreter Travélé produced three important Bambara texts during the early colonial period – Petit manuel français-bambara (1910), Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français (1913), and Proverbes et contes bambara (1923).

1.0 Missionary Activity in the Former French Sudan

The *vicariat apostolique du Sahara-Soudan* was separated in 1901 into the *préfecture apostolique du Sahara* and the *vicariat apostolique du Soudan français*. H. Bazin was appointed to head the latter (Benoist 1987:139). Prior to his appointment, H. Bazin directed the White Fathers' seminary in Carthage for 13 years. H. Bazin was characterized as a reserved man, who was too shy to speak Bambara in public, despite his in-depth knowledge of the language. His relations with the colonial administration were cordial and respectful although he distrusted them and their motives.

The Spiritains three posts in the Sudan – Kita, Kayes, and Dinguira – were traded to the White Fathers in 1901 for the Issi lands in Guinea.⁵⁰ With the addition of these three missions, the White Fathers had a total of nine missions in 1901 (Benoist 1987:122).

With the arrival of new missionaries in West Africa⁵¹, the White Fathers wanted to establish new posts. However, they had trouble obtaining permission from the colonial government for about ten years. The colonial administrators were fearful of the influence of missionaries in areas far from colonial posts, especially while they were attempting to establish secular schools throughout the region (Benoist 1987:125-127). However, one effect of this ban on new missions was an intensification of missionary efforts in existing posts (Benoist 1987:182).

H. Bazin shared the White Fathers' emphasis on the conversion of pagan populations. When he took office, he was saddled with the Spiritains' missions in Kayes, Dinguira, and Kita – areas where Islam was entrenched. Noting the

sparse population, presence of Islam, and other factors, H. Bazin tried to relinquish the White Fathers' claim to these posts (Benoist 1987:130-131).

Due to the famine of 1903 and the colonial administrator's support of Islam, H. Bazin identified the Bambara as having the potential for mass conversion. He hoped to replicate what the White Fathers had experienced twenty years earlier in Uganda.⁵² Therefore, he established a presence at Patyana (south of Segou) "in a region full of Bambara of the traditional religion"⁵³ (Benoist 1987:131, translation mine).

At the time of H. Bazin's arrival, catechism was being taught in 42 villages. Within three to four months, the number of attendees rose from 1,000 to between 4,000 and 5,000. In addition, fathers of notable families in Segou allowed the baptism of their children. However, the White Fathers did not achieve the success that they hoped for. The Bambara in the Segou area proved to be indifferent to the missionaries due in part to the famine. The attitude of the colonial administrators also played a key role. In fact some administrators openly discouraged Africans from going to the missions (Benoist 1987:170-171).

The White Fathers were not viewed favorably by colonial administrators. For example, the Spiritains' agricultural success at Kita was compared to the White Fathers' failures. The colonial administrators also felt that the White Fathers interfered in areas that were not their concern. For example, it was noted that the superior of the Kita mission encouraged two former students employed by the administration to leave for Kayes so that they could be housed at the mission there and remain under the Church's control (Benoist 1987:143)

The relationship between the White Fathers and the colonial administration was tenuous. The fact that the missionaries received financial aid from the administration constrained their actions. However, those missions located at some distance from the central administration were less subject to administrative oversight.

Alexis Lemaître arrived in Kayes in 1911 to replace H. Bazin after his death at the end of 1910. Lemaître proposed shifting the White Father's focus away from the Bambara area to the *cercles* of Ouagadougou, Bobo-Dioulasso and Koury. Lemaître had strong organizational skills and established good relations with the administration while at the same time advocating for the missionaries and their goals (Benoist 1987:182, 191-193).

In 1921 the *vicariat apostolique du Soudan* was divided into the *vicariat apostolique de Bamako* and the *vicariat apostolique de Ouagadougou*. Sauvart took charge of the *vicariat apostolique de Bamako* (Benoist 1987:282). Prior to this appointment, Sauvart had been stationed as a missionary in the Segou area from 1895 until 1911 when he returned to France. At the advent of World War I he was sent to Algeria to direct the brothers' formation. During World War I, Lemaître asked Sauvart to serve as a chaplain for African soldiers as part of a program designed to address their special needs. Lemaître felt that missionaries were in a good position to act as an intermediary between the soldiers and their families (e.g., drafting correspondence), as well as between the Europeans and Africans. The war had in fact served to minimize the conflicts between missionaries and colonial administrators (Benoist 1987:237-238).

Upon Sauviant's arrival in Sudan in 1921, the White Fathers only had 34 priests (compared to the 17 priests in 1901) who were mostly French despite an increasingly international recruitment effort. The small number of priests was due in part to casualties during the war (Benoist 1987:239). When the *vicariat apostolique de Bamako* was created it consisted of seven missionary posts – Kayes, Kakoulou, Kita, Kati, Ségou, Minankofa, and Gouecké (established in 1915 in Guinée française). Upon his arrival in the Sudan, Sauviant closed the posts at Kakoulou and Minankofa. The former became a branch of Kayes, the latter a branch of Ségou. This allowed those missionaries to serve in areas not yet evangelized. Several priests were sent to Sikasso, others to Mandiakuy near San. No post existed yet at Bamako, therefore Sauviant installed himself temporarily at Kati (Benoist 1987:265). The Bamako mission was officially founded in 1923 and a cathedral was completed in 1927 (Benoist 1987:322-324).

Language of instruction continued to be an issue for mission schools. After the war, the French needed to develop functionaries capable of using French. A decree issued in 1922 stated that private education must have the same purpose as state education, in part to provide instruction in French. Sauviant argued that the White Fathers did not operate the types of schools described in the decree. Instead their schools were designed to form catechumens. Nonetheless, Sauviant agreed to teach the students the rudiments of French (Benoist 1987:282-284).

During his tenure in the Sudan, Sauviant gained a reputation as a calm man who did not have any serious conflicts with the administration. In 1926,

Sauvant returned to Algeria and later to France. Paul Molin, the former superior of Kati, replaced him (Benoist 1987:320-321).

2.0 Colonial Activity in the Former French Sudan

The colonial administration of the former French Sudan and other French territories became more standardized as the French continued to expand the areas under their control and consolidate their positions. One result of this was the increasing uniformity of administrators' functions, recruitment, promotion, and salaries after 1887 (Cohen 1971:21). In order to provide colonial officials with appropriate training, the *Ecole coloniale* was founded in 1885 and Etienne formed classes in colonial administration in 1889 (Cohen 1971:38). A separate African training section was established in 1892. Shortly thereafter the administration of French West Africa was transferred from the Ministry of the Marine to the Ministry of Colonies in 1894 (Cohen 1971:8).

The *Ecole coloniale* emphasized the study of law. As much of their duties could be expected to revolve around the administration and enforcement of law, the students were expected to obtain a law degree in tandem with their studies at the *Ecole coloniale*. The idea of universalism of Roman law implied that there was a shared unity of humanity. Thus, the French, through the application of law, could also govern primitive peoples. In addition to law, all preparatory and first year students studied French and foreign colonization, administrative organization of the colonies, colonial policy, and accounting.

During their second year, the students focused on colonial administrative law and topography, as well as continuing their study of foreign colonial policies. However, little time was devoted to issues specific to Indochina or Africa. A general ethnology course was established in 1890, but was dropped in 1895. It

was later reinstated as a colonial anthropology course. Beginning in 1897 the African section students were required to learn Malgache and Arabic (Cohen 1971:39-46).

Overall the *Ecole coloniale* advocated an associationist policy, rather than one of assimilation, towards its subject peoples. As a result the coursework emphasized respect for indigenous institutions. However, graduates who were sent out into the colonies did not have a sufficient understanding of the societies they were to administer and more importantly they did not speak the “native” languages fluently (Cohen 1971:47-48). The decision to govern West Africa through policy of association meant that administrators needed to collect ethnographic information and produce ethnographic accounts to both effectively govern African peoples and train future colonial officials (Wooten 1993:420)

In 1905, the curriculum was revised and substantial training in history, indigenous institutions and customs of Africa was provided. In 1910 Manding languages were offered and Arabic was no longer required. In addition, after 1900, former colonial officials returned to teach courses sharing their first-hand experiences with the students. Delafosse was one of those instructors who strongly denounced any assimilationist policy. He taught course in African culture, history and languages and his “course was later remembered as the highlight of every cadet’s education at the *Ecole coloniale*” (Cohen 1971:48-49).

Despite the development of a standard curriculum for colonial officials, only a fifth of the members of the Corps of Colonial Administration had been

trained at the *Ecole coloniale* until 1914. Graduation from the *Ecole coloniale* then became mandatory for service as a colonial official (Cohen 1971:37).

Brévié, Tauxier, C. Monteil all contributed to the formation of the colonial officials who served in the former French Sudan through instruction at the *Ecole Coloniale* or other institutions (e.g., *Institut des langues orientales*), publications of books and articles on African peoples and language varieties, and their positions of authority in French West Africa. The specific texts I examine here contributed to the ideological shaping of the students at the *Ecole coloniale* and other colonial officials through their presentation of ethnographic and linguistic data on Bambara.

Brévié was an important colonial official in French West Africa who advocated for the preservation of traditional aspects of African cultures. For example, as the governor-general of French West Africa he supported strengthening the power of chiefs. He wanted to choose those who had a traditional right to serve as chief and have them undergo a four year program of French education equivalent to primary school. Despite his support of using chiefs in positions of leadership, he believed that they needed to serve under a *commandant de cercle* (Cohen 1971:115-117). Brévié did not share the same confidence in using interpreters in leadership roles, viewing them as merely a necessary evil (Cohen 1971:127).

Brévié also emphasized the importance of traditional African religious practices. While Brévié was serving as the *directeur des affaires politiques et administratives du Gouvernement général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* he

authored Islam contre naturisme au Soudan français (1923) in which he argued that, "The Muslim is far away from us and is frozen in the narrow ideal that his orthodoxy imposes."⁵⁴ (cited in Benoist 1987:285, translation mine). Therefore, he favored focusing on traditional religions in order to form a common indigenous religion for all West African peoples.

Tauxier (1871-1942) published several works in a series of Sudanese studies. Two of these – Le Noir du Yatenga: Mossis, Nioniossés, Samos, Yarsés, Silmi-Mossis, Peuls (1917) and Le Noir de Bondoukou: Koulangos, Dyoulas, Abrons, etc. (1921) – are mentioned by Delafosse as linguistic sources of "Bambara". The former is a study of "le Yatenga" or the *cercle de Ouahigouya*. Tauxier stayed in this area from September 1913 to July 1916. In this text he provides an exhaustive study of the Mossis of the north along with a study of the Nioniossés or Foulés ("race established before the Mossis in the plain of three Volta"), the Samos ("Mande race"), the Yarsés ("another other Mande race of cultivators-merchants"), the Silmi-Mossis ("mixed race of arising of a mix of Peuls and Mossis"), and the Peuls du Yatenga ("belonging to the tribes of Dialloubé, Fittobé and Torombé").

From September 1918 to August 1920, Tauxier stayed in the region of Bondoukou (upper eastern Côte d'Ivoire). Le Noir de Bondoukou, is based upon the information he gathered during his time in Bondoukou, as well as other published sources. Tauxier later published two works on the Bambara – La Religion Bambara (1927) and L'Histoire Bambara (1942) – which combined his own data and a synthesis of earlier works concerning the Bambara.

C. Monteil (1871-1949) served in the colonial administration in French West Africa, first in Côte d'Ivoire in the early 1890's⁵⁵, then at Médine from 1897-1899, and finally at Djénné from 1900-1903. Upon his return to France, Monteil worked at the Ministry of Colonies where he was in charge of the Economic Bureau for the Sudan. He obtained his law degree in 1906 and worked at the Finance Administration (V. Monteil 1968:610). In addition, C. Monteil started a Bambara course at the *Ecole coloniale* and was in charge of course on Sudanese languages at the *Ecole nationale des langues orientales vivantes* until 1909 at which time his course was given to Delafosse (V. Monteil 1968:623). He also served as one of three members of a jury⁵⁶ for the first exam of the languages and customs of French West Africa given on in 1910 to 18 students at the *Ecole coloniale* (L. Delafosse 1976:289).

C. Monteil is an important figure in the "colonialism of Bambara" due to his stature as an ethnographer, historian, and linguist. C. Monteil relied on missionaries, African informants, and other colonial officials to complete his linguistic texts. For example, in 1905 he asked the Holy Ghost Fathers in Konakry to complete a notebook with *soussou* translations of French phrases and provide him with a text and French translation. In 1905, he wrote a letter to Madema (the *fama* of Sansanding) asking for the translation of two stories into Peul (V. Monteil, 1968:610-611).

C. Monteil advocated relinquishing a European perspective and adopting an indigenous viewpoint. In a letter to Chassin (*élève administrateur* in Dahomey) dated February 28, 1909, C. Monteil describes the importance of "indigenous"

viewpoint for Chassin's study of *mina* dialect (cited in V. Monteil

1968:617, translation mine):

In reading your letter, I had a bit of an impression that you seem to grant a lot of credit to the opinion of Europeans about the natives; it would be nevertheless preferable for you to distrust this a great deal. Try rather to create yourself some solid native friend, and you will soon see the local things in their true light... The day where we have found the key to native mysteries, the colonial life will take on for us an attraction that we do not know⁵⁷

In another letter to Chéron (administrator at Koutiala) dated May 9, 1909,

Monteil states (cited in V. Monteil 1968:618, translation mine):

to arrive at disengaging the general principles which serve to establish for all native psychology, here is what I advise you to do: create a little entourage of natives, not by the vulgar means which consist of living in a style of familiarity...but in showing your sincere desire to know the native things; accept, with *kindness*, the reason, sometime strange, that one should give you as explanation, but give also an understanding that you are not naïve; especially, do not forget, at one time or another, to admit that you know *a little* of the native milieu, but without offending your informants.⁵⁸

He advises him to have recourse to a single informant, to know how to

interrogate, and that (cited in V. Monteil 1968:618, translation mine):

Briefly, when you will have arrived at handling the everyday language to the point especially of being able to understand well, your investigations will only have the limits of those of your ignorance of the native milieu. The native is a type of virtuoso, which elaborates the variations of a known theme.⁵⁹

C. Monteil repeats the same phrase in letter to Gaden dated September 22,

1909, writing, "From the point of view of the spoken language, the native it seems

is a virtuoso which elaborates the infinite variations on a known theme."⁶⁰ (cited

in V. Monteil 1968:622, translation mine).

In addition to adopting a native perspective, C. Monteil believed it was essential to have linguistic training in order to uncover the grammar of African language varieties. He believed that even the French lacked the ability to dissect their own language, as well as provide explanations for certain cultural practices (V. Monteil 1968:620).

C. Monteil stressed the importance of learning African language varieties in order to effectively serve as a colonial administrator and produce ethnographies. In a letter to Chartier (élève administrateur in Bamako) dated August 27, 1909, he writes (cited in V. Monteil 1968:621-622, translation mine):

I advise you to attach Bala Coulibaly to you, who it appears to me possesses very well his dialect. You will be able to, I believe, in knowing what you take there, obtain from him that which he recounts in writing, be it some historical legends, the essential phrases of life (birth, baptism, circumcision, marriage, death). Then, once documented, try to have all that in writing and in *bamana*. It is absolutely necessary for you to pass his examination to translate. Begin by learning *by heart* the fable, which I return to you, in penetrating well the construction of certain phrases that I have underlined with a red pencil. It is necessary for you at all cost some texts, many texts, which you will dissect very seriously: you must do in *bamana* at least two hours a day on some texts, and you must try hard to understand all conversation which are held in front of you, look for all occasions to document and do it with care: that is the only way of advancing rapidly and surely. Be careful of the prejudice that consists of considering the *bamana* as very easy: this is an error⁶¹

What is interesting about this letter is the advice to use one informant in particular based upon his “superior” grasp of his “dialect”, the necessity to have everything written in Bambara, to gather many Bambara texts, and the difficulty of learning Bambara.

C. Monteil published four monographs – Une cité soudanaise, Djenné (1903)⁶², Les Khassonké (1915), Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta: (étude historique, ethnographique et littéraire d'une peuplade du Soudan français) (1924), and Les empires du Mali (1929). As Grosz-Ngate (1988:496) points out, in contrast to earlier accounts by explorers, C. Monteil effaces his role as fieldworker in these monographs. The result is that the reader is given limited information about C. Monteil's interactions with the local population and his informants. The documentation about African peoples provided in these monographs is a function of his role as a colonial administrator (C. Monteil 1971:xiv, cited in Grosz-Ngate 1988:497).

Delafosse cites C. Monteil's monograph of the Bambara of Segou and Kaarta as a source of Bambara. This monograph resulted from information gathered during his posting at Djenné from 1900-1903 and illustrates C. Monteil's three pillars of research – history, language, and customs.

3.0 Interpreters' Activity in the Former French Sudan

As Garonne (1995:5) notes, the study of indigenous interpreters involves examining a particular part of African society – those that “collaborated” with the European colonizers. The role of interpreter in French West Africa evolved from the informal use of *tirailleurs* (who were able to understand French and had certain qualities) during the period of conquest to a more formalized role at the end of the nineteenth century marked by titles (e.g., *interprète principal*), pay structures, and training. The function of the interpreter begins to disappear by the middle of the twentieth century. For example, in a report from Bakel in 1938, it was requested that the position of interpreter not be refilled, as many natives already understood French (Garonne 1995:7).

Interpreters served in various *cercles*, in *Affaires politiques*, *Affaires indigènes*, in the courts and tribunals, and on exploratory missions. Many of the interpreters knew more than one African language variety. However the diversity of languages in French West Africa made recruitment difficult, as they could not be sent to just any post.

In addition to their knowledge of African language varieties, some interpreters were valued for their ability to translate documents into Arabic. Until 1911, Arabic was used as the language of correspondence between the governors and many of the chiefs of Sénégal and Sudan. Beginning in 1911, however, French was imposed on all official acts and correspondence and the role of the *rédacteur d'arabe* was diminished (Garonne 1995:13). Because of their knowledge of Arabic, many of the interpreters were literate and Muslim.

Some of the first interpreters were associated with *L'Ecole des otages*. *L'Ecole des otages* was intended, in part, to teach those who were intelligent enough to become interpreters. In a description of this school, Faidherbe states that (cited in Garonne 1995:22, translation mine):

The chiefs of the river who confine their children to the governor of Sénégal so that, under their eyes, they learn French, Christian religion... It is necessary that these children be in Saint-Louis, that they know the governor, the director of *Affaires Extérieures* and all the agents who serve as intermediaries between their country and ours.⁶³

Garonne argues that this last group refers to interpreters (1995:22). Therefore, existing interpreters played a role in the shaping of future interpreters. At this school, the students learned reading and writing in French, French grammar, arithmetic, geography, and Arabic (Garonne 1995:24).

The *Ecole des otages* closed in 1872 and for the next 20 years there was no center for the formation of interpreters. In 1893, the school reopened under the name of *Collège des fils des Chefs et des Interprètes*. This school was placed under the direction of the *Affaires politiques* and the administration was given to a notable *indigène*. This program of study was far more extensive than that offered by the *Ecole des otages*. It included reading and writing in French, a synopsis of general geography and history, elementary history and geography of France, elementary geography of Africa, detailed geography of Senegambia, Arabic, elementary science, comparative French and Muslim law, and theoretical and practical agriculture (Garonne 1995:25-27).

In 1903, the *Collège* was annexed to the *Ecole Normale de l'AOF*. Although intended primarily for the formation of teachers, Garonne (1995:29)

believes that several students became interpreters. In 1922, the former *Collège* split off from the *Ecole Normale* and retook the name *Ecole des fils de chefs et des interprètes*. Its mission was to give an instruction and an education to young people so that they would be useful auxiliaries of the administration and capable of understanding and appreciating the civilizing role of France (Garonne 1995:29). Additions to the academic program included the metric system, moral civics, rights and obligations of the chiefs, the administrative organization of France and French West Africa, courses in colonial administration and public accounting, and more in-depth study of Arabic including reading, interpretation of Arabic texts, grammar, Koranic law, and translation exercises. In addition to these schools, Africans were able to qualify as interpreters and advance in rank through study “sur le tas”. However, graduates of the “European” schools were often viewed as superior (Garonne 1995:31).

Various decrees related to interpreters outline how the function of interpreters was administered. For example, in 1889, a decree regulating interpreters in the *Cour d'appel* and tribunals at Saint-Louis stated that it was necessary to be at least 21 years old, know how to read and write in French and have perfect morality. There was great variation in how the function of the interpreters was regulated in the various areas of French West African until 1910 when a more centralized administration was installed. Decrees issued between 1910 and 1914 standardized such issues as the constitution of the cadre of interpreters, their recruitment, ranks, promotion leave, and discipline (Garonne 1995:53).

Some of the interpreters assumed this role after serving in other military or administrative functions. Many colonial officials took them under their wings and set them apart from other Africans. Garonne (1995:70) describes the relationship between the interpreter and the *Commandant de cercles* as one based upon a mutual respect mixed with a reciprocal distrust. The interpreter remained in his position despite having to submit to the Commandant's authority. The Commandant turned a blind eye to the interpreter's receipt of "gifts" from other Africans or practices of extortion.

The ability of the interpreter to exercise power over the local African population increased the further away the interpreter's post was from the administrative center. As the only African to speak French in these areas, an interpreter could more readily take liberty with the law and assume a position of dominance vis-à-vis the other Africans (Garonne 1995:72-73). Other interpreters were recognized as belonging to notable and influential families. Some members of this group were interpreters in name only. The title was given in recognition of their power and prestige among the African population, rather than as an indication of their function.

Moussa Travélé served as an interpreter in the French Sudan⁶⁴. In addition to fulfilling the duties traditionally associated with this role, Travélé produced three linguistic texts on Bambara – a Petit manuel français-bambara (1910), a Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français (1913), and a collection of Proverbes et contes bambara accompagnés d'une traduction française et précédés d'un abrégé de droit coutumier (1923). In addition to these

three linguistic texts, Travélé also produced a number of other works on Mande culture (e.g., Mandingue theater, the *Komo*, African magic). Some of his works were co-authored with Henri Labouret.

Travélé's work was recognized in a number of journals. For example, in the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française* (1910:78, translation mine), Travélé was described as intelligent and hard-working: "It is rare to find a Negro language studied by someone of which it is the maternal language; this time, the problem is resolved by an intelligent and industrious interpreter, in service at Bamako."⁶⁵

In the announcement of the debut of a new journal, *the Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F.* noted that (1930:275, translation mine):

Outre-Mer begins a veritable collaboration between the researchers and scholars of the Metropole and the cultivated natives. We have the pleasure, in that which concerns Africa, to read in the new review the interesting contributions of Travélé, Mamby Sidibé, and Dim Delobson.⁶⁶

These passages demonstrate the value that some Europeans placed on indigenous scholarship.

4.0 Summary

In presenting the framework for understanding situational and intertextual context of Bambara texts produced during the early colonial period, several key themes emerge. First, the White Fathers continued to identify the Bambara as an primary population in the former French Sudan to be targeted for missionary activities. However, they did not experience the success with the Bambara that they had hoped for. The White Fathers continued to emphasize the importance of mastering Bambara during the early colonial period, not only to better evangelize (e.g., produce the Gospel in Bambara, teach catechumens), but also to better understand the Bambara soul. The use of French in mission educational activities proved to be source of conflict between the White Fathers and colonial administrators.

Second, the White Fathers activity cannot be examined in isolation. They had a tenuous relationship with the colonial administration with which they did not always have common interests. As bishops, Bazin and Sauvart represented the White Fathers interests and had to maintain cordial relationships with the colonial administrators as they depended upon them for financial aid and official approval of their activities. In addition to their relationships with the administration, the White Fathers also interpreted their Bambara experiences with the Bambara in light of their interactions with other African populations.

In the second section, I illustrated the pivotal role that C. Monteil, Tauxier, and Brévié played in the formation of colonial officials during the early colonial period. European understandings of the Bambara gained in the former French

Sudan were presented to the future colonial officials back in France which in turn shaped their perceptions of Bambara and other Africans prior to arriving in French West Africa. C. Monteil's letters also indicated the value placed upon the native perspective.

In the final section, one particular type of European-native relationship is described. The interpreter is a unique role that contributed to the "colonialism of Bambara" by providing a native perspective – both his own and that of the African people he represented. Travélé is particularly intriguing, as there are several texts that can be analyzed in the study of the "colonialism of Bambara".

In Chapters 5 – 7, I have fleshed out certain aspects of the discourse participants' social worlds. The frameworks presented for situational and intertextual contexts for the Bambara texts produced during the pre-colonial period (Chapter 5), the period when the French penetrated into the former French Sudan (Chapter 6), and the early colonial period (this chapter) are intended to set the stage for the interpretation and explanation stages of analysis in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8 – INTERPRETATION AND EXPLANATION OF BAMBARA TEXTS

In this chapter, I move from the descriptive phase of my critical discourse analysis of the Bambara texts to the interpretation and explanation phases. As outlined in Chapter 3, interpretation is the process by which one moves from the formal features of a text to its structural effects. In other words, interpretation is how discourse participants and the analyst understand the text. In the first section of this chapter, I describe how the participants and I interpret these texts, highlight certain key ideological presuppositions, and identify creative ways in which discourse participants use their member resources (MR). In the second section, I shift to explanation in order to examine why certain presuppositions inform the production of these texts and why and when discourse participants attempt to transform power relations through creative uses of MR.

1.0 Interpretation of Bambara Texts

In Chapters 5-7, I described certain aspects of the discourse participants' social worlds in order to set the stage for the interpretation of the Bambara texts. In producing these texts, each discourse participant worked through four levels of interpretation:

- Drawing on one's knowledge of the language variety(-ies) involved to make sense of the *surface of the utterance*;
- Accessing one's knowledge of semantics and pragmatics to ascertain the *meaning of the utterance*;
- Using knowledge of cohesion and pragmatics to get at the *local coherence* of particular parts of the text; and
- Getting the *text structure and point* of the text by drawing on schemata (i.e., representative patterns of organization).

What makes the interpretation of these Bambara texts particularly intriguing is the fact that European participants are utilizing Bambara sub-texts (e.g., a phrase in Bambara, a conversation with an informant about the meaning of Bambara terms) in the production of their texts about Bambara. At the same time, some African discourse participants are using a European language variety that is “foreign” to them in the production of texts authored by others (e.g., a dictionary authored by a missionary) or by themselves (e.g., an interpreter’s dictionary of his own language variety). The multiplicity of language varieties (and levels of understanding of them by participants) involved in the production of these Bambara texts provides the potential for creative uses (intentional and unintentional) of MR. The framework provided in Chapters 5-7 helps in understanding how discourse participants interpreted situational and intertextual contexts. In section 1.1, I focus specifically on situational context and provide a summary in Table 19. In section 1.2, I examine situational context in relation to intertextual context and provide summaries in Table 20 and Table 21.

1.1 Interpretation and Situational Context

As described in Chapter 3, situational context refers to the situation in which the interpreter is involved. In order to get at the situational context drawn on in the production of these texts, I asked four questions of each text:

- What activity types, topics, and purpose does the interpreter identify (i.e., the contents of a discourse type)? – “What’s going on?”
- What subject positions and institutional spheres pertain to the discourse? How does the situation define speaking and listening positions? – “Who’s involved?” and “In what relations?”
- How are texts tied to situational contexts and to one another? – “What’s the role of language in what’s going on?”

Table 19 summarizes the answers to each of these four questions.

1.1.1 What's Going On?

As seen in Table 19, in terms of “what’s going on”, there are several main activity types directly related to the discourse type being drawn upon (refer back to Chapter 4 for a more detailed description of each discourse type). Each of these activity types places constraints on the topics and purposes of each of these texts. For example, in a dictionary of a non-European language, one would expect to find a list of terms and their translations, a section providing a context for this unfamiliar language, and a description of the transcription used. Additionally, a dictionary is produced for specific purposes (e.g., to allow the speaker of a European language to be able to speak the non-European language).

It is important to note that, for discourse participants, texts have overt and covert purposes. For example, from Brévié’s perspective, his article on a Bambara song was intended to demonstrate the “unity of the human spirit” among “primitive” peoples. Brévié explicitly states this in his article. However, what he does not overtly state, and may or may not have been conscious of, is that this article (and other related discourses) served to contribute to the shaping of an evolutionary framework in which Bambara (and other “primitive” peoples) are placed in time and space relative to Western peoples. In examining texts, the analyst must be careful to alternate between the lens of the individual discourse participant (i.e., how they interpret situational and intertextual contexts) and the

lens of the institution that controls the production of the discourse so that the covert purposes are not overlooked. Asking “who’s involved” and “in what relations” helps to keep this larger perspective in mind.

1.1.2 Who’s Involved?

As Table 19 illustrates, there are certain similarities to how the second question, “who’s involved”, is answered. For each of the texts, there is a European author(s) and African informants from whom the data was collected. Additionally, each of these texts is a written document that has been published through the authority of a particular agency/organization. This indicates the slipperiness of isolating each particular text from the larger process of its production, including the multiplicity of discourses surrounding and encompassing it (e.g., collecting data from the informants, editorial discussions, review by peers). For the purposes of this study, I always include the informants and publisher as participants in the production of each text, although I am only able to access their participation in its production to varying degrees. In addition, I also include the audience in this section, both the “ideal reader” that the author(s) has in mind, as well as the contemporary users (such as myself) of each text.

1.1.3 In What Relations?

Tied to “who’s involved” is the question “in what relations”. Identifying the participants goes hand in hand with determining their subject positions vis-à-vis

each other in the context of power. With the exception of Travélé, common to all of these texts is the relation of the African informant as the provider of raw data to the author who transforms this data and presents it in the written text. Clarke and Koelle's texts hint at the increasing importance of some Africans writing these sorts of texts themselves as they become engaged in the colonial and missionary enterprises and how this impacts the nature of the relationship between African informant and European expert.

What is interesting here is the intricate relations of power that exist not only between Europeans and Africans, but also within various European factions and African factions. For example, H. Bazin has a position of authority over his fellow missionaries. He serves as collector, editor, and publisher of the Bambara dictionary that represents the White Fathers' linguistic work with the Bambara. Additionally, H. Bazin, and the missionaries he represents, is subject to the grace of the French colonial government in order to carry out the Church's activities. Dard's text demonstrates the fact that Europeans themselves are engaged in struggles over power amongst themselves. His role as producer of this text is framed by the power of the government and academy to render his work credible and enable it to be published. Finally, Binger advocates for the missionaries in his text. This speaks to the fact that the "ideal reader" is not monolithic. In this case the "ideal reader" could be a missionary or a member of the military who may not share Binger's empathy with the missionaries' work.

1.1.4 What's the Role of Language?

The final question, “what’s the role of language?”, gets at how texts are tied to situational contexts and how the different parts of the text are tied together. I have used this question to get at how language was both a “means” and an “object” of colonialism. To varying degrees, through the act of inscribing various varieties of Bambara, these author(s) have captured, labeled, and classified Bambara as a language variety whether in the form of a dictionary, collection of vocabularies, grammatical essay, or scholarly article. They have also positioned Bambara as a language variety vis-à-vis Bambara as a people in time and space through connections in their texts (e.g., section headings, maps, table of contents).

1.1.5 Summary

What Table 19 demonstrates is the general continuity of how Bambara was portrayed and positioned during this period in these texts. With the exception of the early texts by Dard, Koelle and Clarke that examine Bambara in relation to other languages (i.e., Wolof in Dard’s work and as one of many African vocabularies in Koelle and Clarke’s collections) and Tauxier’s studies, all of the texts focus specifically on Bambara. This demonstrates that by the late 1800’s the Bambara were of enough importance to the French to merit specific studies, such as grammars and vocabularies, to meet pragmatic needs. The fact that Bambara is consistently positioned as a people and language in time and space underscores the need of the Europeans to define and categorize the Other. Once

the French had penetrated into the heartland of the Bambara, they then began to produce sociological and ethnological studies in the early 1900's (e.g., Brévié and Monteil) that contributed to European understanding of the Other. These scholarly studies also highlight the emergence of a new type of participant – publishers producing specialized texts focusing on African studies (e.g., Etudes Soudanaises and Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française). Their emergence reflects the power that the observers (i.e., the European scholar) had over the observed (i.e., the Africans) and the specialization taken place amongst the observers (i.e., dividing the Other up by geographic location, religion, language etc.).

Table 19 – Situational Context of Bambara Texts

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Dard (1825)	<u>Discourse type</u> – dictionary of a non-European language variety • Activity type – production of a dictionary of a non-European language variety • Topics – French-Wolof/Bambara dictionary and Wolof-French dictionary; general observations on the Wolof language • Purpose – to provide other Europeans with a dictionary of Wolof and Bambara for pragmatic and scholarly purposes; Dard wanted to learn Wolof in order to better be able to instruct his students	• Dard – European “expert” who compiled data and “discovered” laws of Wolof • Author of “avant-propos” – probably member of Educational Society of Paris • Dard’s students – informants who provided linguistic data • Audience – ideal reader (i.e., Europeans who have pragmatic reasons to use Wolof and Bambara and other “experts”) and other readers • Publisher – Ministère de la marine’s commission approved publication	• As their teacher, Dard has a position of power vis-à-vis his students • Dard and the “avant-propos” author are European “experts” who transform raw linguistic data provided by the African students • Dard’s career, reputation, and educational recommendations are subject to the evaluation and approval of the government and the Educational Society of Paris • This text can be improved by the ideal reader (i.e., despite Dard’s position as an “expert” vis-à-vis the Africans, he lacks the formal training of other scholars)	• Used to record Wolof and Bambara in writing in order to uncover their “laws”; provide a tool to enable Europeans to communicate in West Africa; and allow Dard to better instruct his students
Clarke (1848)	<u>Discourse type</u> – collection of vocabularies of non-European language varieties • Activity type – Production of a collection of vocabularies of non-European language varieties	• Clarke – member of Baptist Missionary Society; collector and organizer of the vocabularies • Informants – Africans located in Jamaica and Fernando Po	• Clarke is the “expert” who collected and organized the linguistic data gathered from his African informants • Clarke is in a relation of power as a European missionary to Christian and non-Christian Africans	• Used to capture samples of many African language varieties in writing in order to compare them and provide a pragmatic tool for the conversion of Africans through the translation of the Gospel

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Clarke (cont'd)	- Topics – collection of vocabularies; preface/introductory remarks - Purpose – to help missionaries make the Gospel known to Africans	- Audience – ideal reader (i.e., fellow Anglophone missionaries) and other readers - Publisher – Baptist Missionary Society	The ideal reader can expand the knowledge of these language varieties through missionary work	
Koelle (1849)	<u>Discourse type</u> – collection of vocabularies of non-European language varieties - Activity type – production of a collection of vocabularies of non-European language varieties - Topics – collection of vocabularies; preface/introductory remarks; notes on informants and their "native countries"; classification of language varieties; map - Purpose – to help missionaries make the Gospel known to Africans	- Koelle – member of the Church Missionary Society; collector and organizer of the vocabularies - Informants – primarily freed slaves in Freetown - Audience – ideal reader (i.e., fellow Anglophone missionaries) and other readers - Publisher – CMS	- Koelle is the "expert" who collected and organized the linguistic data he gathered from his African informants - Koelle is in a relation of power as a European missionary to both Christian Africans and non-Christian Africans - The ideal reader can expand the knowledge of these language varieties through missionary work	Used to capture samples of many African language varieties in writing in order to compare them; provide a pragmatic tool for the conversion of Africans through the translation of the Gospel; and demonstrate the "humanity" of Africans

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Binger (1886)	Discourse type – grammatical essay or manual of a non-European language variety - Activity type – production of a grammatical essay on a non-European language variety - Topics – dedication to the text; essay contextualizing language variety and speakers; grammar; sentences; vocabulary; map - Purpose – to help other French in this area communicate with Africans in the French Sudan and understand their relation to other African peoples and language varieties	- Binger – member of military who was involved in pacification of the French Sudan - Informants – three Bambara from Kaarta and Bélédougou and other French-speaking Africans at various posts - Audience – the ideal reader (i.e., travelers, military, colonial officials, merchants, missionaries interpreters) and other readers - Publisher – Ministère de la marine et des colonies	- Binger is a member of the military who is in a position of “pacifier” vis-à-vis his informants - Through this essay, Binger is able to advocate for the importance of the missionary presence to other Europeans - The ideal reader can render the understanding of Bambara more complete	- Used to fix the variety of Bambara spoken in Kaarta and Bélédougou in writing - Used to connect the contextualization of Bambara as a people in space and time with Bambara as a language variety
Tautain (1887)	Discourse type – scholarly article concerning a non-European people - Activity type – production of a scholarly article published in a journal - Topics – sections comparing grammatical categories between language varieties	- Tautain – a “non-linguist” who compares language varieties - Informants – not explicitly identified - Audience – ideal reader (i.e., subscribers to journal) and other readers - Publisher – <u>Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparées</u>	- Tautain was engaged in the “pacification” of the French Sudan; therefore his knowledge of these language varieties is immediate compared to the “armchair” role that the ideal reader assumes vis-à-vis the data - Tautain is in a position of “pacifier” vis-à-vis his informants	Used to capture linguistic data on African language varieties for use by scholars in Europe

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Tautain (cont'd)	Purpose – to provide linguistic data on three West African language varieties for other scholars to study			
Toulotte (1897)	<u>Discourse type</u> – grammatical essay or manual of a non-European language variety - Activity type – production of a grammatical manual of a non-European language variety - Topics – alphabet; grammar - Purpose – to help fellow missionaries and other French in area communicate with Africans in the French Sudan; to provide a tool for the conversion of the Bambara	- Toulotte – White Father stationed in Segou - Informants – not explicitly identified - Audience – ideal reader (i.e., other White Fathers and Europeans in the French Sudan) and other readers - Publisher – Joseph André & Cie	- Toulotte is the “expert” who collected and organized the linguistic data he gathered from his Bambara informants - Toulotte is in a relation of power as a European missionary to both Christian Africans and non-Christian Africans	- Used to fix variety of Bambara spoken in Segou - To provide a pragmatic tool to translate the Gospel
H. Bazin (1906)	<u>Discourse type</u> – dictionary of a non-European language variety Activity type – production of a dictionary of a non-European language	H. Bazin – a White Father who gathered and organized the Bambara material - Other missionaries – those who collected the information used in H. Bazin's dictionary	H. Bazin has a position of authority vis-à-vis the other missionaries who provided the Bambara data; he edited their data and compiled it into an official publication by the White Fathers	Used to provide a comprehensive snapshot of the varieties of Bambara, demonstrate how it is related to other language varieties and how it has borrowed terms from other languages

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
H. Bazin (cont'd)	• Topics – introduction contextualizing study of Bambara language, brief Bambara grammar, Bambara-French dictionary, Bambara texts • Purpose – to assist Europeans working in areas where Bambara spoken	• Audience – ideal reader (missionaries and other Europeans) and other readers • Publisher – Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique	• The missionaries had a position of authority vis-à-vis the Bambara and other African peoples; they selected the Bambara as an African people with potential for mass conversion • The White Fathers' missionary agenda at times conflicted with the colonial agenda; the production of linguistic materials demonstrated the usefulness of the missionary work to the colonial enterprise	
Sauvant (1925)	<u>Discourse type</u> – grammatical essay or manual of a non-European language variety • Activity type – production of a grammatical manual of a non-European language • Topics – introduction contextualizing study of Bambara language; manual comprised of lessons, vocabulary lists, and translation exercises; appendix with supplementary linguistic material; Bambara stories	• Sauvant – the collector and interpreter of the data compiled in this manual • Informants – not explicitly identified • Audience – ideal reader (missionaries and other Europeans) and other readers • Publisher – Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique	• The missionaries had a position of authority vis-à-vis the Bambara and other African peoples; selected the Bambara as an African people with potential for mass conversion • The White Fathers' missionary agenda at times conflicted with the colonial agenda; the production of linguistic materials demonstrated the usefulness of the missionary work to the colonial enterprise	• Used to place Bambara in an evolutionary hierarchy relative to other African peoples and Europeans

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Sauvant (cont'd)	Purpose – to provide a tool for fellow missionaries (and other Europeans) to learn Bambara			
Henry (1910)	<u>Discourse type</u> – scholarly study of a non-European people - Activity type – “ethnographic” account of non-European people - Topics – contextualization of Bambara people in terms of recent history, geographical location, and general cultural practices; in-depth exploration of Bambara beliefs and customs - Purpose – to provide missionaries and others who deal with the Bambara with information about the Bambara beliefs and customs and provide a base for future ethnological research	- Henry – a White Father who collected information on the Bambara - Dubonnet – a White Father who provided the photographs which illustrate this text - African informants – Bambara “fétiches” of Segu - Audience – ideal reader (fellow missionaries, other Europeans, and ethnologists) and other readers - Publisher – Collection internationale de monographies ethnologiques, Anthropos	- The White Fathers’ missionary agenda at times conflicted with the colonial agenda; the production of linguistic materials demonstrated the usefulness of the missionary work to the colonial enterprise - Henry provides the raw data on the Bambara gathered as a result of direct experience for “professional” ethnologists and other scholars	- Bambara phrases and terms are used to illustrate Henry’s ethnological depiction of the Bambara - Knowledge of the Bambara language enables Henry to provide his “ethnographic” account
Brévié (1917)	<u>Discourse type</u> – scholarly article concerning a non-European people Activity type – production of a scholarly article	- Brévié – colonial official who recorded and analyzed the song - African Informant – D’Namba Koulobali performer of the song	Brévié is in a position of power vis-à-vis his informant and other Bambara; can interpret the Bambara inscription that is reflected in this song for	Brévié captures one performance and version of a song in writing in order to compare it to songs produced by other primitive peoples

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Brévié (cont'd)	• Topics – analysis of a Bambara song • Purpose – to demonstrate the "unity of the human spirit" among "primitive" peoples	• Audience – ideal reader (missionaries and other Europeans) and other readers • Publisher – Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française	his European audience	
Tauxier (1917 and 1921)	<u>Discourse type</u> – scholarly study of a non-European people • Activity type – production of a sociological study of a "primitive" people • Topics – sections on physical location, race and its history, work, family, mode of existence, interfamilial relations and social structure, public powers, religion, and intellectual culture • Purpose – to contribute to the scientific knowledge of peoples of the Sudan	• Tauxier – a colonial official who compiled and analyzed data about the peoples of Yatenga and Bondoukou • African informants – various individuals from whom he collected sociological and linguistic data • Audience – ideal reader (scholars and other Europeans) and other readers • Publisher – Etudes Soudanaises (Ernest Leroux and Emile Larose)	• Tauxier is in a relation of power vis-à-vis the peoples of Yatenga and Bondoukou whom he presents in these studies • Tauxier draws upon sociological frameworks of his time to produce his studies; in these studies he both supports and contests the larger body of scholarship which he draws upon	• Tauxier uses Bambara references to highlight the ties between all Mande peoples and their language varieties and emphasize its importance in this area
C. Montell (1924)	<u>Discourse type</u> – scholarly study of a non-European people • Activity type – production of a monograph	• C. Montell – a colonial official who • African informants – various individuals C. Montell interacted with during his tenure as a	• C. Montell relies upon his informants to provide the indigenous perspective necessary to understand the languages and peoples of French West Africa, yet he controls their perspective	• Mastery of African languages is necessary to effectively serve as a colonial administrator and produce ethnographies

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
C. Montell (cont'd)	- Topics – chapters on the origin and history of the Bambara language - concepts, communities, brotherhoods, and clans; and Islam - Purpose – to provide information about the history, ethnography, and culture of the Bambara	- colonial official in French West Africa - Audience – ideal reader (scholars and other Europeans) and other readers - Publisher – Comité d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Emile Larose)	C. Montell draws upon other works concerning Bambara thus legitimizing their contribution as sources of ethnographic, historical, and linguistic information; in particular he cites Travélé giving him a different status than his African informants	C. Montell uses Bambara vocabulary throughout the text to demonstrate the indigenous perspective of the Bambara culture
Travélé (1910, 1913, and 1923)	Discourse types – dictionary of a non-European language variety, grammatical essay or manual of a non-European language variety, collection of proverbs and stories activity types – Production of a manual and dictionary of a non-European language and a collection of proverbs and stories in a non-European language	- Travélé – an interpreter who produced three Bambara texts - Delafosse – The author of the introduction to the <i>Petit manuel</i> and the prefaces to the <i>Petit dictionnaire</i> and the <i>Proverbes et contes bambara</i> - African informants – Travélé not indicate whether he is the sole source of the Bambara material - Audience – ideal reader (fellow interpreters, Europeans who interact with the Bambara, and other Europeans) and other readers	- As an interpreter, Travélé occupies a different sphere of African society vis-à-vis the French; he has the power to influence and control European perceptions of African peoples - Travélé is also permitted to gather and present data on the Bambara, albeit within the constraints of his European mentors (e.g., Delafosse)	- Travélé's texts are designed to give Europeans pragmatic tools to learn Bambara and to help interpreters to become more effective in their French translations - Travélé can provide direct access to the "indigenous" linguistic data (e.g., pronunciation)

Table 19 (cont'd)

Text	What's Going On?	Who's Involved?	In What Relations?	What's the Role of Language?
Travéle (cont'd)	- Topics – manual is comprised of chapters on a wide range of grammatical subjects and topical areas and preceded by introductory material which contextualizes the manual; dictionary is comprised of a French-Bambara and Bambara-French dictionary, Bambara texts, and introductory material which contextualizes the dictionary; the collection of proverbs and stories is comprised of the Bambara texts, a study of customary law, and introductory material which contextualizes the texts and study - Purpose – to provide pragmatic tools for Europeans to learn and use Bambara from an indigenous perspective	Publisher – Librairie Paul Geunther		

1.2 Interpretation and Intertextual Context

Each participant in a discourse must determine to which historical series a text belongs (i.e., its intertextual context). Each discourse is related to past discourses. Assigning a particular discourse to a historical series determines the “common ground”, or presuppositions, for participants. Acknowledging the intertextual context of a discourse means that neither the participants nor the analyst can view a discourse as an abstract, isolated event. Instead, each discourse must be viewed from a historical perspective.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Fairclough (1989: 162) suggests using the following questions in analyzing intertextual context and interpretation:

- (1) Context – What interpretation(s) are participants giving to the situational and intertextual contexts?
- (2) Discourse type(s) – What discourse type(s) are being drawn upon (hence what rules, systems or principles of phonology, grammar, sentence cohesion, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics, and what schemata, frames and scripts)?
- (3) Difference and change – Are answers to questions 1 and 2 different for different participants? And do they change during the course of the interpretations?

