# Things You Cannot Do in Norway: Multilingual Transnational Action and Interaction in Digital Communication

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# Abstract

Migrants from Senegal constitute a small minority in Norway, which complicates their possibilities of carrying out certain linguistic and cultural practices face-to-face. However, with increased access to digital means, socio-cultural practices, including multilingual discourse, may be participated in transnationally. In this paper, we analyse two stretches of multimodal conversation between a Senegalese living in Norway and two interlocutors in Senegal, more specifically one WhatsApp conversation with a nephew, and one Messenger interaction with a close friend. Based on interview and interactional data, we investigate how they use their various communicative resources to negotiate transnational relationships, and to seek emotional, spiritual, and practical support. The analysis shows how language choice is used to create virtual togetherness (Baldassar 2008; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016) in different ways. The interlocutors engage in practices ranging from phatic communication, banter and gifting, to help with practical issues and doing business as they manage different mobile chronotopes (Lyons and Tagg 2019). Our research extends the use of the mobile chronotope to include voice messages and considers more intimate relationships. It shines light on the immense resourcefulness of highly multilingual individuals in achieving their communicative aims and points this out as a fruitful area for future investigation.



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Keywords: Migration, Senegal, Joola, Wolof, French

## About the authors

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# **1** Introduction

Internal and international migration for economic purposes is a central feature of contemporary Senegalese society, and a complex and multifaceted experience (Babou 2008; Diop 2008). For a Senegalese struggling to meet the demands of the family, mobility can enhance access to financial resources, while, at the same time, higher sums may be expected from those who migrate (e.g. Dia 2007; Vives and Silva 2017). Further emotional and practical difficulties, as well as challenges for interpersonal relationships, may also accompany mobility (Bacigalupe and Cámara 2012). Migrants are removed from their framework of cultural and communicative reference points and must find ways to negotiate the transnational, multiply embedded experience (Lacroix 2014). Improved access to the internet and tools for digital communication has changed the ways in which migrants communicate and maintain relationships (Madianou and Miller 2012; Hannaford 2017). Digital spaces host numerous communicative acts including not only the sending of remittances, which is the focus of several studies of Senegalese migrants (Hernández-Carretero 2015), but also the maintenance of social relationships. Various media are used for friendship work, for "doing family" (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016), and for creating virtual co-presence (Baldassar 2008). Language choice is important in negotiating the social context of this communication (Lyons and Tagg 2019), and in this paper provides an original contribution to the understanding of how multimodal digital and linguistic resources are concomitantly drawn upon to perform specific local cultural activities transnationally. We focus in particular on the following questions: How are multilingual and digital resources used to construct mobile chronotopes? And how are they used to manage and negotiate transnational relationships? Lyons and Tagg's (2019) concept is extended to be applied to more intimate relationships, and voice messages are taken into account in the analysis.

While many migrants seek solidarity with other migrants of the same origin (e.g. Leconte 2001; Babou 2008), some make up a religious and ethnic minority within an already small minority. This is the case for Felipe (which is a pseudonym), a Senegalese man living in Norway, whose interactions will be analysed in this paper. Although Norway may represent advantages for immigration, as a welfare state characterized by relatively small social differences, it can also represent a hostile environment for immigrants, people with dark skin (Joof 2018), and Muslims (Ali 2018) – all characteristics of (most) Senegalese migrants. The Senegalese in Norway are few, although the figures are slowly rising. According to Statistics Norway (March 2021), there are 317 Senegalese immigrants in Norway, 108 persons born in Norway to Senegalese-born parents, 16 persons born in Norway to Norwegian-born parent. The Senegalese share certain cultural practices and languages with Gambians, whose country is enclosed by Senegal. Gambian migrants are more numerous in the country (1252 immigrants, 623 born to Gambian-born parents (Statistics Norway 2021)), and the major Muslim feasts constitute the main Senegambian meeting points (Diallo 2013).