The discourse types being drawn upon are indicated in Table 19 above, while Table 20 below provides a comparative summary of the interpretation(s) that participants are giving to the situational context in the production of the Bambara texts under consideration here. The authors of these texts (i.e., the individual to whom the publication was attributed) share many of the same general interpretations of situational context such the “imperfection” of their linguistic work and the position of the European as an “expert” who can uncover the

underlying structure of African language varieties and record it in a written text.

The authors do have different interpretations of situational context related to their roles in the “colonialism of Bambara”. For example, Clarke and Koelle explicitly state the spread of the Gospel and conversion of Africans as the fundamental purpose of their linguistic work, while Dard positions his text as a way to better educate African students through the use of their maternal language.

Table 20 – Summary of Participants’ Interpretation of Situational Context

Interpretation of Situational Context	Participant
Text imperfect	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Dard/Author of “Avant-Propos” • Clarke • Koelle • Binger • Tautain • Toulotte • H. Bazin
European expertise can uncover laws of African language varieties	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Dard/Author of “Avant-Propos” • Clarke • Koelle • Binger • Tautain • Toulotte • H. Bazin • Sauvart • Travélé/Delafosse
Learning African language varieties allows for more effective instruction of Africans through the use of their maternal tongue	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Dard/Author of “Avant-Propos”
Recording African language varieties serves pragmatic needs of other Europeans	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Dard/Author of “Avant-Propos” • Clarke • Koelle • Binger • Toulotte • H. Bazin • Sauvart • Travélé/Delafosse
Production of linguistic materials enhances reputation of author	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Dard/Author of “Avant-Propos”

Table 20 (cont'd)

Interpretation of Situational Context	Participant
Knowledge of African language varieties can assist in the spread of the Gospel and missionary activities	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Clarke • Koelle • Binger • Toulotte
Collecting vocabularies of African language varieties can also produce geographic, political, and cultural information about African peoples	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Clarke • Koelle • Binger
Recording comparative linguistic data of African language varieties can increase linguistic knowledge by making it accessible to other scholars	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Tautain
Compilation of work of many missionaries	<u>Text Producer:</u> • H. Bazin
Europeans should compile and synthesize data gathered from and on African peoples in order to advance European knowledge of non European peoples and identify their relationship to European peoples	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Henry • Brévié • Tauxier • C. Monteil • Travélé/Delaforse
It is essential to Europeans to understand the mentality and beliefs of African peoples in order to be successful in missionary work and in other activities	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Henry
Knowledge of indigenous language and perspective essential to provide an accurate account of non-Europeans	<u>Text Producer:</u> • C. Monteil
An indigenous perspective can enrich European expertise	<u>Text Producer:</u> • Travélé/Delaforse
Evaluate against assumptions of what a vocabulary, dictionary, or grammatical essay should provide in order to facilitate language learning and use	<u>Audience:</u> • Europeans with pragmatic reasons to use text • "Experts"
Evaluate against assumptions of what constitutes a European linguistic text and what value it has for both Europeans and Africans	<u>Audience:</u> • Africans with pragmatic reasons to use text (e.g., interpreters)
Evaluate against assumptions of what constitutes acceptable linguistic, ethnographic, or historical data and presentation and analysis of that data	<u>Audience:</u> • "Experts"
Evaluate against assumptions of what constitutes acceptable linguistic data and its presentation as a dictionary, grammatical essay, manual or collection of vocabularies	<u>Publisher:</u> • Ministère de la marine et des colonies (Dard 1825, Binger 1886) • Baptist Missionary Society (Clarke 1848) • CMS (Koelle 1849) • Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (H. Bazin 1906; Sauvart 1925) • Paul Geunther (Travélé 1910, 1913)

Table 20 (cont'd)

Interpretation of Situational Context	Participant
Evaluate against the standards of the society and its publication/editorial guidelines for scholarly texts	<u>Publisher:</u> • Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparées (Tautain 1887)
Evaluate against standards of the committee for inclusion in the publication	<u>Publisher:</u> • Comité d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Brévié 1917; C. Monteil 1924)
Evaluate against assumptions about what constitutes an acceptable "ethnological monograph"	<u>Publisher:</u> • Collection internationale de monographies ethnologiques/Anthropos (Henry 1910)
Evaluate against assumptions of what constitutes acceptable scholarly research and its presentation as a published document	<u>Publisher:</u> • Paul Geunther (Travélé 1923) • Emile Larose (Tauxier 1917) • Ernest Leroux (Tauxier 1921)
Difficult to discern from text	<u>Informants:</u> • African students in Senegal (Dard 1825) • Africans in Jamaica, Fernando Po, and Freetown (Clarke 1848, Koelle 1849) • Bambara from Kaarta, Bélédougou, and other French posts/missions (Binger 1886, Toulotte 1897) • Africans in White Fathers' missionary territory (H. Bazin 1906; Sauvart 1925; Henry 1910) • D'Namba Kouloubali (Brévié 1917) • Africans in French colonial territory (Tauxier 1917, 1921; C. Monteil 1924) <u>Audience:</u> • Other Readers <u>Publisher:</u> • Joseph André & Cie (Toulotte 1897)

Table 21 presents a summary of the participants' interpretation of intertextual context. Each of the major groups of participants is grouped together (i.e., text producer, informants, audience, and publisher). In terms of intertextual context, the authors of these texts see each individual text as part of ongoing linguistic work by European experts on African language varieties. They build on previous studies resulting in an "imperfect" dictionary, grammatical study,

collection of vocabularies, or scholarly article. These texts in turn will be utilized further with the end result being an accurate, complete account of each language variety. None of the authors directly challenge these presuppositions in their works. What does differ is the positioning of each text vis-à-vis the historical series of related texts in terms of the agenda of each particular author (e.g., Clarke and Koelle have as their fundamental concern the evangelization of the Africans; Dard is concerned with the education of African students).

While one can ascertain, to some extent, the interpretation that the authors were giving to situational and intertextual contexts, the same cannot be said for the other participants. For example, without recourse to secondary material (e.g., letters, interviews) that can shed light on the informants who participated in the production of these texts, it is difficult to discern how they interpreted both the situational and intertextual contexts. The lacunae in Table 21 are potential areas for further research in the “colonialism of language” (e.g., the role of publishers in shaping the use of language as an object and means of colonialism). The reader’s knowledge of the identity of these informants is limited to what is provided by the author, thus reflecting the position of power of the author vis-à-vis the African informants.

Table 21 – Participants' Interpretation of Intertextual Context

Participant	Interpretation of Intertextual Context
<i>Text Producer:</i>	
Dard (including author of "Avant-Propos")	• Dard's text was evaluated by "experts" for its value using certain standards for this discourse type • Other works on Wolof have been produced • Comparison of African language varieties link to other linguistic texts
Clarke/Koelle	• Part of larger activity of collecting information about African language varieties performed by missionaries • Debate over separation of linguistic work from pastoral work
Binger	• Notes taken while on duty at posts "belong" to French colonial enterprise and can be transformed into linguistic and other texts • History of "race mandingue" tied to those given in other accounts (i.e., Piétri, Barth, Ibn-Battu, Park) • Tied to previous linguistic texts on African language varieties that were produced by the French officials
Tautain	• Tied to previous linguistic texts on African languages that were produced by the French officials
Toulotte	• Difficult to discern from text
H. Bazin	• Part of larger missionary work of recording African language varieties • Part of series of texts on African peoples that shape perceptions about their capacity for abstract thought and objects of conversion
Sauvant	• Part of larger missionary work of recording African language varieties
Henry	• Part of larger scholarship on African peoples including the collection and analysis of historical, ethnographic, and linguistic data
Brévié	• Part of larger scholarship on African peoples including the collection and analysis of historical, ethnographic, and linguistic data
Tauxier	• Part of larger scholarship on African peoples including the collection and analysis of historical, ethnographic, and linguistic data

Table 21 (cont'd)

Participant	Interpretation of Intertextual Context
<i>Text Producer:</i>	
C. Monteil	Part of larger scholarship on African peoples including the collection and analysis of historical, ethnographic, and linguistic data
Travélé (including Delafosse's contributions)	Part of larger scholarship on African peoples including the collection and analysis of historical, ethnographic, and linguistic data
<i>Informants:</i>	
African students in Senegal (Dard 1825) Africans in Jamaica, Fernando Po, and Freetown (Clarke 1848, Koelle 1849) Bambara from Kaarta, Bélé Dougou, and other French posts/missions (Binger 1886, Toulotte 1897)	Difficult to discern from text
Africans in White Fathers' missionary territory (H. Bazin 1906; Sauvart 1925; Henry 1910) D'Namba Kouloubali (Brévié 1917) Africans in French colonial territory (Tauxier 1917, 1921; C. Monteil 1924)	Difficult to discern from text
<i>Audience:</i>	
Europeans with pragmatic reasons to use text	Evaluate against other pragmatic linguistic materials of Bambara or other African language varieties
"Experts"	- Evaluate against other linguistic materials of African language varieties - Use of linguistic data in comparative study of language varieties - Use of ethnographic and historical data in comparative study of European and non-European peoples
Africans with pragmatic reasons to use text (e.g., interpreters)	Evaluate against other pragmatic linguistic materials of other African languages used within French West Africa, other "indigenous" texts related to language, and other written texts (e.g., Arabic sources)
Other Readers	Difficult to discern from text
<i>Publisher:</i>	
Ministère de la marine et des colonies (Dard 1825, Binger 1886) Paul Geunther (Travélé 1910, 1913, 1923)	Part of larger activity of collecting linguistic, ethnographic, and historical data on African language varieties

Participant	Interpretation of Intertextual Context
<i>Publisher:</i>	
• Baptist Missionary Society (Clarke 1848) • CMS (Koelle 1849)	• Part of larger activity of collecting information about African language varieties performed by missionaries and published by the missionary societies
• Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparées (Tautain 1887) • Comité d'Etudes historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Brévié 1917, C. Monteil 1924) • Collection internationale de monographies ethnologiques/Anthropos (Henry 1910) • Emile Larose (Tauxer 1917) • Ernest Leroux (Tauxier 1921)	• Part of a larger enterprise of the production of scholarly articles and research related publications
• Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (H. Bazin 1906; Sauvart 1925)	• Evaluate against other linguistic materials provided by White Fathers working in the former French Sudan and other parts of Africa
• Joseph André & Cie (Toulotte 1897)	• Difficult to discern from the text

1.3 Interpretation and Ideological Presuppositions

As discussed in Chapter 1, the central concern of critical language study is making the connections between power, ideology, and language. In my study of the “colonialism of Bambara”, I have defined ideology as an “implicit philosophy” which informs social life. This philosophy is hidden from actors. Common sense, therefore, is essentially ideological as it serves to sustain unequal power relations.

In this section I outline some of the participants’ ideological presuppositions. Although there are cues to presuppositions in a text, they are not formal properties of the text. Therefore, while presuppositions have been alluded to during the descriptive phase in Chapter 4, the discussion of them belongs to the domain of interpretation.

As indicated in Chapter 3, presuppositions can be sincere, manipulative, or have ideological functions. I am focusing on ideological presuppositions (i.e., when what is assumed has the character of common sense). If these ideological presuppositions are not made explicit, they can be difficult to identify, challenge, and reject. It is in the production and interpretation of a text that one can challenge and contest presuppositions through creative use of MR. In my examination of the Bambara texts, I focus on three major ideological presuppositions concerning African language varieties and their speakers that have implications for the study of the “colonialism of Bambara”:

- African language varieties are primitive;
- African language varieties can be classified; and
- African language varieties can be used to facilitate the establishment of a permanent colonial presence.

Each of these major presuppositions is associated with other ideological presuppositions as indicated in Table 22 below. Table 22 also describes some of the challenges to the presuppositions and how they were made explicit in the Bambara texts. In the next section, I explain why these ideological presuppositions were selected.

Table 22 – Ideological Presuppositions

Major Ideological Presupposition	Associated Presuppositions	Explicit Presuppositions/ Challenges to Presuppositions
African language varieties are primitive	African language varieties are inherently oral	<u>Explicit Presuppositions:</u> - All associated presuppositions made explicit as part of dialogue about how Africans and other non-European groups fit into notions of humanity and evolutionary hierarchy <u>Challenges to Presuppositions:</u> - Idea that loanwords must be adopted is <u>not</u> challenged - African language varieties are as rich and complex as Western languages (e.g., can express abstractions in Bambara) – e.g., Koelle, H. Bazin - Although primitive, Africans share unity of human spirit – e.g., Brévié, Koelle - Africans have varying degrees of "primitiveness" (e.g., Bambara on same intellectual level as European villagers) – e.g., H. Bazin, Travé, Delafosse - Bambara had a glorious past (i.e., were less primitive than they are now) – e.g., Binger, Delafosse, H. Bazin, Sauvage, Brévié, Tauxier, C. Montell
	African language varieties are not normally written down by their speakers	
	Africans have to be taught to read and write by Europeans or Muslims	
	Africans are primitive	
	Loanwords must be adopted for new concepts and ideas, technology etc. that are introduced into the African context	
African language varieties can be classified	African language varieties have regular laws which can be discerned by an "expert", thus revealing their grammatical structures	<u>Explicit Presuppositions:</u> - All associated presuppositions made explicit in order to illustrate position of Bambara in overall classification and to demonstrate how language varieties are classified <u>Challenges to Presuppositions:</u> - None – Overall assumption that while may not be able to pinpoint exact relationships between peoples or locate in time and space this is due to lack of data, incomplete analysis etc.
	African language varieties can be correlated with specific African peoples	
	Relationships between certain African language varieties can be identified	

Table 22 (cont'd)

Major Ideological Presupposition	Associated Presuppositions	Explicit Presuppositions/ Challenges to Presuppositions
	Relationships between speakers of language varieties can be identified	• Travélé is associated to some degree with the "experts" as he has produced three Bambara texts which are recognized by Delafosse and others; potential for challenge to idea that Africans are primitive, however used to reinforce presuppositions • Note that the presupposition that African language varieties have regular laws challenges the presupposition that African language varieties are primitive
	African language varieties and their speakers can be located in time and space	
African language varieties can be used to facilitate the establishment of a permanent colonial presence	Study of African language varieties reveals social and cultural information about Africans	<u>Explicit Presuppositions:</u> • Presupposition that learning African languages serves practical purposes is made explicit in order to demonstrate the importance of Europeans taking time to learn them and to justify usefulness of dictionaries, grammars etc. • Presupposition that African language varieties and European languages should be controlled is made explicit as part of dialogue over how they should be controlled and who decides how they are controlled • Presupposition that study of African language varieties reveals information about Africans made explicit as part of illustration of science of linguistics and its ties to ethnological research
	Information can be conveyed to Africans in their own language varieties	
	African language varieties should not be eliminated, but controlled	
	Access to European languages should be controlled	
		<u>Challenges to Presuppositions:</u> • Major presupposition never challenged; seems obvious that study of African language varieties served practical purpose in establishing permanent colonial presence; appears commonsensical even now • Challenges to how European and African language varieties should be controlled and used in areas of education and missionary work – e.g., Dard, White Fathers

2.0 Explanation of Bambara Texts

The purpose of the level of explanation is to describe how MR (i.e., what discourse participants draw on) is socially constituted, reproduced and changed in the production of these texts. Through explanation, moments when discourse participants attempt to transform power relations can be identified. In order to provide an explanation of the Bambara texts, I first explore in more detail the ideological presuppositions described in Table 22. In the next section, I discuss how these Bambara texts fit into the overall “colonialism of Bambara”. Finally, I describe the usefulness of critical discourse analysis uncovering traces of the “colonialism of Bambara” and potential moments of resistance.

2.1 Explanation and Ideological Presuppositions

My first task in providing an explanation of these Bambara texts is to clarify why I selected these ideological presuppositions, describe when they were challenged (i.e., when discourse participants used MR creatively), and explain why certain presuppositions were not challenged and why creative uses of MR did not effect social change.

2.1.1 Why These Ideological Presuppositions?

In order to explain why I selected these presuppositions and why I believe they are ideological in nature (i.e., they have the appearance of commonsense), it is necessary to review the history of the development of Western linguistics. As described in Chapter 1, the beginnings of the development of linguistics (as we

know it today) can be traced back to the sixteenth century when Europeans became aware of previously unknown languages. The hallmark of this period was a pyramid in which “noble languages” (i.e., Latin, Greek, Hebrew) were placed at the top, European “vulgar languages” placed in the middle and non-European “vulgar languages” placed at the bottom.

During the seventeenth century, increased centralization of European nations and resulting nationalism continued to influence the development of linguistics. In addition, ideas about the “correct” usage of languages emerged and certain categories of speakers were correlated with good and bad varieties of a language. Another important development during this time was the Port-Royal grammar that illustrates how the author selected certain language varieties to be documented and excluded others.

By the eighteenth century, Europeans had an increasing desire to relate European languages to those of non-Europeans (the Other) and how to uncover the origin of European languages. A predominant belief at this time was that languages (and thought) started out simple and then became increasingly complex. The language varieties of the Other was seen as a reflection of an earlier time in European history. Therefore, the Other could be located not only in space (i.e., where they were found), but also in time (i.e., pre-history). In conjunction with this evolutionary framework was a humanistic attitude that assumed that all peoples could advance through time, albeit an advancement which could be accelerated (and therefore controlled) by the Europeans.

Modern linguistics emerged with the development of historical linguistics at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Scholars envisioned languages as living organisms that develop and change over time. They viewed linguistic change as regular and reflective of the internal organization of the language. Racism was intertwined with the development of linguistics – relations of difference were relations of superiority. In the twentieth century, structural linguistics and its distinction between “langue” (the system of signs) and “parole” (speech event) crystallized the belief that language was an “object” to be colonized (i.e., the system of signs could be captured) and a “means” of colonization (i.e., the use of language to carry out the “colonialism of language”).

Therefore, by the time the authors were producing their Bambara texts, certain assumptions were made about language and these assumptions shaped how they produced their texts, why they produced their texts and allowed for the production of these texts. These assumptions included a belief that the African is the Other that can be located in time and space in relation to Europeans; the Other is reflected in language and vice versa; and Africans and their language varieties can evolve. The science of linguistics permeates and informs these assumptions and in turn is shaped by these assumptions.

Based upon my interpretation of these Bambara texts, as discussed above, I identified and categorized these assumptions into three major ideological presuppositions and associated ideological presuppositions (see Table 22):

- African language varieties are primitive;
- African language varieties can be classified; and

- African language varieties can be used to facilitate the establishment of a permanent colonial presence.

This is based upon my belief that the authors and other Europeans would not contest the ideological nature of these presuppositions (i.e., they are commonsensical). This does not mean that they did not challenge them.

However, these challenges centered on what was meant by “primitive”, how language varieties should be classified and how European and African language varieties should be used as part of the overall colonial enterprise.

2.1.2 When Did Discourse Participants Attempt to Creatively Use MR?

Given the fact that many traces of the “colonialism of Bambara” have been erased it is difficult to ascertain when discourse participants attempted to creatively use MR. As illustrated in Table 20 and Table 21, the interpretations of situational and intertextual context by informants are difficult to discern from the texts. The discourse types drawn upon ensure that certain participants are silenced in the resulting text. For example, the scholarly studies produced by Henry, Tauxier, and Monteil do not list their informants as co-authors. Only the European is recognized as the expert who has the legitimate right to author such a study. With time and the proper education, however, an African can be given voice as in the case of Travélé. Because certain participants are silenced, informants may have creatively used MR in order to make sense of an “alien” linguistic activity in which Europeans engaged them. However, examination of written texts (the archaeological traces of linguistic debris) alone cannot uncover these potential moments of creative use of MR.

Several potential areas where discourse participants (or at least those who were not effaced) may have creatively used MR emerged during the descriptive phase. These include the activities of the “renegade” educator Dard, the anti-slavery agenda of Koelle and Clarke’s work, the conflict between the White Fathers and the French government, and the activities of the interpreter Travélé. However, traces of creative use of MR are scarce in the texts themselves, even for the authors themselves.

For examples, as described in Chapter 5, the educational domain was a locus of competing interests. While all Europeans agreed that education provided a means to develop Africans, they were not in agreement as to how this development should be achieved. Dard directly challenged educational authorities by allowing Wolof to be used in his classroom. His grammar and vocabulary resulted from his desire to learn Wolof so that he in turn could help his students to better learn French. Therefore, his text represents a creative use of insofar as their original aim was to challenge assumptions about the language of instruction in schools. However, the French government ultimately appropriated these texts when the Ministry of the Marine published them. What is important to note here is that the identification of this creative use of MR is only made possible through recourse to secondary sources (i.e., histories of education in West Africa).

2.1.3 What Were the Effects?

Given my contention that Bambara was effectively colonized and named (i.e., it was both an object of and a means of colonialism), creative uses of MR

did not effect structural change. The individual actions of discourse participants contributed to what and who was named as Bambara, but they did not change the fact that they were named. Whatever challenges discourse participants presented during the production of these texts, they were only oppositional behaviors not true resistance.

2.2 Explanation and the “Colonialism of Bambara”

My examination of these Bambara texts touches on several areas of interest in the study of the “colonialism of language” as identified by Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:67):

- the effect of European ideas about language on their perception of indigenous language varieties;
- how European linguistic activities contributed to construction of the Other;
- the non-neutrality of linguistic materials; and
- the availability of sources for the study of the “colonialism of language”.

2.2.1 European Ideas about Language and Perception of Bambara

Europeans believed that the Bambara language and people could be classified and located in time and space. More importantly, not only could Bambara be “named” they had the right to “name” them through their expertise. As detailed in Chapter 4, the geographic location of Bambara is identified in all but one of the Bambara texts and is clarified over time as the former French Sudan is colonized. The history of the Bambara people is provided in many of the Bambara texts. The Bambara are associated with Segu and Kaarta and linked in an evolutionary framework to other Mande peoples and political entities. Study of African language varieties using linguistic methodology was necessary in order to

obtain data necessary to describe their social worlds, which in turn allowed for them to be placed into an evolutionary framework in time and space.

Given the development of Western linguistics and its allied disciplines (e.g., history, ethnology), the Europeans could not perceive Bambara as anything other than a distant cousin removed in time and space. When Bambara, the language variety, was portrayed as complex or the Bambara people were described as sharing a common humanity, this was subsumed within a paradigm that still relegated them to the larger category of the Other, always to be in opposition to the Self (and hence located in a different time and space).

2.2.2 Perception and Construction of Bambara as the Other

As described in Chapter 2, the term Bambara is often defined as an ethnic group residing in present-day Mali and as one of the principal dialects of the Mandekan language. The linguistic activities of explorers, missionaries, colonial officials, interpreters and other African participants contributed to the construction of Bambara. In a practical sense, colonialism was facilitated by linguistic texts such as vocabularies, grammars, and dictionaries. But, more importantly the data collected through linguistic activities was used to define what Bambara is. In characterizing my study as a study of the “colonialism of Bambara”, I purposefully selected the term “Bambara” to refer to how certain peoples and language varieties were “named” as Bambara while others were stripped of their association with the term.

Despite the attempt to name the Bambara and present the Bambara as a discrete, bounded entity in certain texts, other texts recognize the fluidity and permeability of notions of ethnicity and language. For example, Kone's definition of Bambara (refer back to Chapter 2) focuses on claims of Mande ancestry, rather than an actual, provable genetic relationship. Positioning Bambara in this way highlights its constructed nature. Many of case studies presented in Chapter 1 also emphasize the fluidity and permeability of ethnicity and language in other parts of the world (e.g., Ranger and Chimhundu's studies of the construction of Shona and Harries study of the construction of Tsonga). The tension between presenting Bambara and other peoples and language varieties as discrete and bounded or as permeable and fluid has great potential in the resistance of the "colonialism of language" and the appropriation of the "Other".

2.2.3 Ideological Dimension of Bambara Language Materials

Given the role of linguistics in the colonial enterprise, clearly the resulting Bambara language materials have an ideological dimension. The creation of Bambara language materials was not a neutral enterprise (i.e., it facilitated colonialism). My analysis has shown the relationship between the colonial enterprise and how Bambara and other language varieties were selected to be recorded, how they were recorded and who recorded them. Bambara was constructed through the act of writing, which reinforced the distinction between literate and oral cultures.

2.2.4 Sources Available for the Study of the “Colonialism of Bambara”

There are a relatively large number of Bambara texts (as identified by Delafosse) that can be drawn upon in the study of the “colonialism of Bambara”. A careful reading of these texts allows one to discern traces of the “colonialism of Bambara”. These texts alone do not provide enough data to adequately uncover challenges to ideological presuppositions and detail fully oppositional behaviors and their intended and unintended consequences. At one level the difficulties in finding traces of the “colonialism of language” is evidence that the Bambara language varieties have been “devoured”.

2.3 Explanation and Critical Discourse Analysis

Recognizing that my very act of selecting certain Bambara texts for my analysis contributes to their authority, I deliberately used critical discourse analysis to ensure that I explicitly acknowledged and described my role as the analyst. The intent of critical discourse analysis is to uncover the connections between power, ideology and language. While I originally employed Fairclough’s model of critical discourse analysis in my study, I found it inadequate for my purposes in part due to its limited distinction between social struggle and true resistance. Therefore, I followed the spirit of Fairclough’s model and adapted it to meet my needs.

My objectives in engaging in a critical discourse analysis of these Bambara texts were to:

- describe each of Bambara texts from a critical perspective and make them available to a wider audience through my summaries;

- describe the discourse types drawn upon by participants to facilitate comparative studies in the “colonialism of language”;
- identify all of the discourse participants in order to broaden the notion of a text as having a single author;
- describe what Bambara is in each of the texts and provide additional evidence of how Bambara was constructed and (re)presented;
- show how discourse participants understood discursive action (i.e., how they interpreted the situational and intertextual contexts); and
- show how MR was socially constituted, reproduced and potentially changed in the production of these texts.

For the most part, I found that my adaptation of Fairclough’s approach was effective in meeting these objectives. However, the nature of these texts, lack of access to discourse participants and my own role as a scholar limited the degree to which I adequately was able to unveil the “colonialism of Bambara”. However, what my text does provide is a foundation for further research into the “colonialism of Bambara” and which can be applied to the present-day struggles over the naming of the Bambara as the Other.

CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSION: RESISTING THE “COLONIALISM OF BAMBARA”

In Chapter 1, I carefully defined what I meant by the phrase “colonialism of language”:

- The term “colonialism” refers to control over a dependent area and/or people.
- The nominalization “colonialism” was selected to highlight how causality, responsibility and reference to time can be obscured through the use of a noun rather than a process.
- The term “language” refers to how the Other’s language variety was an object that the colonizer wanted and needed to control.
- The term “language” encompasses all language varieties used by the Other regardless of how they were labeled by the colonizer.
- The term “language” also refers to discourse or communicative action, i.e., the means of colonialism.
- In order for the “colonialism of language” to be effective, relations of power are veiled from human actors.
- Therefore the very act of studying the “colonialism of language” is predicated on the possibility of resistance (i.e., appropriating the category of the Other and effecting structural change).

In the previous chapters, I described selected Bambara texts, provided an interpretation of these texts (i.e., how people understand them both in terms of situational and intertextual contexts), and explained why certain assumptions underlying the production and interpretation of these texts are ideological in nature. I also pointed out the difficulty in identifying creative uses of MR by discourse participants. I demonstrated how the naming of Bambara as both a language and people is reflected in these Bambara texts and how the discourse participants participated in this naming through the production of these texts.

This is a contribution to the study of the “colonialism of language” insofar as it:

- provides another case study to add to an existing body of literature on the “colonialism of language” (as described in Chapter 1);

- builds upon previous research by Calvet, J. Bazin, Grosz-Ngate and others on the construction of Bambara and the “colonialism of Bambara”;
- explores the usefulness of critical discourse analysis in the study of the “colonialism of language”; and
- suggests future areas of research in the study of the “colonialism of Bambara.”

My study is also a contribution to the current discourse on how anthropology makes its object and its position in the social sciences. The use of time and space by anthropologists to construct its object is related to the development of evolutionary theory and the emergence of anthropology as a discipline (Cohn 1987a, 1987b; Fabian 1983; Stocking 1968, 1987). The recent challenges to anthropology (and other social sciences) as part of the “post-modern turn” serve to “legitimize” the study of the “colonialism of language” (i.e., studying how language is an object and a means of colonialism adds to the body of knowledge on the construction of the anthropological object). The study of the “colonialism of language” is also important as it highlights the increasingly blurry boundary around the field of anthropology itself, or at least certain types of discourses produced by anthropologists. As the case studies presented in Chapter 1 illustrate, the interest in the “colonialism of language” is shared by anthropologists (including anthropological linguists and cultural anthropologists), sociolinguists, and historians and transcends the boundaries between the social sciences and the humanities. In my study of the “colonialism of Bambara”, I draw upon the traditions of all of these disciplines to craft an account that reveals some of the discursive events in the former French Sudan that took place in the past and continue to have implications in the present.

However, given my definition of the “colonialism of language”, this study would be incomplete without an examination of resistance by discourse participants (past, present and future). Given my contention in Chapter 8 that the visible challenges taken by discourse participants during the initial production of these Bambara texts were instances of oppositional behavior and not true resistance, we need to focus on the actions of present and future discourse participants. As described in Chapter 1, some challenges to relations of power appear to be resistance, but they do not effect structural change. Instead they are merely oppositional behaviors that can in fact strengthen and reaffirm existing power relations.

In Chapter 4, I described the difference between the intended and unintended audiences of Bambara texts. For example, H. Bazin intended his dictionary to be read by French speakers who had a desire to learn Bambara. He probably never imagined that a future reader would read his dictionary in order to study the “colonialism of Bambara.” This unintended audience can use MR creatively as an act of resistance to the “colonialism of language.”

1.0 Unveiling the “Colonialism of Language”: To Whom and For What Purpose?

In using these Bambara texts, I hoped to unveil the “colonialism of Bambara”. In order to do so I have to ask who are the intended and unintended audiences of my text. The nature of the discourse type that I am drawing on (dissertation) implies that the intended audience is a limited group of scholars interested in the Bambara, their language variety(-ies) or the “colonialism of

language". Given my stated purpose for the study of the "colonialism of Bambara" (i.e., to highlight potential for resistance), why would I select this discourse type? Of course, my position as a doctoral candidate prescribes the discourse types available to me. Completion of a doctorate can only be achieved through completion of a dissertation and a doctorate can lend legitimacy to future efforts in unveiling the "colonialism of language".

I attempt to creatively use MR to some extent by raising these issues while at the same time producing my text within the general parameters defined by the discourse type of a dissertation. In addition, there are some ways I can creatively use my MR to enlarge its intended audience and therefore make a larger contribution to unveiling the "colonialism of Bambara". For example, I can take my dissertation apart, re-craft the chapters and redistribute to non-traditional readers in non-traditional forms (e.g., comic books, tape recording, Bambara translation).

2.0 Ideological Presuppositions: What is Commonsense and How Is It Identified?

Another way in which I can unveil the "colonialism of Bambara" is to re-examine my ideological presuppositions. One of the challenges in identifying ideological presuppositions as part of a critical discourse analysis of the "colonialism of language" is that critical discourse analysis itself is part of discipline of linguistics (including anthropological linguistics). The development of linguistics and anthropology contributed to, and made possible, the "colonialism of language." Therefore, we need to ask ourselves what is not included in a list of

ideological presuppositions about the “colonialism of language”, i.e., what is so commonsensical that we do not even identify it or are incapable of identifying. More importantly, we need to not only ask ourselves but others who would be less likely to share our sense of what is commonsensical. And when we do point out ideological presuppositions, we need to examine how we challenge them. Anyone claiming the subject position of the “analyst” needs to be cognizant of the how s/he draws upon “privilege” (i.e., the access and control over knowledge which enables one to unveil the hidden workings of ideology) and the fact that the very claim to “privilege” reproduces relations of power between the Self and Other.

As discussed in Chapter 1, there are two aspects of the relationship between power and language – “power *in* discourse” and “power *behind* discourse.” Powerful participants control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants (i.e., they have power in the production of the discourse). Therefore, the act of producing this dissertation is controlled and constrained by powerful participants. In addition to the “power *in* discourse”, the “power *behind* the discourse” needs to be acknowledged. This means that the social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power. Therefore, even powerful discourse participants may in fact not even be aware of the unintended consequences of their own actions.

3.0 Applied Linguistics: When is Application of Theory an Act of Resistance?

As described in Chapter 1, Calvet (1974:11-12) calls on linguists to contribute to the study of the “colonialism of language” through applied work. From this perspective, resistance to the “colonialism of language” can take the form of bridging the gap between the theoretical world of linguistics and other academic disciplines and the “real” world where its products serve to directly challenge relations of power or are used as part of such a challenge.

One example of applied linguistics as resistance is provided by Kone's work. As presented in Chapter 2, Kone highlights the construction of the Bambara in his definition of Bambara in terms of *claims* to Mande ancestry and a juxtaposition between modern concepts of nationality and citizenship with other forms of identification. Kone advocates for the production of literature in African language varieties and has produced several Bambara texts (1995b; 1995c; 1995d) that have been published by Mother Tongue Editions. Mother Tongue Editions is a non-profit organization whose mission is to facilitate and encourage African language literacy in Africa and elsewhere. The profits are shared with the authors and used to purchase desktop publishing equipment to encourage African language publishing in Africa.

In addition to critically producing linguistic texts such as dictionaries and grammars, linguists and others can collect dominated language varieties including those “sub-dialects” of Bambara that were not recorded. These collections can be used as part of reappropriation of the Other. However, caution must be taken in the presentation of them so that they do not become normalized

and standardized through the act of writing or tape recording. Otherwise this activity differs little than the work of individuals who produced the Bambara texts that served practical purposes (e.g., dictionaries and grammars).

Linguists can also study emergent varieties of Bambara that differ from the “standard” Bambara presented in language materials. For example, Dumestre (n.d.) has studied the Bambara “slang” used by young men that is not found in Bambara lexicons or dictionaries. While his study is not directly challenging the role of linguistics in constructing Bambara, it is valuable as documentation of other varieties of Bambara. Since Western exposure to African language varieties and the amount of language materials for most African language varieties is limited, even non-critical studies are invaluable to demonstrate the richness of these language varieties.

Perhaps the most important thing linguists and other academics can do is to make the layperson aware of the “colonialism of language” in the past and how language continues to be both an object to be controlled and a means by which structures of domination are enacted and reproduced. Texts that bridge the gap between the scholar and the layperson (such as Fairclough’s) and illustrate the relevance of critical discourse analysis to the layperson are essential. More importantly these texts must be used to engage the layperson in the practice of critical discourse analysis. Given that, my text is but a first step in the process of resisting the “colonialism of language”. At this point in time (i.e., the act of writing it), it is merely an oppositional behavior. What others and I make of it in the future will determine if it one day contributes to true resistance.

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**THE "COLONIALISM OF LANGUAGE":
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BAMBARA TEXTS PRODUCED
DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL AND EARLY COLONIAL PERIODS IN THE
FORMER FRENCH SUDAN**

VOLUME II

By

Ellen Jacobson

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

2001

APPENDICIES

In Chapter 4, I provided a summary of the descriptive phase of my critical discourse analysis of selected Bambara texts. The appendices that follow provide a more in-depth description of each of these Bambara texts. These appendices serve two purposes: (1) to make the information related to the “colonialism of Bambara” more accessible to the reader who might not normally examine these texts and (2) to provide the reader with access to the data and methodologies used in my analysis so that s/he can better understand my interpretation of how the “colonialism of Bambara” is reflected in these texts.

APPENDIX A – DESCRIPTION OF DARD’S DICTIONNAIRE FRANÇAIS-WOLOF ET FRANÇAIS-BAMBARA, SUIVI DU DICTIONNAIRE WOLOF-FRANÇAIS

Dard's dictionary consists of five parts – an "avant-propos", an "avis pour l'usage du dictionnaire", "observations générales sur la langue wolofe par l'auteur du dictionnaire", a French-Wolof/Bambara dictionary, and a Wolof-French dictionary.

1.0 “Avant-propos”

The author of the "avant-propos" is not specified, but it would appear to be someone associated with the Educational Society of Paris. In the "avant-propos", the author discusses the following issues:

1. Wolof is not a written language.
 - a. Race is correlated with written and non-written languages as illustrated by the statement, "Le langage des nègres wolofs n'est pas une langue écrite." The students in Dard's school were mostly "noirs" or "mûlatres". Therefore the group of Wolofs (perhaps represented by the students who taught him Wolof) referred to in this statement is differentiated from other Africans who are not "noirs".
 - b. The author finds it difficult to explain why they have not written their language either with "indigenous characters" or Arabic ones.
 - c. The issue of the "regularity" of oral languages is raised. Despite the incomprehensibility of the Wolofs' failure to write their language, it is in fact regular, uniform, and subject to fixed principles. It also has its own unique characteristics, but shares other characteristics with other West African languages, and even with European languages.
 - d. By showing "young" Wolofs how to write their language, its "nature" (i.e., "grammar") is revealed to them. This revelation is due to European influence. Despite the long history of contact with Islam,

these Africans had been unable to understand the "nature" of their own language due to their failure to express it in writing.

2. Wolof is a widely spoken language.
 - a. This fact has implications for commercial interests and exploration of the interior.
 - b. The assertion that Wolof is a widely spoken language raises questions about which other languages are widespread and useful for European interests. "Mandingue" and Arabic are singled out as other important languages in West Africa.
3. The "laws" of Wolof can be discovered.
 - a. Dard discovered these "laws" through his work with his students.
 - b. The discovery of these "laws" reveals the "grammar" of Wolof. Dard's Wolof grammar is a separate publication, but the author summarizes some grammatical points to facilitate use of this dictionary.
4. Dard's educational activities are described.
 - a. Dard's students made rapid progress and their work is on par with that of European students. This success is attributed to the "mutual method".
 - b. British educational activities demonstrate the "educability" of Africans and the shared concern of both the British and the French for the study of African languages and the "betterment" of African peoples.
5. Dard's dictionary contains "imperfections".
 - a. These imperfections are due to the lack of training Dard has in this area. Dard initially collected this information to better educate his students, not to produce Wolof linguistic materials.
 - b. Dard's dictionary is positioned relative to other works on the Wolof language.

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6. Wolof is compared to other West African languages.
- a. Many languages are spoken in Africa. More than thirty "separate" languages are spoken between Senegal and the east coast of Africa alone.
 - b. Many of these languages have little in common.
 - c. Twenty-five "fundamental" words in fifteen languages are compared and presented in a chart. This comparison demonstrates that Wolof has many differences from other African languages. The author has included "Mandingue" and Bambara among the languages to which Wolof is compared. The data presented in this chart is mostly gathered from the explorers' accounts.
 - d. Wolof, along with Bambara, has borrowed extensively from Arabic (the author lists examples of these terms), as well as from Portuguese.

2.0 "Avis pour l'usage du dictionnaire"

This section contains information on orthography and pronunciation.

According to the author of this "avis", all of the letters are pronounced as they are in French, with certain exceptions. In describing one of these exceptions the author details differences between Senegal and the interior, "à a un son très-bref, surtout au Sénégal: dans l'intérieur du pays, le son est plus sensible" (Dard 1825:xxi).

3.0 "Observations générales sur la langue wolofe, par l'auteur du dictionnaire"

In his general observations of Wolof, Dard echoes many of the issues raised by the author of the "avant-propos". In particular, Dard stresses the fact that Wolof, despite its unwritten nature, exhibits a great degree of regularity. Dard argues for the equality, in terms of intelligence, of all humanity, but at the

same time he contrasts the nature of "primitive" and European languages

(1825:xxii):

Avant de commencer, nous poserons d'abord en principe que toutes les langues primitives ont un régularité qui ne se recontre jamais, dans les idiomes européens, qui sont tous dérivés. Il est de la nature de l'esprit humain de n'inventer, dans une langue primitive, qu'un petit nombre de locutions, puis de les combiner entre elles de toutes les manières.

Comparisons between "derived" and "primitive" languages lead Dard to argue that one cannot translate "rigorously", or literally. Dard compares the French "bonsoir" (good evening) with the Wolof expression "fananal ad diam", which he translates as "repose en paix" in French (rest in peace) to demonstrate the lack of a literal correspondence between the two expressions.

Given these difficulties, Dard presents the user of his dictionary with a chart which demonstrates how one can find the French equivalents of Wolof expressions. With the aid of this chart, one can also create translations for French terms that as of yet have no equivalents in Wolof. Thus, the translation of French books into Wolof can be facilitated.

4.0 "Dictionnaire français-wolof et français bambara/dictionnaire wolof-français"

The main portion of Dard's text consists of two dictionaries – a French-Wolof/Bambara dictionary and a Wolof-French dictionary. He does not include a Bambara-French dictionary. Therefore, only the French-Wolof/Bambara dictionary is considered in this section.

Dard's French-Wolof/Bambara dictionary consists of over 4,200 French entries and Wolof and Bambara translations. The French entries are presented alphabetically and are not divided into any categories (e.g., verbs, nouns, plants). There are Wolof translations for all of the French entries, but over 220

French entries do not have Bambara equivalents. These exceptions include a variety of terms and phrases, but some interesting patterns can be discerned:

1. Days of the week – The author of the "avant-propos" noted that Wolof borrowed terms for the days of the week from Arabic. As seen in Table 23, Dard does not include Bambara translations for "dimanche", "mardi", or "mcredi", and the Bambara terms that he includes for the other days of the week are borrowed from Arabic.

Table 23 – Bambara and Wolof Terms for Days of the Week in Dard's Dictionary

French	English	Bambara ⁶⁷	Wolof
dimanche	Sunday	N/A	dibér
lundi	Monday	nténé	altiné
mardi	Tuesday	N/A	talata
mercredi	Wednesday	N/A	alarba
jeudi	Thursday	aljamsa	aljamesse
vendredi	Friday	guedhiouman	aldiouma
sabbat, samedi	sabbath, Saturday	kari ⁶⁸	alère, asser

2. Months – As with the days of the week, Dard only offers translations for some of the months (see Table 24). The Bambara term given for "octobre" – "sélikalo" – is translated by Bailleul (1981) as "dixième mois de l'année lunaire; mois de la fête" (tenth month of the lunar year; month of the festival). Dard's informant could have been equating "October", the tenth month of the European calendar, with the tenth month of the lunar calendar.

Table 24 – Bambara and Wolof Terms for the Months in Dard's Dictionary

French	English	Bambara ⁶⁹	Wolof
janvier	January	dhionsaly	tamjaret
février	February	N/A	digui
mars	March	N/A	gamou
avril	April	N/A	rak dhi gamou
mai	May	N/A	rakate dhigamou
juin	June	N/A	mame ou kore
juillet	July	N/A	ndéey ou kore

Table 24 (cont'd)

French	English	Bambara	Wolof
août	August	N/A	barajelou
septembre	September	mini-kalo	kori
octobre	October	sélikalo	kori
novembre	November	N/A	diguy
decembre	December	N/A	tabaski

3. Religious terms – Dard does not offer Bambara translations for the following French entries concerned primarily with Christianity: "apostat" (apostate), "catholicisme" (Catholicism), "catholique" (Catholic), "christ" (Christ), "christianisme" (Christianity), "evangile" (gospel), "palma-christi" (plant resembling Christ's hand), and "pape"⁷⁰ (Pope).
3. Language – The only language-related term that Dard does not offer a Bambara equivalent of is "epeler" (to spell).
4. Racial classification – Dard does not include a French entry for "mûlatre", but does include other French entries (see Table 25). The Bambara term for "blanc" that Dard offers could be translated as "She/he/it is red." ("akabley" or "a ka bilen"/"a ka blen") and "She/he/it is white." ("akadhie" or "a ka jè"). Similarly, the Bambara term for "nègre" could be translated as "She/he/it is black." ("akafy" or "a ka fɪn") and the Bambara term for "rouge" could be translated as "She/he/it is red" ("akabley" or "a ka bilen"/"a ka blen") and "blood" ("dhioli" or "joli").

Table 25 – Bambara and Wolof Color and Racial Terms in Dard's Dictionary

French	English	Bambara	Wolof
blanc	white	akabley-akadhie	véje
nègre	Negro	akafy	wolof, nioule, nitte gou nioule
noir	black	N/A	nioule
rouge	red	akabley; dhioli	jonkje

5.0 Comments on Dard's Dictionary

The descriptive summary above reveals several interesting aspects of Dard's dictionary. The discourse type that Dard draws upon is that of a multilingual dictionary. Multilingual dictionaries are characterized by the presentation of terms in one language and their translations in another language.

These dictionaries can be unilateral (e.g., French-Bambara) or bilateral (e.g., French-Bambara, Bambara-French). In this case, Dard's text is comprised of a French-Wolof-Bambara dictionary and a Wolof-French dictionary. Thus Dard's dictionary is partially bilateral, i.e., there is no Bambara-French dictionary.

As this text is a multilingual dictionary, an examination of the experiential, relational, and expressive values of vocabulary is an especially fruitful area on which to focus one's attention. Dard utilizes certain classification schemes that highlight the experiential values of vocabulary in this text. Some of the classification schemes that Dard employs concern religion, race, and language. I discuss these in turn below.

As described earlier, one of the important distinctions that Europeans made in their representations of their experiences in Africa and with Africans was between Christians, Muslims, and "pagans". Dard's use of a classification scheme concerning religion is reflected in the entries for the days of the week, months, and religious terms discussed above. Thus, Wolof and Bambara speakers are identified with Islam to varying extents, and Wolof speakers are presented as having terms related to Christianity thus expressing their greater "potential" for conversion and the presence of existing converts.

Dard's text also reflects the use of a racial classification scheme. As described above, in the "avant-propos", terms such as "noir" and "mûlatre" are used to describe Dard's students. These "noirs" and "mûlatres" are contrasted with non-black Muslims and Europeans. These comparisons are both negative and positive. For example, the Africans are described as highly "educable" as Dard's students perform on par with European students. But, this positive comparison is mitigated by the assertion that European intervention, especially in the educational domain, allows these Africans to reach the level of the European. Additionally, the "noirs" and "mûlatres" are negatively compared with

non-Black Muslims. For example, their failure to write their language in Arabic characters is noted, thus establishing a dichotomy between the literate non-Black Muslims and the non-literate Black Muslims.

The final classification I discuss here is related to language. As my interest is in the "colonialism of language", I have identified four ideologically important terms concerning language – "langage" (language), "langue" (language), "idiome" (idiom) and "dialecte" (dialect)⁷¹ – that are employed in the "avant-propos". I have listed phrases using these terms to describe language varieties in the "avant-propos" below in Table 26.

Table 26 – Terms Used to Describe Language Varieties in the "Avant-propos" to Dard's Dictionary

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 1. | Le langage des nègres Wolofs n'est pas une langue écrite. |
| 2. | Cependant cet idiome est parlé dans presque toute la Sénégalie... |
| 3. | Mais comment peut-on se flatter de découvrir les lois d'une langue qui ne s'écrit point? |
| 4. | ...chez ces peuples, les langues parlées éprouvent des variations sans nombre, qui ne leur permettent pas de se fixer? |
| 5. | Quoiqu'il soit difficile d'expliquer pourquoi ils n'écrivent pas leur langue... |
| 6. | ...il n'en est pas moins vrai que ce dialecte est régulier, uniforme, assujéti à des principes fixes: au milieu des ses imperfections, on découvre des avantages qui n'appartiennent point aux autres langues; enfin il a des caractères propres, et d'autres qui lui sont communs avec les langues de l'Afrique orientale, même de l'Europe. |
| 7. | ...comparer tous les idiomes connus et de les étudier sous un point de vue philosophique. |
| 8. | ...une circonstance heureuse qui...a mis un grand nombre de jeunes Wolofs dans la nécessité d'écrire leur langue |
| 9. | ...la nature de cet idiome... |
| 10. | ...il découvrit les règles de leur langage. |
| 11. | ...la langue wolofe... |
| 12. | ...en langue wolofe... |
| 13. | ...une des langues les plus répandue dans l'intérieur... |
| 14. | ...pour l'étude d'une langue jusqu'ici inconnue. |

Table 26 (cont'd)

15. ...la langue wolofe...
16. ...la langue anglaise...
17. ...les langues foule, wolofe, arabe, française et anglaise
18. ...des langues de l'Afrique
19. Il n'est peut-être pas hors de propos de comparer ici rapidement plusieurs des idiomes de l'Afrique septentrionale avec le wolof. Déjà l'on a remarqué qu'à la différence des langues de l'Asie et de l'Europe, et même de l'Amérique, le continent africain possède une multitude de langues qui ont très-peu de rapports ensemble.
20. Entre les dialectes kensi, nouba, bycharyeh, borgou et bornou, que l'on doit à ce savant voyageur, on trouve rarement de l'analogie, si l'on excepte les mots empruntés à l'arabe par les nations qui parlent ces diverses langues.
21. Le même fait est aujourd'hui prouvé pour les idiomes usités dans l'ouest, quoique dans un espace peu étendu, tels que le wolof, le mandingue, le bambara, le foule et le serrère. Selon quelques auteurs, on parle plus de trente langues différentes entre le Sénégal et la côte orientale de l'Afrique, sans compter l'arabe, qui s'entend par-tout.
22. Le shelluh ou chillah, que M. Marsden a regardé comme un reste de l'ancien punique, a cependant beaucoup de rapport avec la langue de Syouah, et, d'après le vocabulaire de feu Venture, plusieurs mots de ces deux langues s'identifient aussi avec le berber.
23. Enfin nous avons remarqué que les mots de la langue de Syouah, connus par Hornemann et M.G. Jackson, sont communs au pays de Sockna; cette langue se parle aussi dans l'oasis d'Audjelah, mais elle ne présente rien de commun avec les dialectes du Niger et des affluens du Sénégal; les analogies sont infiniment plus rares qu'elles ne paraîtraient devoir l'être entre les langues de peuplades si voisines, et cette sorte de phénomène dans l'histoire des langues reste tout entier à expliquer.
24. Il serait trop long de faire une comparaison suivie de tous ces idiomes; nous ferons seulement, dans quinze de ces langues...
25. On y a distingué les différentes langues en trois régions par ces mots...
26. ...un tableau comparatif de vingt-cinq langues de l'Afrique septentrionale et de l'Afrique centrale...
27. Si le wolof présente tant de différences avec les autres langues d'Afrique...
28. ...le système grammatical de cette langue.
29. ...des consonnances euphoniques qui contribuent à l'harmonie du langage et à la clarté du discours.

Table 26 (cont'd)

30.	Le wolof n'est pas la seule langue dans la quelle on mette l'article après le substantif: les articles de la langue valaque sont également placés après le mot...
31.	...suivant M. William Singleton, c'est le pays qui est appelé <i>Jaloof</i> ou <i>Jol-uf</i> ; mais l'habitant et le langage, <i>wolof</i> . Ce n'est, dit-il, que dans le <i>Jaloof</i> et à Cayor que le <i>wolof</i> se parle purement. Cette distinction établit nettement l'orthographe et l'application des deux noms. <i>Noir</i> se dit <i>yolof</i> dans la langue wolofe.
32.	Selon M. Bowdich on parle six langues différentes chez les Fantees et leurs voisins, dans un espace qui n'a que trois cent milles.
33.	...à se familiariser avec les dialectes de l'Afrique...
34.	...former de jeunes noirs à la connaissance des langues et des sciences européens...
35.	Les deux jeunes Africains, qui en ont fournit les matériaux à l'auteur, en étaient aux premiers éléments de la langue anglaise, quand ils lui donnèrent en échange quelques mots de la langue wolofe et plusieurs des règles de cet idiome, encore presque inconnu en Europe.
36.	La langue danoise présente aussi quelques exemples de cette singularité

Table 27 below indicates how often these terms are utilized in the "avant-propos" to Dard's dictionary. Table 27 shows that the only the term "langue" is used to refer to a European language variety, never "idiome", "dialecte", or "langage". All four terms are used to refer to Wolof. Other non-European language varieties are referred to by all of the terms, except "langage". The use of the term "dialecte" is limited to only Wolof and other non-European language varieties.

Table 27 – Number of References to "Langage", "Langue", "Idiome", and "Dialecte" in the "Avant-propos" to Dard's Dictionary

term	Wolof	other non-European language variety	European language variety	reference to all language varieties
langage	4		0	0
langue	15	13	7	0
idiome	4	3	0	1
dialecte	1	3	0	0

Table 27 shows the use of "near synonyms" ("langage", "langue", and "idiome") to describe the language varieties of non-Europeans, while only one term ("langue") is used to describe European language varieties. One of the questions that needs to be addressed when interpreting and explaining Dard's text is what are the ideological bases of the use of these "near synonyms".

6.0 "What is Bambara?"

First, the source of Dard's Bambara material is not identified. The "avant-propos" states that some "princes" in the interior of West Africa sent their children to schools in Senegal. It is not made clear if these children were sent to the *école mutuelle des garçons de saint-louis* while Dard was an instructor. Besides the possibility that Dard had Bambara students from the interior, his source of Bambara material may have also been free "nègres" or slaves residing on the coast who originated in an area associated with Bambara. Second, no geographical location or political entity is associated with Bambara. Third, Bambara is not contextualized historically. Fourth, Bambara is presented as one

of fifteen West African languages, but not in any sort of genetic classification (i.e., showing the "relatedness" of these language varieties).

Despite the lack of an explicit "definition" of what Bambara is by Dard, the reader is presented with certain images of Bambara, especially in comparison to Wolof. First, Bambara is important enough to be included in a Wolof dictionary. Second, Bambara, like Wolof, borrows extensively from Arabic, indicating an association with the Islam. But, many Bambara terms for days of the week and the months are not provided perhaps indicating a "partial" association with Islam. Third, Bambara speakers do not have any terms for concepts related to Christianity, unlike Wolof. Fourth, Bambara is an "unwritten" language as there is no term for "to spell".

APPENDIX B – DESCRIPTION OF CLARKE'S SPECIMENS OF DIALECTS

E. Ardener (1972:13-15) divides Clarke's Specimens of Dialects into eight parts – "Introductory Remarks," "Specimens of Dialects," "Specimens of African Numerals," "Selected Vocabularies of Languages," "Index to Nouns and Numerals," "Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa," "On the Languages of Africa," and a "Conclusion."

1.0 "Introductory Remarks"

In his "Introductory Remarks," Clarke discusses the importance of these "specimens" by addressing the following issues:

1. These "specimens" will enable one to "see" linguistic variation geographically (i.e., in different "countries") and show dialect variation within a single "country".
2. Clarke discusses problems that differing orthographies present.
3. These "specimens" mention "districts" and "towns", where these "languages" are spoken, that were previously unknown. Many of these "towns" do not appear on "the map".
4. Clarke describes his eighteen years of work collecting this information in both the West Indies and Africa.
 - a. When Clarke finds a African whose "confidence" he can gain, he poses a series of questions designed to elicit vocabulary items and names of "towns" and "countries".
 - b. When an informant gives Clarke the name of a previously unknown "town" or "country", he is able to position it within a larger geographic area (e.g., Ibo country) by correlating it with the associated vocabulary items.
 - c. Some Africans have been away from their homelands for so long that the information they provide is unreliable.
5. Clarke's work is directly associated with the goal of making the Gospel known to the Africans.

- a. The translation of the Gospel is important, as there is no necessity for those Africans in the interior to learn English. Therefore, the missionary needs to acquire their languages.
 - b. In contrast, trade is a great inducement for coastal Africans to acquire English. Therefore, Clarke argues that it can and should be taught, but always in connection with reading of African languages.
6. Clarke cautions his readers that the institution of slavery has taught former slaves and others to fear the "white man".

2.0 Specimens of African Numerals

In the section on African numerals, Clarke lists 388 specimens of the numerals one through ten. Clarke lists his sources for the African numerals under the column "Auths". Clarke's references to Mandekan language varieties in his "Specimens of Numerals" are listed in Table 28. As can be seen in Table 28, Clarke drew on the explorers Caillié, Park, and Jackson, as well as data collected by M'Braire and himself. In addition, certain sources are unidentified. E. Ardener identifies the numerals listed for "Bambara" and "Bambarra" as "Malinke/Bambara" (1972:27) and the numerals listed for "Maninga" and "Mandingo" as "Malinke" (1972:49-50).

Table 28 – Clarke's "Specimens of Numerals"

Authorities	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight	Nine	Ten	Auths.
Bambara	Kili	Fili	Saba	Nani	Loulou	Ouara	Oouloula	Seqey	Kenando	Tan	Caillie
Bambara	Keley	Fula	Saba	Nani	Suli	Voro	Woloula	Sege	Konoto	Tank	N. Ex. Vo.
Mandingo	Kilin	Foula	Sabba	Nani	Loulo	Ouoro	Oronglo	Segui	Kenounta	Tang	Caillie
Mandingo	Kilin	Fula	Sabba	Nani	Lulu	Woro	Oronglo	Sie	Konunta	Tang	Park
Mandingo	Kalen	Fula	Seba	Nani	Lulu	Uruh	Uruklu	Sae	Konuntee	Dan	Jackson
Mandingo	Kiling	Fula	Sabba	Nani	Lulu	Woro	Worongwula	Sey	Konanta	Tang	N. Ex. Vo.
Mandingo	Kiling	Fula	Sabi	Nani	Lulu	Uora	Uorula	Sei	Konanto	Tang	M'Braire
Mandingo	Kili	Fila	Saba	Nani	Loulou	Ouaro	Ouaroula	Sequi	Kenando	Tang	Caillie
Maninga	Colaini	Filah	Saba	Nani	Lolu	Uora	Ourla	Sequi	Konondo	Tan	Clarke

3.0 Specimens of Dialects

Table 29 lists Clarke's references to Mandekan language varieties in his "Specimens of Dialects". This section is comprised of 294 "languages" and the equivalents for ten English terms⁷². E. Ardener claims that many of the "languages" that Clarke identifies are variants of the same languages "listed under different spellings, due to different written sources, to misreading the manuscript, and to the fact that Clarke's own data had been collected at different times from different informants" (1972:13). In this section, Clarke drew again on Park and his own work, as well as from the version of Hanna Kilham's Specimens of African Languages Spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone (1828) printed in Norris's Outline of a Vocabulary.⁷³ E. Ardener identifies the third "Mandingo" entry as resembling what Clarke terms "Trubi" (or Twi), the fourth "Mandingo" entry as Hausa, the fifth "Mandingo" entry as "being borrowed", while the first and second entries are "Malinke" (1972:217).

Table 29 – Clarke's "Specimens of Dialects"

Languages	Mandingo	Mandingo	Mandingo	Mandingo	Mandingo
Man	No-Fato	Ke	Banibah	Namaze	Rampu
Woman	Musa	Musa	Obah	Mattsha	Yakke
Father	Fa Coitu	Fa	Fa	Wuba	Jie
Mother	Ba	Ba	Ba	Wana	'Na
Fire	Dimba	Tah	Pizimah	Wutah	Ja
Water	Gi	Jio	'Ntshu	Gia	'Nngya or Foli
Sun	Tili	Tilo	Ou	Raanah	Guru
Moon	Karo	Karo	Ofrah	Wuta	Yaru
Star	Lolo	Lolo	Jakobi	Jamraruh	Tumrigar
Fowl	Susi-Musa	Suse	Azah	Azah	Te
Authorities	Park	Kilham	Clarke	Clarke	Clarke

4.0 "Specimens of Languages"

In Clarke's section on "Specimens of Languages", he lists 36 "languages" and 21 vocabulary items⁷⁴ in the first part, vocabulary lists for 20 "languages" in the second part, and grammatical notes on "Mpongwe" in the third part. Table 30 below lists vocabulary items and their glosses in "Mandingo" that are found in the first part of his "Specimens of Languages" (1848:34). "Mandingo" is the only Mandekan language variety that Clarke provides in this section. He does not list the source of these vocabulary items.

Table 30 – Clarke's Specimens of Languages

Vocabulary Item	Mandingo
Good Spirit	Alla
Evil Spirit	N/A
Tree	Iri
Ship	Kalun
House	Bung
Wood	Koloma
Stone	Birro
Bird	N/A
Fish	Niie
Rice	Manu
Palm Oil	Tuluse
Seat	Sirang
Salt	Ko
Milk	Nono
Egg	Kilo
Cow	Ninso
Sheep	N/A
Goat	Ba
Lion	Wara
Child	Ding
Farm	Banko

5.0 "Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa"

Clarke makes additional references to Mandingo peoples in his section containing "Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa". Regarding the "Bambara", Clarke (1848:75) states, "In Mandingo; of this District Sego is the Capital. See Park's Travels." The entry "Maninga" states, "In the Mandingo Country: the town of Koniah is in this land." (Clarke 1848:91). His entry for "Mandingo" is as follows (Clarke 1848:90-91):

This extensive Country is called Melli or Maly. The Mandingoes are in general well-formed, and interesting in their appearance; they are tall, and in colour black, with a mixture of yellow; they have thick lips, flat noses, and woolly hair. They are rigid Mahomedans, industrious, good merchants and agriculturists, kind, hospitable, generous, open and mild; they are engaging in their manners, and have a powerful influence over the other tribes, on their borders and in their land. They are in general well informed, and nearly all can write Arabic. They have in each principal town and Alkais, and a Council of Old Men. They make leather, manufacture cloth, smelt iron; much of the commerce of the Country is in their hands, and they are, in general, men of experience and comparative faithfulness. The women manage domestic affairs, and make cotton cloth, and are cheerful, frank and chaste. The Language is spoken by Mandingoes and Bambarans, and is understood by the inhabitants of Bambouk, Barra, Kollar, Bondibon and Yani. Some Pagan Tribes still speak the Mandingo – as the Koorankos, Susus, Mannas, Dwamas and other Tribes in the Kangga District, where the inhabitants are in part Pagan, and in part Mahomedan.

6.0 "On the Languages of Africa"

Finally, in the section, "On the Languages of Africa", Clarke (1848:103) characterizes "Mandingo" as, "This Tongue is extensively spoken in Senegambia, and in Bambara. It has many Dialects spoken by the Tribes around."

7.0 Notes on Clarke's Vocabularies

Clarke is drawing upon a discourse type that I identify as a "collection of vocabularies". I use the term "collection of vocabularies" here to mean a set of vocabularies of more than five languages appearing in one volume, but unlike Hair for my purposes is not necessary that it be the first publication of each vocabulary.

In contrast to the lack of geographical context of Dard's presentation of "Bambara", one of the intentions of Clarke's Specimen's of Dialects is to correlate "languages" and "dialects" with geographic locations. In his text, Clarke uses the geographic terms "country", "district", "capital", and "town". In addition, he makes a distinction between the coast and the interior, one that is also seen in Dard's text. Of interest here is how Clarke associates the terms "Mandingo" and "Bambara" with geographic locations – "Mandingo" is both a "country" and a "language", while "Bambara" is a "district" and a "dialect". The reader is treated to an extensive description of "Mandingo", while that of "Bambara" merely indicates that Segou is its capital and one is referred to Park for further information. The scanty details provided about "Bambara" are explained in part by the fact that the "Mandingo" are the "dominant people" in this area.

This emphasis on correlating geographic locations with peoples and language varieties reflects the elaboration of classification schemes concerning religion, race, and language – that I previously identified in Dard's text (see Appendix A) – in terms of the origins, migrations, and "histories" of Mande peoples. For example, Clarke draws upon a classification scheme concerning

religion that centers on the tripartite division between "pagan", Muslim, and Christian. In his "notes of the countries and customs in Africa", Clarke depicts "Mandingoes" as "rigid Mohamedans" with many good qualities (e.g., industrious, kind, hospitable). The association of "Mandingoes" as Muslims is also reflected in Clarke's "specimens of language" (see Table 30) where the "Mandingo" term for "good spirit" is given as *Alla*. The "Bambara" are not characterized as either Muslims or "pagans" in this description. Instead they are related to the "Mandingoes" in terms of a shared language, one that is also spoken by some "Pagan Tribes" (emphasis mine), as well as by peoples who are "in part Pagan, and in part Mahomedan" (emphasis mine). The use of capitalization of the terms "pagan" and "Mahomedan" draws the reader's attention to the importance of this religious distinction.

Like Dard, Clarke uses several terms to refer to language varieties. In his text, Clarke employs "language", "dialect", and "tongue" (c.f. Dard's use of "langue", "langage", "dialecte", and "idiome" as outlined in Appendix A) when discussing African language varieties. The title of Clarke's text, "Specimens of Dialects" (emphasis mine) indicates the principal concern of this collection of vocabularies. In this case, Clarke is positioning the smallest linguistic unit, a "dialect", within a larger framework (i.e., vis-à-vis other "languages", their speakers, and their geographical locations). Table 31 lists some of the meanings that Clarke associates with the terms "dialect" and "language" in this text:

Table 31 – Meanings Associated with “Dialect” and “Language” in Clarke

Dialect	Language
• specimens of dialects • variation within a geographic area where language spoken • can be acquired • can be spoken	• specimens of languages • can be essentially different from that spoken in neighboring country • can be acquired • can be spoken • can be read • can be understood • vocabularies of languages • composed of more than one dialect

This list demonstrates the overlapping meanings that are attributed to the terms "dialect" and "language" in Clarke's text. For example, one can take specimens of both "dialects" and "languages"; and one can acquire and speak both "dialects" and "languages". In addition, this list shows how the terms are utilized to differentiate between types of language varieties. For example, both "dialects" and "languages" can differ from other "dialects" and "languages". The differences between "dialects" are presented as "variation" within a geographic area that can be demarcated in terms of the "language" spoken there. The differences between "languages" are presented as something so essential that they demarcate one language from another, and one geographic area from another. This is related to the fact that a "language" is composed of more than one "dialect". Other differences between "languages" and "dialects" as presented in Clarke's text include the fact that, in addition to speaking and acquiring a "language", one can also understand and read it.

In addition to the terms "dialect" and "language", Clarke utilized the term "tongue" as a near synonym for the terms "language" and "dialect". Below are four examples of the use of this term:

Example A

Vocabularies of some African tongues

Example B

By means of these Specimens, the countries where the language is the same – where it varies a little – and where it departs more widely from the tongue chiefly spoken in the district, may be seen.

Example C

This Tongue is extensively spoken in Senegambia and in Bambara. It has many Dialects spoken by the Tribes around. (From section entitled "On the Languages of Africa.")

Example D

Recollected his native tongue.

They have acquired the language, or dialects, of those parts, and to some extent forgotten their native tongues.

The first example indicates that, like "languages" and "dialects", "tongues" can be "sampled". In this case, Clarke refers to the vocabularies of African "tongues". Example B and Example C indicate the difficulty in determining whether "tongue" is being used as a near synonym for "language" or for "dialect". In the first part of the statement in Example B, Clarke states that the "specimens" can illuminate where a language is the same (or varies little) and this is correlated with the geographical unit of the country. In the second part of this statement, Clarke opposes this notion of language/country to a language variety

that varies from the larger language. He identifies this language variety as a tongue and correlates it with the geographical unit of the district. In contrast, tongue appears to be used as a near synonym for language in Example C. In this case the tongue in question is widely spoken in a large geographic area (i.e., Senegambia and Bambara) and it is comprised of many dialects. In Example D, the term tongue is modified by the adjective native, indicating one's maternal language variety (i.e., it was not acquired in the sense used above). In this case, one's native tongue would be a "dialect", which in turn can be associated with a "language". The use of the term tongue would seem to demonstrate the "slipperiness" of the terms "language" and "dialect".

This examination of the linguistic and religious terms used in Clarke's text indicates the continuity in the classification schemes that both Dard and Clarke draw upon. In addition, it demonstrates that the ways in which Dard and Clarke employ these classification schemes reflect differing agendas and historical circumstances.

8.0 "What is Bambara?"

First, Bambara is presented as a language variety, but samples of the "Bambara" or "Bambarra" language variety are only contained in Clarke's "Specimens of Numerals" (see Table 28). Second, Bambara is presented as a geographical location (i.e., it is a district located in Mandingo and its capital is Segou). Third, Bambara is presented as a people who speak "Mandingo" (and

presumably the "Bambara dialect") and live in "Mandingo". Thus, the overall image of Bambara can only be ascertained in relation to "Mandingo".

APPENDIX C – DESCRIPTION OF KOELLE'S POLYGLOTTA AFRICANA

Koelle's Polyglotta Africana is comprised of a "preface", "introductory remarks", the "polyglotta", and a map of Africa.

1.0 "Preface"

Koelle makes the following statements in the "preface" to his Polyglotta Africana:

1. Koelle contextualizes his text by relating St. Paul's call to spread the Gospel and need to penetrate into areas where the people have not heard the Christian word. Koelle envisions his "polyglotta" as being able "to lift the veil of obscurity" which hides those "tribes" and "nations" that need to hear the Gospel.
2. Koelle commends the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) on its role in "bringing to light" the languages of Africa, as language is "the lamp by which that light must be communicated and spread." As part of this endeavor, the "polyglotta" is intended to bring to light "the question of African Philology".
 - a. In order to ascertain the "affinity of language", Koelle acknowledges the importance of knowledge of "grammar", but argues that "generally speaking, the glossarial and grammatical affinities keep pace with each other."
 - b. Koelle indicates the problems in comparing different vocabularies written in different orthographies for the project of "African Philology".
3. Koelle describes how he gathered these specimens.
 - a. There are representatives of more than two hundred different "tribes" and "countries" in Sierra Leone; therefore specimens of all the languages in this collection could be gathered there.
 - b. Some of the Africans in Sierra Leone have forgotten their language, but most "still have their native language either entirely at their command, generally using it in conversation with people of the same tribe, or have become only partially estranged from it."

- c. Koelle only used "living natives" as sources for his "specimens", he did not draw on any book or vocabulary.
 - d. Koelle is the only one who gathered these "specimens" stating, "It was always the same ear which caught the sounds from the different natives, and the same hand which represented them."
 - e. For his "polyglotta", Koelle avoided selecting terms for abstract entities, instead choosing those items at which one could point.
 - f. While the majority of terms have been chosen to illuminate "affinities" between languages, others have been selected to judge the extent that Islam has been adopted in Africa; to ascertain the introduction by "foreigners" of such items as onions and rice; and the "degree of civilization" of certain "tribes" through such terms as clothing, beds and weapons.
 - g. In order to determine the "reliability" of their data, Koelle collected information on the age of his informants when they left their "country" of origin and how old they were when they worked with him.
 - h. Koelle also collected "geographical notices" so that these "specimens" could be located spatially and provide "objects of inquiry" for future travelers. On the basis of these "geographical notices", the geographer Peterman drew up a map that indicates where these language varieties are spoken.
4. Koelle stresses the instances of incompleteness and incorrectness in his "polyglotta". He claims this is evident in all works of this kind, stating: "we cannot hide from ourselves that Vocabularies of this description, i.e. Vocabularies of languages with whose grammar one is not acquainted, and which are usually obtained from ill-informed natives, cannot lay claim to correctness *in detail*."
 5. Before beginning his work on the "polyglot", Koelle had spent time compiling a similar collection in seventy-one languages. He feels that this experience helped to prepare him for this project.
 6. Finally, Koelle provides a list of the "Letters and Signs" used in his "polyglot".

2.0 “Introductory Remarks”

Koelle's introductory remarks consist of notes on his informants and their "native countries". Koelle (1854:1) states that "these remarks are here communicated as they were received from the different informants, and must be considered as entirely their own." He presents these remarks through a presentation of his classification system of African languages, but he does not describe how this classification system was developed. The classification system is divided into two parts – the first part is not labeled, while the second part is entitled "South African Languages, Distinguished by an Initial Inflection". The general outline of this classification system is presented below in Table 32 and a more detailed breakdown of Koelle's classification of Mande language varieties is provided in Table 33.

Table 32 – Koelle's Classification of African Languages

- | | |
|-------|--|
| I. | North-West Atlantic Languages (consists of four groups of language varieties, which are only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| II. | North-Western High-Sudan Family, or Mandén-ga Family of Languages (this "family" is described in more detail below in Table 33) |
| III. | Upper-Guinea Languages, or Middle-Coast Languages, being spoken on the Pepper, Ivory, Gold, and Slave Coasts (consists of three groups of language varieties – "Liberian or Kru Languages", "Dahomean, or Slave Coast Languages", and "The Aku-Ígala Languages") |
| IV. | North-Eastern High Sudan Languages (consists of four groups of language varieties, which are only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| V. | Niger-Delta Languages (consist of three groups of language varieties, which are only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| VI. | Niger-Dshadda Languages, or Núpe Group |
| VII. | Central African Languages (consists of two groups of language varieties only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| VIII. | Átam Languages (consists of two groups of language varieties only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| IX. | Mók Languages (consists of two groups of language varieties only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| X. | Kon-gó N-góla Languages (consists of three groups of language varieties only labeled as "first group", "second group" etc.) |
| XI. | South-Eastern Languages |
| XII. | Unclassified and Isolated Languages |

Table 33 – Koelle's Classification of North-Western High Sudan Family, or Mandén-ga Family of Languages

1. a) Mánde, or Mandén-ga (gathered from an informant born in town of Kába)
- b) Kābún-ga, or Mandén-ga, as spoken in Kábu
- c) Torón-ka, or Mandén-ga, as spoken in Tórō or Tóron
- d) Dsalún-ka, i.e. Mandén-ga, as spoken in Dsálu or Dsálu, also
 called Fúta-Dsálu, i.e. the Dsálu possessed by the Phúla
- e) Kán-kán-a, or Mandén-ga as spoken in Kán-kan
2. Bámbara, or Bámbaran
3. Kóno
4. Vei
5. a) Sóso, as spoken in Sólíma
- b) Sóso, as spoken in Kísekise, to the north of Sierra Leone and Búlom
6. Téne
7. Gbándi
8. Lándōro
9. Ménde, in Sierra Leone called Kóso, which I understand is a nickname
10. Gbése, by foreigners also called Gbérése
11. Tóma, called Búse by the Ménde and Vei
12. Máno and Mána, by foreigners sometimes even contracted into M
13. Gío

Koelle's (1854:3) describes his Bambara informant and "country" as follows:

From Fúrēkaba, born in the well-known town of Ségu, on the Dsélba, or Niger, where he lived to about his thirtieth year, when he went to the Gambia as a trader, and, after two years stay there, to Sierra Leone, where he has now been for fifteen years, being employed by English merchants in their trade with natives of the different Mandén-gan countries. He is the only Bámbaran at present in Sierra Leone; and I could only get him for my purpose by the favour of the Honourable Mr. Heddle, his employer.

Remarks. – Bámbara is east of Mánde, west of Sáro, where a different language is spoken, and which is itself west of Dséne.

In addition to the notes on informants and classification system, Koelle provides some geographical information in his introductory remarks. An example of this geographical information that concerns the "Mandén-gan" is given below (Koelle 1854:23).

Route from Fálāba, the Sólīma capital, to Wórabě, the former capital of Sán·karan·, situate on the Mílō, which comes from Wásūlu, and joins the Témbe, or, as the Mandén-gas say, the Yálība, near the town of Máfāra, in the Sán·karan· state. According to Hámbi.

1. Fisánya, in Mafénde.
2. Kábāya, ditto.
3. Tírō, in Sán·kara.
4. Séradūgu, ditto.
5. N·álīa, in Sán·kara.
6. Sansámbāya, ditto.
7. Bofinya, ditto.
8. Wórabé.
 - a. Mafénde is said to be half Sán·karan· and half Kurán·ko.
 - b. Between Kábāya and Tírō the Yálība is crossed.

In his introductory remarks, Koelle also describes some of the other "Mandé-ga" language varieties. From this description, a sketch of Koelle's characterization of these language varieties can be made. First, all "Mandé-ga" is originally from "Mánde". Koelle notes that he prefers the term "Mandén-ga" to "Mandingo". He feels that when the latter term is used on maps it is due in part to the difficulty that English speakers have hearing these sounds. Second, "Mánde" is a country whose capital is "Kaba". Third, "Mánde" can be delimited (i.e., bordered on the east by "Bámbaran·", on the west by "Dśóma", on the south by "Dsuman·ana", and on the north by "Búrē"). In comparing Koelle's description of the borders of "Mánde" with the map provided in this volume, one finds that "Búrē" is a geographic location on the map, "Dśóma" and "Dsuman·ana" are not located on the map, and "Bámbara" represents "Bámbaran·" on the map.

"Dśóma", Koelle presents "Dsuman·ana", and "Búr" as geographic locations and/or political entities in his introductory remarks. He states that in "Dśóma" and "Dsuman·ana" one speak the same language as in "Mánde", while in "Búrē" one speaks "similarly to the Sósos". Fourth, according to an informant from "Tóron·", "Mánde" "is almost entirely Pagan", in contrast to the "half Muhammadan and half Pagan" nature of "Torón" (Koelle 1854:2).

3.0 "Polyglotta"

The main body of Koelle's text is the "polyglotta". Koelle presents the English terms and phrases across the top of the page, with translations in African language varieties ordered in terms of his classification system. Koelle has a Bambara equivalent for all the terms and phrases (i.e., there are no "gaps" in the linguistic data concerning Bambara). The polyglotta contains a wide variety of English terms for a for such things as the numbers from one through twenty, kinship (e.g., "younger brother"), body parts (e.g., "mouth"), social positions (e.g., "king"), clothing (e.g., "waist-cloth"), household items (e.g., "spoon"), weapons (e.g., "gun"), religion (e.g., "sacrifice"), food (e.g., "soup"), and flora and fauna (e.g., "mosquito"). For certain entries, Koelle provides more than one Bambara equivalent (e.g., "palm-tree" – *tin·* / *tíndsu*).