Felipe had lived in Norway for 10 years at the time of writing. As a Christian he does not necessarily take part in the Muslim ceremonies. Furthermore, his linguistic repertoire aligns only to a limited degree with the Senegambian community in Norway. Felipe's self-reported linguistic repertoire includes Joola, Wolof, French, Norwegian, English, and Spanish, of which Joola, Wolof, and French are the ones associated with his home in Senegal (see Section 3.2 for further discussion). While both Senegalese and Gambians in Norway do speak Wolof, only some speak Joola (and often of a different variety to that spoken by Felipe – see below). Conversely, Felipe does not speak Mandinka, which is also very prevalent in Gambians' repertoires (as well

as among Senegalese people who have grown up in other areas and/or with different family backgrounds), while Gambians in general do not speak French.

Due to his restricted social contact with Senegambians in Norway, there are not many contexts for Felipe to use Wolof or French in the country, and even fewer to use Joola. He finds his Senegalese network in Norway to be very limited, and he highlights the trips to Senegal as occasions to use the languages. The trip is, however, expensive, and he goes there less than once a year. Hence, smartphone communication has represented an important change in his life. Felipe emphasizes that he can now "hear" his family whenever he likes, and when asked about how he uses language in mediated communication, Felipe underlines how language use is determined by degree of intimacy, schooling, and the context. In this paper we will see both how Felipe "writes a little more French" to a nephew who has been to school, and how he jokes in Joola and Wolof "to make a difference when [he] talk[s]" with a close friend. Although we observe a tension between modality (written messages favour French) and intimacy (Wolof and Joola are more evocative of home), through voice messages and grassroots literacy practices, the participants are able to use language and other communicative resources to construct different chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981; Blommaert 2015; Lyons and Tagg 2019) and create virtual co-presence (Baldassar 2008; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016). The mediated nature of the interactions thus serves as a lens which magnifies salient language choices in the construction of mobile chronotopes, a concept we use in this paper to investigate how dynamic configurations of time and space are negotiated by geographically separated participants, how they evoke and reconstruct familiar and socio-culturally specific relationships and patterns of behaviour and multilingual discourse (Lyons and Tagg 2019). We analyse two stretches of digital interaction, taking place over several years, and including text messages, voice messages, videos, and pictures. We further draw on focus group and interview data to study how Felipe seeks emotional, spiritual, and practical support and how he manages personal transnational relationships. In particular, we show how the interlocutors use linguistic resources to co-construct chronotopes to carry out these practices, identify communicative norms used in relationship management, and discuss characteristics of the interaction that are specifically enabled or determined by its digitally mediated nature.

We start by giving a brief outline of the notions that will be applied in the analysis, including the chronotope and the mobile chronotope (Section 2). We then turn to the linguistic and cultural context of the interactions (Section 3). In Section 4, the methods used in the project upon which the paper is based are presented, before we analyse two transnational interactions in Section 5: a WhatsApp episode where Felipe carries out alms-giving with his nephew's help, and a series of Facebook Messenger conversations where Felipe and a childhood friend exchange playful insults.

# **2** Theoretical framework

The communicative environment of the third millennium is affected by increased mobility and is being transformed by the transnational movements of people, languages, and texts (Jacquemet 2019). Studies of transnational connections between migrants moving from the South to the North often focus on structural aspects, in particular the obligation to send remittances (e.g. Hernández-Carretero 2015), and on the impact of financial assistance on social relationships, for instance as a form of care (Baldassar and Merla 2014). Transnational economic commitments do shape migrants' lives through the strategies they devise to establish the right distance, the practical and emotional challenges they face, and the moral dimensions of these efforts

(Hernández-Carretero 2015). However, the relationship between migrants and their family and friends in their country of origin is not only about remittances, it is also about communication on a personal and emotional level (e.g. Nedelcu and Wyss 2016). Research on transnational mediated interaction shows how emotions of longing motivate communication and communicative choices (Baldassar 2008), and how the nature and modalities of the interaction have consequences for relationships in the longer term (Madianou and Miller 2012). Virtual copresence is constructed through various communication technologies to express feelings and to care for family members when physical presence is not possible (Baldassar 2008, 252). Such presence can be created through ordinary co-presence routines, as families "produce and reproduce 'family practices' in a transnational social space through the use of different types of virtual togetherness" (Nedelcu and Wyss 2016, 203). It can also be facilitated by photo messaging, as a way to access different spaces and different intimacies simultaneously (Villi 2010; Villi and Stocchetti 2011; Prieto-Blanco 2016). In particular, through the practice of sharing a photo immediately after its capture on a mobile phone, a sense of sharing participation can be established (Villi and Stocchetti 2011; Lobinger 2016). Prieto-Blanco (2016, 133) argues that: "The continuous negotiation of real and perceived affordances of digital and locative visual media is a core part of how place is shared over distance and presence is authenticated". We thus need to embrace the user's experience as well as the possible communicative choices when analysing virtual co-presence.