Koelle also provides translations for adjectives and phrases in his polyglotta. Koelle recognizes that certain terms for adjectives may contain the personal pronoun for the third person singular, and this is the case for most of the Bambara terms (e.g., "little, small" – *a dórománə*). The phrases consist of the first person singular and a verb in the present tense (e.g., "I see"), and in some

cases a direct object (e.g., "I call a slave"). In addition, Koelle provides two phrases with negation (i.e., "I do not play" and "I do not dance"). The only references to time are the terms "to-day", "to-morrow", and "yesterday" in his polyglotta.

Below is a list of some Bambara terms from Koelle's polyglotta concerned with race, religion, and language:

1. racial classification – Unlike Dard, Koelle does not include "red" (rouge) in his vocabulary list (see Table 34). The only two colors he lists are "white" and "black", followed by the terms "white man" and "black man". Note how Koelle clarifies the term "black man" by including the term "negro" in parentheses. In contrast, Dard includes three color terms – "white", "black", and "red" – and the only "racial" term he includes is "nègre" (Negro).

Table 34 – Color and Racial Terms in Koelle's "Polyglotta"

English	Bambara
white	gbema
black	a fíma
white man	dsibáwu/tibáwu
black man (negro)	fárāfi

2. language – Koelle includes two terms related to language (in this case written language) – "book" and "ink". In addition, two of the phrases Koelle provides are related to language use – "I speak" and "I hear" (see Table 35).

Table 35 – Language Related Terms in Koelle's "Polyglotta"

English	Bambara
book	kitábi
ink	dúwa
I speak	n-kúmāru/mbará kuma
I hear	mbarámme

3. religion – Listed below are the terms and phrases that explicitly reflect religious themes.⁷⁵ Note that "heaven" is clarified by the term "sky" in parentheses, but "hell" receives no clarification (see Table 36).

Table 36 – Religious Terms in Koelle's "Polyglotta"

English	Bambara
greegree	kórōṭe
sacrifice	sārāga
heaven (sky)	ardséne
hell	dshánnāma
I pray to God (beg God)	mbára dára dálaturū

4.0 "Map"

The final item that Koelle includes in his "polyglotta" is a map⁷⁶ by Augustus Petermann⁷⁷ which is entitled "Map of the Tropical Regions of Africa Extending Nearly to 20° North & South Latitude Showing the Approximate Localities of the Languages Collected by the Rev. S.W. Kölle, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, to accompany his 'Polyglotta Africana'." The purpose of this map is to illustrate where the various language varieties Koelle identified are located. As Koelle stated in his "preface" he wants to locate his "specimens" for the benefit of future travelers. In his explanation, Petermann notes that the names of the "languages" are indicated in black letters, and when the "position" is questionable a question mark is placed after it. The classification of each "language" is indicated through the use of different underlining. In addition to showing language varieties, Petermann has also identified "geographical features". Those that Koelle mentions are written according to his orthographic system with the more "usual names" in parentheses. Bambara is identified on the map as a language variety as "Bámbara" and is underlined as to indicate that it is a "North Western High Sudan or Mandénga Language".

5.0 "What is Bambara?"

One of the major characterizations of Bambara in Koelle's Polyglotta Africana is that they, like other Africans, are a people that need to hear the Gospel. The information that Koelle's Polyglotta provides two ways to assess the situation of the Bambara in relation to missionary efforts – the extent to which Islam has been adopted and their degree of "civilization". For example, several of the Bambara terms Koelle provides are Arabic loan words (e.g., *dṣhānnāma* "hell", *kifábi* "book") which indicates some degree of Islamic influence.

As a people, Koelle provides limited detail about the Bambara, as compared with other "Mande-gan" speakers. But it is this relation of the Bambara to other African peoples that speak related language varieties that allows the reader to make inferences about what Bambara is in comparison to other "Mande-gan" speakers about whom s/he may have more "immediate knowledge". Thus the classification of Bambara as a language variety which belongs to the "North-Western High-Sudan Family, or Mandén-gan Family of Languages" is important here.

In addition to characterizing Bambara as a "pagan" and possibly "Muhammedean" people and as a language variety, Koelle locates Bambara geographically. He does so visually (i.e., on the map) and through a description of "Bambara country" in his introductory remarks. From Koelle's remarks the reader knows that Segú is a "well-known town" on the "Dsélba" (Niger) and can locate Segú on the map above the location of Bambara. Koelle further pinpoints the location of Bambara by stating that it is "east of Mandé, west of Sáro." He

also notes the linguistic situation in Sáro by stating that a "different language" is spoken there.

APPENDIX D – DESCRIPTION OF BINGER'S ESSAI SUR LA LANGUE BAMBARA

Binger's essay is comprised of five parts – a “dedication” to Faidherbe, an "essai sur la langue bambara" (essay on the Bambara language), a "grammaire bambara" (Bambara grammar), some "phrases" (sentences), and a "vocabulaire bambara" (Bambara vocabulary).

1.0 “Dedication”

In this dedication, Binger indicates that he collected information on "la langue bambara". He claims that the "mots" and "phrases" were collected from "un Kouloubali massasi, un Diara et un fofana, originaires du Kaarta et du Bélédougou." In addition, Binger verified his notes in each post "avec le secours des indigènes comprenant le français." Upon his return to Sénégal, Binger presented his notes to Faidherbe. Due in part to Faidherbe's encouragement, he published his research in 1886 as Essai sur la langue bambara parlée dans le Kaarta et dans le Bélédougou suivi d'un vocabulaire, avec une carte indiquant les contrées où se parle cette langue.⁷⁸

In his dedication, Binger describes the importance of his contribution to the body of knowledge of "la langue bambara":

Mon but sera entièrement atteint si par ce faible travail je puis contribuer à faciliter à mes camarades, aux commerçants et aux voyageurs, les relations avec les pays pour l'avenir desquels vous vous êtes dévoué pendant de si longues années.

But at the same time, he acknowledges its incompleteness, "Lorsque les rapports avec les peuples bambaras seront plus suivis et que les indigènes seront plus familiarisés avec notre langue, cet essai pourra être complété."

2.0 “Essai sur la langue bambara”

In his “essai sur la langue bambara”, Binger positions the Bambara language and Bambara people by presenting the “history” of the “race mandingue”, and isolating the Bambara as “the most interesting branch”. Below, I present an outline of Binger’s “essai sur la langue bambara”:

1. Binger states that the majority of historians agree that there are two “races” in the Sudan, from which all the others are derived – the “race poul” and the “race mandingue”⁷⁹. Table 37 below shows the composition of these “races”.

Table 37 – Binger’s Division of the “Race Poul” and “Race Mandingue”

“race poul”	“race mandingue”
Oulofs Serrères Falor et Palor Toukoupleur Pouls nomades	<u>“de race a peu près pure”:</u> Mali-nkés Bambaras Mandi-nkés Sousous ou Sosés <u>“races mélangées de Pouls”:</u> Soni-nkés Kasso-nkés Ouassoulou-nkés

2. Relating the “history” of these “peuples” is difficult because their “languages” are not written, the “traditions” do not go far enough back to form outright conclusions, and each of the “familles mandingue ou poul” has its own “history”.
3. The “race poul” differs from the “race mandingue” “ethnographically”, as well as in terms of “mores”. The linguistic work of Faidherbe has demonstrated that this “langue” had “particularités” and a “richesse de mots” that are not found in the other “languages” of the Sudan and that the “Pouls” originated in East Africa.
4. Drawing on the accounts of Piétri, Barth, Ibn-Battu, and Park, Binger outlines the history of the “race mandingue” as follows:

- a. At the end of the fourteenth century, they were united in a vast empire whose capital was "Melli" or "Mali", which was inhabited only by "Mandingues".
- b. This empire fell to the "Soni-nkés", or "Mandingo-Pouls", who conquered Kaarta, Diafounou, and established themselves near Bakel. Their trading abilities, which distinguish them to this day, may have been a result of their contact with Maures in Kaarta.
- c. According to a "légende", at the end of the seventeenth century, the "Mandingues Bambaras ou Bamanas" (as they call themselves) migrated from Torone under the leadership of Baramangolo and Niangolo. Baramangolo's group stopped at Segou, which was governed by Boiré of the Soni-nkés. Baramangolo became king of Segou after ten years. Niangolo stopped at the village of Baiko.⁸⁰ Niangolo assumed rulership of this village that was also occupied by Soni-nkés, as well as of Kéniédougou, after several years.
- d. Several years later, the Segou Bambara chased the Kéniédougou Bambara out and forced them to migrate to Kaarta and Nioro. The Kéniédougou Bambara soon took control of this area, which is indicated by the fact that in 1754 a member of the "Kououbali" family was reigning in Nioro.
- e. Conflict between the "Bambaras-Diaras" of Segou and the "Kouloubalis" of Kaarta continued until around 1830.
- f. According to "traditions", the "Deniankés" left the Fouladougou. The "Malinkés du Birgo, de la famille des Diakités", then populated this area.
- g. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the "Kasso-nkés" withdrew to the left bank of the Senegal in Khasso, Logo, and Natiaga.
- h. The "Soni-nkés" kept the Diafounou and established themselves along the left bank of the Senegal from Bakel to Ndikandapé.
- i. Between 1855 and 1860, Umar Tal (who had been beaten by "us" at Médine) invaded Kuniakary, Nioro, and Kaarta. He also defeated the ruler of the Segou Bambaras.
- j. The "Bambaras" are no longer an "état monarchique", but instead are grouped in confederations comprised of a number of villages.

5. Binger outlines the areas ("pays") where various language varieties are spoken (see Table 38 below) and he notes that, with the exception of the "Soni-nkés", all of these "peuples" have rebelled against Islam.

Table 38 – Geographic Locations Where Various West African Language Varieties Are Spoken According to Binger

Both Bambara and Poul	Bambara Only	Malinké
part of Nioro	Mourdiari	Bambouk
Kaarta	le grand et le petit	Nouroukrou
Dialafara	Béledougou	Farimboula
Farabougou	l'état de Bamakou	Fouladougou
Diangounté		Gangaran
Bakhounou		Bafing
Segu		Baniakadougou
		Goro
		Birgo
Mandingue	Sousou	Soninké
Manding	near the coast from Rio	Gadiaga
Bouré	Pongo to Sierra Leone	Guidimakha
Ouassoulou		Damga
Sankara		Guoye
Pakao		Diafounou
Yacine		Kingui
Souna		in all the "villages
Balmadou		diawara" of Segu
Vouy		

6. Binger states that, "Les peuples énumérés ci-dessus, quoique étant tous de race mandingue et parlant à peu de chose près la même langue, méritent cependant d'être classés au point de vue intellectuel, car ils sont loin de se ressembler sous ce rapport, les mélanges et superpositions de race ayant été favorisés plus encore par le trafic des esclaves que par les migrations successives."
- a. The "Soni-nké" (or "Sara-Khollé" and "Marka-nké") are characterized by their physical characteristics (a "beau noir" of medium height) and intelligence. They serve "us" as "laptots" and "capitaines de rivière", but above all they are traders. As traders they know all the "langues" of the Sudan.

- b. The "Kasso-nkés" and the "Mali-nkés" are characterized as non-Muslims, farmers, hunters, and are rarely traders. They are lazy and indolent and do not make good soldiers. The most beautiful women are found between these two groups.
 - c. The "Mali-nké" of the south, the "Mandingue", and the "Sousou" resemble somewhat the "Kasson-nkés" and the "Mali-nkés" and form an intermediate group between them and the Bambara.
- 7. Binger claims that the Bambara are the most interesting branch of the "race mandingue". He "proves" his assertion by relating the following facts which demonstrate that "cette race n'est pas dépourvue d'intelligence, ni privée d'un certain esprit de prévoyance et d'observation qui fait si souvent défaut aux Soudaniens". It has even not been proven that the Toucouleur are superior to the Bambara.
 - a. Binger characterizes the Bambara physically, noting that they do not have a "national type". Hairstyle and tatoos vary according to "famille".
 - b. The Bambara are "fétichistes".
 - c. Next, Binger describes their habitations, stating that "Ce luxe relatif de l'habitation ne se retrouve dans aucune autre famille mandingue ni poul."
 - d. Binger describes the technological achievements of the Bambara, including building bridges and ironworking. The Bambara are better boat makers than the Mali-nkés, and they also produce other materials, such as soap and oil, like "all the other Sudanese".
 - e. The Bambara are merchants, farmers, hunters, and musicians. They are also aware of the movement of the stars.
- 8. Binger argues that the reason that the Toucouleur are often presented as the superior of the Bambara is due to the former's access to European education.
- 9. Given the proper education, the Bambara would provide excellent service to the French due to their good nature and military qualities.
- 10. Binger concludes his description of the Bambara by describing their "caste" system, which they share with all "primitive peoples".

3.0 “Grammaire bambara”

In the third part of his text, Binger provides a “grammaire bambara” in which he positions the “dialect” he is studying in relation to other “Mandingue dialects”, describes the grammatical features of the “Bambara dialect” (e.g., verbs, articles), and discusses the non-written nature of this language variety.

1. Binger’s introductory statement describes which “dialecte” will be examined in this text by associating it with a people and positioning it geographically. It also relates this “dialecte” to other “dialectes mandingue” (in particular that of “mali-nké”) in terms of similarities and differences in pronunciation:

Le dialecte que nous allons étudier est celui des Bambaras du Bélé Dougou et du Kaarta; il offre beaucoup d’analogie avec le mali-nké et les autres dialectes mandingues, mais sa prononciation est plus brève et n’est pas chantée. (Binger, 1886:17).

2. “De la prononciation” – Binger lists the “letters” that have “special” pronunciations (e.g., “*kh*, se prononce comme le *kh* arabe, comme la *jota* espagnole, comme le *ch* allemand après *a* et *o*.” (Binger 1886:17)), states that other “letters” are pronounced as in French, and outlines rules of pronunciation.
3. “De l’article, des noms communs et des noms propres” – In this section, Binger describes articles, common nouns, and proper nouns:
 - a. Binger indicates that this “dialecte” does not have “articles” (e.g., “*falo*, âne, un âne, l’âne” (Binger 1886:18)); states that Bambara, like “ouolof”⁸¹, does not mark inanimate objects as masculine or feminine (e.g., “Apporte de l’eau fraîche: *Dji souma nati*, eau fraîche apporte” (Binger 1886:18)); and notes that animate objects are marked by adding the term “male” or “female” to the noun when necessary to know the gender (e.g., “*Souo-nké*, cheval mâle” (Binger 1886:18))
 - b. Binger states that there are many “noms composés”, generally formed by adding a “son qualificatif” to a noun (e.g., “*sadé*, agneau, de sa, mouton, *dé*, petit” (Binger 1886:18)); that this “dialecte” does not have “le genre hominin” and “le genre brute”, as is found in “poular”⁸²; that objects and animate beings are combined; and finally he lists the endings of nouns.

- c. "Noms propres" are often compounds and are comprised of up to three "mots". It is easy to determine the etymology of names of villages, countries, rivers etc. (e.g., "*Kobokhotoba*, de *kobo*, arbre, sorte de ficus, *khoto*, vieux, *ba*, grand" (Binger 1886:19)).
 - d. The plural of a nouns is formed by adding the number to the "substantif" (e.g., "*sama fla*, *sama saba*, éléphants deux, éléphants trois" (Binger 1886:20)) and the adverb "beaucoup" is added when one wants to indicate a large quantity without specifying the precise number (e.g., "*souo*, chevaux, *a kha sia*, ils sont beaucoup" (Binger 1886:20)).
 - e. The "génitif" is formed by the inversion of two words (e.g., "le couteau de Niama, *Nimam mourou*" (Binger 1886:20)).
4. "Adjectifs" – In this section Binger describes adjectives. The "auxiliaire" *bé* (être) and the "pronom" *a* (qui) are used for "adjectifs" (e.g., "homme juste (homme qui est juste), *nké a bé kénié*" (Binger 1886:21)). "Négation" is formed by replacing *bé* with *man* (e.g., "homme injuste (qui n'est pas juste) se dit: *nké a man kénié*" (Binger 1886:20)), but sometimes *man* is replaced by *nté*. The auxiliary *kha* (avoir) can also be used with adjectives (e.g., "parole injurieuse (qui a de l'injure), *kouma a kha niéni* (parole qui a injure)" (Binger 1886:21)). When *kha* is negated it is replaced with *man*. Binger states that in the "vocabulaire bambara" it is noted for each adjective whether they are used with *a bé* or *a kha*. Certain adjectives, such as color terms, are exceptions to the preceding rules and are added directly to the noun (e.g., "fil rouge, *gara oulé*" (Binger 1886:22)). These exceptions are negated using the form *a man*. Binger lists the adjectives which are exceptions. Adjectives are not pluralized and follow the number (e.g., "ces deux boeufs gras, *ni misso fla a bé tléba* (ces boeufs deux qui sont gras) (Binger 1886:22)).
5. "Numération" – Numeration is the topic of this section.
- a. Binger contrasts the Bambara base ten system to the base five system of "ouolof" and "poul"; lists the numerals "one" through "ten"; states that numerals after "ten" are formed by adding the numerals "one" through "nine" to "ten" (e.g., "*Tan i kilé*, dix et un" (Binger 1886:23)); and also lists additional numerals such as "twenty" and "thirty".
 - b. He describes the Bambara counting system as based on 80 as compared to the French counting system based on 100 and states that he does not know why Bambara counts by 80's.⁸³

- c. Ordinal numbers are formed by adding *na* to cardinal numbers (e.g., "*nanina*, quatrième" (Binger 1886:23)), with the exception of "premier" (*folofolonana*), "deuxième" (*anokanda*), and "dernier" (*tourabéko*). Expressions such as "une fois" are formed by placing the number after *kou* (e.g., *koufla*).
6. "Pronoms" – Binger states that possessive and personal pronouns and possessive adjectives are represented by same term in Bambara and he lists these pronouns.
7. "Verbes" – In this section, Binger discusses various aspects of Bambara verbs:
 - a. The infinitive is rarely used by "les Bambaras". When used it is often with *gnigni* (vouloir) (e.g., "Je veux partir; *nté gnigni takha*" (Binger 1886:24))
 - b. The "verbe bambara" is comprised of three tenses – present, future, and past – and the imperative mode. Binger offers examples of these using *takha* (aller, partir). He describes the present tense as "facile à former" (Binger 1886:25) and states the the past tense in Bambara takes the place of "tous les temps passés, imparfait, passé indéfini, plus-que-parfait, etc." (Binger 1886:25)
 - c. The interrogative is indicated by a slightly different intonation.
 - d. Binger notes that verbs are numerous – they number around 450 to 500 in the vocabulary. He indicates which auxiliary each verb takes and that many verbs are "mots composés" (e.g., "boucher, *datougou* (de *da*; porte, ouverture; *tougou*, fermer) (Binger 1886:27)).
 - e. Binger describes the rule for forming a negative, i.e., verbs using the auxiliary *bé* use the negative *nté* for the imperative and present and future tenses, and *man* for the past tense, while verbs using the auxiliary *kha* use the negative *man* for the imperative and present and future tenses, and *nté* for the past tense
8. "Prépositions, conjonctions, adverbes" – There are few prepositions and conjunctions in Bambara and they are rarely used. Adverbs are formed with *a kha* and the negative *a man* (e.g., "*a kha sia*, beaucoup; *a man sia*, peu" (Binger 1886:30))
9. "Syntaxe" – Binger describes the syntax of Bambara in terms of its "simplicity" and its non-written status.

- a. Binger states that "Le Bambara est d'une simplicité extrême comme syntaxe" (1886:30) and that "On voit par ces quelques exemples que la construction des phrases en bambara est d'une simplicité surprenante et que, muni d'un vocabulaire, on peut construire toutes les phrases et se rendre intelligible." (1886:31)
- b. In his discussion of the non-written status of Bambara, Binger states that "Comme tous les dialectes du Soudan occidental, le bambara n'est pas une langue écrite. Les quelques Bambaras, Soumanos et Niarés (familles commerçantes du Niger), qui par leurs relations commerciales sont en contact avec Timbouctou et les Maures se servent des caractères arabes pour écrire leur langue; pour correspondre ils adjoignent certains signes à ces lettres, plus ou moins tronquées." (1886:31-32). He also describes the difficulties with this writing system in terms of the sender and reader having difficulties deciphering their own writing. He also lists the Arabic "signes"; describes the writing implements that are used (i.e., pen, ink, and paper); demonstrates how vowels and syllables are formed; and provides a specimen of "calligraphie sénégalaise".

4.0 Phrases

The 100 French phrases and Bambara translations provided in this section are taken from Faidherbe's Grammaire poul.⁸⁴ Binger lists the French phrases on the left hand page with the Bambara translation and word-for-word French translation on the right hand page. They are not provided in any particular order or categories and no explanatory notes accompany them. These phrases describe the various concerns and needs of the French during this period. Below, I list the phrases that are related to descriptions of African peoples and African languages, as well as the "military" and more general needs of the French. I have listed each phrase only once, according to its dominant "theme", although it could have been placed in more than one group.

1. Descriptions of African peoples – The African peoples presented in Binger's phrases (see Table 39) include Maures, Toukoupleurs, Diaras, Sarakollé, Bambaras, Malinkés, Trarzas, and Diulas. Four personal

names are mentioned in these phrases – Samory, Mambi, Samba, and Hawa. The first clearly refers to the historical figure, Samori, while Mambi may be a historical figure. It is unclear if Samba or Hawa are historical figures. These phrases describe such things as the military actions of various African peoples, identification of "ethnic" affiliation or geographic location, and occupation.

Table 39 – Binger's Phrases Related to Descriptions of African Peoples

1.	"Les Maures sont entrés dans la Markadougou; ils ont démoli le tata de Marka et tué tous les habitants." (p. 38)
2.	"Les gens de Médine ont battu les cavaliers Toukoupleurs." (p. 40)
3.	"Si le Diaras ne nous reçoivent pas dans leur village, le roi du Kaarta les punira." (p. 42)
4.	"Qui a dit que les Bambâras ont attaqué Nioro?" (p. 44)
5.	"Les Bambaras sont réunis dans le Bélédougou, le roi les commande, ils ont tous des fusils." (p. 44)
6.	"Samory fait la guerre au Birgo." (p. 44)
7.	"D'où viennent ces malinkés? – Ils viennent du Bouré, vendre de l'or." (p. 50)
8.	"Quel est ce Maure qui a causé avec ton père?" (p. 56)
9.	"C'est un Trarza, il est mon ami." (p. 56)
10.	"Samory a dit au Mambi: Donne-moi du lait et du mil ou je brûle ton village." (p. 42)
11.	"C'est un Sarrakollé qui vient de Badumbé, il a rencontré des Maures qui le lui ont dit à Toukolo." (p. 44)
12.	"Ou est allé Samba?" (p. 58)
13.	"Hawa, est-elle mariée?" (p. 62)
14.	"L'almamy de Mourgoula est parti dans le Nioro." (p. 60)
15.	Qui est-ce? – Un homme du Macina." (p. 62)
16.	"Si je prête trois pièces de cinq francs au Diula, me les rendra-t-il?" (p. 62)
17.	"Les gens de Kalé ont cultivé l'île qui est en face de nous." (p. 62)
18.	"Tous les gens du village sont pêcheurs." (p. 62)

2. Descriptions of African languages and language acquisition – Only four of Binger's phrases directly concern African languages and language acquisition (see Table 40).

Table 40 – Binger's Phrases Related to Descriptions of African Languages and Language Acquisition

1. "Son frère sait parler le soninké." (p. 46)
2. "Apprends-moi le bambara, je t'apprendrai le français." (p. 52)
3. "Les marabouts écrivent en bambara avec les lettres arabes." (p. 52)
4. "Comment dit-on en bambara?" (p. 56)

3. Phrases related to "military" and "administrative" needs – Given the fact that this "essai de grammaire" was produced during the period when the French were "pacifying" the Sudan, it is not surprising that many of these phrases address the "military" and "administrative" needs of the French. These needs included such things as transportation, relations with newly conquered peoples, casualties, and arranging escorts.

Table 41 – Binger's Phrases Related to Military/Administrative Needs

1. "Venez, ne craignez rien, nous ne vous ferons pas de mal." (p. 40)
2. "Appelle le chef de village. – Chef de village, viens ici." (p. 40)
3. "Je suis blessé d'une balle dans le ventre et d'un coup de lance dans l'oeil." (p. 44)
4. "Portez-moi là. – Merci. – Maintenant allez vous battre." (p. 44)
5. "Ils ont pris douze captifs et trois cents boeufs." (p. 46)
6. "Donne-moi vingt hommes pour nous conduire au Baoulé." (p. 46)
7. "Ils ne refusent pas de nous laisser prendre de l'eau à leur puits." (p. 46)
8. "Eh! l'homme, viens ici, ouvre la porte, entre." (p. 46)
9. "On compte dix jours de Goniokory à Bambouk. La route est bonne, mais il y a beaucoup de marigots à passer." (p. 48)
10. "Tu sais qu'ayant une longue route à faire, je ne puis pas emporter beaucoup de marchandises, parce qu'il faut porter des vivres." (p. 48)
11. "Dis à ces gens que s'ils nous suivent, nous tirons sur eux." (p. 48)
12. "Vous n'arriverez pas à Ségou, avant la saison des pluies." (p. 50)
13. "Prête-moi ta pirogue pour traverser ce marigot, je te donnerai de la poudre." (p. 50)
14. "La pirogue est trop chargée, l'eau y entre, pagaie fort." (p. 50)

Table 41 (cont'd)

15. "Je lui donnerai cinq pièces de guinée, quand nous serons arrivés." (p. 52)
16. "Donne-moi deux chameaux et deux hommes moi je monterai sur un boeuf porteur." (p. 54)
17. "Si nous n'avons pas de pirogue nous traverserons la rivière en nageant." (p. 54)
18. "Tu es notre hôte, tu ne dois pas laisser voler nos affaires." (p. 54)
19. "Quand nous serons à Khayes; je les récompenserai bien." (p. 54)
20. "Tirons la pirogue à terre, nous partirons à cheval." (p. 54)
21. "Ce cheval ne marche pas vite, il ne me plaît pas." (p. 56)
22. "Je n'ai plus ni poudre ni plomb." (p. 56)
23. "Dis à ton domestique de porter de suite cette lettre à Kita." (p. 56)
24. "Dix cavaliers arrivent pour nous tomber dessus." (p. 58)
25. "Ils ont payé l'impôt." (p. 58)
26. "Où est le chemin de Niamima?" (p. 58)
27. "Que dit-il? Il dit qu'il n'y a pas d'eau sur cette route." (p. 60)
28. "Ils demandent la paix." (p. 60)
29. "Vous savez que la route est longue." (p. 60)
30. "Il faut que je parte de suite." (p. 62)

4. Phrases related to general needs – The phrases included in Table 42 relate to the general needs of the French, such as illness (e.g., L14, L19), physical needs and complaints (e.g., L7, L28), eliciting information (e.g., L20, L36), and greetings (e.g., L1, L2, L21).

Table 42 – Binger's Phrases Related to General Needs

1. "Comment vont ta femme et tes enfants?" (p. 40)
2. "Va en paix." (p. 40)
3. "Cette enfant est ta fille?" (p. 42)
4. "Ma fille aînée est mariée depuis trois ans, elle a deux enfants." (p. 42)
5. "Cette année, la terre est très sèche, il n'y a pas d'arachides ni de mil." (p. 42)
6. "Entre, tu boiras du lait." (p. 42)
7. "Le soleil brûle, je sue, j'ai soif." (p. 40)
8. "Je n'ai pas dormi cette nuit, les moustiques ne m'ont pas laissé un instant tranquille." (p. 48)
9. "Reposons-nous à l'ombre de ce ficus." (p. 48)

Table 42 (cont'd)

10. "Levez-vous, il ne pleuvra plus, nous allons partir." (p. 48)
11. "Tiens, voilà du tabac à prise." (p. 50)
12. "J'ai très faim, je n'ai pas mangé hier soir." (p. 50)
13. "Ne vois-tu pas cette perdrix? Tire! La perdrix est tombée, cours la chercher." (p. 52)
14. "J'ai la fièvre, je vais dormir dans ta case." (p. 52)
15. "Si le chef de village me demande, dis que je suis malade." (p. 52)
16. "Tu demandes trop, je ne veux pas." (p. 52)
17. "Nous avons froid, allumez du feu pour que nous nous chauffions." (p. 54)
18. "Tu as manqué cette antilope. Ton fusil est bon, mais tu ne tires pas bien." (p. 56)
19. "Aujourd'hui tu as la fièvre, ce soir tu avaleras cela." (p. 56)
20. "De quel pays es-tu? Quel âge as-tu?" (p. 56)
21. "Comment vas-tu? Où vas-tu?" (p. 56)
22. "Je vais m'abriter du soleil sous ce vieux tamarinier." (p. 58)
23. "Accepts, c'est excellent." (p. 58)
24. "Tout le monde le sait." (p. 58)
25. "Comment t'appelles tu? Comment s'appelle-t-il?" (p. 58)
26. "Je ne suis pas content de cette chose." (p. 58)
27. "Va-t-il revenir de suite?" (p. 58)
28. "J'ai faim, j'ai soif." (p. 60)
29. "La foudre est tombée sur cette case, elle a tué un enfant." (p. 60)
30. "Le soir, il y a beaucoup d'étrangers dans le village." (p. 60)
31. "Eveillez-vous, partez de suite là-bas." (p. 60)
32. "Cela me fait beaucoup de peine." (p. 60)
33. "Il y a trois jours que je ne suis sorti de ma maison." (p. 60)
34. "A-t-elle des enfants?" (p. 62)
35. "Je n'ai rien entendu dire." (p. 62)
36. "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?" (p. 62)
37. "Voilà de l'eau, lave-toi les mains." (p. 62)
38. "Qui t'a dit de venir ici?" (p. 62)

5.0 "Vocabulaire bambara"

In the "vocabulaire bambara", Binger provides over 2,200 French terms/entries and their glosses in Bambara and other "dialectes mandingues". When more than one gloss is provided, Binger states that "C'est toujours le premier nom qui est le plus usité chez les Bambaras, les autres sont employés chez les Mali-nkés et Kasso-nkés." (1886:65). Binger also indicates that "r" is often replaced with "l" among the "Sudanese". Therefore, one finds terms such as "doroké" (vêtement) which is also pronounced "doloké".

The vocabulary is divided into six parts – "noms communs" (1,249 entries), "adjectifs" (335 entries), "numération" (53 entries), "verbes" (458 entries), "locutions diverses" (227 entries, as well as section on "salutations de deux jeunes gens malinkés ou kassonkés" included in the middle of this part), and "noms des jours et des saisons" (10 entries). Below, I have listed some terms concerning language, racial classification, religion, peoples, and administrative concerns contained in Binger's vocabulary.

1. Language – In Table 43 below, I have included terms that are directly related to language (such as "langue") in addition to those which relate to the educational domain and therefore demonstrate the importance of the relationship between education and the "colonialism of language". Like Dard, Binger includes Bambara terms such as "langage" and "langue". He also indicates that the term for "sugar" has been borrowed from French.

Table 43 – Language Related Terms in Binger's Vocabulary

French	English	Bambara
Conte	story	Nangaialéda
Ecole	school	Kalanioro
Ecrit	writing, document	Sébéfira, niégué
Ecriture	writing, handwriting	Niégué-tiogo
Ecrivain	writer, author	Niéguéba
Fable	fable	Tali
Histoire	history	Taly

Table 43 (cont'd)

French	English	Bambara
Interprète	interpreter	Kanaminalila, dalaména
Langage	language	Kouma
Langue	language, tongue	Né, kouma
Parleur	talker	Koumaba
Parole	word, speech	Koumaka
Professeur	professor	Déguéba
Réponse	response	Laména
Sucre	sugar	Souker (français)

2. Racial classification – There are several differences between Binger's vocabulary that are related to racial classification, and that contained in Dard and Koelle (see Table 44). First, Binger's list of color terms is far more extensive. In addition to the terms for black, white, and red, Binger gives Bambara terms for blue, yellow, blue and white, brown, and green. The terms for black and white are used to make "racial" distinctions (e.g., *nké fing* "black man"), along with the term for red. Second, Binger's racial classification is also linked to a distinction between different types of "men" (i.e., an "adult man", a "white man", a "free man", a "black man", and a "red man"). Binger gives an alternative French term for "free man" (i.e., "master"). Note that the same Bambara term (*nkéfing*) is offered for both "black man" and "Negro". Third, Binger offers a term for the concept of "race" (*baléma*).

Table 44 – Racial Terms Used in Binger's Vocabulary

French	English	Bambara
Homme	man	Nké, mokho
Homme adulte	adult man	Kamaréba
Homme blanc	white man	Mokho dié
Homme libre	free man	Foro, diamourou
Homme noir	black man	Nké fing, mokho fing
Homme rouge	red man	Mokho oulé
Maître (homme libre)	master (free man)	Foro
Nègre	Negro	Nkéfing
Race	race	Baléma

Table 44 (cont'd)

French	English	Bambara
Blanc	white	Dié, khoy
Bleu	blue	Tiguéla
Bleu et blanc	blue and white	Kousou-nkhala
Brun	brown	Bassala
Jaune	yellow	Basidié, basikhoy
Noir	black	Fing
Noir et blanc	black and white	Fing-nkhala
Rouge	red	Oulé
Sauvage	savage, wild	Yaoussé, gouana (a bé)
Vert	green	Niougoudji, fourakéné

3. Religion – The terms concerning religion that Binger includes in his vocabulary are similar to those in Dard's vocabulary (see Table 45). However, in his vocabulary, Binger does offer the terms for the "fetish" and "gris-gris" that are used specifically by the Bambara, and many more terms relate directly to Islam (e.g., "mosquée").

Table 45 – Religious Terms in Binger's Vocabulary

French	English	Bambara
Ciel	sky, heaven	Ngalokoro, saro sanfou, sang- khoto
Diab ⁸⁵	devil	Koungnofé, djina
Dieu	god	N'yalla
Disciple (de Mahomet)	disciple (of Muhammed)	Mori dé
Enfer	hell	Tassouma lakhira
Fétiche (nom par lequel les Bambara désignent leur)	fetish (name by which the Bambara designate theirs)	Bouri, niama
Gris-gris (amulette en général)	gris-gris (amulet in general)	Boli, safé
Gris-gris (queue de cheval des Bambaras)	gris-gris (horse tail of the Bambaras)	Tourakou
Islamisme	Islam	Morilou
Mahométan	Muslim	Mori
Maître d'école musulmane	master of a Muslim school	Tierno, mori
Marabout	marabout	Mori, tierno

Table 45 (cont'd)

French	English	Bambara
Mecque (La)	Mecca (The)	Maka
Mosquée	mosque	Sali-yoro, mouciré
Musulman	Muslim	Moriké
Paradis	paradise	Diéné, ardiana
Prête musulman	Muslim priest	Mori
Prophète	prophet	Morinianiana, morigoumbo
Religieux	religious	Moriba (a bé)

4. **Peoples** – In the terms relating to "peoples", Binger specifies certain terms according to the "people" associated with them (e.g., "campement de Maures" vs. generic "campement"). Unlike Dard, Binger also includes terms for "Européen" and "Maure" (see Table 46).

Table 46 – Terms Relating to “Peoples” in Binger’s Vocabulary

French	English	Bambara
Campement	encampement	Ouééré, dakha
Campement de Maures	encampement of Maures	Soulakho-dakha
Danse (particulière aux Kassonkais)	dance (particular to the Khassonkes)	Signâlo
Elite	elite	Rotomo
Etranger	stranger, foreigner	Nabako, mouana
Européen	European	Touablié, toubabé, toubabou-lengo
Marchand	merchant	Diula
Maure	Maure	Soulanké, sourako
Ouvrier en bois (fabrique les pirogues, les écuellés et mortiers en bois, le Laobé des Toucouleurs et des Ouolofs)	woodworker (makes canoes, bowls and mortars in wood, the Laobé of the Toucouleurs and of the Wolofs)	Datougoula

5. **Military/administrative concerns** – Many of the Bambara terms included in the list below reflect the military and administrative concerns of the French (see Table 47).

Table 47 – Terms Related to Military/Administrative Concerns in Binger’s Vocabulary

French	English	Bambara
Capitale	capital	Famadougou, farbadougou
Cercle	circle	Kori
Contrée	country	Dougou
Fantassin ⁸⁶	infantry	Sofa, sinama, tôo
Guerrier	warrior	Sofa, kélékéla
Habitant	inhabitant	Ouloyoro
Habitation	habitation	Sigui-yoro
Ministre	minister	Gouada
Patrie	native land	Ouloyoro
Patriote	patriot	Dougouakhadinké
Pays	country	Dougou
Porteur	porter	Tanaéba
Syphillis	syphillis	Mporo
Trahison	treason	Dianfalé
Traitant	trade	Diula, féréré
Traître	traitor	Dianfaba, téguéré
Village	village	Bougou, dougou, galo, dounda si, sou
Ville	city	Dougouba, badougou, galodougou
Indépendant	independent	Foro (a kha)
Indigène	indigenous	Ouloyoro (a bé)
Moderne	modern	Kouta
Originaire	native	Ouloyoro (a bé)
Pacifique	pacific, peaceful	Magnima (a bé)

6.0 “What is Bambara?”

In raising the question “What is Bambara in Binger’s Essai sur la langue bambara?”, an image of an *historically* contextualized “people” emerges more clearly in Binger’s essay than in any of the earlier texts that I examined. Binger states that the Bambara belong to the “mandingue” race. He opposes the “mandingue” race to the “poul” race, noting that the former is more “indigenous”

to the region. Binger identifies the Bambara as a branch of this race, as well as the “most interesting” branch.

In his text, Binger traces the history of the “mandingue” race. He does point out the difficulty ascertaining Bambara history, as their language is unwritten (despite the fact that some write Bambara). First, the original “mandingue” empire (i.e., Mali) is pinpointed. This demonstrates that one can trace back “mandingue” rule and their association with a complex socio-political structure. Second, the “history” of the Bambara begins with their migration (i.e., they become differentiated from their “mandingue” cousins, they become Bambara).

In this history, the Bambara are portrayed as an aggressive, conquering people. They assume control over various areas from the “indigenous” peoples. They are also portrayed as a divided people as a result of the conflict between members of the ruling family. The factions become linked with geographic areas (i.e., Segou and Kaarta). Despite their divisions, they are still portrayed as one people, they all remain Bambara.

Binger’s history of the Bambara ends with the depiction of the Bambara as a defeated people (i.e., due to the actions of Umar Tal) and their degeneration into confederations located in villages. Thus the former “glory” of the Bambara and their identification with states and great cities is contrasted to their contemporary status.

The presentation of Bambara as a historical people is reinforced by Binger’s assertion that the language variety they speak is shared with their

“mandingue” cousins, but is different enough to be viewed separately. Therefore, the language variety that the Bambara speak is different enough from other “mandingue” language varieties to be considered a distinct “language”. In addition, Binger notes that the “Bambara language” varies in different geographic areas, in this case Kaarta and BéléDougou.

Binger states that the “knowledge” of Bambara is gained through informants. The quality of European “knowledge” about Bambara will improve as the “natives” understand French better. Thus, it is the informant’s “knowledge” of French that provides the key to better understanding of Bambara.

APPENDIX E – DESCRIPTION OF TAUTAIN'S "NOTES SUR LES TROIS LANGUES SONINKÉ, BANMANA, ET MALLINKÉ OU MANDINGKÉ"

Tautain's article "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et mallinké ou mandingké" was published in 1887 in the Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparées. Tautain states that the purpose of this article is to compare three "idiomes" – "soninké" (Soninke), "banmana" (Bambara), and "mallinké" or "mandingké" (Malinke). Tautain characterizes his comparison as "notes", rather than a "véritable grammaire". According to Tautain, the data used in this article was collected in 1880 and 1881 – the Bambara material from Segou and the Malinke material from Fouladougou.⁸⁷ Tautain does not state where the Soninke material was gathered, but later cites Faidherbe's article, "Notes grammaticales sur le langue sarakholé ou soninké" (1881), under his discussion of verbal expressions.

Tautain's text is the first scholarly article that Delafosse identifies in his list of Bambara sources. An examination of the larger-scale structures of this text illustrates the use of this new discourse type. Tautain's text is an article, or component of a larger body of texts, published together as one issue of a journal, in this case the Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée. While discussing specific issues or topics, each article is expected to address general concerns or interests of the subscribers to this journal. Thus, Tautain provides a comparative study of three language varieties spoken in West Africa, which would be of interest to an audience of scholars interested in the comparative study of linguistics and philology.

Tautain positions his text in two ways – as "notes" and as a "linguistic" study. Tautain makes two statements regarding his characterization of his study as "notes". First, he has not consulted any other authors. Second, he is only reporting facts that he collected himself. In positioning his study as a "linguistic" study, Tautain's article is divided into a number of sections addressing various "grammatical" categories – phonology; articles; substantives; qualitative adjectives; personal pronouns; possessive adjectives; demonstratives; interrogatives; relatives; verbal expressions; numeration; and adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. Despite the "linguistic" nature of this study, Tautain (1887:131) is quick to point out his lack of "linguistic" training, "Nous sommes trop peu versé dans l'étude de la linguistique pour savoir leur substituer des expressions ayant plus de précision scientifique."

Below, I describe certain points Tautain makes about Bambara, Malinke, and Soninke. First, Tautain uses more than one term to refer to Bambara. For example, he uses the term "bamana" in the title of the article and the term "le bambara" in the body of the article (1887:130). Tautain also gives alternate names for Malinke (e.g., "mallinké", "mandinké", and "le malinké") and Soninke (e.g., "le soninké" and "sarakhollé").

Second, Tautain uses the terms "idiome", "langue", and "dialecte" to refer to all three language varieties. Some examples of uses of these terms are listed below:

1. "langue" – "Notes sur les trois langues soninké, banmana, et mallinké ou mandinké" (article title)

2. "dialecte" – "les dialectes mandingké ou bamanas" (1887:131); "le *kha* arabe plus ou moins fréquent ou plus ou moins pur suivant les dialectes" (1887:130)
3. "idiome" – "Ces quelques notes ont été recueillies spécialement au point de vue de la comparaison des trois idiomes." (1887:130)

The difficulty in determining the relationship between these three language varieties may be reflected in Tautain's section on numeration where he presents both Malinke and Bambara terms for the numerals (1-10, 11, 12, 20, 30, 40, and 50) together, and those for Soninke separately (1887:141) (see Table 48).

Table 48 – Numeration in Tautain

English	"Soninké"	"Malinké et Bambara"
one	Bané	Kili
two	Fillo	Fala
three	Sikko	Saba
four	Nakhato	Nani
five	Karago	Loulou et doulou
six	Toumou	Ouoro et ouaro
seven	Niérou	Oulouŋga
eight	Ségou	Saghi ou seghi
nine	Kabou	Kononto
ten	Tammou	Tân
eleven	Tammou do bané	Tân ni kili
twelve	Tammou do fillo	Tân ni foula
twenty	Tāmpillé	Mouga
thirty	Tānd'iké	Mouga ni tân
forty	Tānnakhaté	Debé
fifty	Tānkaraghé	Débé ni tân

As seen in Table 48, Tautain lists two terms in "Malinké/Bambara" for the numbers "five", "six", and "eight". The first two are presented with the conjunction "and" (*et*), while the terms for "eight" are presented with the conjunction "or" (*ou*). It is unclear what Tautain means when presenting these alternatives.

Third, these three language varieties are contrasted to other language varieties (both African and non-African) as seen in the following examples:

1. Bambara, Malinke, and Soninke are contrasted with Wolof and Fulfulde, as the former utilize nasalized vowels.
2. Tautain compares Bambara, Malinke, and Soninke with Latin – "La relation entre deux substantifs qui, en latin, est marquée par le génitif." (1887:133). He gives an example in Bambara to illustrate this principle – *dūgū - tighi*, "chef de village" (village chief).

Fourth, Tautain describes features of his "linguistic" model, which are lacking in Bambara, Malinke, and Soninke. For example, he notes that the article is not found in these three language varieties. Tautain (1887:156) also states that, "Dans les trois langues on confond volontiers les pronoms de la deuxième et de la troisième personne du pluriel."

Fifth, in his section on verbal expressions, Tautain notes the lack of data available to sufficiently compare these three language varieties, "Nous ne citerons que les plus communes, les plus usitées, faute de pouvoir comparer suffisamment les trois langues à cause de l'inégalité de nos renseignements." Additionally, a lack of data may be indicated in Tautain's section on personal pronouns. Tautain does not provide the pronouns for third person plural in "Bambara", but does provide them for Soninke and Malinke.

Finally, Tautain classifies these three language varieties as "agglutinative" in his section on phonology.

"What is Bambara?"

Bambara is explicitly presented as a language variety in Tautain's article, but not as a people. Several points can be made about Tautain's characterization of Bambara as a language variety. First, the relationship between Bambara and

Soninke and Malinke is unclear. This can be seen in the varying use of the terms "dialecte", "langue", and "idiome", as well as in the presentation of Bambara and Malinke numeration together. Second, Bambara is presented as a language variety that is spoken in Segu. Third, as part of the "Bambara-Malinke-Soninke" group, Bambara differs from other African languages (i.e., Wolof and Fulfulde⁸⁸), as well as from Latin, in terms of certain linguistic features. Finally, Bambara is presented as an agglutinative language variety.

APPENDIX F – DESCRIPTION OF TOULOTTE'S ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE BAMBARA (IDIOME DE SEGOU)

The Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de segou) itself does not list Toulotte as the author of this text. Instead the title page states that a missionary of the Société des Pères Blancs wrote it. It is only through other references (e.g., Delafosse 1901) that this text is attributed to Toulotte. Joseph André & Co. published it in 1897 as part of the Librairie Africaine & Coloniale.

Toulotte's Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de segou) can be divided into three sections – the Bambara alphabet, remarks on the Bambara alphabet, and the Bambara grammar. The author himself does not make these sections explicitly clear (i.e., there is no table of contents or index) although he does use two section headings (i.e., “alphabet” and “remarques sur l’alphabet bambara”). This text is relatively short (61 pages) and does not include additional material seen in later Bambara language texts (e.g., preface, translation exercises).

1.0 “Alphabet”

The section entitled “alphabet” is divided into three parts – “consonnes simples”, “consonnes composées”, and “voyelles”. Toulotte simply lists the letters in both their capital and lowercase forms.

2.0 “Remarques sur l’alphabet bambara”

In the next section, Toulotte has a list of twelve points. The first seven points address: (1) how one should pronounce the Bambara letters in comparison to French; (2) the difficulty in pronouncing the “consonnes

composées” (which can only be learned through practice); and 3) the number of suppressions, additions, permutations and contractions of letters. The next five points relate to Bambara grammar and provide a segue into that section as Toulotte (1897:8) notes “Ces modifications suivent des lois qui répondent au génie de la langue et qu’il est aisé de reconnaître.”

3.0 “Grammaire bambara”

In this text, Toulotte discusses the following components of Bambara grammar:

- nom substantif
- adjectifs (qualificatif, comparatif, démonstratif, numéral, possessifs, interrogatifs, indéfinis)
- pronoms (possessif, conjonctifs ou relatifs, interrogatifs, indéfinis)
- verbe
- dérivation
- conjugaison (active, passive)
- verbe être
- verbes (neutres, qualificatifs)
- syntaxe
- adverbes (de lieu, de temps, de manière, de quantité, d’affirmation et de négation, d’interrogation, de quantité, superlatifs)
- prépositions
- conjuctions
- interjection

He uses Bambara terms and phrases to illustrate grammatical principles. For example in his discussion of possessive pronouns, Toulotte (1897:23) states:

Ils se rendent par le mot *ta*, propriété, possession.

n ta, le mien

ita, le tien

a ta, le sien

an ta, le nôtre

au ta, le vôtre

u ta, le leur.

nin ulu itawa? oo n ta do. Ce chien est à vous? Oui, c'est le mien.

Toulotte weaves in comments about the Bambara language, the Bambara people, and cultural practices in this part of Africa throughout his essay. Several comments and examples reflect the anti-slavery stance of the White Fathers:

- Dans les affaires, l'unité est la pièce d'étoffe, la barre de sel, regrettablement encore la tête d'esclave et aussi notre monnaie d'argent. (1897:16)
- *Ntumbé tigifé, nka don dama, ka voir dâma* 'j'avais un maître, je lui ai donné des esclaves, je lui ai donné de l'argent' (1897:60)

Other comments and examples illustrate Toulotte's role as a missionary:

- Gala b'e dé misenu fé minu soon ka djé 'Dieu aime les enfants dont le coeur est pur.' (1897:24)
- gâla bé 'dieu est' (1897:43)

In addition to identifying the particular variety of Bambara captured in this grammar (idiome de ségou), the production of Toulotte's essay can also be positioned geographically through other references to locations in the Sudan:

- Dou ta sigiri dou ta Bamako 'Les uns vont à Sigiri, les autres à Bamako (1897:21)

Finally, Toulotte identifies the Bambara as a people with a hierarchical social system:

- A té bambara yé 'il n'est pas bambara' (1897:40)
- Fama djon a ka tja ka témé a dua ta kan 'le roi a plus d'esclaves que son frère' (1897:13)
- Notre monnaie de cuivre commence aussi à s'introduire parmi les Bambara. (1897:17)

4.0 “What is Bambara?”

Although Toulotte does not explicitly define the Bambara people or the Bambara language, he is clearly focusing on one variety of the Bambara language (that of Segou) that is spoken by the Bambara people. This people and their language can be pinpointed geographically (e.g., Segou) and is related to other geographic locations (e.g., Bamako and Sigiri). He does not, however, indicate if other peoples use this language variety or if it is related to other language varieties.

APPENDIX G – DESCRIPTION OF DELAFOSSE'S ESSAI DE MANUEL PRATIQUE DE LA LANGUE MANDÉ OU MANDINGUE

Delafosse's Essai de Manuel Pratique de la Langue Mandé ou Mandingue (1901) is comprised of six parts – an "avertissement", an "étude grammaticale du dialecte dyoula", a "vocabulaire français-dyoula", a "dyoula" text entitled "histoire de Samori", an "essai d'étude comparées des principaux dialectes mandés", and a map showing the "pays de langue mandé".

1.0 "Avertissement"

In his "avertissement", Delafosse indicates that this text is not intended to be a "scientific" work on the "langue mandé" as this has already been accomplished by Steinthal (1867) in German and by Rambaud (1896) in French. Instead, the purpose of this text is indicated by its title, "essai de manuel pratique", and it is designed "mettre entre les mains de tous un instrument leur permettant d'étudier promptment et facilement le mandé, qui est par excellence la langue usuelle dans nos colonies de l'Afrique occidentale" (Delafosse 1901:1). Delafosse asks for the "indulgence" of linguists concerning the errors in this "essai". He states that the study of an "unwritten" language is very difficult and "exige une délicatesse d'oreille et une constance d'application qui peuvent par moments faire défaut" (Delafosse 1901:2).

Delafosse indicates that if the reader knows one of the principal "dialectes mandé" – "malinké", "dyoula", and "bamana" – then s/he can easily learn another. Therefore, he has chosen to concentrate the majority of this volume on

only one of these "dialectes" (i.e., "dyoula"). The final part of this text, "permettra, en prenant comme base le dialecte précédemment étudié, de se rendre compte des différences qui existent entre les principaux dialectes, et facilitera l'étude de celui ou de ceux d'entre eux qu'on pourrait avoir besoin de connaître" (Delafosse 1901:1).

In order to allow the reader to engage in a "practical" study of this language, Delafosse has included a "dyoula" text. Delafosse argues that the inclusion of this text allows for a less "insipid" means of committing to memory the most common vocabulary.

Delafosse claims that "malinké" is the most widespread "dialecte mandé", but he has chosen to focus on "dyoula" in this text because it is the only one of the major "dialectes mandés" that has not yet been studied. Delafosse emphasizes the lack of information on "dyoula" by stating that "on n'ait pas encore publié même un vocabulaire" (1901:2). In addition, Delafosse's experience among "the Dyoula" of Dyamala and Djimini allowed him to gain "une connaissance assez approfondie" of "dyoula". Therefore, he chose to use it, rather than "malinké" or "bamana", as the base of his study.

2.0 "Etude grammaticale du dialecte dyoula"

Delafosse begins his "grammatical" study of the "dialecte dyoula" by contextualizing "the Dyoula" and "their dialect" through a discussion of their origin, habitat, and the principal families of the "tribu mandé des Dyoula".

Delafosse first notes that it is difficult to account for the origins of the "Dyoula",

but that through marriage between Mande colonists and women of "indigenous tribes" (Bobo, Kparhala, Agni, and Sénoufo) the "Dyoula tribe" was born.

Delafosse (1901:4) contrasts the "indigenous tribes" and Dyoula of "pure race" in terms of intelligence, abilities, religion and language:

d'une intelligence bien supérieure en général à celle des peuplades autochtones, d'un esprit plus ouvert et plus cultivé aussi par suite de leur conversion à l'islam, les Dyoula ont acquis, par des moyens d'ailleurs tout pacifiques, la prépondérance politique: leur langue s'est répandue parmi les indigènes de toute la région et est devenue pour ainsi dire la langue officielle des chefs et des notables, en même temps qu'elle devenait la langue diplomatique et commerciale dont usent entre elles les diverses tribus sur lesquelles les Dyoula exercent une sorte de protectorat moral.

In addition to the "superiority of the "Dyoula" people, Delafosse notes that the relative simplicity of the grammar and pronunciation of the "Dyoula" language accounts for its widespread usage.

Delafosse mentions Bambara in his description of "Dyoula". He indicates that one should not call the Mandé of the Kong region by the name Bambara. Instead, this term is used to refer to the indigenous non-Dyous, principally the Sénoufo and that "Ce serait faire injure à un Dyous que de lui dire qu'il est Bambara." (Delafosse 1901:6).

The remainder of Delafosse's "etude grammaticale" is devoted to a description of "Dyous" grammar. Delafosse discusses the following subjects:

- le substantif;
- les nombres;
- les adjectifs qualificatifs;
- les adjectifs et pronoms déterminatifs et personnels;
- le verbe "être" et le verbe "avoir";
- la conjugaison, syntaxe des verbes;
- les particules, salutations et formules de politesse; and
- permutations de lettres, élisions et contractions.

3.0 “Vocabulaire français-dyula”

Delafosse states that because he discussed adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and particulates in the preceding “étude grammaticale”, he only includes substantives and verbs in this French-Dyula vocabulary. Delafosse prefaces these vocabularies with the following caveats: (1) if more than one French term with the same or similar meaning has only one Dyula equivalent, only the most commonly used French term is included; (2) if a French term has more than one Dyula translation, these Dyula terms are listed in order of frequency, with the most commonly used term listed first; and (3) Dyula words borrowed from Arabic, French, and Agni are indicated as such.

Delafosse has divided this vocabulary into twenty-four smaller vocabularies of substantives. These vocabularies are grouped in terms of the subjects listed below. The number of French entries for each subject is listed in parentheses.

- le corps humain et les substances animales (106)
- la faune (93)
- la flore et les substances végétales (111)
- les minéraux (31)
- la terre, l'eau, le feu (60)
- le ciel et l'atmosphère (35)
- les rapports des choses et les points cardinaux (56)
- l'humanité, la société (41)
- la famille (43)
- les professions (37)
- le village (34)
- la maison (41)
- les instruments et les outils (95)
- les armes, la guerre, la chasse et la pêche (47)
- le vêtement, la toilette et la parure (71)
- l'alimentation (27)
- la musique, la danse, les jeux (32)

- la médecine, les maladies (54)
- la religion, la superstition, l'écriture (105, including 23 names of principal prophets and saints of Islam)
- les noms de peuples, de pays, de villes, de fleuves, etc. (89)
- noms abstraits (47)
- monnaies et mesures (includes a description of the three types of "monnaies" used by the Dyoula – cowries, French silver, and gold powder)
- division du temps (56)
- prénoms et noms de famille (includes a description of Dyoula naming practices and common first and family names)

In addition, Delafosse lists over 1,000 verbs alphabetically in a separate vocabulary. These are not divided up according to subject matter. Delafosse indicates "la place des régimes et le mécanisme des propositions" for each verb.

4.0 "Histoire de samori"

In order to provide the reader with a specimen of "Dyoula", Delafosse has included "Alimama Samori Ko-Ma" or "Histoire de l'imam Samroi". In his description of this text, Delafosse states that Amadou Kouroubari (a Dyoula from Dabakala in Kjimini/Guimini) dictated the text to him in 1899-1900 at the post of Kofikro in Côte d'Ivoire. According to Delafosse (1901:145), Amadou Kouroubari only witnessed a portion of the events that he recounts. However, he was able to obtain the rest of the information from his compatriots who traveled into the Buckle of the Niger and therefore "connaître d'une façon précise beaucoup de faits qui pourtant se sont déroulés très loin de son pays." Delafosse (1901:145-146) notes that Amadou Kouroubari's account agrees for the most part with those of Péroz, Binger, and other official reports, although "tant pour le

succession chronologique des événements que pour le détail des faits.”

Delafosse transcribed this text as it was dictated to him with certain modifications: (1) division into twelve chapters in order to facilitate research and group facts from the same period together; (2) removal of several repetitions of no consequence; and (3) the addition of footnotes indicating the dates corresponding to principal events and several historical or geographic details which clarify the text. At the end, Delafosse also includes a vocabulary of words used in the text. This vocabulary does not include “deformed” French words, proper names, or titles.

Delafosse (1901:145) describes the language variety used in this text:

Le dialecte mandé dont ce texte donne un échantillon est donc le dialecte dyoula tel qu’il est parlé couramment dans le Guimini et la région du Kong. Ce dialecte diffère très peu d’ailleurs des autres dialectes principaux de la langue mandé, notamment du malinké et du bamana (ou bambara du Haut-Sénégal et de Ségou).

He states the Mandé is impoverished in terms of conjunctions. In addition, one has to pay close attention to punctuation, “faute de quoi on s’exposerait souvent à des erreurs d’interprétation assez graves” (Delafosse 1901:146).

5.0 “Essai d’étude comparées des principaux dialectes mandés”

The final section of this text is comprised of an “avertissement” and ten chapters that compare the principal mandé dialects. In his “avertissement” to the fourth section of his text – the “Essai d’étude comparées des principaux dialectes mandés” – Delafosse (1901:213) indicates how he obtained the information used to construct this comparative study:

Tous les renseignements utilisés pour cette étude, en ce qui concerne les dialectes dyoula, malinké, bamana, khassonké, vaï, soninké et mouin, on été récoltés directement par moi-même auprès d'indigènes: j'ai étudié le dyoula et le vaï dans des contrées où chacun de ces dialectes est parlé couramment, le vaï à Monrovia, le dyoula dans le village de Kofidougou, créé dans le Baoulé par des Dyoula du Dyamala et du Djimini. Pour les dialectes que je n'ai pu étudier dans le pays même où ils se parlent, je me suis adressé toujours à des indigènes originaires de ce pays et jamais à des étrangers ni à des interprètes: c'est à dire que j'ai étudié le malinké avec des Malinké, le bamana avec des Bamana, etc. Il m'a semblé qu'ainsi je supprimais le plus grand nombre de chances d'erreur possible.

Delafosse also collected vocabularies for the “dialectes maninaka, ouassoulaunké, loma et kpêlé (ou gbéressé)”, as well as a vocabulary of “kouéni”. Unfortunately all of these vocabularies were destroyed during a fire in 1899 at the post of Toumodi. Therefore, he has not included the “dialectes manianka et kouéni” in this text as no other “serious” document had been published. For the other language varieties, Delafosse was able to use Péroz’s vocabulary of “ouassoulonké” and Koelle’s work on “loma” and “kpêlé”. Finally, Delafosse relied upon the “excellent dictionary” produced by the Pères du Saint-Esprit for his source of “malinké”, only including a few of his own comparisons from the “dialecte du Dinguiray”.

After this “avertissement”, Delafosse presents an “aperçu général sur la langue mandé.” First he contextualizes the term “mandé” by presenting a brief history beginning with an “indigenous empire” in West Africa, called the “royaume de *Melli* ou *Mal*” by the Arabs, dating from the 13th to 15th century. At the end of the 15th century, a struggle between the “race jusque-là maîtresse”

(with its capital in Mali) and the “race jusque-là vassale des Songhaï” (principal city at Gao) resulted in the dismemberment of the Mali empire.

Delafosse (1901:215-216) notes that:

C'est au démembrement de cet empire que doivent leur origine les différentes tribus que nous groupons sous le nom générique de *Mandé* ou *Mandingues*, nom qui dérive lui-même de celui de *Mali*, leur ancienne capitale commune.

According to Delafosse, dialectical differences of “diverses tribus” account for the different pronunciations of “Mali” (e.g., *Mali*, *Mani*, *Mandé*) and the names of the “gens de Mali” (e.g., *Maliñke*, *Mandiñke*). In addition, Delafosse states that the “diverse Mande tribes” themselves do not have a common term to designate “the ensemble of their race.” Therefore, Delafosse (1901:216) indicates that:

c'est avec raison que les Européens ont généralisé cette dénomination de *Mandé* ou *Mandingues* en l'appliquant à toute la race, car elle convient tout aussi bien aux *Bāmana* et aux *Gyūla* qu'aux *Manēñka* et aux *Maniāka*, tous étant au même titre les représentants de la nation qui autrefois dominait à Mali.

After discussing the term “mandé”, Delafosse turns to the spread and importance of the langue mandé”. He notes that this language variety is spoken throughout a vast area in West Africa, but that the Mandé are not the only people in this area. In particular, he identifies the Toucouleurs and other “autochthonous” peoples. The latter are almost all being assimilated into the “sein de la grande famille mandé.” Delafosse make special note of “foulan” (the language of the Toucouleurs and the Peuhls) as having a certain importance in this area. But, he states that (Delafosse 1901:217):

cette importance est-elle de beaucoup dépassée par celle du mandé: le foulan en effet, sauf peut-être dans le Fouta-Diallon et certains pays soninké, n'est parlé et compris que par les seuls

Toucouleurs et Peuhls, tandis que le mandé est la langue usuelle que comprennent et parlent toutes les peuplades de la région et les Toucouleurs eux-mêmes lorsqu'ils ont à converser avec des étrangers.

According to Delafosse, the importance of the “langue mandé” can be attributed to the enterprising nature of the Mandé; the military qualities of the Bamana, Malinké and Ouassoulouké tribes; and the commercial aptitudes of the Soninké, Dyoula, Vaï and Sosso tribes.

Next Delafosse outlines the general characteristics of the “langue mandé” noting that it: (1) uses juxtaposition and affixes to create compound words; (2) uses particles to indicate differences in number, time, mode etc. (with the exception of the Soninké dialect); and (3) is asexual.

Finally, Delafosse separates the Mandé dialects into two “grandes familles ou groupes” – the “groupe de *tan*” and the “groupe de *fou*”. In the former, the term for “ten” is *tã*, while in the latter, the term is *fu* or *pu*. This classification, Delafosse claims, has the merit of being simple and rational. Table 49 lists the nine “principal” dialects of the “groupe de *tan*” in order of importance. Delafosse notes that soninké presents the most differences from the other eight dialects. The differences between the remaining eight dialects are few, and “le bamana, le malinké, le ouassoulouké et le dyoula en particulier sont tellement voisins qu'un Bamana et un Dyoula par exemple, parlant chacun son dialecte, se comprennent sans difficulté” (Delafosse 1901:219). In addition to listing the nine principal dialects, Delafosse identifies three “grands sous-dialectes” of malinké. The other dialects also have “sous-dialectes”, but these differences are less perceptible.

Table 49 – Principal Dialects of the “Groupe de Tan”

malinké (three “sous-dialectes” – ouest, nord, sud) bamana/bambara dyoula soninké/sarakolé manianka ouassoulouké sidianka vaï and ligbi khassonké

Table 50 lists the eleven principal dialects of the “groupe de *fou*” in order of importance, as well as the region where they are spoken in parentheses. Delafosse states that the linguistic data available at the time he wrote this text were limited (with the exception of sosso and mende). Therefore, additional dialects may be added to this list. Delafosse (1901:220) notes that certain language varieties spoken along the coast could be added to this group, but that “si le voisinage des Mandé a pu influencer sur ces langues côtières, il semble bien, d’autre part, qu’elle appartiennent originairement à une famille différente.”

Table 50 – Principal Dialects of the “Groupe de *Fou*” and Region

sosso (Guinée française) diallonké (Fouta-Diallon) kouéni/lo/gouro (Côte d’Ivoire) kpêlé/gbéressé (Liberia) guio or “dialecte des Dioula anthropophages” (Côte d’Ivoire) mendé/kosso (Sierra-Leone) loma/toma (Liberia) loko/landorho (Sierra Leone) manon (haut Cavally) oueïma (haut Saint-Paul and haut Sassandra) mouin/mona (haut Bandama)

Chapters 2 through 8 give specifics on the dialects of the “groupe de tan” (malinké, ouassoulouké, bamana, khassonké, vaï (with notes on ligbi), sidianka and manianka, and soninké/sarakolé). In most of these chapters, Delafosse covers:

- numeration;
- parties du corps;
- noms d’hommes;
- noms d’animaux ;
- noms divers;
- suffixes servant a la composition des substantives;
- pronoms;
- verbes;
- conjugaison; and
- prononciation.

In addition he provides other information about the dialect and its speakers. For example in his chapter on malinké, Delafosse (1901:222) states that:

ce dialecte soit le plus ancien et le plus pur parmi tous les dialectes mandé. On en peut donner comme preuve que les noirs qui le parlent ont seuls (avec les Manianka toutefois) conservé le nom de Mali ou Mani, qui paraît avoir été à l’origine le nom de toute la nation mandé ou tout au moins du pays qu’elle occupait au moment de son apogée politique et guerrière.

Delafosse begins his chapter on the “dialecte bamana” by discussing the term “bamana”:

Le bamana, ou plus exactement le *Bāmana ko-ma* (langue des Ban-mana ou Bamana), est parlé par l’ensemble des populations mandé qui se donnent à elles-mêmes le nom de *Bāmana-ñke* et qui sont appelées en général Bambara par les peuplades voisines (Toucouleurs et Sarakolé). C’est cette appellation étrangère de Bambara qui a prévalu parmi nous, bien qu’elle soit défectueuse à plus d’un titre, en particulier à cause des confusions qu’elle amène dans la désignation des tribus Sénoufo et Mandé qui vivent côte à côte dans la Boucle du Niger: à cause de leur analogie avec les Bamana, on désigne souvent les Mandé de la Boucle, qui sont des Dyoula, par le nom de Bambara, alors qu’eux-mêmes réservent ce nom aux populations *non mandé* qui les entourent, et plus

spécialement aux Sénoufo. Pour éviter cette confusion, j'ai adopté l'appellation de Bamana pour désigner les Mandé du haut Sénégal et du pays de Ségou et leur langue.

In this passage, Delafosse clearly indicates that the “dialecte bamana” is spoken by a people who give themselves the name “Bāmana-ñke” and are called the “Bambara” by neighboring peoples. Despite the common usage of the term “Bambara” by Europeans for this group, Delafosse has chosen to adopt the term “Bamana” to refer to both the Mandé of a specific geographic area (haut Sénégal and the “pays de Ségou) and their language.

Delafosse then goes on to identify in detail where “bamana” is spoken (noting that there are “différences locales peu sensibles” among these varieties): Kaarta, BéléDougou, Kalari, Mourdiadougou, Kouroumadougou, along the north shore of the upper Sénégal from Médine to Badoumbé, and along the Niger from Bamako to the region of the Débo lake. He also indicates that there are “colonies bamana” in Malinké country, Toucouleur and Songhaï country, and in Sarakolé country.

Delafosse continues to identify what makes the Bamana people different from other Mandé peoples:

- 1. The Bamana are differentiated from other “mandé tribes” by three vertical scars on each cheek.**
- 2. Due to the civil wars between Bamana families and with other peoples, the Bamana have spread to a number of other areas. Finding themselves in the midst of strangers had been one of the reasons for the propagation of their dialect.**
- 3. The Bamana are only partially Muslim. Islam was introduced to them relatively recently. It is due to their resistance to Islam that the term “Bambara” means “pagan” among the Mandé. Delafosse (1901:238) notes that it is for this reason that the term “Bambara”**

has been given to the group of Sénoufo “tribu de race bien différente, mais qui sont également tatoués et sont en majorité païens.”

Delafosse includes Dyoula in his presentation of Bamana numération, parties du corps, noms d'hommes, noms d'animaux, noms divers, suffixes servant a la composition des substantifs, pronoms, verbes, conjugaison, and prononciation. For the most part Delafosse does not include Malinké terms, as they were presented in the preceding chapter and he does not wish to be repetitious.

In his presentation of “bamana conjugaison”, Delafosse compares his presentation with that in Montel's Eléments de la grammaire bambara (1887) and Toulotte's Essai de grammaire bambara (1897):

On trouvera quelques différences, et on remarquera que je donne au verbe bamana beaucoup moins de temps qu'il ne s'en trouve dans les deux ouvrages précités. Cependant je suis à peu près certain de l'exactitude des formes que je donne ce-dessus, et quant aux temps supplémentaires indiqués par le Père Montel et par Mgr Toulotte, je doute, sans rien affirmer, qu'ils soient d'un usage courant parmi les indigènes.

After presenting the principal dialects of the “groupe de tan”, Delafosse has only one chapter covering the “groupe de fou”. Delafosse indicates that the speakers of these dialects are not “pure” Mandé, but nonetheless they belong to the same “rameau linguistique” as the “grandes tribus mandé du groupe de tan.” Delafosse goes on to briefly describe each of the “tribes” who speak these dialects and give a short comparative vocabulary.

The final chapter in this section consists of a bibliography that lists all the works or publications that appeared prior to 1901 for each of the Mande dialects.

6.0 Map

A map entitled “Esquisse des pays de langue Mandé” is the final part of Delafosse’s Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mandé ou mandingue. In this map, Delafosse outlines in blue the areas where the language varieties of the “groupe de tan” are spoken by all or the majority of inhabitants. He also underlines in blue the names of “villes” or “pays” where “mandé” is spoken by a notable portion of the inhabitants. In red, Delafosse outlines the areas where the language varieties of the “groupe de fou” are spoken.

7.0 “What is Bambara?”

In his construction of a characterization of Bambara as a people and language variety, Delafosse draws upon his own experience with Bambara informants (located outside of areas where the Bambara language variety is commonly spoken) and other Mande peoples, as well as the texts concerning Mande language varieties cited in his bibliography. In addition, he also draws upon other discourses with Europeans involved in the colonial enterprise (e.g., conversations with colonial officials, letters to friends and colleagues). He provides a historical context and geographic location of Bambara and its speakers. In doing so, Delafosse builds upon Binger’s classification of Bambara and delimits clear genetic relationships between the Mande language varieties and their speakers in time and space.

APPENDIX H – DESCRIPTION OF BAZIN'S DICTIONNAIRE BAMBARA-FRANÇAIS

H. Bazin's dictionary is a compilation of the work of many missionaries throughout the former French Sudan. While other Bambara texts included vocabularies and word lists, this was the first Bambara-French dictionary produced. It was not intended to be a grammar or “manual” (although it contains grammatical information). H. Bazin's Dictionnaire Bambara-Français (1906a) is divided into five sections – an “introduction”, an “avertissement”, an “abrégé de grammaire bambara”, a Bambara-French dictionary, and a Bambara text. I describe each of these sections below.

1.0 “Introduction”

H. Bazin divides his “introduction” into two parts – “le peuple bambara” and “la langue bambara”. In the “introduction”, H. Bazin includes Bambara terms (indicated in italics) with definitions and explanations (e.g., “*sokala* ou agglomérations distinctes” (H. Bazin 1906a:x)), names of geographic locations (e.g., Kaarta), French translations of Bambara expressions (e.g., “Au besoin ils savent tromper et jouer de ruse, ou selon leur expressions, *mettre le doigt dans l'oeil des autres*.” (H. Bazin 1906a:viii)), and names of African peoples (e.g., “Minianka (tribu Sénoufo)” (H. Bazin 1906a:viii)).

In his discussion of “le peuple bambara”, H. Bazin positions the “Bambara” in relation to other African peoples (in terms of physical type, culture, and language), locates them geographically, and describes their “character” and cultural practices:

1. H. Bazin begins by stating that, "Le peuple dont la langue est l'objet de ce travail est un des plus connus de l'Afrique occidentale française" (1906a:vii). He notes that the "Bambara" form the most "considerable" group of the "intéressante race Mandé" and that one can find representatives of the Mande "race" in Guinée, Sénégal, Côte d'Ivoire and Soudan français.
2. H. Bazin next addresses the issue of the term used for the "Bambara peuple". According to H. Bazin, the "brothers" of the "Bambara" (i.e., "Malinké, Wasoulonké, Marka, Dioula etc."), as well as Europeans, call them "Bambara", but they call themselves "Bamana" or "Bamananké". In a footnote, H. Bazin indicates that both "Bamana" and "Bamananké" mean "homme du caïman". He compares this translation to that "Malinké" or "Maninka" ("homme de l'hippopotame").
3. H. Bazin pinpoints the "Bambara people" geographically:
 - a. north of Cercle de Kita and south of Cercle de Nioro (i.e., "le Karta")
 - b. majority of the Cercle de Bamako, especially in the two Bélédougous
 - c. all of the Cercle de Ségou
 - d. majority of the population of the Cercle de Sokolo
 - e. important colonies along the Bani and the two shores of the Banifing (area of San, Koutiala, and Sikasso)
 - f. in the north on the Niger from Sompi to Timbuktu
 - g. in the east among the "Minianka (tribu Sénoufo)" and the Bobos
4. After locating the "Bambara" geographically, H. Bazin (1906a:viii) describes the relation of the Bambara to the French:

Enfin, depuis l'occupation française, on rencontre ces Auvergnats soudanais, comme on les a nommés, répandus, individuellement ou par petits groupes, dans toute l'Afrique occidentale. Après avoir opposé une résistance acharnée à notre occupation, ils en sont devenus, comme ouvriers, manoeuvres, domestiques et surtout comme soldats, les auxiliaires les plus empressés et les plus dévoués, et

aujourd'hui, dans les ateliers comme dans les garrisons du Soudan, on parle le bambara ou bamanka.

5. In the next section, H. Bazin provides a physical description and a character assessment of the "Bambara".
 - a. He notes that the "Bambara" are "nègres, not "métis" (like the Marka, the Wasoulonké and the Tukolor). But, despite the fact that they are "nègres", their skin color is not uniform, nor is it very dark.
 - b. H. Bazin claims that the "Bambara" are very large and strong "in general".
 - c. H. Bazin describes the "Bambara" as not very intelligent, but having the practical sense of "our European villagers".
 - d. In terms of their character, H. Bazin claims that the "Bambara" are deceitful when necessary, very hospitable, and "peu expansifs, surtout à l'égard des Européens". But, that when "ils sont entraînés et bien conduits, ils ne manquent pas de courage et d'endurance" (1906a:viii).
 - e. H. Bazin concludes this section by discussing the relation of the "Bambara" to Muslims. He states that (1906a:ix):

Vivant depuis plusieurs siècles en relation avec des musulmans plus civilisés, les Bambara, quoique restés fétichistes, pour la plupart, on cependant emprunté à ces demi-civilisés l'usage de se vêtir.

He also notes that many of those who live among the Muslims have abandoned tattooing, while the villagers "conservent encore l'usage barbare des cicatrices au fer rouge" (1906a:x).
6. H. Bazin (1906a:x) describes the housing of the "Bambara" by comparing them to other Mande peoples:

Les *Bambara*, comme tous les *Mandé*, vivent réunis en villages, et non dispersés par familles au milieu de leurs champs, comme les Mossi.

Sauf dans le voisinage des peuplades qui ont l'usage des pailottes coiffées d'un toit conique, comme les Malinké, les

cases bambara ont la forme rectangulaire et se terminent par une terrasse.

- 7. H. Bazin (1906a:xi) discusses the economic practices by contrasting them as “fetishists” to Muslims:**

Les Bambara, comme tous les fétichistes, sont cultivateurs; ils laissent aux musulmans le monopole du colportage et se réservent les travaux agricoles, dans les quels du reste ils sont assez entendus.

- 8. The next facet of the “Bambara” people that H. Bazin addresses is their social organization.**

- a. H. Bazin (1906a:xiii) notes that:**

Les Bambara ont eu autrefois une certaine organisation sociale, mais il semble bien que la cohésion, sans la quelle il n’y a pas de nation proprement dite, leur ait toujours fait défaut. L’ascendant personnel faisait toute l’autorité du chef; lui seul déterminait la mesure de soumission de ses subordonnés.

- b. H. Bazin comments on the kings of Segu, noting that some princes rose to power through palace revolutions or were “upstarts” (i.e., they obtained power through intrigue or violence) and that many were only former slaves.**
- c. After discussing the historical rulers of Segu, H. Bazin discusses contemporary social organization under French administration. He states that only the authority of chiefs is recognized and that notables assist them. These chiefs utilize customary law. H. Bazin (1906a:xiv) argues that “Les Bambara ont un respect religieux pour leur coutumes et leur traditions.”**
- d. H. Bazin discusses various “social classes” among the Bambara, such as the noble class of warriors (*Tontigi*), the commoners (*Nyamakala*), and slaves. H. Bazin describes how only certain groups perform certain activities. He gives the example of fishing which is reserved for the Muslim “Sonono qui appartiennent peut-être à une autre race que les Bambara et qui, en tout cas, bien que parlant la même langue, vivent complètement séparés d’eux.” (H. Bazin 1906a:xv).**

9. H. Bazin concludes his discussion of “le peuple Bambara” by addressing their religious beliefs.
 - a. Although “fetishists”, H. Bazin notes that they have an idea of “God the creator” and an immortal soul.
 - b. H. Bazin (1906a:xvi) provides evidence of the “fetishist” nature of the “Bambara”, making such statements as:

La polygamie, le divorce, l’esclavage et l’engagement des enfants comme garantie d’une dette, sont fort en honneur chez les Bambara. Aussi peut-on dire que la famille n’existe parmi eux qu’à l’état rudimentaire; la femme n’y a pour ainsi dire aucun droit; jeune fille, ses parents disposent d’elle comme ils l’entendent; mariée, elle est dans la dépendance absolue de son maître et seigneur.
 - c. He contrasts their “fetishist” nature with that of their Muslim neighbors. He also remarks on the adoption of certain Muslim customs by the “Bambara”.

After describing “le peuple bambara”, H. Bazin turns to “la langue bambara”. The first thing H. Bazin does in his discussion of “la langue bambara” is to position “Bambara” relative to other “langues mandé” (1906a:xviii):

Le *bamananka* ou idiome bambara se rattache très nettement à ce groupe de langues soudanaises connues sous le nom de langues *mandé*. Ce dialecte est donc de la même famille que les idiomes des Malinkés, des Dioulas, des Soussou, des Khassonké et même des Marka ou Soninké, quoique le dialecte *Marka* diffère sensiblement des autres sous le rapport du vocabulaire. De tous ces dialectes, celui des Bambara est le plus avancé, celui qui s’écarte le plus du langage primitif. Il est surtout caractérisé par son extrême concision et la déformation qu’il fait subir aux mots, en les soumettant à des contractions excessives.

H. Bazin does not classify “langues soudanaises” as part of the “famille des langues *bantou*”.⁸⁹ Bantu languages are characterized, according to H. Bazin, by the division of nouns into classes marked by the use of prefixes. In contrast,

H. Bazin claims that the “langues du Soudan Occidental” are less “complicated” in terms of morphology. He notes that, “L’agglutination y est moins avancée; dans plusieurs idiomes, on dirait qu’elle est à ses débuts; la plupart des radicaux sont encore monosyllabiques” (H. Bazin 1906a:xviii). H. Bazin states that this situation is characteristic of “dialectes mandé”.

After stressing that Bambara is not a Bantu language, H. Bazin describes what is characteristic of Bambara:

1. Nouns are not distinguished from verbs or adverbs in terms of “forme”. In other words, the same term can be used as a noun, verb, or adverb without internal modification.
2. There is no differentiation in endings, which indicate if a word is a subject or object; and if a verb is in the present or past tense, or active or passive.
3. There is no declension or conjugation, or any initial or final inflection (such as is found among the Sénoufo, the Mossi, the Bobo, and the Gourounsi). Therefore, one must draw on the context of each word and the accompanying words, in particular the auxiliary particles.
4. Bambara does make a distinction between sexes (i.e., through the affixation of the Bambara terms for “male” and “female” to the radical) and marks the plural (i.e., through the affix “ou” or “lou” to the end of the word). Bambara, however, does not make the distinction between sex and number, except when the context is insufficient to indicate sex or number.
5. Person, time, mode and voice are not distinguished among verbs (i.e., the radical remains unchanged). Person is indicated through personal pronouns, time and mode through particles placed before or after the radical. Except for the past tense, active voice is distinguished only by the absence of a direct complement.
6. Derived or compound words are formed by joining two terms or by adding auxiliary particles to a nominal or verbal radical.
7. The construction of propositions (relative or interrogative) is “equally very simple.”

H. Bazin notes that the uniformity and “monotony of style” of their language does not prevent *the* Bambara from being eloquent. Their eloquence, however, comes from action, gesture, tone of voice, mimicry, and the use of onomatopoeia and certain particles (e.g., *dé*, *kouy*, *ké*).

In the second part of his discussion of the “Bambara language”, H. Bazin (1906a:xx-xxiii) challenges the belief that the Bambara, like other Negroes, are incapable of abstraction.⁹⁰ H. Bazin argues that any concrete noun can be rendered abstract.⁹¹ In addition, he notes that the Bambara are able to express easily and in an intelligible manner ideas about beliefs, hope, morals and religion. H. Bazin (1906a:xx-xxi) does note that despite their ability to think abstractly, one must often utilize notions that are more familiar to the Bambara:

Il ne faudrait pas sans doute demander au premier venu d'analyser d'une manière philosophique ces idées de sens commun; pour les leur faire bien comprendre, il est nécessaire souvent d'avoir recours à celles qui leur sont plus familières. Mais il y a chez eux, comme chez tous les enfants d'Adam, la faculté d'abstraire et de généraliser, et chez quelques-uns elle est assez développée.