As a theoretical tool to investigate how this co-presence is constructed and how the norms of the interaction are negotiated, we will draw on the concept of the chronotope. Within our analysis, chronotopes can be understood as the socio-culturally relevant schemas contributing to interpersonal relationships and thus the dynamics of communicative exchange. Bakhtin's original concept of the chronotope in literary theory points to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships constitutive of the cultural context as a concrete whole (1981, 84). The chronotopes are the organizing centres for the fundamental narrative events: "to them belongs the meaning that shapes narrative" (Bakhtin 1981, 250). That is, abstract elements gain flesh and blood as they gravitate toward the chronotope, which does not exist in isolation, but in a complex interrelationship with other chronotopes, where the one can replace, oppose, or contradict the other (Bakhtin 1981, 252).

The concept has been taken up in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology as a framework within which to study agency, identity and indexicality (e.g. Blommaert 2015; Blommaert and de Fina 2017). Blommaert (2015, 105) characterizes chronotopes as "invokable chunks of history that organize the indexical order of discourse." In the real world, "[s]pecific chronotopes produce specific kinds of person, actions, meaning, and value" (Blommaert 2015, 109), and they can therefore be considered as identity frames (Blommaert and de Fina 2017). Identity work is chronotopically organized with reference to specific timespace configurations that "enable, allow, and sanction specific modes of behavior (...) through the deployment and appraisal of chronotopically relevant indexicals that acquire a certain recognizable value when deployed within a particular timespace configuration." (Blommaert and de Fina 2017, 3). In this light, indexicality is both retrospective and prospective, referring to what has happened and indicating what will happen (Silverstein 2003). With regard to retrospectivity, Gordon (2009) emphasizes intertextual repetition as a means of binding families and groups together, as it directs a hearer or reader back into their memory, affirming the interlocutors' shared history and membership of the same group.

In the study of digital interactions, we may refer specifically to the notion of the mobile chronotope "to account for the spatiotemporal communicative norms which exist at the

intersection of the multiple communicative contexts brought along into mobile messaging interactions by remotely located participants" (Lyons and Tagg 2019, 658). A mobile chronotope brings together not only "multiple chronotopic layers," but exhibits additional characteristics as a result of the multimodal, digitally mediated nature of the interaction. In an informal digital conversation, there is typically iteration of specific expressions and greetings, and messages are, on the one hand, not necessarily read and responded to immediately, and on the other, automatically saved to be available for months and years afterwards. There can also be intertextuality with regard to language practices that take place in physical meetings between the interlocutors, i.e. entextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990), such as when language use usually reserved for spoken interaction is found in text messages. With the affordances of digital technologies, entextualization also comprises other semiotic representations of social activity, recontextualized and interactively negotiated with an audience (Androutsopoulos 2014, 5). Intertextuality in digital media is therefore important to understand both creative agency and mobility: creative recombinations of existing forms of meanings are mobile across different scales, from local to global and anywhere in between (Deumert 2014, 98). When "creative recombinations" in digital media interaction between adults refer to forms of meaning associated with shared experiences in childhood, they refer not only to their joint past, but also to the long-lastingness of their relationship, an aspect that may be of special importance to migrants and their friends and relatives in the country of origin.