In the final part of his discussion of the “Bambara language”, H. Bazin describes writing. He indicates that the Bambara only know Arabic characters and that they identify them as “l'écriture des Noirs.” Despite their characterization of Arabic characters, H. Bazin contends that only those few who attended Koranic schools know how to read and write using these characters. Therefore, the extent to which a form or writing can be called that of the “Noirs” is correlated with the number of people who know how to use it.

H. Bazin (1906:xxiii) states that, “Il n'y'a chez eux aucun signe conventionnel pour représenter les mots ou les nombres. Ils n'ont donc aucune

littérature proprement dite.” As a result the oral tradition of the griots only contains principal facts about the kings for the last two centuries. Everything else is “legend” (i.e., all the Bambara know is that their ancestors came from the east).

In contrast to their sparse oral history, H. Bazin states that they have many fables, stories, and legends that are told by griots and storytellers. He indicates that many of these are often “obscene”, but does not define what he means by this characterization. H. Bazin points the reader to an example of a fable at the end of the dictionary.

The last point H. Bazin makes in this section is that there are differences in the pronunciation of Bambara. These differences are correlated with the diversity of areas in which it is spoken (H. Bazin 1906:xxiv):

Il est évident qu’au Kaarta, dans le voisinage des Malinkés et des Khassonkés, on ne parle pas comme dans les villages du Guénikéka, dans le cercle de Ségou, ou comme les Marka Dyala du cercles de *San* et de *Koury*, dont l’idiome tient à fois du bambara et du malinké. Le patois des gens du Bani, ou des vieux Bambara de la brousse, diffère de la langue générale d’un manière assez sensible pour une oreille qui n’y est pas habituée. En réalité les divergences sont peu importantes, et quiconque connaît bien, par exemple, la langue parlée à Segou n’aura aucune peine à se faire comprendre partout, voire même en pays Malinké ou Wasoulonké.

The “introduction” to H. Bazin’s dictionary was also published as “Les Bambara et leur langue” in the journal Anthropos (1906b). No reference is made in this article to H. Bazin’s dictionary. Similarly, no reference is made in H. Bazin’s dictionary to this article. Both the dictionary and the article were published in 1906, but I am not certain which appeared first. They are identical

except for a footnote in the dictionary which refers the reader to the “Bambara” text at the end of the dictionary (1906a:xxiv); a footnote at the end of the “introduction” to the dictionary which refers the reader to a list of works concerning the “langue mandé” in Capt. Rambaud’s dictionary⁹² (1906a:xxiv); and references in the “introduction” to Bambara terms contained in the dictionary.

Dr. Rivet reviewed H. Bazin’s article in L’Anthropologie the following year.

In his review, Rivet (1907:436) states:

Cet article très court n’augmentera pas beaucoup la somme de nos connaissances sur les Bambara, qui parmi les différents rameaux de la race mandé représentent peut-être la peuplade la mieux étudiée et la plus soigneusement observée. Ce n’est pas le moment d’énumérer le travaux antérieurs que Mgr. Bazin semble ignorer; qu’il me suffise de rappeler ici les études remarquables de Tautain et de Binger.

In addition to critiquing H. Bazin for his failure to contribute anything new to the study of “the Bambara”, Rivet (1907:437) also notes that H. Bazin’s “linguistic study” is very short, there is a lack of vocabulary to support the lexical and morphological statements made about “Bambara” and that “ce n’est une nouveauté pour personne que la langue bambara est proches parente de l’idiome parlé par les Soussou et les Dioula.”

2.0 “Avertissement”

In his “avertissement”, H. Bazin indicates that this dictionary is intended for the French. Consequently, H. Bazin utilizes the French alphabet for the transcription of “Bambara” terms. According to H. Bazin, with certain exceptions

(which are described in the “abrégé de grammaire bambara”), the “value” of each letter is the same in Bambara and French.

In addition to discussing the transcription of Bambara terms, H. Bazin (1906:xxv) indicates that this dictionary is “imperfect” despite the fact that it is “le résultat des travaux et des observations de plusieurs missionnaires, dont quelquesuns ont déjà passé une dizaine d’années au milieu des Bambara.” He calls on the reader to alert him to any errors or gaps.

3.0 “Abrégé de grammaire bambara”

In his “abrégé de grammaire bambara”, H. Bazin sets out the principles of Bambara grammar in the following sections:

- éléments du langage (les sons, syllabes, les mots)
- du nom (emploi du nom, diverses sortes de noms)
- de l’adjectif (du qualificatif, adjectifs déterminatifs)
- du pronom (pronoms personnels, pronoms réfléchis, pronoms démonstratifs, pronoms indéfinis, pronoms possessifs, pronoms relatifs, pronoms interrogatifs)
- du verbe (verbe être, verbe attributif)
- particulates (adverbes, prépositions, conjonctions, interjections)

One interesting theme throughout H. Bazin’s “abrégé de grammaire bambara” is “borrowing” from other languages. For example, H. Bazin (1906:8) describes how French terms have been borrowed:

Enfin les langues étrangères ont fourni à la langue bambara un appoint considérable qui ne fait que s’accroître de jour en jour. Beaucoup de mots nouveaux, empruntés au français, ont été plus ou moins défigurés en enrichissant le vocabulaire de la langue; on en trouvera quelques-uns dans le Dictionnaire.

H. Bazin also describes how the Bambara have borrowed from other Mande language varieties, other non-European languages (e.g., Wolof), and

from Arabic. H. Bazin states that over 200 words of Arabic origin (related to such things as religion and days of the week) are used in Bambara. Throughout this text, H. Bazin gives the Arabic transcription of terms as appropriate.

4.0 “Dictionnaire bambara-français”

The main portion of H. Bazin’s text is a Bambara-French dictionary with over seven thousand Bambara terms and their French translations. He begins with a list of abbreviations – some are for grammatical terms (e.g., *verbe transitif*), while others indicate if a term is used in a particular area or its origin:

- mot tiré de l’arabe
- forme ou terme particuliere à certaines regions
- mot etranger
- terme d’origine française
- mot malinké
- mot de la langue *foul*
- mot sonrhai
- mot d’origine *wolof*

H. Bazin does not give any instructions or further description for the use of this dictionary.

The entries contain more than simple French translations for Bambara terms. H. Bazin uses the terms in phrases and sentences throughout the dictionary. From these types of entries the reader can find information and “cultural” data on the Bambara (e.g., songs, dictums, personal names, and proverbs). For example, in the entry for “Baïdi (nom populaire d’Ahmadou, ancien roi de Ségou), Delafosse includes a song:

Dyo, dyo, Baïdi nyouhan té ségi tyè wéré n’koiun ni Baïdi té. Horon mouso ka tégèrè fo Baïdi yé. Horon mouso mim ma kouya da. Baïdi di yé, kouna ni bagi ka bo ou la en vérité Ahmadou n’a pas

son pareil, mon ami est un brave. Je ne veux pas prendre un autre
époux qui lui. Que la femme libre applaudisse Ahmadou! Que la
captive applaudisse Ahmadou! Que la femme libre qui change, le
louanges d'Ahmadou soit délivrée de la lèpre!

5.0 “Fable bambara”

The last section in H. Bazin's dictionary is a Bambara fable entitled
“Bama”. On one page, H. Bazin has the Bambara text. On the next page, he
gives a line-by-line translation into French. There are no additional information or
references contained in this text.

6.0 “What is Bambara?”

In H. Bazin's dictionary, Bambara is both a language and a people. His
entry for “Bamana” indicates this dual status, “Bamana – ‘Nom de peuple’ –
Bamanaké, un bambara; Bamanaka, langue bambara; Bamana fini, tissu
indigène.” This dual status is also indicated by the separate sections in the
introduction – “le peuple bambara” and “la langue bambara”. The Bambara are
positioned relative to other African peoples in both in time and space and as
“fetishists”.

APPENDIX I – DESCRIPTION OF SAUVANT’S MANUEL BAMBARA

Mgr. Sauvant produced a Bambara manual in 1905, most likely an elaboration of Toulotte’s Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Ségou) (1897). This 1905 edition was entitled Manuel de la langue bambara. A second edition appeared in 1913 and a third edition in 1925, both entitled Manual bambara. In addition, Mgr. Molin reworked and added to Sauvant’s manual resulting in the publication of Grammaire bambara in 1956.⁹³ In this section, I consider the third edition of Sauvant’s manual.⁹⁴

The third edition of Sauvant’s manual consists of four parts: (1) a foreword in which Sauvant contextualizes his study of “Bambara” through a discussion of the “Bambara people” and the “Bambara dialect”; (2) the main body of the text which is comprised of a series of lessons, vocabulary lists, and translation exercises; (3) an appendix describing the division of time in terms of months, seasons, days of the week, and parts of the day; and (4) three “nsirinw”, or stories.

1.0 “Foreword”

In the first part of the foreword, Sauvant situates the Bambara as a people through a discussion of their “origins”:

1. Sauvant divides his discussion of origins into two parts – pre-exodus and exodus. The former refers to the location of the “Bambara” in the Mande heartland, while the latter refers to the period after the thirteenth century when the Bambara rebelled against “Malinké” authority and began their migration to the north.
2. In his discussion of pre-exodus origins, Sauvant utilizes data gathered from both “Bambara” and “Malinké” informants. French

translations of statement gathered from these informants are presented in the body of the text, with the original “Bambara” and “Malinké” quotes in footnotes.

3. On the basis of data gathered from these informants, Sauvant concurs with the identification of the “primitive habitat” of the “Bambara” advanced by the colonial administrator Maurice Delafosse in Haut-Sénégal-Niger (1912).
4. In his discussion of the “Bambara” exodus from the Mande heartland, Sauvant describes the initial migration in the thirteenth century of two groups characterized by their economic practices – fisherfolk who settles along the banks of the Niger (known as “somo”) and agriculturists who settled in the areas of Bougouni, Bamako, Benedougou, and the area bewteen Dienné and Segou. Many of these “Bambara” became know as “Kouloubali Bambara” and the “Massassi Bambara”.
5. The next phase of the exodus that Sauvant describes begins in the seventeenth century with the identification of the Segou kingdom. During this phase, divisions arose among the Bambara and the “Massassi Bambara” left Segou and established the Kaarta kingdom. In addition, a faction of the “Kouloubali Bambara” established themselves at BéléDougou.

In the second part of this foreword, Sauvant discusses the “dialecte bambara” by positioning it vis-à-vis other African languages:

1. Sauvant uses the term “Bambara” to refer to the language variety under consideration, but mentions that the “natives” refer to it as “bamanan-kan”.
2. “Bambara” is one of the principal “dialects” of “Mandingue”. In a footnote, Sauvant notes that the other “dialects” include “Malinké”, “Kassonké”, and “Dioula”. Drawing on Delafosses’s classification of Mandé presented in Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Sauvant states that “Mandingue” is one of the three groups of the “Mandé language”.
3. The “Mandé language” is one of the most important “mother languages” spoken in French West Africa due to the large number of speakers (around 1,500,000). Of this number 550,450 “Nègres” speak “Bambara”. Sauvant does not cite a source for these figures.
4. “Bambara” is a “predominant language” in the “cercles” of Segou, Bamako, Bougouni, and Sokolo; a secondary language in the

cercles of Sikasso, Koutiala, Goumbou, San, Nioro, Niafounké, Mopti, and Dienné; and less important in other “cercles”, especially those of Kita, Bafoulabé, and Bandiagara.

Sauvant also provides a brief linguistic description of “Bambara” in the second part of this foreword:

1. “Bambara” is an “analytical language”. Sauvant (1925:ix, translation mine) states that “Bambara belongs to the family of analytical language, in which, as everyone knows, each word corresponds generally to an idea.”
2. “Bambara” is relatively easy to pronounce as it consists of many monosyllabic words and polysyllabic words generally end in a “vocalic”. Some terms are composed of a vowel or a diphthong preceded or followed by two consonants, but are also relatively easy to pronounce.
3. In a footnote, Sauvant (1925:ix, translation mine) remarks that a “good number of ‘natives’, wrongly, it is true, sometimes dispense” of the special velar pronunciation of “nga”, “ngo”, and “ngou”.
4. Words with an “aspirated pronunciation” are generally loan words, usually from Arabic.
5. “Bambara” is an “agglutinative language”. It has a simple syntax. The radical remains unchanged. There is no initial or final inflection. “Bambara” morphology is characterized in general by the simple juxtaposition of a radical with an auxiliary. The same is true in the formation of other features (e.g., compound nouns, diminutives).

Sauvant also illustrates this linguistic description with two tables concerning the fundamental syntactic rules and uses of suffixes and prefixes.

2.0 “Manuel bambara”

The main body of Sauvant’s text consists of a preliminary lesson, concerning the letters and their pronunciation, and twenty-one additional lessons. In general, each lesson contains one or more grammatical rules illustrated with

Bambara examples and their French translations; a vocabulary list of Bambara terms and French translations; and translation exercises (a “version” in Bambara and a “thème” in French). Neither translation exercise has a corresponding translation or directions on how it is to be completed or checked for accuracy. The lessons and grammatical rules cover a wide range of topics. Throughout the text the reader is referred to other related rules and footnotes are used to clarify the examples or provide additional information on the rules.

The final lesson lists some interjections and “formules”. This lesson differs from the others, as it does not consist of rules, vocabulary lists, or translation exercises. The interjections include such items as how to express joy (“Ha!, hii!”), say thank you (“A barka! I ni tyé!”), and call someone (“Moussa o, Moussa yo!”) (Sauvant 1925:149-150). The “formules” address the following subjects (Sauvant 1925:150-159):

- wishes for the new year;
- when someone receives new clothing;
- when one visits or meets an ill person;
- what one says to the parent of a newborn or upon the death of a child;
- when someone dies;
- what one says to newlyweds;
- after some one has provided you with a service or given you a gift;
- greetings at various times of the day;
- how to discuss the health of family, friends, acquaintances;
- wishes for a safe trip;
- what to say when you meet someone on the road;
- what one says to someone who has returned from a trip; and
- what to say to workers.

These “formules” would seem to present Bambara that cannot easily be translated or analyzed grammatically. Sauvant (1925:150) states that:

Il n'est pas aisé de se rendre bien compte du rôle grammatical de chaque mot dans ces formules de souhait, de salutation et de

condoléances; des termes sous-entendus, des tournures de phrases originales, des formes verbales particulières rendent l'analyse difficile. Nous donnons ici les principales de ces formules avec le sens le plus exact possible.

3.0 Appendix

A portion of Sauviant's text is an appendix, which lists vocabulary related to the division of time (i.e., the months, seasons, days of the week, and parts of the day). In the preamble to the last lesson, Sauviant states (1925:149) that, "Nous y joindrons sous forme d'appendice quelques notions sur les divisions du temps," thus indicating that these "notions" do not merit inclusion in the lessons and their grammatical rules, vocabulary lists, or translation exercises. Listed below in Table 51 and Table 52 are the Bambara terms that Sauviant (1925:161-162) lists for the days of the week and the months, the French translations for the days of the week (he only uses numbers to indicate the months), as well as their English translations:

Table 51 – Terms of the Months in Sauviant

Bambara	English
Harani, Dyombéné	January
Domba makono	February
Domba	March
Lassiri galé	April
Lassiri tyèmantyé	May
Lassiri laban	June
Ardyaba	July
Soukalo makono	August
Soukalo	September
Sali kalo	October
Sali fla fourantyè ka kalo	November
Saliba kalo	December

Table 52 – Terms for the Days of the Week in Sauvant

Bambara	French	English
Douakoun	Semaine	Week
Ntnè	Lundi	Monday
Tarata	Mardi	Tuesday
Araba	Mercredi	Wednesday
Alamissa	Jeudi	Thursday
Guédyouma	Vendredi	Friday
Sibiri	Samedi	Saturday
Kari	Dimanche	Sunday

4.0 “Traductions”

The final portion of the Sauvant’s text is three “ziri” (or stories) presented under the heading of “Traductions” – “Waraba ni warablé”, “Souroukou ni sonzan”, and “Mâ” (1925:163-167). Sauvant does not provide any translations for these stories or additional information about their use and role in Bambara society.

5.0 “What is Bambara?”

Sauvant sees Bambara as a both a people and a language variety that can be positioned relative to other peoples and language varieties. The ways in which Sauvant positions “Bambara” in terms of other African peoples and linguistic varieties reflects the use of an evolutionary framework to rank languages and peoples. By tracing the “history” and “origins” of the “Bambara”, Sauvant is in effect saying that the “Bambara” and their language variety shares certain characteristics with other Mande peoples and language varieties, but that the “Bambara” people (and consequently their language) can be differentiated

from other Mande peoples on the basis of their history, economic practices, and rejection of Islam.

APPENDIX J – DESCRIPTION OF HENRY'S "L'AME D'UNE PEUPLE AFRICAINE"

Joseph Henry's "L'ame d'une peuple africain: les bambara, leur vie psychique, éthique, sociale, religieuse" was published as a volume of Anthropos in 1910. Delafosse identifies this text as a source of Bambara technical terms and formulas, and their translations. Although he views Monteil's (1924) account of Bambara beliefs and conceptualizations to be superior to Henry's monograph, Delafosse does state that, "il convient de lui décerner la palme qui revient aux précurseurs, surtout quand ils sont, comme lui, de bonne foi." (cited in Monteil 1924[1977]:xvi). Henry's monograph consists of an introduction and eleven chapters addressing the following issues:

- mentalité du Bambara;
- l'animisme et ses conséquences;
- idées générales du Bambara sur la vie humaine;
- notions du bambara sur Dieu, les invisibles, Adam et Eve;
- le fétichisme chez les Bambara, le culte des *gnéna*; classification des *gnéna*, identiques aux *djiné* des Arabes;
- culte, réjouissances, *saraka*, sacrifices et danses en l'honneur des *gnéna*;
- le culte à Satan ou culte des *Gnâ* ou *Boli*;
- premières années de la vie du Bambara;
- la circoncision en pays Bambara;
- le mariage Bambara; and
- enterrements bambara.

An index includes references to Bambara terms, as well as other subjects and proper names. There are also thirty-five photographs included in the text, which were taken by Père Dubernet (also a White Father).⁹⁵

1.0 Introduction

Henry begins his introduction by describing how, during the French struggle against Samory, Archinard besieged Segu in April 1890. This action resulted in obtaining one of the “most important” cercles of West Africa for France.⁹⁶ Henry (1910:2-3) describes the duplicity of Ahamadou Cheïkou (“Ses promesses étaient promesses de nègre doublé de musulman.”) and his successor Mary Djara.⁹⁷

Henry situates the “cercle de Ségou” physically (e.g., its rivers and terrain) and identifies the peoples that inhabit it.⁹⁸ According to Henry, the majority of Segu’s inhabitants are “fetishists”. He clarifies this remark in a footnote by stating that they are “fétiches Bambara”. These “fetishists” belong to “la race Bambara, le plus fort noyau de la race Mandingue” and have two parallel cults – that of the *gnéna*, or *djiné*, and that of the *gnâ* or *boli* (Henry 1910:4).

The rest of the population consists of “Peuls”, “Marka”, “Somono”, “Boso”, and “Djeli”. They are differentiated from the “Bambara fetishists” as “foreigners” and Muslims, as well as by their occupation.⁹⁹ Henry (1910:4-5) states that, “Tout en conservant leur langue maternelle, ils parlent Bambara, la langue courante et usuelle, la vraie langue du pays, et vivent le plus souvent dans des villages à part, sans se mélanger aux Bambara.”

Henry provides a characterization of the “Bambara people”. This includes a description of their physical type, dress, hairstyles, tattooing, and economic practices. In terms of their economic practices, Henry positions the Bambara vis-à-vis other African peoples. He notes that the Bambara are “peu industriels” and

do not know how to (or choose not to) do much outside of the agricultural domain. For example, “Beaucoup savent tisser, mais nos tisserands sont surtout musulmans et appartiennent à la race *Marka* et *Somono*” (Henry 1910:8).

Henry also discusses the position of Bambara women. One of the first things he notes is that Bambara women are rather good cooks and that “l’Européen qui parvient à s’accoutumer au rance de beurre de karité et à l’odeur du poisson boucané, a vite fait de l’aimer, et une fois habitué, c’est une privation pour lui de n’avoir plus son mets indigène” (Henry 1910:9). Henry’s description of the Bambara woman is subsumed under a dichotomy between the “femme nègre” and the “femme arabe” – the former being free and the latter a slave, or “une sorte d’animal humain parqué dans un intérieur tout barricadé comme une prisonnière” (1910:9). The duties of the “femme nègre” are somewhat difficult (e.g., gathering wood), but as “tous nos Bambara vivent en famille sous la présidence d’un chef, le *gouatigi*, comme nos patriarches de l’Ancien Testament” (1910:9), the women are able to arrange it so that these duties are shared among them.

The final aspect of Henry’s characterization of the Bambara is concerned with their “esprit”. Henry describes the Bambara as lazy, slow to understand, not very curious, and that they have “nul désir de sortir de sa condition.” The Bambara view of the European, according to Henry (1910:10), is couched in a master-servant relationship:

Craintif, il a peur de l’Européen tout comme l’esclave a peur de son maître, et s’il le sert passablement, c’est se tromper grandement que de croire avoir capté son affection. Il déteste le blanc comme il

déteste le musulman, le blanc c'est le vainquer, c'est l'anti-fétichiste, et par suite l'ennemi.

According to Henry, the way to “make a man” of the Bambara is to give him a “soldier’s education” (i.e., firm, severe discipline). The Bambara will realize that his “master” is just and fair and will serve him without anger.

At the end of his introduction, Henry states that the intended audience of this monograph (which he characterizes as “notes”) is primarily composed of missionaries. Henry (1910:10-11) describes the usefulness of this text for missionaries as follows:

Pour faire tomber les préjugés de la population qu'ils évangélisent, il leur importe de connaître la mentalité du noir et de connaître le plus possible ses croyances. Si, pour ne pas bien posséder la langue on froisse le nègre, on éloigne, on le fait rire, on le froisse encore d'avantage lorsque l'on traite son culte, ses superstitions, ses us et ses coutumes de sots, de stupides, d'irraisonnables. Il se base sur des principes faux, j'en conviens, mais pour lui le sont-ils? Nullement, et comme il ne comprend pas, il ne saisit pas nos principes à nous, principes qu'il entend émettre pour la première fois – doit-on s'étonner qu'il nous trouve étranges, curieux, qu'il soit défiant et fermé?

In addition to missionaries, Henry believes that the information contained in this text can be helpful to those who must deal with the “natives” (e.g., functionaries, colonial officers, merchants, travelers), as it is in their best interest to know their “mentalité, leur prédilections et leur aversions, leur croyances et leurs coutumes” (1910:11).

Ethnologists are the final group to whom Henry addresses this work. Henry (1910:11) argues his “notes” are “le fruit d'une expérience de quelques années d'une connaissance parfaite de la langue des indigènes, de recherches

consciencieuses, réitérées scrupuleusement pour obtenir des résultats fondés”
and therefore, provide a solid base for ethnological research.

2.0 “Les bambara – leur vie psychique, éthique, sociale, religieuse”

In the first chapter, Henry identifies why it is important to understand the beliefs of the “Bamabara non islamisé”. Henry (1910:12) characterizes this group of Bambara as enslaved in the beliefs of their ancestors due to their inability to reason or think logically:

Démontrer à un noir l'ineptie de ses préjugés et de ses pratiques superstitieuses semble un jeu et pourtant on n'y parvient pas, car toute claire, toute simple que soit votre argumentation, vous n'arrivez pas à jeter en son esprit la plus petite étincelle de lumière ou le plus léger doute... Il n'y a pas lieu de s'en étonner. Incapable de longue réflexion et de grand raisonnement, il ne saisit pas l'illogisme dans ses croyances, la contradiction dans sa façon d'agir; il croit à ce qu'ont cru ses pères, et comme eux il sacrifie, rougissant de sang un peu tout. Vos discours tout à la fois et l'étonnent et le laissent froid; il ne vous comprend pas, il ne vous saisit pas, il vous trouve même un peu sot et s'il n'ose se l'avouer, il s'arrête à ces mots: '*Toubabou do!* C'est un blanc! Peut-il penser et juger comme je juge moi?'

The mentality of the non-Muslim Bambara is tied to their belief that they are related to all animals and plant life and Henry adds “en tout assurance” to inorganic substances. Although they do not attribute a soul (*âme*) to these groups, they do believe that they have a spirit (*esprit*).

Henry cites specific examples (from among a “thousand” such examples) to illustrate his points. Each example is usually identified with a specific date and location (e.g., July 1908 in certain regions of the cercle de Segou). It is presumed that these are occasions that he witnessed himself, or another reliable source

witnessed (e.g., “Dans mes excursions il m’est arrivé bien des fois de rencontrer des hommes et des femmes portant sur la tête dans une calebasse ou dans un panier, une poignée de feuilles...” (Henry 1908:15)).

Throughout this work, Henry compares the Bambara to other groups reported in the literature (e.g., the Australians, the “Peaux-Rouges”). In some cases he finds parallels, in others he does not.

3.0 “What is Bambara?”

Henry’s text is focused specifically on the “fétiches Bambara” who are distinguished from the “Muslim Bambara.” The group of Bambara that he describes in this text is located in Segu, which is pinpointed historically in terms of the French occupation in 1890 and described as one of the most important cercles. These Segu “fétiches Bambara” are part of the larger “race Bambara” which is related to the “race Mandingue.” They are distinguished from other Africans in the area who are Muslim, “foreigners”, and have different occupations. Henry characterizes them as dull-witted, lazy farmers who view the French as their masters. Henry’s text is intended to help fellow missionaries and other Europeans who must deal with these “natives” to understand their “fetish” mentality.

In addition to characterizing the Segu “fétiches Bambara” overall, Henry describes the “Bambara women.” They are depicted as “femmes negres” (i.e., they are free) in contrast to the “femmes arabes” (i.e., who are not free to leave their compounds).

APPENDIX K – DESCRIPTION OF BRÉVIÉ'S "A PROPOS D'UNE CHANSON BAMBARA"

In his article, "A propos d'une chanson bambara", which was published in the Annuaire et mémoires du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française in 1917, Brévié emphasizes the "primitive" nature of the Bambara through an examination of a Bambara song and comparison to Greek tragedies. In this article, Brévié (1917:217) presents the text of a Bambara song in order to demonstrate the "unity of the human spirit" among "primitive" peoples:

Une constatation qui s'impose parfois aux curieux de folklore africain est l'identité de forme, puis le parallélisme de développement qui révèle, dans certains cas particuliers, l'étude des institutions religieuses et sociales des peuples noirs et des précurseurs des civilisations indo-européennes. Il ne faut y voir, évidemment, aucune parenté entre le génie de catégories ethniques aussi différentes, mais simplement une manifestation de l'unité de l'esprit humain chez tous les primitifs, sans distinction de races.

While this premise of "unity" is widely accepted in terms of the evolution of religion, Brévié believes that his contribution will illustrate its applicability in the domain of "literature".

In February of 1915, Diossé (chef de canton de Koumi) and Samba (chef de canton de Massantola) led an insurrection among the "Bambara population" in the cercle de Bamako. After an unsuccessful encounter with the French, the rebels retreated with Diossé to Koumi. When the French entered Koumi, in keeping with the "tradition" of Bambara "chiefs", Diossé and several of his followers killed themselves. In contrast, Samba, whom Brévié characterizes as "moins énergique", fled and attempted to form a new resistance movement.

The failure of this rebellion disillusioned the Bambara who had "escompté une victoire facile et se réjouissaient déjà du retour à la pleine indépendance et à la vie aventureuse et guerrière des clans d'autrefois" (Brévié 1917:218). As a result, Brévié states that the Bambara blamed the leaders of this rebellion for the misfortunes of the "Bambara country".

Brévié claims that the song presented in this article reflects this Bambara "opinion". He indicates that D'Namba Kouloubali, an old woman from the village of Massantola, whose son was killed during the rebellion, composed this song. According to Brévié, an old woman sings the song, but it is not made clear if it is D'Namba Kouloubali herself that sang the version that he records here. Brévié presents the text of this song first in Bambara, followed by a French translation.

After presenting the text of the song, Brévié (1917:220) "explains" the text in order to "determine its exact character and to classify in it a precise genre." He makes the following points about this song:

1. D'Namba Kouloubali does not belong to the caste of griots that normally produce songs. This fact, coupled with the circumstances that generated this song, affirms the uniqueness of this song.
 - a. The songs produced by Bambara griots are based on "mélopées narratives ou documentaires, semblables si l'on veut à nos contes, fables ou récits, mimées avec une débauche de gestes, de cris assourdissants et de bruits instrumentaux plus ou moins mélodieux." (Brévié 1917:221).
 - b. The "human, psychological side" is not present in the songs produced by these griots, while it is the essential nature of D'Namba Kouloubali's song.
 - c. The uniqueness of D'Namba Kouloubali's song places it in a "much more evolved genre" than other songs of African origin. This classification is due to the use of a chorus and its dialogical form. Brévié (1917:221) describes the function of a

chorus in songs produced by griots to allow the singer "s'il improvise, de réfléchir à la suite de sa chanson, et, s'il dit de mémoire, de reprendre haleine pour les couplets suivants." The chorus is a spectator in these songs, not an actor, as in the case of D'Namba Kouloubali's production.

- d. Brévié (1917:221-222) compares D'Namba Kouloubali's song to Greek tragedies: "Tout au plus pourrait-on remarquer, qu'à l'inverse de la tragédie grecque, le chœur apparaît dans notre pièce comme second du chanteur, tandis que chez les Grecs, il formait seul, à l'origine, la composition tragique, et que la tragédie ne fut définitivement constituée comme genre qu'après l'introduction d'un acteur chargé de répondre au chœur. Dans les deux cas envisagés l'évolution est inverse, mais la forme finale est identique."
2. In describing her loss, D'Namba Kouloubali "obéissait aussi à l'usage commun à beaucoup de peuples, et que l'on retrouve notamment en Egypte et dans la Grèce antique, de déplorer la perte d'une personne chérie par des lamentations publiques." (Brévié 1917:220).
3. Fellow villagers and strangers learned D'Namba Kouloubali's song because, having experienced their own losses, they shared her "intimate emotions". Thus, this song became well known throughout Beledougou.
4. Brévié (1917:220) describes how the song is performed: "On se réunissait autour d'elle, on la priait de chanter malgré ses pleurs, et le chœur répétait, en battant des mains, les strophes dites par les jeunes filles. Aucune danse n'accompagnait ces chants."

"What is Bambara?"

Brévié presents Bambara as a "primitive" people who share a "unity of human spirit" with all other "primitive" peoples. The Bambara he refers to here are located in the cercle de Bamako and are part of a larger "Bambara country" with a complex social structure. They are unsuccessful rebels who long for their previous glory as independent, adventurous warriors. They blame their failure to reclaim their former way of life on their leadership, not the superiority of the

French. Individual Bambara are able to engage in atypical cultural activities (i.e., D'Namba Kouloubali performs a song, a duty usually reserved for the griot caste).

APPENDIX L – DESCRIPTION OF TAUXIER'S LE NOIR DU YATENGA AND LE NOIR DE BONDOUKOU

1.0 Le Noir du Yatenga

After an introduction and preface, Tauxier divides his study of the "noir du Yatenga" into the following sections – "le lieu" (location), "la race et son histoire" (the race and its history), "le travail" (work), "la famille" (family), "le mode d'existence" (mode of existence), "relations interfamiliales et structure sociale" (interfamilial relations and social structure), "les pouvoirs publics" (public powers), "la religion" (religion), "les cultures intellectuelles", "les Foulés (ou Nioniossés)", "les Yarsés", "les Samos", "les Silmi-Mossis" and "les Peuls".

Tauxier's characterizes this work as a contribution to the French "oeuvre intellectuel" (1917:6):

Les Français n'ont pas fait qu'oeuvre militaire et administrative au Soudan: ils ont fait aussi oeuvre intellectuelle. Cette oeuvre a suivi, a poussé sur le terrain de nos conquêtes. Elle est peu connue en France, il est vrai, n'intéressant guère que des spécialistes. Elle n'est pas moins d'importance au point de vue de l'étude des civilisations primitives et elle touche à haut degré la sociologie comme la philologie, la géographie comme l'histoire. Nous avons, dans le volume qui suit, tenté d'apporter notre modeste contribution à cette oeuvre en étudiant méthodiquement et à fond un coin reculé de notre Afrique occidentale. Puisse-t-elle ainsi faire avancer un peu la connaissance scientifique du négre soudanais!

Tauxier's states that the "order of analysis" used in Le Noir du Yatenga reflects the best of "descriptive" sociological studies to date, as represented by Henri de Tourville and Le Play. Following Herbert Spencer, Tauxier (1917:7) begins with an "extrinsic factor" ("le lieu") – as "la géologie, l'hydrographie, le climat, la flore et la faune conditionnent puissamment la vie sociale surtout s'il

s'agit de races inférieures." Next, Tauxier moves onto an "intrinsic factor" ("race ou hérédité") that has a more powerful influence on "social life". As part of his discussion of "race", Tauxier describes the history, or "evolution", of the peoples under consideration. Tauxier argues that the study of the "grands facteurs" (work, family, mode of existence, public powers, religion, and intellectual culture) emerges from an analysis of the "race" and "le lieu".

Tauxier is careful to emphasize the fact that he is not a linguist. For example, he states that as a result he does not want to characterize Mossi (1917:404). Instead he draws upon Froger (1910) Etude sur la langue des Mossis and Delafosse's classification of African languages in Haut-Sénégal-Niger (1912) in his study of Mossi.

Two of Tauxier's twenty appendices to Le Noir du Yatenga are vocabularies – "Vocabulaire Français-Samo" and "Vocabulaire fousé ou nioniossé"¹⁰⁰. The former is of interest here as it also contains Bambara terms. Tauxier (1917:699) states that he included Bambara terms in this French-Samo vocabulary as, "La langue samo appartenant au groupe des langues mandé, le terme bambara sert en quelque sorte de répondant au mot samo."

Although Tauxier states that he gathered this "vocabulaire samo" through "interrogations", he does not indicate the source of his Bambara material (e.g., through "interrogations" or from a written source). In his introduction, Tauxier does cite H. Bazin's Dictionnaire Bambara-Français (1906) and Henry's L'âme d'un peuple africain: Les Bambara (1910) as sources concerning Bambara. Therefore it is possible that the Bambara terms contained in his "vocabulaire

samo" were obtained from Bazin or Henry. As he gathered his linguistic data through these "interrogations", Tauxier cautions the reader that this vocabulary may contain a certain number of errors due to confusions and misunderstandings between the interrogator and the interrogated via the interpreter.

Tauxier's "vocabulaire samo" contains terms for two "dialectes" of Samo – "Samo du Yatenga" and "Samo de Dédougou"¹⁰¹. Tauxier (1917:699) describes his views on demarcating "dialects" in the following passage:

Il semble en effet que la langue du Samorodougou du nord (cercles de Dédougou, Ouahigouya, Bandiagara) offre au moins deux dialectes assez bien marqués comme on le verra ci-dessous. Où commencent et où finissent ces dialectes? Je n'en sais rien. Il est peut probable que la frontière administrative actuelle qui sépare les Samos du Yatenga de ceux de Dédougou coïncide exactement avec la frontière linguistique des deux dialectes sous-visés.

This vocabulary contains around 2,500 French terms and translations in Bambara, "Samo du Yatenga", and "Samo de Dédougou" concerning "les noms de nombre", "les parties du corps", "les végétaux", "les animaux sauvages", "les animaux domestiques", "la culture", and "vocabulaire général" (see Figure 18). Tauxier provides Bambara translations for almost all of the French terms, while there are gaps in the translations provided for "Samo du Yatenga" and "Samo de Dédougou". For certain terms, alternative translations are offered for all three language varieties. For a few Bambara entries, Tauxier marks alternative translations with the abbreviations "B." and "M." (e.g., "ciel" is translated as "B. kaba. M. san."). Tauxier does not indicate what these abbreviations stand for. It is possible that "B." indicates a Bambara term and "M." indicates a "Malinké" term.

Below, I have listed some French terms related to racial classification, religion, language, and administrative concerns contained in the section on "vocabulaire général".

1. Racial classification – As indicated in Table 53, Tauxier distinguishes between white as a color term ("blanc") and white as a racial classification, which includes white Europeans. In his Bambara-French dictionary, Bazin (1906: 627) defines *toubabou* as "Blanc, Européen". The Bambara term given by Tauxier for "Nègre" can be translated as "black person". Tauxier also provides a term for "race" (*si*) which is different than the one provided by Binger (*baléma*). Tauxier's use of *si* corresponds to Bazin's definition as "peuple, race, génération" (1906:530) and his definition of *balima* (a variation of Binger's *baléma*) as "parent collatéral" (1906:49). In addition the name of this text refers to "le noir".

Table 53 – Bambara and Samo Racial Terms in Tauxier's Le noir du yatenga

French	Bambara	Samo du Yatenga	Samo de Dédougou
Blanc	Guié	Anfou	N/A
Bleu	Fima	Zanki	N/A
Européen (blanc)	Toubab	Nanzara	N/A
Nègre	Moro fing	Séki	N/A
Noir	Fing, Finma	Ki, Foti	N/A
Noircir	Afinya	Akiri	N/A
Race	Si	Dougo	N/A
Rouge	Oulé, Blé, Ouléma, Biléma	Fotan, Pota	N/A

2. Religious terms – Tauxier does not include the term "païen" in his vocabulary, but he does list several terms for different types of "féticheurs" and a term for Muslim as indicated in Table 54. Tauxier's Bambara term for "Musulman" differs from Binger (*moniké*), but corresponds to Bazin (1906:536).

Table 54 – Bambara and Samo Religious Terms in Tauxier's Le noir du yatenga

French	Bambara	Samo du Yatenga	Samo de Dédougou
Ame (supérieure)	Dia	Nini	N/A
Ame (inférieure)	Ni	Schenini	N/A
Dieu (du Ciel)	Gala	Labara	N/A
Féticheur (devin)	Féléikéla	Goundakouli	Gonkkouli, Ouenkouli
Féticheur (devin se servant de sable)	Kéniédala, Kéniélala	Tienkaré	N/A
Féticheur (devin se servant de cauris)	Kolonfélélila	Pamissaoudi	N/A
Féticheur (devin se servant d'eau)	Guifélélila	Lémouma	N/A
Féticheur (devin se servant des traces de bêtes)	Bougouridala	Tilangakara, Kelengakaouri	Kelengadan a
Féticheur (devin se tomber la pluie)	N/A	Lagninina	N/A
Mulsulman	Arsilami	Sabououli	N/A

3. Language – Table 55 lists some of the terms related to language, as well as the educational domain. In contrast to Dard or Binger, Tauxier does not list Bambara terms for “langue” or “langage”. However, like Binger, Tauxier does include a term for “interprète” underlining the importance of this function.

Table 55 – Bambara and Samo Language Terms in Tauxier's Le noir du yatenga

French	Bambara	Samo du Yatenga	Samo de Dédougou
Dire	Apho	Apédé	N/A
Discours	Kouma	Niépe	N/A
Ecole	Karanso	Salbi	N/A
Histoire	Kibarou	Kibapenné	N/A
Idiome	M'bakammé	Famané	N/A
Interprète	Dalaliminina	Yipimpélé	N/A
Livre	Sébé	Sébé	N/A
Parler	Kouma	Niépe	N/A
Parleur	Koumaba	Niépéné	N/A
Parole	Kan	Niépéné	N/A

4. Administrative concerns – Some of the Bambara terms that Tauxier lists are related to French administrative concerns during the early colonial period (see Table 56). For example, Tauxier identifies the term “complot (révolte)” and “lutter” perhaps indicating a concern for armed resistance to the pacification of the former French Sudan.

Table 56 – Bambara and Samo Administrative Terms in Tauxier’s Le noir du yatenga

French	Bambara	Samo du Yatenga	Samo de Dédougou
Complot (révolte)	Mouroutili	Bambola	N/A
Frontière	Télenké, Dan	Guinga	N/A
Gouverner	Famayaké, Tigiyaké	Ouakidala	N/A
Guide	Gnavila	Zéhila	N/A
Halte!	Ho!	Mangondé!	N/A
Lutter	Sèta	Diakou	N/A
Pays	Dougou	Tou	N/A
Prostituée	Diato, Garbo	Zalo	N/A
Soldat	Sofa	Soromalé	Zané
Village	Dougou	Tou	N/A

In addition to his vocabularies, Tauxier also references Bambara throughout his text, either as a specific people and language variety or as part of the larger African population. For example, he states that “L’écriture est ignorée des Mossis comme des autre nègres” (Tauxier 1917:407). As part of a larger group of “nègres”, the Bambara are depicted as illiterate. His description of a Mossi legend is another example of how the Bambara are specifically referenced. This legend describes the origin of the Mossi people as the result of the union between Yennenga¹⁰², the daughter of Nédéga of Gambakha (a Dagomba king), and an elephant hunter. According to Tauxier (1917:58-59), Yennenga was a veritable Amazon, who despite her life as a warrior desired to marry. One day, Yennenga was lost in the woods and happened upon an

elephant hunter's hut. The two married and in her happiness Yennenga had no desire to return to her father or her soldiers. Tauxier points out that some versions of this legend give the hunter's name as Riare or Riâlê and describe him as the son of a Manding chief. Therefore, according to Tauxier (1917:59):

C'est alors qu'il dit en mandé: "Je suis venu seul dans ce pays, mais maintenant j'ai une femme, j'aurai beaucoup d'hommes." Beaucoup d'hommes se dit, en bambara, *moro-si* ou *mogo-si* de *moro* ou *mogo* homme et *si* beaucoup. Dès lors le petit village qu'il habita fut appelé le village de Mogosi ou Morosi. Peu à peu le mot se déforma et devint: *Morossi*, *Morsi* et enfin *Mossi*. Voilà, d'après la légende, l'origine de l'appellation de Mossi.

Tauxier rejects this Mande twist to the "pure Mossi legend" stating that, "Quant à l'etymologie du mot *mossi* par *moro-si* (beaucoup d'hommes) elle est puérile en elle-même, quoiqu'elle ne soit pas trop bête pour un griot nègre" (1917:59). He claims that a Bambara or Malinké griot took the Mossi legend and attempted to attach Mande origins to the formidable Mossi in order to add to the "glory" of the Mande peoples. Tauxier states that the Malinkés and Mossis had dealings together in the fourteenth and especially at the end of the fifteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, the Bambaras of Segou and the Mossis of Yatenga either helped each other or they made war. Tauxier argues that Riare/Riâlê was simply a hunter of the neighboring Boussansé.

In another example, Tauxier identifies a geographic area for Bambara – the "pays bambara", but also distinguishes between Bambara of different areas, stating that (1917:139):

Quant au grand haricot du Kissi (kissisoso en malinké) il n'est pas connu ici. Du reste on ne le cultive que dans le sud du Soudan, chez les Kissiens, les Malinkés, les Ouassoulonkés, les Bambaras

de Bougounni. On ne le cultive pas chez les Bambaras de Ségou, pas plus qu'ici."

2.0 Le Noir de Bondoukou

There are additional references to Bambara and a vocabulary in the other text produced by Tauxier that Delafosse considers as a Bambara source – Le Noir de Bondoukou (1921). For example, Tauxier (1921:16) states that "Les Dyoulas de Bondoukou ont emprunté le nom du rônier aux Koulangos leurs voisins. Ils se sont contentés d'ajouter à sandiango le mot *iri* qui veut dire arbe en dyoula et en mandé en général. En Bambara rônier se dit *sébé*."

Le Noir de Bondouko is similar to Tauxier's earlier works. Tauxier uses the methods of Le Play and Henri de Tourville to describe the peoples of Bondoukou. Tauxier spent two years (September 1918 to August 1920) in the region of Bondoukou in Haut Côte d'Ivoire orientale and was able to collect documents directly from the principal "races" – the Koulangos, the Dyoulas, and the Abrons – and the "petites races". Tauxier supplements the data he collected himself with other written texts concerning this area.

Tauxier's discussion of the origins of the Dyoula is an interesting example of the intertextual context of the production of this text. Tauxier begins this discussion by making certain assumptions about the reader's knowledge of the genetic classification of the Dyoula, "Nos lecteurs savent que les Dyoulas sont un peuple mandé..." (1921:207). He then goes onto dispute Delafosse's contention in Haut-Sénégal-Niger that the term "Dyoula" does not signify "commerçant, colporteur". Tauxier makes several references to Delafosse's role as an authority

on the Mande peoples and languages (e.g., "M. Delafosse, dont l'opinion a toujours du poids"). However, Tauxier (1921:208-209) refers to two missionary texts (i.e., Bazin and one produced by a Holy Ghost Father), as well as African informants, in order to provide evidence from three Mande "dialects" to support his claim:

Quelle que soit l'autorité de M. Delafosse, je crois que tout ceci est très sujet à constatation. J'ai interrogé bien des Dyoulas sur la signification de leur nom et aucun ne m'a jamais donné l'étymologie "du fond, de la souche" que donne ici M. Delafosse après Binger. L'almamy de Bondoukou, comme le représentant des Dioulas du Barabo (frère du chef dyoula de cette province), disent que leur nom signifie "marchand, colporteur" et qu'on leur a appliqué ce nom usuel parce qu'ils se livrent en effet au colportage. M. Delafosse ajoute, il est vrai, que, dans aucun dialecte mandé, le mot "Dyoula" ne signifie commerçant ou colporteur. Mais cette affirmation paraîtra assez bizarre car, lorsqu'on ouvre le dictionnaire Bambara-Français de Mgr. Bazin, on y lit ceci (p. 178 et 179):

*"Dyoula. Voir Dyouura.
Dyouura "Marchand" Syn. Dyoula "Nom d'un peuple de race mandé"*

En bambara "Dyoula" ou "Dyouura" a donc bien la signification de marchand.

En malinké, il n'en est pas autrement. Ouvrons en effet le petit dictionnaire Malinké-Français par un père du Saint-Esprit (sans doute le père Abiven, 1900) à la page 40, colonne 2, nous y lisons:

*"Dyula s. colporteur.
Dyulaya s. colportage.
Dyulaya ké, faire du colportage".*

Enfin je relève dans un vocabulaire soninké inédit, pris par moi auprès d'un nommé Bakari Diabira, originaire de Diaguéli (cercle de Bakel), les mots suivants:

*"Colporteur. Dyoula ou dyula.
Marchand: Kobana".*

Ainsi dans trois dialectes mandés (bambara, malinké, soninké) le mot "dyoula" a la signification de colporteur, sans compter que, de l'aveu de M. Delafosse lui-même, la même racine existe dans le dialecte dyoula (diao ou diago = commercer, diagolila ou diolila, commerçant). On conviendra que, dans ces conditions, il est difficile d'accepter l'affirmation que "le mot dyoula ne possède le sens de commerçant ou colporteur dans aucun dialecte mandé.

3.0 "What is Bambara?"

This passage above illustrates the answer to the question "What is Bambara?" in Tauxier's texts. Bambara is clearly identified as a Mande dialect and a people related to other Mande language varieties. Tauxier views the Bambara as part of a larger group of "nègres soudanais" and as such they share certain common characteristics (e.g., illiteracy). The Bambara are also depicted as part of a specific race with a unique history whose social life is shaped by the physical environment. They are identified with a general "pays Bambara", as well as specific locations (e.g., Segou and Bougounni).

APPENDIX M – DESCRIPTION OF MONTEIL'S LES BAMBARA DU SÉGOU ET DU KAARTA

Monteil's monograph consists of an introduction and six chapters on the origin and history of the Bambara; their concepts, communautés, confréries, and clans; and Islam. He concludes this monograph with Bambara texts. Throughout this monograph, Monteil cites the work of missionaries (e.g., Bazin 1906; Henry 1910; Sauvart 1913), earlier explorers and military expeditions (e.g., Binger 1892; Park 1820; Raffenet 1856; Mage 1868; Quintin 1881), the interpreter Travélé (1920, 1923), and scholars (e.g., Delafosse 1911, 1913). He uses Bambara vocabulary throughout the text and includes eight photographs.

1.0 Introduction

In his introduction, Monteil makes the following points about the Bambara and his monograph:

1. The Bambara number over 500,000 (according to the census figures in Delafosse's Haut-Sénégal-Niger) and are therefore one of the most important groups in West Africa.
2. The Bambara have a shared language and customs (at least for the "great lines").
3. His object of study is the Bambara of Segou and Kaarta who are noted for their empires.
 - a) The history of the Segou and Kaarta empires is well known.
 - b) Monteil adds an unedited chronicle of the empire of Segou which "présente, entre autre intérêt, celui d'être due entièrement à un de ces traditionnistes dont l'érudition, aussi sûre et précise que le permet le milieu indigène, mérite de retenir l'attention." (Monteil 1924:1).
4. Monteil's text is only a "commentary" supported with knowledge obtained during his administrative duties.

5. Monteil describes the difficulties in portraying Bambara customs including:
 - a) Describing how customs are translated into socially determined manifestations.
 - b) The danger in applying terms and characteristics of institutions (in particular European ones) to indigenous institutions which seem similar.
6. Monteil uses only indigenous terms in his monograph.

2.0 "Origine et histoire"

In the first chapter of this text, Monteil includes a map of Segou and Kaarta, census figures for distribution of the Bambara in Haut-Sénégal-Niger,¹⁰³ and the etymologies of "Ségou" and "Kaarta" in order to contextualize his discussion of the origin and history of the Bambara of Segou and Kaarta. Monteil (1924:4) states that while he is only examining the Segou and Kaarta Bambara, "l'exposé de leurs concepts et de leurs institutions vaut, dans les gandes lignes, pour tous les Bambara." One of the reasons for this generalization of the Bambara concepts and institutions is that it is difficult to distinguish precisely which Bambara belong to Kaarta and to Segou as these expressions do not correspond to "aucune circonscription territoriale bien définie et quand un indigène parle du Kaarta ou du Ségou, il donne à ces termes une compréhension généralement vague et cela s'explique." (Monteil 1924:4).

According to Monteil, "Kaarta" means "pays des Karé" or more strictly "la collectivité des Karé". Wherever one finds "Karé" one says in Soninké, "Karu-ta" which when contracted is "Karta". Therefore, "Le mot Kaarta ne désigne donc une région que par rapport à ceux qui l'occupent et n'a que par extension valeur

d'expression géographique." (Monteil 1924:5). In this text Monteil (1924:5) gives a particular meaning to the term "Kaarta", "Des Bambara qui fondèrent un clan à Sounsanna, dans le pays des Karé, l'on a dit: en soninké, *Karta-n-ko*; en bambara, *Karta-n-ka-u* 'ceux du Kaarta'. De là, Kaarta est devenu le nom des pays occupés par ce clan, dans ses nombreux déplacements." In contrast to Kaarta, according to Monteil (1924:5) the term "gens de Ségou" presents a different situation:

C'est de Ségou, la capitale de leur clan, qu'ils ont été dénommés et, par pays de Ségou, il faut entendre: *stricto sensu*, ce *to-da* dont la description est donnée au Chapitre V et qui était, en définitive, la région environnante de Ségou, occupée par le chef du clan, sa famille et leur gens; *lato sensu*, le pays de Ségou c'était tout le territoire relevant de l'autorité du clan de Ségou et, à l'apogée de la puissance de ce clan, "le pays de Ségou" s'étalait sur les deux rives du Niger, suivant l'axe du fleuve depuis Kangaba jusqu'à Tombouctou.

On his map, Monteil shows the territorial limits of Segou and Kaarta in order to satisfy "notre désir d'Européens épris des choses nettes et définies". But, Monteil (1924:5) states that from an "indigenous" viewpoint, this map is of little interest as their objective is not to control an area, but rather to exploit "du plus grand nombre possible d'individus, abstraction faite des questions de pays et de race."

Monteil (1924:5-11) begins his description of the origins of the Segou and Kaarta Bambara with a discussion of the etymology of the term "Bambara". Monteil states that the populations considered in this study known as "Bambara" by Europeans and by the majority of the indigenous peoples, but they call

themselves "Banmana" or "Bamana". First, Monteil describes two common etymologies offered by European authors:

1. "bamba" or "bamma" (caïman) – This etymology makes an allusion to a "tne" common to those who call themselves "bambara/bamanan", but Monteil claims that in fact this "tne" involves only a small group of "bambara/bamana" and therefore doesn't apply to whole group.
2. "ban-ma-na" (refus au maître) – Monteil (1924:7) claims that "Cette étymologie, défendable linguistiquement, ne serait applicable qu'au nom des immigrés du Toron et nous laisse dans l'ignorance du nom qu'eux et leurs congénères portaient avant cette immigration."

Next, Monteil (1924:7-8) offers an etymology gathered from a Soninké informant in order to demonstrate the dangers of fabricated etymologies given by indigenous informants:

Au moment où prit fin leur hégémonie dans la région de Ségou, les Soninké, constatant la rébellion générale de leurs serfs, disaient: *u bara bango bè la*, qu'il faudrait traduire: 'ils on refusé (de se soumettre) de tous côtés.'

Monteil believes that this etymology was invented because of the relationships between the Soninké and the Bambara. Monteil does not believe that the "indigenes" know the origin of the term "bambara" and its variations.

Monteil argues that these terms (Bambara, Banmana, and Bamana) are derived from the root "ba". In addition, Monteil states that if one removes the final "na" from "Banmana" the resulting term "banma" is morphologically comparable to "finma" (noir). "Finma" can be replaced with "fin" or "fi" without changing its meaning. Likewise, "banma" can be replaced with "ban" or "ba". Monteil (1924:8) then goes on to compare the term "ba" with the Peul term "bal" (noir) arguing that, "Ce rapprochement est acceptable parce que le poular est, par origine, une

langue nègre autochtone de ces régions et que, d'autre part, la comparaison des dialectes soudanais atteste que ces dialectes se sont fait de mutuels emprunts." Monteil concludes that the term "Banmana" and its variants mean "les Noirs".

In "le langage courant", Monteil notes that the term "Bambara" has many meanings:

1. For the Muslims, "Bambara" means infidel, pagan, or alcohol drinker.
2. For the pastoralists (i.e., the Maures and Peuls), the term means cultivators and "le Nègre".
3. For those in power, or those who had power, the term means slave.
4. For everyone, "Bambara" refers to the primitive or the socially inferior individual.
5. For the Malinké, and after them the French, it refers to those who speak "le dialecte dit bambara et qui se nomment eux-mêmes Banmana ou Bamana" (Monteil 1924:9). This is the meaning that Montiel attaches to the term in this text.

Monteil notes that in addition to calling themselves the "Bambara" in general, other designations are made in terms of geographic distribution (e.g., Beledugu-ka-u (ceux de Beledugu); Karta-n-ka-u (ceux de Kaarta); Bani-n-ko-ka-u (ceux du Bani-n-ko); and Segu-n-ka-u (Ségou)). These terms also have a political significance, "par *Ségu-n-ka-u* l'on entend, notamment, les gens du parti qui, à Ségou, exerce le pouvoir et seul le contexte, ou le sujet de la conversation, permet de préciser de quels gens il s'agit." (Monteil 1924:10). The Bambara factions also characterize themselves through the use of nicknames (e.g., *Nya-ni-Nyele-u* "ceux de Nya et de Nyélé" – Nya and Nyélé are common female names in Segou).

After discussing the various etymologies of the term “Bambara” and its variants, Monteil describes the origin of the Bambara. Monteil (1924:11-16) draws upon “informateurs indigènes sérieux et réputés pour bien connaître les traditions”, as well as European accounts of Bambara tradition (e.g., Raffenet and Quintin) to argue that:

Les migration des Bambara, parlant le bambara, issus du Mandé ainsi défini et qui se sont produites lors de l'instauration du clan des Keïta au XIIIe siècle, ne sont pas, à mon avis, l'origine exclusive du peuplement par leurs congénères des principales régions occupées aujourd'hui par ceux-ci. Je pense que dans l'aire géographique connue de nous sous les noms de Mandé, Toron, Baninko, Ségou, BéléDougou, Kaarta, il y a, depuis des temps bien antérieurs au XIIIe siècles, des Bambara parlant le dialecte bambara.

While Monteil can establish that the traditions of the Bambara in this area are tied to the Kouloubali family and the founders of the Segou and Kaarta clans, he is unable to uncover the “precise traditions” of other Bambara who were established in this area. According to Monteil (1924:19), although the *Tarikh-es-Soudan* alludes to the Bambara, “il est difficile de savoir dans quel sens il emploie ce terme; frequemment, il équivaut simplement à ‘païens’.”

The final area that Monteil addresses in this chapter is the history of the Bambara of Segou and Kaarta. Monteil (1924:21) states that “L’histoire générale des Bambara est donc encore écrire; ce que l’on en connaît avec quelques détails est relatif aux clans du Ségou et du Kaarta et, même dans ce domaine restreint, il s’en faut que l’on soit sûrement documenté.” For his account, Monteil relies upon two “*dyeli* mulsulmans illettrés” who he had come to Dienné in 1902 where he was stationed as commandant de cercle:

1. Karé Tammoura for Segou – Monteil states that Karé Tammoura's account does not change substantially what is already known about the history of Segou. Instead he adds "l'allure essentiellement indigène que j'ai tenu à lui conserver" (1924:25). Monteil presents Karé Tammoura's account in its entirety despite its weaknesses and gaps, but cautions that "Ce Bambara de Ségou s'est parfois laissé aller à couvrir la vérité d'un voile musulman, parce qu'il est converti à l'islamisme, mais il est facile de dégager la réalité des faits de ce maquillage souvent maladroit." (1924:26).
2. Gran Koaté for Kaarta – Monteil notes that Gran Koaté is also a native of Ségou who was attached to Ahmadou in the capacity of a "homme de confiance".

Monteil relied upon an interpreter (Souleïman Goundiamou) who served as a "précieux initiateur et informateur des chose indigènes" (1924:25) to translate their accounts. Monteil also notes that he played a role in any gaps in their accounts, as he was obliged to cut short any long soliloquies in order to attend to his other functions and additionally was unable to retain them in Dienné for any long period of time. In both of their accounts, Monteil includes charts of the "chefs du clan" of Segou and Kaarta.

3.0 "Les concepts"

In his second chapter, Monteil describes the Bambara "concepts" including their beliefs; moral code and customs; and divination, religion, and magic. Monteil draws parallels between the Bambara, Christians and Muslims. For example, Monteil (1924:119) notes that "Tout comme nous-mêmes, le Bambara a la perception de la vie intérieure et il la traduit dans son langage par des expressions imagées qui localisent, en quelque sorte, ses sensations." At the same time he is careful to note the uniqueness of "indigenous" Bambara practices and beliefs. He also notes the role Islam has had in shaping their

current practices. For example, Monteil (1924:128) notes the impact of Islam on their understanding of a supreme being:

La croyance à un maître de l'univers existe chez les Bambara, mais cette croyance a emprunté à l'Islam une précision que le fond indigène paraît ignorer. En tout cas, il n'y a pas pour Dieu un mot bambara autre que celui introduit par l'islam: Allah, prononcé Ngala. Cette absence de nom bambara peut d'ailleurs s'expliquer par la coutume qui interdit de prononcer le nom des puissants, dans la crainte de provoquer leur colère.

Monteil concludes this chapter by discussing "les Noirs" in general and their inability to abstract from their natural environment noting that "il n'est pas arrivé à ce stade où l'homme se considère comme une espèce d'intermédiaire entre le naturel et le surnaturel." (1924:156).

4.0 "Les communautés"

Wooten (1993:436-438) points out how Monteil's treatment of the domestic sphere in his chapter on "les communautés" focuses on the linguistic difficulties in describing African concepts in European terms and that the use of Euro-centric terms has blurred the African reality. For example, Monteil (1924:158) states that:

Dans la langue des Bambara, il n'y a pas de termes proprement équivalents à notre mot famille, entendu au sens juridique. La collectivité placée sous l'autorité d'un même *fa* est désignée sous des appellations qui diffèrent selon que l'on envisage la collectivité elle-même, ou bien le lien que cette collectivité.

Therefore, Monteil prefers to use the term "communauté", rather than the term "famille" and its European significance. In this chapter he goes on to explore "la communauté patriarcale ou patriarchie", "la communauté familiale ou la famille", and "rapports entre communautés".

5.0 "Les confréries"

In this chapter Monteil describes the various Bambara "confréries" (e.g., "n-Tomo", "Kore", "Nama") and their associated practices (e.g., circumcision) and political and social significance. Monteil (1924:250) argues that these "confréries" are indigenous institutions:

Rien ne s'oppose à ce que les confréries bambara soient des institutions purement indigènes: il y en a partout d'analogues en Afrique, notamment dans les régions que l'Islam n'a point touchées. Toutes procèdent de principes pareils, qui s'extériorisent en des manifestations caractéristiques de l'occultisme africain.

At the same time, the Bambara have incorporated diverse elements from the outside, such as those brought by the Berbers and Arabs.

6.0 "Les clans"

Monteil critiques the use of the term "empire" or "royauté" to describe the form of government associated with the Sudanese states, especially those of the Bambara. He argues the basic social unit is the "communauté" which is based upon the family which expands into a patriarchy, tribe, and people. Its members are united on the basis of blood ties that are affirmed with ancestor cults. He contrasts this with a European notion of a feudal system that rests on a hierarchy based upon land ownership.

Monteil describes the Bambara organization as being based upon first the "dugu" (or village), then the "kafu" (or province), and finally the "ton" (or clan) which is the "empire". Monteil (1924:289) argues that it is essential to "définir sommairement la valeur de ces termes dans le plan de la société indigène, afin

d'éviter l'ambiguïté dont le moins que l'on puisse dire, c'est qu'elle engendre des illusions déformantes." He devotes the rest of this chapter to detailing the clans of the "gens de Ségou" and the "Massa-si ou des 'gens du Kaarta'".

7.0 "L'Islam"

Although it is a common assertion that the Bambara are "enemies" of Islam, Monteil points out that the Bambara have lived in contact with Islam for centuries (1924:331-337). In addition, the chiefs of the Segou and Kaarta clans, as well as others, practiced Islam. Monteil argues that Islam and "paganism" are not polar opposites in the Sudan, but rather that there is an Islamization of the Sudanese and a Sudanization of Islam that accounts for the religious practices observed in the Sudan.

One example Monteil (1924:333) offers to illustrate his contention involves the use of "divination géomantique" by Muslims:

Ainsi, toutes les confréries indigènes ont adopté la divination géomantique importée par les musulmans, si bien qu'il n'est aucun Bambara qui ne consulte le géomancien, qu'il appelle: *laturudala*, ou *kenyela*, ou *buguridala*.¹⁰⁴ Ces trois vocables attestent à eux seuls l'oeuvre de soudanisation: alors que le premier a pour point de départ une déformation de l'arabe *et tereb* (la terre), les deux autres sont strictement bambara dans toutes les parties. Par ailleurs, les transformations du jeu géomantique témoignent, elle aussi, dans le même sens.

Monteil argues that his example demonstrates how Islam reinforces paganism among the Bambara. According to Monteil, "pagans" believe that the "illiterate" geomancer and the marabout, who utilizes the book of Ez Zenati in his divination, produce the same results. Literacy does not seem to be the source of authority

for marabouts, as in judicial matters, for example, the integrity and impartiality of the marabout is more important than his "science des textes".

Monteil also wants to demonstrate that the Bambara drew upon Islam prior to the actions of the "gens du Macina" and those of Futa. He utilizes Park and Raffenel's accounts to demonstrate the prior existence of a Sudanese Islam. For example, he states that Park indicates that half of the army of Kaarta was Muslim.

8.0 "Textes bambara"

Monteil (1924:346–401) includes ten Bambara texts in the final chapter of Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta. Monteil argues that the "dialecte bambara" is sufficiently known. Therefore, he does not need to present a grammatical study or provide a vocabulary. Instead, he offers these ten texts as a contribution to the body of texts that have already been published. These texts are presented in Bambara on one page with a French translation on the facing page. He uses footnotes to provide additional information or explanations. Monteil collected these texts in Médine and Dienné from people of Kaarta and Ségou, whom he describes as "bons informateurs". According to Monteil, the texts represent a variety of indigenous literary genres.

9.0 "What Is Bambara?"

Monteil's monograph is in a sense a comprehensive attempt to answer the question, "What is Bambara?", at least for the Bambara of Segou and Kaarta.

Monteil characterizes the Bambara as a large group of West African peoples who share a common language and customs. Monteil defines the Bambara as those who speak the Bambara dialect and who call themselves Banaman or Bamana. The Bambara of Segu and Kaarta are associated with “empires” and have a partial association with Islam. While presenting the specific practices and history of the Segu and Kaarta Bambara, Monteil also associates the Bambara with larger groups such as the Sudanese, the Africans, and the “Noirs”.

APPENDIX N – DESCRIPTION OF TRAVÉLÉ’S TEXTS

1.0 Description of Travélé’s Petit manuel français-bambara

The first text produced by Moussa Travélé was his Petit manuel français-bambara, which was first published in 1910. A second edition appeared in 1922, and it is this edition (reprinted in 1955) that I consider in this section. In his preface to the second edition, Travélé states “J’en ai profité pour corriger quelques erreurs et combler quelques lacunes qui m’avaient échappé, ainsi que pour ajouter un certain nombre de phrases de conversation usuelle.” In addition, Travélé notes that he took greater care in the transcription of “indigenous” words in this edition.

This edition consists of four parts – an “introduction” by Maurice Delafosse (original to the first edition), Travélé’s “preface” to the first edition, his “preface” to the second edition, and the “manuel” itself.

1.1 Introduction

In his introduction, Delafosse first notes that the governor of Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Clozel) asked him to edit the manual of “l’interprète *Moussa Travélé* (ou *Taraoré*).” Delafosse next makes several “observations” about this manual:

1. He notes the differences between the terms used for this language variety – “le *bambara* selon l’appellation vulgaire ou mieux le *ban-mana* selon la prononciation indigène.”

2. He notes that this “language” is one of the principal “dialects” of the “grande famille dite *mandé* ou mandingue.”
3. He states that Bambara is different enough from the other dialects that is “merits” being studied separately.
4. He singles out Dioula and Malinké as “mandingue dialects”.
5. He notes the geographic location where this language is spoken (i.e., principally in the cercles of Segou, Bamako, Bougouni, Goumbou, Nioro, Sokolo, Kita, Bafoulabé and Kayes; and less often in other parts of Haut-Sénégal-Niger).

1.2 Prefaces

In his preface to the first edition, Travélé describes his manual as “une oeuvre modeste” designed as a practical guide to assist Europeans. As such, Travélé has focused on the “exact pronunciation” that one would hear coming from the mouth of the “indigènes”. Travélé (1955:v) describes the “langue bambara as one of the most widespread in the former French Sudan:

La langue bambara est une des plus répandues dans tout le Soudan Français, et on dit d'ailleurs: *Banmana kan é foroba yé* ce qui signifie “la langue bambara est universelle”. Sa connaissance permet de se faire comprendre dans la plus grande étendue de ces vastes territoires.

In his preface to the second edition, Travélé explains that he has been able to correct several errors, gaps, add some phrases and pay attention to the transcription of “indigenous” words. He does not state why a second edition is necessary other than the fact that the first edition ran out.

1.3 “Petit manuel français-bambara”

The manual itself contains twenty-nine sections covering a wide range of grammatical subjects and topical areas (see Table 57). In certain sections grammatical points are made (e.g., pronoms), while in others, Travélé just lists phrases related to the subject (e.g., L'homme égaré).

Table 57 – List of Sections in Travélé's Petit manuel français-bambara

de la prononciation de l'article et du nom pronoms la numération le temps, ses divisions, sa mesure monnaie le corps humain la parenté le boisson l'habillement le feu la table et la nourriture quelques animaux adjectifs	particules et adverbessalutations visite de l'âge le marché construction d'une maison en voyage rencontre de colporteurs dioula tournée de recensement pour s'orienter le docteur l'homme égaré dans la boutique quelques phrases
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In addition to these sections, Travélé also includes a “conte bambara”, a “fable bambara”, four “petits chants bambaras”, and some “proverbes bambara”. The “conte bambara” and “fable bambara” are presented without any context or explanatory information. Travélé provides the Bambara text on one side of the page and the French translation on the other side of the page. Occasional footnotes provide supplemental information such as alternative common endings for a “conte”. Travélé provides more information for the songs and proverbs,

such as explaining when each song is sung. For example, Travélé (1955:87) states that one song is:

Chanté par les bûcherons lorsqu'ils abattent un gros arbre. Ils pensent que les grands arbres sont habités par des génies et leur font des excuses, en disant que tout ce qui vit doit mourir.

In his manual, Travélé makes references to other Mande languages varieties and their speakers. For example, in a footnote to the term "soixante", Travélé (1955:15) states:

C'est à dire *kémé* de *Mani* ou des *Mani-nga* ou Malinké. Le meme mot *kémé* est employé avec le sens de 60 chez les Malinké de 80 chez les Bambara et de 100 chez les Dioula.

In addition, Travélé (1955:52-53) references other non-Mande peoples such as the Peuls:

Le mot *bougou* désigne proprement un hutte construite entièrement en paille; on l'entoure de sékos (palissades en vannerie) et on le couvre avec de la paille. Les *bougou* ne sont, pour les Bambara, que des habitations provisoires; il n'en est pas de même chez les Peuls.

Travélé also notes distinctions between "rules" and actual linguistic practices. For example, he states that "Nous ferons remarquer que les Bambara ne comptent pas toujours exactement comme il est dit plus haut; très souvent ils se servent des expressions suivantes" (1955:16). He then goes on to list several alternative Bambara expressions used in counting. In addition, he offers alternative pronunciations of some terms, such as *Banmana*, "On prononce aussi *Bammana*, *Banmanan*, *Banbanan* et *Banbara*." (Travélé 1955:57).

The phrases contained in Travélé's manual reflect some of the administrative concerns of the French and situations where knowledge of

Bambara would be useful (e.g., conducting a census, judicial matters, and collecting taxes). For example, in the section entitled “Rencontre de colporteurs Dioula”, the reader can learn how to ask for the “colporteurs” for their papers, what they are carrying, and if they have a license for their goods. In addition to providing the reader with a pragmatic tool to carry out these activities, it also gives a picture of what one might expect in these situations. For example, Travélé lists a series of phrases concerning a complaint that a man has hit the speaker:

- Tu prétends que cet homme t’a frappé le premier. Il nie. *É ko ko tiè in folo y’ i bougo, a y’l k’a ra.*
- As-tu des témoins? *Sédé ou séré b’i la?*
- Tout le monde le sait. *Bé b’a don.*
- Oui, j’ai plusieurs témoins. *O-o, séré tiaman bè n’na.*
- Ou sont-ils? *Ou bè mi?*

In a footnote, Travélé (1955:65) comments that in response to the question, “Do you have any witnesses?”, the speaker will usually respond first, “Yes, everyone knows it.” The next phrase Travélé presents in this series is “Yes, I have several witnesses.”

2.0 Description of Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français

Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français (1913) is comprised of six parts – a preface (written by Maurice Delafosse), an introduction, preliminary observations, a French-Bambara dictionary, a Bambara-French dictionary, and diverse texts.

2.1 Preface

In his preface, Delafosse states that this dictionary is intended not only for Europeans, but also for Bambara who want to learn French and to assist interpreters in the Sudan in finding the right word. The inclusion of Bambara and interpreters as part of the intended audience means that Travélé is contributing to the spread of French through “his country.”

Delafosse also points out that Travélé’s dictionary is groundbreaking despite the fact that many works have been published on the Mande language, especially the Bambara dialect. He argues that Travélé was the first “indigène” to complete a study and dictionary of his own language; this is the first dictionary presented in a “convenient” format; and it is the first Bambara-French-Bambara dictionary produced. Delafosse notes that Bazin’s dictionary is unilateral (i.e., Bambara-French).

Finally, Delafosse indicates that this dictionary is an important document for those who have a “scientific” interest in African languages. Therefore, he clarifies the transcription that Travélé used in this text, stating that, “Mais, bien que les linguistes ne soient qu’une minorité, il ne serait pas juste de ne pas penser aussi à eux.” (1913:iv). In his description of the transcription, Delafosse (1915:v) makes reference to the use of five nasal vowels in Bambara, two of which have exact correspondents in French and three of which are found in the French as pronounced by certain French speakers and in certain dialects, “Les trois autres n’ont pas d’équivalent exact en français, mais elles en ont dans

plusieurs dialectes de la langue d'oc et même dans des mots français tels que les prononcent beaucoup d'habitants du midi de la France.”

2.2 Introduction

In his introduction, Travélé states that he has entitled this text “petit dictionnaire” as he intended that it be carried in one’s pocket. Therefore it only contains the most common and useful terms. For example, he has omitted botanical terms as they are only known by hunters and not by the majority of the Bambara speakers. In addition, he provides limited explanations and details. However, Travélé (1913:xi) felt that it was necessary to include variations in pronunciation, as regional differences can be confusing to the beginner. Despite the difficulties that the beginner might have with differences in pronunciation, Travélé (1913:xi) does contend that knowledge of one variety of Bambara will enable one to understand those spoken in other areas:

J’ai souvent entendu dire qu’il suffisait de changer de canton pour ne plus être compris. Cela n’est pas tout à fait exact, car il est incontestable qu’une personne connaissant bien le bambara de Ségou ou celui de Dienné, de Bougouni, de Sokolo ou de Kayes, et parlant bien l’un de ces dialectes, se fera sûrement comprendre dans toutes ces localités et dans les régions qui les avoisinent.

2.3 “Observations et préliminaires”

In his “observations préliminaires,” Travélé describes the alphabet, pronunciation, and abbreviations used in the dictionary. In his discussion of the characters employed in the dictionary, Travélé (1913:13) states that:

Comme le Bambara est une langue qui n’a point encore de littérature écrite, chacun a la liberté de choisir les lettres qu’il veut

pour rendre les sons de cet idiome; mais nous pensons qu'il est bon de *simplifier* ce choix en employant autant que possible les lettres et signes de l'alphabet français.

In addition, Travélé notes that the characters of the French alphabet lend themselves to the sounds of the "langue bambara." Travélé outlines exceptions and sounds unique to Bambara. For example, Travélé (1913:14) states that:

n à la fin des syllabes donne à la voyelle qui le précède un son nasal à peine sensible si cette voyelle est *e*, *ô* ou *ou*, et le même son qu'en français si cette voyelle est *a* ou *o*; ainsi *bélen* "encore", *den* "enfant",

In the final part of this section, Travélé lists the abbreviations utilized in the dictionary. Of interest here is a list of language varieties from which certain Bambara terms are derived including Arabic, Malinké, French, and Wolof.

2.4 "Dictionnaire

The majority of this text consists of two dictionaries – a French-Bambara dictionary and a Bambara-French dictionary. The former consists of over 2,900 French entries and their Bambara equivalents and the latter consists of over 3,200 Bambara entries and their French equivalents. Additional information is provided for some of the Bambara terms (e.g., Travélé (1913:43) gives the most common divinations in a footnote to the French term "devin"). Travélé also indicates whether the term is borrowed from another language variety (e.g., "*Infirmier* – Anféremié (f.)") or its equivalent in another language variety (e.g., "*Disa* – Turban (*Tambasabé* en Wolof)"). Finally, in some cases the reader is referred back to Travélé's Petit Manuel Bambara-Français (1910). For example,

for the term “cent”, Travélé (1913:31) refers the reader back to the “numeration” contained in the Manuel.

1. **Geographical locations** – Travélé provides Bambara terms for certain geographical locations as indicated in Table 58. The most common geographical location cited is a “ville”. For some “villes”, Travélé gives alternative names (e.g., “Sansanding” for “Sinsani”; “Toubouctou” for “Toumoutou”). One “ville”, “Bamako”, is more precisely identified as the “capitale du Soudan”, while “Ségou” is identified as a “ville de Soudan.” Travélé also refers to “villages” (e.g., “Tiéléya”) and “provinces” (e.g., “Bélédougou”).

Table 58 – Terms for Geographical Locations in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

Bambara	French
Baflabén	N.p. de ville (Bafoulabé)
Bamako	N.p. de ville (capitale du Soudan)
Banamba	N.p. de ville
Barawélén	N.p. de ville (Baraouéli)
Bélédougou	N.p. de province
Bougouni	N.p. de ville
Kati	N.p. de ville
Kayé	N.p. de ville (Kayes)
Kita	N.p. de ville
Kouloukoro	N.p. de ville (Koulikoro)
Madina	N.p. de ville (Médine)
Mandé	N.p. de pays (le Manding)
Ménigna	N.p. de village
Misira (A)	Le Caire, Egypte
San	N.p. de ville
Ségou	N. d’une ville de Soudan
Sinsani	N.p. de ville (Sansanding)
Souala	N.p. de ville (Sokolo)
Tiéléya	Nom propre de village
Tiéléyadougou	N.p. de province
Tiéndougou	N.p. de province
Touba	N.p. de ville
Toumoutou	Très petite aiguille; n.p. e ville (Tombouctou)
Wéré (souraka-)	Campement des Maures
Wéré (Fla-)	Village peul

2. Terms for “peoples” – Table 59 indicates some of the French terms for “peoples” that Travélé includes in his dictionary. What is interesting here is the inclusion of the term for an Israelite and a Turk and the inclusion of the French as part of a larger European group (i.e., *toubabou*). Table 60 lists some of the Bambara terms for peoples. In his French translations, Travélé indicates whether these terms refer to “peoples”, “families”, “names”, “tribes”, or “races”.

Table 59 –French Terms for “Peoples” in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

French	Bambara
Anglais	N'guélési
Bambara	Bamanan (nom de peuple)
Européen	Toubabou
Français	Toubabou
Israélite	Banisaïlanké (A)
Turc	Tourouki (A)

Table 60 – Bambara Terms for “Peoples” in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

Bambara	French
Aousa	N.p. de peuple
Bamana	Bambara (nom de peuple)
Bobo	Nom de peuple du Soudan
Boso	N. d'une tribu de pêcheurs
Maninka	Malinké, n.p. de peuple
Marabâ, Marabaga	N.p. de race (Haoussa)
Masalé	N.p. de famille noble du Manding (Keïta)
Masa-si	N.p. d'une famille Bambara (dans le Kaarta)
Môsi	N.p. de peuple (Mossi)
Nôka	Surnom donné aux Travélé par les Bambara du Bélédougou
Somono	Pêcheur de race

3. Racial terms – Table 61 and Table 62 list some of the French and Bambara terms related to “race” in Travélé’s dictionary. In his dictionary, Travélé makes a clear distinction between “blanc” as a color term (white) and a “racial” term (European).

Table 61 – French “Racial” Terms in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

French	Bambara
Blanc	Diéman
Blanc (Européen)	Toubabou
Mulâtre	Moulâtrara (f), toubabou-mogofin dén
Nègre	Mogofin, fara-fin, mâ-fin
Noir	Finman
Race	Si, siya

Table 62 – Bambara “Racial” Terms in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

Bambara	French
Dié, Diéman	Blanc
Finman	Noir
Si	Vie, nature, genre, race, sorte
Toubabou (W)	Blanc, Européen

4. Religious terms – Table 63 presents some French terms related to religion. Travélé provides French equivalents for the term “Jew”, two references to Muslims (“Mahométan” and “Musulman”), but does not provide any translations for either the term “Christian” or “Catholic”. The terms related to paganism (“infidèle”, “paganisme” and “païen”) do not reference “Bambara”, as did earlier vocabularies.

Table 63 – French Religious Terms in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

French	Bambara
Adam (n.p.)	Adam
Coran	Alikourâni (A)
Eglise	Toubabou-misiri
Eve (n.p.)	Awa
Fétiche	Boli, bori, bési, basi
Fétichiste	Boli-tigui, doma, tontigui
Génuflexion	Gnunkirini
Juif	Yahoudia (A)
Idolâtre	Boli-tigui, bési-tigui
Infidèle	Kafiri (A), tontigui
Islamisme	Silaméya
Mahométan	Kira-manton, silâmé
Mosquée	Misiri (A)
Musulman	Silamé (A), mori
Paganisme	Tontikya

Table 63 (cont'd)

French	Bambara
Païen	Tôntigui
Prophète	Kira, killa, alakira
Ramadan	Sounkalo
Religion	Dyné (A)

5. Language related terms – Travélé lists several French language-related terms in his dictionary (see Table 64). Many of the terms in this list refer to the act of writing (e.g., ink, inkstand, letter) and reading. Travélé also includes terms for “grammar” and “grammarian” which are derived from Arabic (*nahaou*).

Table 64 – French Language Related Terms in Travélé’s Petit dictionnaire

French	Bambara
Ecrire	Sébé, sébélisé
Ecrit	Sébé
Encre (pour écrire)	Daba-dji (A)
Encrier	Daba-bara
Grammaire	Nahaou (A)
Grammairien	Nahaou-don-bâ, mâ-mi-bé-nahaou-don
Illettre	Sébé-don-béli; mami-té-kalan-don
Interprète	Dalaminé, dalaminéla; kanaminé; kanaminéla
Langue (langage)	Kan
Lecture	Kalan
Lettre	Sébé, bataki (A)
Lire	Kalan, kalanké
Professeur	Karamoko
Professorat	Karamokoya
Vérité	Sébé, sobé, tien

2.5 “Textes divers”

In the final section, Travélé presents six Bambara texts and their French translations and some explanatory footnotes. At the end of this section, Travélé states that these texts are presented primarily as an exercise for the reader, they do not have any “real morality”. He explains that most Bambara stories take

place in the world of animals. Each animal has a traditional role (e.g., rabbit is cunning, hyena is a fool). Travélé (1913:280) then goes on to state the Bambara express the same types of opinions about the “different races” that they surround:

“Le Malinké est sot” disent-ils.

“Le Peul est très rusé, très importun, excellent pasteur et connu pour sa trahison.” D’ailleurs un proverbe dit: *M â yé Fla don, I t’a fla-nan don*; On a Peul connu, tu pas son deuxième connaître; c’est-à-dire que, si l’on a eu affaire à un Peul, on se gardera d’avoir affaire à un untre Peul. Et encore: *Fla yé misi-bo kéné yé: kounala dia-lé, dioukourala kéné do*. Peul est boeuf-bouse fraîche est: le dessus sec, le dessous frais est. C’est-à-dire que le Peul ne montre pas ce qu’il pense.