In transnational mobile messaging, separate realities and expectations from the interactants' offline remote contexts are brought into the same interactive space. This results in the construction of a mobile chronotope, a shared virtual communicative timespace, which is discursively co-constructed by participants through "choice of register, use of particular semiotic resources, and management of interactional turns" (Lyons and Tagg 2019, 670). Several chronotopes may be juggled within the interaction, and they may be altered, as they are "co-constructed by interactants in active, purposeful processes and thus subject to ongoing evaluation, shifts, and alterations" (Lyons and Tagg 2019, 659). An analysis of this co-construction thus necessitates a close look at the turns in the specific interaction, the social relationships involved, and a consideration of the general communicative context. In particular, Lyons and Tagg (2019) focus on "instances of mobile chronotope negotiation", that is, moments when chronotope arrangements are contested and (re)negotiated through invoking orders of indexicality valid in a specific timespace frame (cf. Blommaert 2005, 73). In developing the concept of mobile chronotopes, Lyons and Tagg (2019) examine the negotiation of contextual factors at the intersections of the professional and the personal domain, in text-based communication. Our paper considers more intimate relationships, within the family and between childhood friends, and also takes into account voice messages in the analysis of mobile chronotopes.

The heteroglossic nature of language is important for the construction of chronotopes; linguistic diversity allows interlocutors to perform different voices, i.e. ideological positions, which contest or justify the current arrangements (Bakhtin 1981). Language choice, stylization, emojis, and spelling are among the resources used by interlocutors in digital interaction to perform such voices (Lexander 2018), referring to mobility, creativity, and inequality (Deumert 2014). Mobility may affect the degree of equality in the relationship, bringing changes in social and economic status (but also resulting in distance from the place of origin), while creativity may be used to modify the emphasis on social differences in the mobile chronotope that is negotiated. The data presented in this paper is therefore of particular relevance and interest as it comes from interactions between highly multilingual individuals, who come from a so-ciolinguistic background where languages and multilingual language use have shown to be

intrinsically linked to the situated construction of identity and maintenance of interpersonal relationships (Goodchild 2018; Watson 2019; Weidl 2018). An examination of language choice in these interactions can offer insight into both the nature of the chronotopes, and the relevance of language to their construction.

# **3** The communicative context

The analysis of the mobile chronotopes constructed in the data necessitates an understanding of the cultural and communicative contexts relevant to the interaction. In this section, we outline the aspects that are salient for the conversations to be analysed. We look at social organization and the statuses and roles of the languages used by the interlocutors.

# 3.1 Social organization

The notions of solidarity, communitarian support and obligation are central in Senegalese society (Diop 1985). They are predicated on large social networks of extended family, neighbours, and friends, and the maintenance of relationships within these is extremely important: through regular contact via face-to-face visits when the people live close to each other, and through phone calls and digital communication when the distances are greater. Formulaic greeting exchanges (of the type illustrated in Section 5 below) are a quintessential part of interaction - indeed, some interactions may consist entirely of such exchanges, and we consider them to be instances of staving in touch (Baldassar 2007). The time and effort taken to maintain communication is "a way of building a reliable relationship [and] is an investment in future obligations, in the security of knowing you can call on help if you need it and be certain to receive it" (Baldassar 2007, 8). Staying in touch remains an important obligation for migrants, although there are often added dimensions, in particular the expectation that they are in a position to send money, which can cause stress and resentment (e.g. Fall 1998; Riccio 2001; Hernández-Carretero 2015). However, less discussed is the more positive emotional importance for the migrant of maintaining connection with the homeland. Using digital communication to greet in the Senegalese fashion is a way of creating a shared virtual space and construct specific chronotopes, which the migrants may not find in their host country. In the data presented below, Felipe interacts with his nephew and a friend from his local peer group. The relationship with one's maternal uncle is referred to in Joola as *besëbulay*, with the nephew known as the *asëbel* (or regional variations of these terms). An asëbel has many rights at the home of his maternal uncles; in return he has certain obligations, including working his uncles' land, and ritual and organizational duties at ceremonies (De Jong 2005, 394). It is not per se an overly formal relationship, although the uncle has moral authority over his nephew, a relationship which may be accentuated by a more general system of deference to elders, should the uncle belong to an older generation. However, Felipe states that his relationship with the nephew in question is a close and trusting one, not defined merely by their familial connection, as he explains: "it is not just because I'm his uncle, he is also a person I can trust. We are in touch all the time on Messenger and WhatsApp."<sup>1</sup>

The peer group is also an important social entity (Lüpke and Storch 2013, 36). As well as having ritual significance related to male circumcision, it is the site of many enduring friendships

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Originally written in Norwegian in a Messenger text message from Felipe: *det er ikke bare at jeg er hans onkel*, *han og person å stole på*. *Vi er hele tiden kontakt både WhatsApp og Messenger*.

(Goodchild 2018, ch. 5). Life in rural Casamance is highly convivial; the communal nature of life means that children grow up together, and many social activities are organized around the peer group, cultivating a strong sense of solidarity. Communication between peer group members, particularly among men, is characterized by frequent banter (see Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann 2003), which takes the form of insults and use of taboo language in a competitive fashion.

## 3.2 Languages and multilingualism

The southern Senegalese region of Casamance, the home region of Felipe and his interlocutors, exhibits a high level of individual and societal multilingualism. Upwards of 20 languages can regularly be encountered, and individual repertoires of five or more languages are common (see *inter alia* Lüpke 2017; Goodchild 2018; Watson 2019; Weidl 2018).

Three languages occur in the data – French, Wolof and Joola.<sup>2</sup> These are all languages that are common in the multilingual repertoires of people from Casamance, and that may play different roles in multilingual discourse. Felipe's self- reported linguistic repertoire is detailed in Section 1 above, and while his nephew's and friend's repertoires may differ according to their personal biographies, these are the three languages that they have in common and that they use regularly in communication.

French is the ex-colonial and current official language of Senegal. It is important to note that the term 'French' does not correspond to a homogeneous and well-defined entity in Senegal but to a variety of linguistic forms and practices (Lüpke and Storch 2013; Sow 2016; Weidl 2018). A person's level of education and/or exposure to written and spoken language use will affect not only the 'flavour' of the French they speak, but also their attitude and confidence towards it. Wolof is the de facto national language of Senegal (Mc Laughlin 2008). It is the subject of mixed attitudes in Casamance, disdained by some as the language of Nordistes 'northerners' (Juillard 2005, 33; Mc Laughlin 2008, 82), while among another portion of the population it enjoys a positive reputation as the language of modern, urban identity (Juillard 1990, 68). Regardless of attitude, it is a prominent language of wider communication in Casamance and almost everybody counts it as part of their repertoire, albeit with varying degrees of preference and proficiency (see Goodchild 2018, 33-35, Weidl 2018, 91-93). Joola languages have a strong ideological connection with the people and land of the Casamance. All Joola languages are associated with a given village or polity through a process of patrimonial deixis (Lüpke 2016a, 10). A particular Joola language can thus serve as an important marker of identity with one's home village, while the use of Joola languages in general can index a broader Casamancais identity (Goodchild 2016; Lüpke et al. in press).

Despite these generalizations, multilingualism in the Casamance is generally non-polyglossic (Lüpke 2016b, 36), i.e. the role and status of languages is not fixed, and different contexts may require different language choices. In particular, discourse within chronotopically defined relationships can entail a particular language. For example, a young Joola man from Casamance may prefer Wolof when hanging out with friends, but it may not be appropriate when speaking to his conservative uncle, who prefers his Joola identity language (see

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Joola is a language cluster containing between 20 and 30 varieties exhibiting various degrees of convergence and divergence (see Segerer and Pozdniakov forthcoming). Since Felipe and his interlocutors speak the same type of Joola together (Joola Kasa), and the salient contrast in the conversations is between Joola, Wolof, and French (rather than between different Joolas), Joola is used here as a shorthand, as indeed it is by the speakers.

Goodchild 2018; Weidl 2018). Furthermore, large linguistic repertoires mean that multilingual discourse is quite normal (Dreyfus and Juillard 2005; Lüpke and Storch 2013), which allows for constant and nuanced indexation of different social meanings and aspects of identity (Deumert and Lexander 2013; Watson 2019). This applies to the data presented below; the participants draw on different linguistic resources in their repertoire, affected by the modality of communication, the communicative goal, and the relationship of the interlocutors.