Le Sarakolé est vantard, peureux, mais commerçant; Le Kâgoro est très criard, mais a bon cœur; Le Wolof est trop orgueilleux et veut se faire passer pour un Blanc; Le vrai Dioula ne trompe jamais dans son commerce, il prétend qu’un caurie illicite fait perdre cent mille cauries; Le Maure est menteur et pillard; Le Marabout est comme une femme: à celui qui lui donne des biens, il révèle son secret et lui donne des talismans; Le Sénougo est le plu discret, c’est-à-dire qu’il ne révèle ce qu’il pense à personne; Le Griot est le perturbateur du pays, car, lorsqu’il domine un chef avec sa lange, il lui fait commettre toutes les oppressions possibles.

3.0 Description of Travélé’s Proverbes et contes bambara

Travélé’s Proverbes et contes bambara: Accompagnés d’une traduction française et précédés d’un abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké, published in 1923, is comprised of three sections – an “abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké,” “proverbes et devinettes bambara,” and “contes.” The main body of the text is preceded by a preface, written by Delafosse and an introduction by Travélé.

3.1 Preface

In his preface, Delafosse first notes that “Le nom de l’interprète principal Moussa Travélé” is well known in the French Sudan. Travélé is also well known by people living in the metropole who are interested in Sudanese languages and customs. Delafosse further positions Travélé as a “modest and conscientious worker” who also wrote the Petit manuel français-bambara and the Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français.

Delafosse next describes the content of Travélé’s text. As for the “abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké,” Delafosse notes that, “La première partie de son ouvrage, quoique volontairement concise, nous renseigne sur bien des points de détail encore peu ou mal connus”. Delafosse identifies the audience of this “abrégé” as ethnographers and sociologists. In addition, he notes that it will be helpful to everyone, both Europeans and “natives”, who have to administer justice to the Sudanese populations.

Delafosse (Travélé 1923:i) notes the “universality” of Travélé’s presentation of “customary law”:

La plupart des coutumiers indiquées par l’auteur se retrouvent chez la majeure partie des peuplades noires, au moins en esprit, et les renseignements puisés dans ce livre pourront être utiles en dehors même du domaine propre des Bambara et des Malinké.

But, despite the broader application of Travélé’s work to other “peuplades noires”, Delafosse indicates that the Malinké do not share all of the same traditions and customary laws. He states that (Travélé 1923:i-ii):

plusieurs des lois ou règles coutumières relevées par M. Moussa Travélé chez les Malinké du Nord et de l’Est, notamment celles relatives à la parenté, à la famille, au mariage, aux successions, ne

se présentent pas sous le même aspect chez certaines tribus malinké de l'Ouest et du Sud, qui ont conservé l'ancien système de filiation en tige utérine.

After discussing "customary law", Delafosse turns to Travélé's collection of proverbs, riddles, and stories. Delafosse first notes that Travélé transcribed this collection following the same principles utilized in his dictionary and manual. Delafosse states that it was he who "exposed" these principles in his preface to Travélé's dictionary.

Delafosse refers the reader who is interested in "poursuivent la connaissance du parler bambara" to Travélé's dictionary in order to "study" and "analyze" the proverbs, riddles, and stories. But Delafosse (Travélé 1923:ii) cautions the reader that:

La traduction qu'il en donne est correcte, mais non toujours littérale; il était indispensable qu'il en fût ainsi dans un volume qui n'est pas destiné seulement aux amateurs de linguistique et dans lequel les folkloristes trouveront amplement matière à satisfaire leur curiosité.

Delafosse concludes his "preface" by stating that he hopes that this "little work" will have the same success as Travélé's previous ones. He also thanks the author for writing it and the government of the French Sudan for supporting its publication. Delafosse wants to see other "natives" imitate Travélé (1923:ii):

Nous devons souhaiter aussi que l'interprète principal Moussa Travélé rencontre, parmi ses collègues de l'Afrique Occidentale, beaucoup d'imitateurs, venant nous renseigner sur les coutumes de leurs compatriotes et nous aider dans l'étude de leurs langues maternelles.

3.2 Introduction

In his introduction, Travélé describes his “abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké” as “une oeuvre modeste, mais qui contient cependant tout ce qui forme la base des coutumes indigènes.” He compares the “customary law” under discussion in this text with “Muslim law.” Travélé states that, “Le droit musulman, pour les quelques Soudanais qui le pratiquent à la lettre, ne nécessite pas un semblable travail, la loi coranique étant écrite.” In contrast, “customary law” is not written and is dependent upon the memory of the judges. In addition, Travélé depicts “customary law” as changing and that some day “non-Muslim” judges will lose their memory of it. Therefore, Travélé has attempted to present the “customary law” that existed before the French occupation before it is lost.

Travélé remarks that Delafosse advised him to present proverbs, stories, and riddles in this volume, along with their French translations. Travélé identifies the audience of this text as “non seulement les Européens désireux de connaître le folklore indigène, mais surtout ceux qui voudraient s'exercer à la langue bambara, ainsi que mes camarades indigènes lettrés, de plus en plus nombreux aux Soudan Français.”

3.3 “Abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké”

In his “abrégé de droit coutumier bambara et malinké,” Travélé divides his discussion of Bambara and Malinké customary law into 34 sections (listed below in Table 65). Travélé does not indicate why he organized his description of customary law into these 34 categories. In some instances, he does cross-

reference different sections, indicating the inter-relatedness of these categories as seen in the following example from the section on “réintégration du domicile conjugal” (1923:21):

Le réintégration du domicile conjugal peut être demandée par autre membre de la famille que le mari. La famille de la femme doit l'obliger à réintégrer le domicile de son mair (voir “pouvoirs du chef de famille”).

In Table 65, I have indicated whether Travélé offers: (1) a “generalized description” of the customary law, (2) specifically mentions “Bambara”; (3) specifically mentions both “Bambara” and “Malinké”; or (4) mentions another people. As illustrated in Table 65, Travélé offers a “generalized description” in 23 sections, specifically mentions “Bambara” or “Bambara” and “Malinké” in 11 sections, and mentions other peoples in six sections.

References to “Bambara”, “Malinké” and other peoples occur both in the text and in footnotes. For example, in his description of “des causes de divorce,” Travélé (1923:17) states that “La famille de la femme a le droit de demander le divorce au cas où le mari meurt avant de cohabiter avec le femme ou la fille.” In a footnote to this passage, he augments this statement by specifically mentioning that in this case the “Bambara” say, “*Alla é fourou sa* ‘Dieu a cassé le mariage’.” In some instances, Travélé refers to “Bambara”, “Malinké”, and other peoples as illustrated in the following example (1923:20):

Chez les Kagoro le châtiment de la femme est bien plus dur que chez les Bambara et les Malinké. L’amant paie au mari au amende égale à le droit de la femme. Cet amant n’a plus la moindre considération dans son pays s’il est Kagoro lui-même. S’il est étranger, il est expulse après le paiement de l’amende.

The other peoples that Travélé mentions are the Baoulé, the Kagoro, and the Minianka. He mentions the Baoulé in his description “de la famille”, the Kagoro in his descriptions of “des fiançailles”, “mariage”, “adultère”, and “des successions et séprations”. In addition to mentioning the Kagoro in his description of “quelques règles de droit coutumier en matière pénale”, Travélé also mentions the Minianka. Travélé (1923:10-11) first describes the Kagoro in a footnote in his section on “mariage”:¹⁰⁵

Cette race des Kagoro, dont l'origine exacte semble être ignorée jusqu'à présent, a conservé beaucoup de traits communs avec les musulmans. De vieux Kagoro du cercle de Bamako m'ont déclaré que les Kagoro viennent des Peuls: les Fofana sont venus du Fouta-Toro (Sénégal); les Magassa viennent d'un captif du Fouta-Diallon (Guinée française). Ce sont, disent-ils, les deux seules vraies familles de Kagoro.

In this passage, Travélé defines the Kagoro as a “race” composed of two “true” families (Fofana and Magassa) that can be historically traced back to the Peuls and the areas of Fouta-Toro and Fouta-Diallon. This definition of the Kagoro is drawn from Travélé's discussion with elderly Kagoro “informants” in the cercle de Bamako.

In his description, Travélé (1923:10-11) locates the Kagoro geographically both in terms of their historical origins (Fouta-Toro and Fouta-Diallon) and their present location (i.e., cercles de Nioro, Kita, Bamako and Ségou). In addition he “translates” the geographical terms “Fouta-Toro” and “Fouta-Diallon” into their contemporary geographical locations, i.e., Sénégal and Guinée française.

In a footnote to his description of “des successions et séparations”, Travélé (1923:29) indicates that their reaction to adultery is one reason why the Kagoro remain a separate group:

Le Kagoro sont les plus sévères de tous les indigènes du Soudan pour l'adultère. Le punitions en est sans pitié. C'est pourquoi ils sont restés groupés seuls, n'admettent pas de tolérance pour les adultères.

In contrast to Travélé's description of the Kagoro, the Baoulé and the Minianka are only defined in geographical terms, i.e., “les Baoulé de la Côte d'Ivoire” (Travélé 1923:5) and “Les Minianka (Koutiala, San, Sikasso)” (Travélé 1923:33).

Travélé mentions the Baoulé, Minianka, and Kagoro primarily to demonstrate that in some instances there are exceptions to the “generalized descriptions” of customary law as seen in the following examples:

Example 1

En aucun cas la femme ne peut être chef de famille; la parenté ne pourra donc s'établir par elle, comme chez les Baoulé de la Côte d'Ivoire. (Travélé 1923:5)

Example 2

Dans certaines régions un peu islamisées (Ségou, Dienné, les Kagoro également), elle ne voit son mari qu'au jour où elle est conduite une fois pour toutes à celui-ci. (Travélé 1923:7)

Example 3

Dans certains pays bambara, surtout dans les pays bambara se trouvant dans le cercle de Bougouni, celui qui a volé dans une maison fermée, ou bien dérobé un cheval, un âne, un boeuf, une personne ou toute valeur équivalente, est tué sans jugement. Les Minianka (Koutiala, San, Sikasso) vendaient presque toujours le voleur. (Travélé 1923:33)

In his “generalized description” of Bambara and Malinké customary law, Travélé presents the Bambara and Malinké as a “société”, a “peuple”, and a “race” as outlined in the beginning of his discussion of the “famille” (1923:5, emphasis mine):

Comme dans toutes les sociétés, on trouve la famille à la base de la société bambara et malinké. Chez ce peuple comme d'ailleurs chez toutes les racés du Soudan, l'évolution de groupement familial a été très lente.

Travélé compares “Bambara and Malinké society” to earlier Western societies as illustrated in his description of the “famille” (1923:5)

“Sa constitution”, me disait un jour un de mes chefs, “rappelle sur bien des points la famille romaine primitive, à l'époque des XII Tables, ou la famille barbare germanique après les invasions.”

What is interesting here is that Travélé is not making this comparison himself, but rather quotes one of his “chefs”.

The difficulty of using the Bambara language to express Western concepts is illustrated in the following passage (Travélé 1923:5):

Cette famille, beaucoup plus étendue que la famille française monogame, est un groupe formé sous l'autorité et la direction d'un chef et comprenant, parmi ses membres, le chef, ses frères, ses cousins, ses cousines, ses enfants et femmes des ses frères et cousins. Mais la langue bambara ignore ce terme de cousin, ne connaît que celui de frère et soeur; et pour les distinguer on dit: “frère ou soeur du même père”.

Table 65 – Descriptions of “Bambara”, “Malinké” and Other Peoples in Travélé’s Proverbes et contes bambara

Sections on “Customary Law”	Generalized Description	Specific Mention of Bambara	Specific Mention of Bambara and Malinké	Mention of Other People
de la famille			X	Baoulé
pouvoirs du chef de famille	X			
des fiançailles			X	Kagoro
naissance et filiation		X		
de la surveillance des enfants quand le père disparu	X			
mariage	X			Kagoro
de l’alliance	X			
des oppositions au mariage	X			
empêchements au mariage		X		
des ruptures de promess de mariage	X			
de la répudiation	X			
divorce			X	
des causes de divorce		X		
des effets de divorce	X			
adultère			X	Kagoro
preuve de l’adultère	X			
réintégration du domicile conjugal	X			
de la condition de la femme	X			
du domicile	X			
de la tutelle	X			
de la propriété	X			
chefs de canton et de village	X			
de l’usufruit	X			
dommage et remboursement			X	
violation de domicile	X			
dettes	X			
de la prescription			X	
de la contrainte par corps	X			
du serment	X			
des successions et séparations		X		Kagoro
de la renonciation	X			
des successions vacantes	X			
de la chasse	X			

Table 65 (cont'd)

Sections on “Customary Law”	Generalized Description	Specific Mention of Bambara	Specific Mention of Bambara and Malinké	Mention of Other People
quelques règles de droit coutumier en matière pénale			X	Karoro, Minianka

3.4 “Proverbes et devinettes bambara”

In his section on “proverbes et devinettes bambara”, Travélé presents 101 Bambara proverbs, their French translations, and occasional explanatory footnotes (e.g., the Bambara find straight, high noses to be pretty). He also indicates to whom specific proverbs are said (e.g., braggart, pretty unmarried woman). In this section, Travélé also lists 23 riddles.

3.5 “Contes”

The final section of this text contains 71 stories, their French translations, and occasional footnotes. In thee footnotes, Travélé gives additional information such as referencing the reader back to relevant sections on customary law or indicating what type of story it is (e.g., children’s story, woman’s story). In one footnote to a story about two devils who are called *Mousa-fin* (Moussa-le-noir) and *Mousa-diè* (Moussa-le-blanc), Travélé notes that the latter does not mean Moussa of the “white race”, but rather “Moussa au tient clair”. The final story that Travélé includes is entitled a “conte malinké”, perhaps indicating that the other stories are Bambara stories.

4.0 “What is Bambara?”

The Bambara are presented as part of the Mande family of languages and peoples, related to the Malinké and Dioula. The Mande are positioned in evolutionary time relative to early European societies (e.g., Romans). Although there are many similarities between the Mande language varieties and peoples, Bambara is distinct enough to merit three publications by Travélé. Bambara is also depicted as one of the most widespread language varieties spoken throughout West Africa. This allows a Bambara speaker to be able to communicate in a great part of the region, despite certain regional distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The Bambara are depicted as a people subject to French rule as illustrated in phrases concerning typical situations in which the French and their African “collaborators” might encounter Africans (e.g., asking for papers, conducting a census). The Bambara are not portrayed as Muslims. Instead, Travélé describes customary law (as opposed to Muslim law) and describes how the Bambara refer to Muslims.

NOTES

1. Original quote – “Les colonies seraient donc des pays vides, dans lesquels les colons venus de l'autre côté de la rive viendraient s'installer sans problèmes. Il n'y a pas là oubli, ou plutôt cet oubli n'est pas dû au hasard: pour justifier l'entreprise coloniale dans les termes de la "culture" occidentale, de l'humanisme dont on nous a tant rebattu les oreilles, il fallait oublier l'existence des autres. Le premier anthropophage est venu d'Europe, il a dévoré le colonisé. Et, au plan particulier qui nous concerne, il a dévoré ses langues, glottophage donc. D'ailleurs, ces langues n'existaient pas, n'est-ce pas. Tout juste des dialectes, voire des patios...”
2. The British, who worked in India with “pandits”, or learned ones, sparked interest in Sanskrit studies in the West. Early Sanskrit grammars, such as Panini's “Astadhyayi”, were first published in the early 1800's and used in the development of comparative linguistics.
3. Calvet takes the issue of the relation between the structure of bilingualism and economic and political structure as a way to critique Stalin's view on language. In his article “A propos du marxisme en linguistique”, Stalin argues that language “n'est ni une superstructure, ni consécutivement, un fait de classe.” Instead he states that language is an instrument which serves all social classes equally, “il n'y a pas de langue de classe mais simplement un usage de classe de la langue” (Calvet, 1974:62).

Stalin illustrates his argument describing how the *féodaux* in England used French during the Middle Ages. He contends that: (1) a language is not a class phenomena; (2) therefore the French spoken by the English during this period is no more a class phenomena, then the French spoken in France; and (3) therefore the *féodaux* use of French was to “amuse” themselves, due simply to “infatuation”. Calvet (1974:63) argues that Stalin's depiction of language only pertains to “unilingual” situations and that “Le problème est tout autre dans les cas de plurilinguisme, en particulier lorsque ce plurilinguisme est le produit d'une invasion...Nous avons alors une langue dominants...que les élites parlent par besoin et intérêt (et non pas par engouement).” In contrast to the example offered by Stalin, Calvet is discussing situations of “colonization” where there is a dominant language and one or more dominated languages.

4. Delafosse's French-Mandingue dictionary is part of his larger work on the Mandingue language, La langue mandingue et ses dialectes (1929).
5. Original quote – “Le même mot *kémé* est employé avec le sens de 60 chez les Malinké de 80 chez les Bambara et de 100 chez les Dioula...La

numération bambara s'arrête à 80... Cependant les autres peuplades du Soudan comptent jusqu'à 100 et les relations commerciales ont obligé parfois les Bambaras à accepter cette numération. Ils font alors précéder le mot *kémé* (80) du mot *silamiya*, qui signifie "islamisme": *silamiya-kémé*, "cent des musulmans", c'est-à-dire le cent français."

6. Original quote – "Il semble que dans l'empire du Manding, le *kémé* valait 60; chez les Egyptiens, *hemen* correspondait à 80, comme aujourd'hui encore *kémé* chez les Bambaras; enfin, partout où s'est introduit l'islamisme, la valeur de 100 a été attribuée à *temed* chez les Berbères, comme à *hemere* chez les Peuls, comme à *kémé* chez les Dioulas et les Malinkés musulmans. Seuls, quelques groupes de Malinkés animistes ont conservé jusqu'à nos jours à *kémé* la valeur de 60... Il s'ensuit que la même locution a, selon les régions, des valeurs numériques très différentes: quand un Malinké demeuré fidèle aux vieilles habitudes parle de *ba kémé saba*, il entend dire 180 chèvres, tandis qu'un Bambara par la même expression, désigne 240 chèvres et qu'un Dioula ou un Malinké musulman, ou simplement frotté aux Musulmans, désignera 300 chèvres par les mêmes mots."
7. Original quote – "En bambara, la numération est décimale jusqu'à 80...A partir de 80, *kémè*, on ajoute de même les dizaines: *kémè ni tan*, 90...A partir de 30, la numération décimale des Malinkés, dont le *kémè* vaut 100 et qui est plus simple, supplante de plus en plus celle des Bambaras. On garde les mots du bambara pour les unités... Dans les exemples et les exercices de cette Grammaire, on utilisera la numération ci-dessus."
8. Fairclough does maintain that the langue/parole dichotomy makes a useful distinction between underlying social conventions and actual language use.
9. By discourse type, Fairclough (1989:28-31) means the conventions that are drawn upon in the production of a discourse. Fairclough points out that the acceptance of the notion of discourse type does not mean that there is a rigid, structured relationship between discourse type(s) and discourse. Instead he adopts a dialectical model of the relationship between structure and practice.
10. Exploring the permeability of language varieties and ethnicity has become an increasing concern of anthropologists and others as part of the "post-modern" turn and questioning of how anthropology makes its object (Bazin 1985; Fabian 1983; Grosz-Ngate 1986).
11. The term Mande originally applied to the Manding. It was then extended to include other Western Branches, and finally to the whole sub-branch of Niger-Congo (David Dwyer, personal communication February 2001).

12. **McNaughton notes that the term "Manding" is a variation used in western areas of the Mande diaspora.**
13. **Initial explorations include Mungo Park (first travels 1795-1797; second travels 1805-1806), Gray/Dochard (1818), Denham/Clapperton/Oudney (1822-1825), Laing (1825), Clapperton/Lander (1825-1828), Lander/Lander (1830), Caillié (1825-1828), and Barth (1850-1855).**
14. **These missions include Mage (1863-1866), Soleillet (1878-1879), Gallieni (1880), and Binger (1887-1889).**
15. **In contrast to Grosz-Ngate's periodization, I use the term "pre-colonial" for the period prior to the initial penetration and conquest of the former French Sudan by the French.**
16. **Many of these sources contain information on more than one "Mande dialect". In such instances, I have included the source under each relevant "dialect" heading.**
17. **The upper Guinea coast consists of the area between Cape Blanco to Sierra Leone, while the lower Guinea coast runs from Sierra Leone to Cameroon.**
18. **Fairclough also identifies a fourth value (connective) which serves to connect part of the text together.**
19. **Fairclough (1989:110) notes that these questions are intended to serve as a framework for those who are not trained in linguistics. He states that the reader should take these questions as a starting point in describing texts and add to them, elaborate on them, not use them etc. according to his/her needs.**
20. **Fairclough (1989:144) defines point as "a summary interpretation of the text as a whole which interpreters arrive at, and which is what tends to be stored in long-term memory so as to be available for recall." Topic is used to refer to the experiential aspect of the point of a text.**
21. **Cohen notes the presence of some Africans in France from the early thirteenth century onwards, but argues that these contacts did not produce "any particular knowledge about Africa and its people" (1980:4-5).**
22. **French traders in search of ivory, gum, gold, and slaves were among these other European expeditions, but they do not appear to have published any accounts of their travels (Cohen 1980:xv, 4).**

23. The French eventually abandoned the posts at Bissau and Bulama due to lack of profit (Fage 1969:73).
24. Outside of Africa, France lost Canada and India to Britain after the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803.
25. Along the lower Guinea coast, the French established trading posts at Assini and Grand Bassam (along the Ivory Coast) and reoccupied a fort at Whydah (in Dahomey) and continued to extend their influence along the Ivory and Slave Coasts during this period (Fage 1969:162).
26. The mutual method was not the only educational method advanced in France during this period. The *abbé de La Mennais* critiqued it for giving authority to students in the classroom. He argued that only "simultaneous education", where the authority of the schoolmaster was not shared with others, was capable of teaching a Christian lifestyle to the students and to accustom them to the yoke of obedience (Bouche 1975:56). Despite these criticisms, the mutual method was used in Senegal until 1841 when the *Frères de Ploërmel* were engaged as teachers by the government (Bouche 1975:56).
27. Bouche contends that it is difficult to distinguish slaves from free Africans in Saint Louis and Gorée at this time as they led a "familial life" and were well treated. In addition, she believes that the figure of 11,000 inhabitants of Saint Louis and Gorée in 1816 may be too low, as in 1820 the Ministry of the Marine estimated the total population to be around 15,000 (Bouche 1975:57).
28. Bouche (1975:64) argues that the intelligence of Dard's students is not sufficient to explain their rapid success in reading and writing. Instead, she claims that many of these students had previous experience in reading and writing at other schools located in Saint Louis.
29. Dard's sensitivity to the fact that Wolof was the first language for many of his students is demonstrated in the fact that he removed any syllables from his teaching materials whose meaning in French was insignificant, but in Wolof was licentious and indecent (Bouche 1975:65).
30. Original quote – "La civilisation des Wolofs est plus que négligé; elle est mise en oubli puisque l'on a cessé d'instruire les Noirs du Sénégal dans leur propre langue. Car, quoique l'on en dise, il faut que les Noirs soient instruits dans leur langue maternelle; sans cela, point d'établissement durables, point de civilisation...J'ai souvent remarqué que le jeune noir n'épelle les mots français que dans l'espoir d'en former des sons propres à son langue naturel."

31. Dard appears to have taken a controversial position vis-à-vis Islam in a report dated December of 1817, regarding the "ignorant superstition of the marabouts". Bouche (1975:66-67) states that the director of the Colonies wanted to have it removed from the *Moniteur* because he feared that it might antagonize the numerous and influential class of marabouts.
32. The commission included three people in Paris who knew or could speak Wolof – de Fleuriau, Mollien, and Geoffrey (Bouche 1975:66fn).
33. Original quote – "Ici, l'opinion de lui n'est pas très favorable. Une amitié scandaleuse, suivie d'une querelle plus scandaleuse encore avec l'abbé Giudicelli, des documents, ou plutôt des dénonciations publiées au sujet de la traite des noirs, des relations difficiles et pénibles pour les autorités locales, un concubinage public, et dans les derniers temps un dégoût de la colonie excessif et contagieux..."
34. Original quote – "Quant aux talents de M. Dard, j'ai peu de données pour en juger, mais je crains que ses ouvrages sur les divers langages de notre partie de l'Afrique ne répondent pas à la bonne opinion qu'on paraît en avoir conçue."
35. European interest in the Grain and Ivory Coasts was minimal due to the relatively sparse population and the dangers posed to ships in this area (Fage 1969:73).
36. E. Ardener identifies this "Mandingo" as a "Malinke" (S. Ardener 1972:6).
37. The CMS had originally engaged in missionary activities on the Rio Pongas and in other Susu areas, but they found little success with these "firmly rooted tribal groups, some partly Muslim" (Hair 1963:7).
38. Raban provided much of the information contained in Kilham's Specimens of African Languages and Schön used his vocabulary of Hausa in his own concentrated research on Hausa (Hair 1963:8).
39. The Niger Expedition was intended to facilitate trading and establish a missionary post and "model farm" at Lokoja. This expedition was largely a failure due in part to the resistance of established merchants in the area to British interference and the high mortality rate (48 of the 145 Europeans died within two months). As a result of failure of the expedition, the British government decided to leave future voyages up the Niger to individuals (Fage 1969:126-127).

40. Schön had recommended that his successor should have some competency in Arabic and regretted the fact that he had never studied Arabic himself (Hair 1963:9).
41. The CMS felt that it would be useful to have in-depth knowledge of Kanuri as Bornu was seen as a powerful "nation" and a logical target for their penetration into the interior. Kanuri turned out to be a poor choice for the CMS, as Koelle describes, "In the progress of my studies, it became more and more evident that the Kanuri had no important affinities with other Negro languages, and that for the present, it cannot be used for direct Missionary purpose, from the fanatical Mohammedan character of the Bornuese." (Hair 1963:9-10).
42. Koelle's interest in Vai was due to the existence of an indigenous Vai script (Hair 1963:10-11).
43. Original quote – "Ces Bambaras travaillaient avec un désordre qui me fappa; ils criaient, se disputaient. Personne ne conduisit l'ouvrage; ils faisaient, défaisaient, et, malgré leur ardeur, ma case fut très longue à construire. C'était bien l'image de leur vie et de celle des nègres en général: le désordre sous toutes ses formes!"
44. Original quote – "...tous les gens parlaient le bambara et le soninké, ce qui tient au mélange des deux races qui forment la base de la population, aussi bien dans le Kaarta que dans le Ségou et jusqu'aux montagnes de Kong. Dans ce vaste pays, ce sont elles qui peuplent tous les villages, tantôt séparées, tantôt mélangées, parlant l'une ou l'autre langue, quelquefois les deux. Le seul mélange notable qu'elles aient en dehors est avec la race Peul qu'on rencontre dans toute l'Afrique depuis l'Egypte jusqu'à l'océan Atlantique."
45. In his account of his expedition into the interior of the Sudan from 1887-1889, Binger states that he had made two previous trips to Senegal and the French Sudan.
46. Original quote – "Il faut favoriser davantage les missionnaires, en augmenter sensiblement le nombre et les faire pénétrer partout. Ce n'est pas quelques centaines de missionnaires répartis sur cet immense territoire qu'il faudrait: ce sont des légions et d'innombrables légions (...). Il n'est pas de puissance européenne qui n'ait reconnu la nécessité de compter avec la participation des missionnaires. Il n'est pas un pays ayant des intérêts aux colonies qui ne considère l'intervention des missionnaires comme utile."

47. Unfortunately, the only copies of Montel's Dictionnaire bambara-français (1886) and *Éléments de la grammaire bambara* (1887) were not available for my examination.
48. Kittler (1957:215) notes that Hacquard had served in the army and "would get on well with commanders along the way."
49. Original quote – "De bons gens, pas méchants du tout, un peu idolants, une race qui n'a pas de grandissimes qualités, mais facile à conduire pout qui sait empaumer son monde: une bande de grands enfants, naïfs, crédules, entêtés quelquefois et pas toujours raisonnables...Puisque Dieu s'est dit capable de transformer les pierres en enfants d'Abraham, je crois qu'il n'est pas au-dessus de son pouvoir de faire quelque chose de nos Soudanais."
50. Koren (1958:449) describes this exchange as "amicable". He critiques Kittler's (1957) portrayal of the state of these missions and the activities of the Spiritains. Koren (1958:450) argues that, "When the Spiritains surrendered these missions to Bishop Hippolyte Bazin of the White Fathers in 1901, the prelate was very much impressed by the flourishing condition of the three stations the Congregation passed on to him."
51. Benoist (1987:125) provides the following figures for the White Fathers in the area: 1901 – 17 priests, 5 brothers; 1902 – 24 priests, 7 brothers; 1903 – 26 priests, 8 brothers; 1904 – 30 priests, 9 brothers; 1905 – 32 priests, 10 brothers.
52. Missionary activity in Uganda was relatively successful. By 1911 more than one-third of Buganda was Christian (Heremans 1983, Walakira 1975). The relationship between the White Fathers and the CMS became a political rivalry when civil war broke out in the late 1880's. The White Fathers had ties to the Mwanga who rose to power when the British Protectorate was established. This allowed them to retain religious control of the area. In addition, their students used their literacy and other newly acquired skills to achieve positions of power, thus shoring up the position of the Church (Walakira 1975).
53. Original quote – "en pleine région bambara de religion traditionnelle"
54. Original quote – "Le musulman s'éloigne de nous et se fige dans l'idéal étroit que son orthodoxie lui impose."
55. Charles Monteil was *chef de poste* at Toumoudi when Delafosse was assigned there. Monteil and Delafosse formed a friendship that lasted for 32 years during which they shared their work and thoughts on African languages and peoples (L. Delafosse 1976:106).

56. The other members were Dislère, *président du Conseil d'administration de l'Ecole coloniale* and Doubrère, director of the *Ecole Coloniale*.
57. Original quote – “A la lecture de votre lettre, j'ai un peu l'impression que vous semblez accorder beaucoup de crédit à l'opinion des Européens sur les indigènes; il serait cependant préférable de vous en méfier beaucoup. Tâchez plutôt de vous créer quelque solide ami indigène, et vous verrez bientôt les choses locales sous leur vrai jour...Le jour où vous aurez su trouver la clef des mystères indigènes, la vie coloniale prendra pour vous un attrait que vous ne connaissez pas...”
58. Original quote – “pour arriver à dégager les principes généraux qui servent d'assise pour toute la psychologie indigène, voici ce que je vous conseille de faire: Créez-vous un petit entourage d'indigènes, non point par ces moyens vulgaires qui consistent à vivre sur un pien de familiarité...mais en témoignant de votre sincère désir de connaître les choses indigènes; admettez, avec bonté, la raison parfois étrange que l'on vous donne comme explication, mais donnez aussi à comprendre que vous n'êtes pas un naïf; surtout, ne manquez pas, de temps à autre, de témoigner que vous connaissez un peu le milieu indigène, mais sans pour cela offusquer vos informateurs.”
59. Original quote – “Bref, lorsque vous serez arrivé à manier la langue courante au point surtout de la bien entendre, vos investigations n'auront d'autres limites que celles de votre ignorance du milieu indigène. L'indigène est une manière de virtuose qui brode des variations sur un thème connu.”
60. Original quote – “Au point de vue du langage parlé, l'indigène est semblable à un virtuose, qui brode des variations infinies sur un thème connu”
61. Original quote – “Je vous conseille de vous attacher Bala Coulibaly, qui me paraît posséder très bien son dialecte. Vous pourriez, je crois, en sachant vous y prendre, obtenir de lui qu'il vous ractone par écrit, soit des légendes historiques, soit les phrases essentielles de la vie (naissance, baptême, *circoncision*, *marriage*, *mort*). Puis, une fois documenté, tâchez d'avoir tout cela par écrit et en *bamana*. Il faut absolument arriver à vous passer de son concours pour traduire. Commencez par apprendre *par cœur* la fable que je vous retourne, en vous pénétrant bien de la construction de certaines tournures que je vous ai soulignées au crayon rouge. Il vous faut à tout prix des textes, beaucoup de textes, que vous devez éplucher très sérieusement: vous devez faire en *bamana* un moins deux herues par jour sur des textes, et vous efforcer de saisir toute conversation qui se tien devant vous, rechercher toute occasion de vous

documenter et le faire avec soin: il n'y a qu'un moyen d'avancer rapidement et sûrement. Méfiez-vous du préjugé qui consiste à considérer le bamana comme très facile: c'est un erreur."

62. Charles Monteil paid for the publication of Une cite soudanaise, Djénne himself (Grosz-Ngate 1988:496).
63. Original quote – "Les chefs du fleuve qui confient leurs enfants au gouverneur du Sénégal pour que, sous ses yeux, ils apprennent le français, religion chrétienne... Il faut que ces enfants soient à Saint-Louis, qu'ils connaissent le gouverneur, le directeur des Affaires Extérieures et tous les agents qui servent d'intermédiaires entre leur pays et nous"
64. Travélé's is identified as an *interprète titulaire de 1e classe de la colonie du Haut-Sénégal-Niger* in the 1913 publication of his dictionary and an *interprète principal de la colonie du Soudan Français* and *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* in his later works.
65. Original quote – "Il est rare de rencontrer une lange négre étudiée par quelqu'un don't elle est l'idiome maternel; cette fois, ce problème a été resolu par un interprète intelligent et travailleur, en service à Bamako."
66. Original quote – "Outre-Mer amorce une véritable collaboration entres les chercheurs et savants de la Métropole et les indigènes cultivés. Nous avons plaisir, en ce qui concerne l'Afrique, à lire dans la nouvelle revue d'intessantes contributions de MM. Travélé, Mamby Sidibé, et Dim Delobson."
67. The Bambara terms for the days of the week, according to Bird and Kanté (1977), are: "kari" and "dimasi" (Sunday); "ntènèn" (Monday); "tarata" (Tuesday); "araba" (Wednesday); "alamisa" (Thursday); "juma" (Friday); and "sibiri" (Saturday).
68. Dard gives "kari" as the Bambara translation for "sabbat, samedi". In fact, "kari" is often translated as "dimanche" (e.g., Bailleul 1981; Bird and Kanté 1977). This raises the possibility that Dard asked for the translation of "sabbat", rather than "samedi", and his informant gave him the term for "dimanche", the Christian "sabbat".
69. The Bambara terms for the months, according to Bird and Kanté (1977), are borrowed from French as follows: "zanwuye kalo" (January), "fewuruye-kalo" (February), "marisikalo" (March), "awirili kalo" (April), "mè kalo" (May), "zuèn kalo" (June), "zuluye kalo" (July), "uti kalo" (August), "sètanburu kalo" (September), "òkutoburu kalo" (October), "nowanburu kalo" (November), and "desanburu-kalo" (December).

70. Interestingly, Dard gives the French entry for "Pope" as "pape (l'iman des chrétiens catholiques)".
71. Contemporary definitions of these terms according to Larousse (1979):
"langage" – 1. Emploi de la langue pour communiquer avec d'autres hommes; 2. Ling. En grammaire générative, ensemble infini des phrases grammaticales dans une langue donnée, construites par concaténation, au moyen d'un ensemble fini de règles, à partir d'un ensemble fini d'éléments minimaux; 3. Inform. Dans le domaine de la programmation, ensemble de caractères et de symboles; 4. (souvent avec un qualificatif ou un compl. du nom) Manière de parler propre à une communauté linguistique, à un groupe, à un individu, etc.; 5. Contenance de la communication elle-même; 6. Cri, chant des animaux; 7. Manière de s'exprimer au moyen de symboles, de formes artistiques, etc. "langue" – Ling. 1. Système structuré de signes vocaux (ou transcrits graphiquement), utilisé par les individus pour communiquer entre eux; 2. (avec un qualificatif ou un compl. du nom) Système de signes particulier à un groupe, à un milieu, à un individu; 3. Moyen quelconque d'exprimer les idées. "dialecte" – Nom donné à la forme particulière qu'a prise une langue dans une région plus ou moins étendue. "idiome" – Ling. Langue propre à une communauté étendue, en général langue d'une nation, d'un peuple, d'une région.
72. E. Ardener (1972:16) critiques the ten-word vocabulary list Clarke employs in this section. He claims that many nineteenth century vocabularies "suffer from a misconception concerning which lexical items are of most comparative value" (1972:16). Of the terms provided by Clarke, "fire", "water", and "fowl" are the only ones that E. Ardener believes can be of any use in comparative vocabularies.
73. E. Ardener (1972:14) claims that Clarke failed to acknowledge all of the vocabulary items that he took from Kilham in his section on African numerals.
74. These vocabulary items are different than those listed in Clarke's "Specimens of Dialects" (E. Ardener 1972:14).
75. Other phrases contained in Koelle's "polyglotta" could be used in a religious discourse, but could also be used in other contexts (e.g., "I kneel" (mbára yéle) and "I give thee" (mbaradíma)).
76. I have only included the portion of the map that shows West Africa, as well as the "explanation" and "arrangement".
77. Petermann was a member of the Geographical Society of Berlin and Frankfurt and the "Physical Geographer to the Queen".

78. Unfortunately I did not have access to a copy of this map.
79. In a footnote, Binger mentions the existence of a third "race" which is almost extinct (i.e., the "Diobas"). They are considered to be the "aborigènes" of the Sudan, displaced by the migrations of the "Poul" and the "Mandingues".
80. Binger wonders if Baiko could be present-day Bamakou.
81. Binger does not list a source for "oulof".
82. Binger's source for "poular" is Faidherbe's Grammaire poul.
83. Binger claims that the "diulas" (defined as "marchand (généralement Soni-nké)") or the "niarés (defined as "marchands de Bamakou (issus de l'alliance de Maures avec des Soni-nkés ou des Bambaras)") were able to clarify this counting system. Binger also cites Barth's description of markets in Bronu where one counts by 8, 16, 24, 80 etc. (1886:23).
84. Compare with Faidherbe – I suspect they are not taken word for word.
85. For the French entry "Satan", the reader is referred to the entry "Diable".
86. For the French entry "soldat", the reader is referred to the terms "guerrier" and "fantassin".
87. It is probable that some, if not all, of the "banmana" and "mallinké" or "mandingké" material was gathered while Tautain accompanied Gallieni's expedition.
88. Recall though that Tautain remarked on the "rather curious" relationship between "Soninke" and "Wolof" in regards to the terms "bane" and "ben".
89. In a footnote, Bazin positions Bantu languages geographically (1906:xviii).
90. Bazin is reacting to someone in particular in this section. He states that "On a écrit que l'abstraction était en dehors de la faculté de conception du Nègre, qu'il n'avait pas de mots abstraits dans son langage, que seules les choses tangibles avaient le don de le saisir; quant à généraliser, quant à tirer de l'ensemble des pehébiniens matériels une systématisation quelconque, il ne fallait pas la lui demander." He does not cite the source of this quotation.
91. Bazin refers the reader to the term "ya" in the dictionary.

92. Bazin (1906a:xxiv) adds two recent works – Delafosse's Manuel and Sauvant's Méthode – to Rambaud's list.
93. Recent Bambara language materials produced by the Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique include a French-Bambara/Bambara-French dictionary (Bailleul 1981), a series of Bambara stories (Bailleul 1975a, 1975b, 1975c), and a "practical course in "Bambara" (Bailleul 1977a, 1977b, 1984).
94. Unfortunately neither the 1905 nor the 1913 editions of Sauvant's manual were available for my analysis.
95. Henry (1910:11) describes Dubernet as "le missionnaire aimable, zélé, si connu dans Ségou, et des noirs et des Européens."
96. Henry bases this assessment of the importance of Segu on the opinion of Perrichon, a former administrator of Segu (1910:1).
97. Mary Djara conspired against the French and was replaced by Bodyan, a Bambara of Kaarta and commander-in-chief of Mary Djan's army. Bodyan was sent back to Kaarta in 1893 and Bonnacorsi became *commandant du cercle* (Henry 1910:2-3).
98. Henry cites Perrichon's figure of 130,000 inhabitants living in approximately 1,200 villages.
99. According to Henry (1910:5), the Peuls are pastoralists, the Marka traders, the Somono and Boso fisherfolk, and the Djeli cobblers, harness makers, musicians. In contrast, the Bambara identify themselves as agriculturists. Henry (1910:5) states that, "Le Bambara, lui, est agriculteur, et celui-là seul à ses yeux mérite le nom de travailleur qui sait la pioche et la houe."
100. The other appendices address such issues as population statistics, chronologies, legends, and commonly used plants.
101. Tauxier (1917:700) indicates that "Samo de Dédougou" is from the "village de Niankoré".
102. Yennenga is also known as Poko in some versions of this story (Tauxier 1917:58).
103. Monteil (1924:3) uses the census figures provided in Delafosse's Haut-Sénégal-Niger (1912).
104. Monteil (1924:333) indicates the meanings of "kenyelala" and "buguridala" in footnotes. The former is "dérivé de kenye: sable et de la : poser : écrire

**sur ; celui qui écrit sur le sable" and the latter is "dérivé de buguri :
poussière et de da : poser, écrire sur : celui qui écrit dans la poussière."**

- 105. Prior to this description of the Kagoro, Travélé mentions this people in his section of "des fiançailles".**

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