Also relevant to a study of digital interactions is the nature of written and spoken practices, and the relations and contrasts between them. In Senegal, French is the language of formal education, almost entirely dominant in the official and formal domains and often the only language in which Senegalese people receive any literacy training. As a result, French orthographic conventions are evident in many informal linguistic practices in non-French languages, such as in the use of Wolof or Joola on social media (see Lüpke and Storch 2013; Juffermans and Abdelhay 2017; Lüpke 2018). Wolof has some visibility in advertising and print media. There is an official orthography for Wolof, developed by the Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar, using Roman script and following phonemic principles, although standardized forms are less entrenched than for French. Joola and other minority languages form part of the linguistic landscape in a symbolic fashion only. Grassroots forms of literacy in Senegalese languages are increasingly common, due in part to the ever-increasing popularity of digital communication, and users draw on a variety of literacy resources or orthographic repertoires (Lexander 2011, 2020).<sup>3</sup> An individual's orthographic repertoire and their use thereof is determined – as is their spoken repertoire – by personal biography and knowledge of social expectations in different contexts (Lexander 2020).

# 4 Methods

The data upon which this paper builds was collected as part of a project on mediated communication in families of Senegalese background living in Norway (Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2021; Lexander 2020). Participants were recruited through personal contacts and snowball sampling to include four families, all with at least one parent born in Senegal, and all with children born in Senegal or in Norway. Interviews, individually and with the family members together, observations, and focus groups were combined with the collection of interactional data in the form of downloads (as with the first conversation analysed in Section 5.1), copypaste (second conversation analysed, Section 5.2), and screenshots. The data was collected by Lexander in repeated meetings with the families in the families' and researcher's homes, from March 2017 to March 2019, and when all four families met for the focus group. Visual tools were used as support in a collaborative research process. The participants drew language portraits of themselves, using colours on a body silhouette, to visualize their linguistic repertoires (Busch 2021), and they made media maps, representations of their mediated interaction, that were later combined with interview and interaction data to make mediagrams (developed by Lexander and Androutsopoulos 2021; see Figure 1 below). Mediagrams are graphs visualizing a participant's digital interaction network, paying attention to the languages and mediational tools used with different interlocutors. They are used in the repeated interviews as a point of departure for discussing missing parts, as well as any changes taking place, and also for analysis. This paper focuses on two of Felipe's conversations, a WhatsApp dialogue with his nephew and a Messenger exchange with a close friend (marked in yellow in the mediagram). As there

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>We do not consider Ajami practices here as they are not relevant to the data.

are relatively few Senegalese in Norway, we will only present Felipe to the degree necessary for the analysis, to reduce the risk that he may be identified. The mediagram in Figure 1 shows his communication with friends and family, presenting the tools, ranging from regular phone calls, emails, and SMS messages to Viber, Skype, and WhatsApp, and the languages used with each of his interlocutors in written and spoken communication.

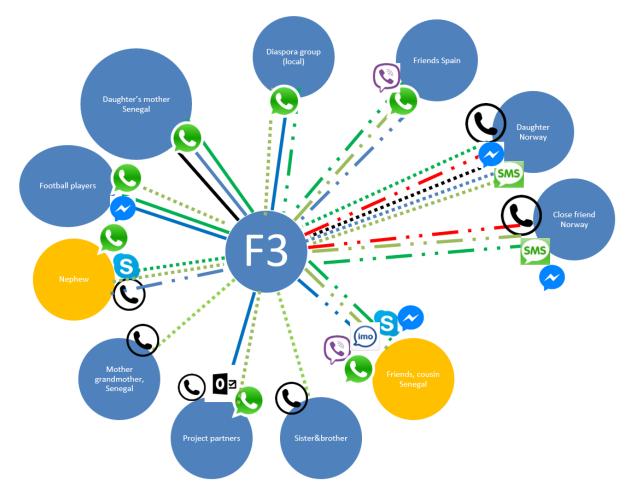


Figure 1. Mediagram for Felipe

	Tools	Languages, modalities
C	Phone call	 Wolof,
SMS	SMS message	 Joola,
S	Skype	 French,
	Messenger	 English, written
S	WhatsApp	 Norwegian, spoken
$\bigcirc$	Viber	 Written
Îmo	Imo	 Spoken
0 2	Email	 Written and spoken

The mediagram gives some indications of the context in which the two conversations analysed here, with interlocutors marked in yellow, are carried out. With the nephew, Felipe communicates with WhatsApp, Skype, and phone calls. They speak Joola and Wolof with each other and use French both for written and spoken communication. There are examples of this in the text and voice messages analysed. Felipe's other interlocutor belongs to his group of friends in Senegal, which also includes a cousin. Here, several tools are in use: Skype, WhatsApp, Messenger, Imo, and Viber. While Joola and Wolof are generally used only in spoken interaction with the nephew, these languages are also used in text messages with the friends, both in group chats and one-to-one chats. The conversation which will be analysed here is carried out with a close friend from childhood, on Messenger, and only written messages have been preserved, in French, Joola, and Wolof.

# **5** Analysis

In the analysis of the WhatsApp conversation with Felipe and his nephew in Senegal (Section 5.1) and the Facebook Messenger conversation with his close friend from childhood (Section 5.2), we discuss how the interlocutors negotiate the mobile chronotopes of their interaction. Their relationships are embedded in established chronotopes – i.e. the childhood friend and uncle-nephew relationship – with additional layers of complexity due to their particular constellation of circumstances. Factors contributing to the complexity of the situation include their difference in location, socio-economic context, and education, as well as the nature of the medium. For example, while Felipe has university education, his childhood friend has not had many years of schooling – contributing to a disparity in the way that they write French in their Messenger interactions, a fact which would not necessarily be apparent in spoken face-to-face communication. There is also a distortion of the uncle-nephew relationship caused by Felipe's geographical distance from his homeland. Although in principle the uncle represents the moral authority (Diop 1985), in this case the uncle is also dependent on his nephew to carry out tasks on his behalf, like the *sarax* we describe here.

How are these unique circumstances, and sometimes conflicting factors, reflected in their discourse and negotiated? Are familiar chronotopes blurred or highlighted? What differences can be identified in Felipe's voices, within and between the conversations, and what indexicality do these voices represent for the construction of the mobile chronotope?

# 5.1 Giving alms on WhatsApp

In the first conversation, Felipe interacts with his nephew, who lives with Felipe's grandmother in their home village in Casamance. They exchange text and voice messages, pictures, videos, and phone calls on WhatsApp, thus making use of the range of possibilities offered by WhatsApp. The dialogue presented here starts on 8 May 2017, ends on 20 February 2018, and consists of nine episodes of different length, from a very short *Bonne et heureuse année* 'Happy New Year' message to the 30-turn long organization of a money transfer. We first look at the language use in this conversation, including spelling and pronunciation, then the multimodality, and finally we analyse in detail the ninth interactional episode, where the nephew gives alms at Felipe's instruction.

The conversation is multilingual, and there is a distribution of languages with regards to modality: most voice messages are multilingual using Joola, Wolof, and French, whereas nearly all text messages are in French, with some notable exceptions. Spelling and language choices relate to different aspects of the contexts and illustrate the complexity of contextual factors that make up the chronotopic understanding in this interaction. The spelling of French and the choice of words refer to formal school literacy, like in Grand mère voudrait que tu l'appelle 'Grandmother would like you to call' (nephew) written in standard French with accents intact. The use of standard French spelling in text messages, as opposed to unconventional abbreviations of French that are frequently found in informal digital communication, is often associated with showing politeness towards someone older than the sender (Lexander 2011). The standard spelling may be a result of the use of autocorrect, but the choice of words cannot be explained by this. Norms of informal digital writing are also followed in the conversation, with the abbreviations slt (salut 'hi', used by both) and C (c'est 'it is', C déjà fait 'it's already done', nephew). In the relationship between uncle and nephew, there should be respect and the uncle is the moral authority, but they are at the same time close and intimate and a certain level of banter is allowed (Diop 1985). In the voice messages, they use Joola together with Wolof and French, similarly to how they would use language in face-to-face interaction, as Felipe explains in an interview. French may be prevalent in written messages due to orthographic conventions, etc., but the voice note feature of Whatsapp allows speakers to make linguistic choices closer to those they would use in spoken face-to-face interaction, thus building co-presence. At the same time, the Allô used in the opening of the messages refers to phone call openings and would not be used in a physical meeting. We thus see that the mobile chronotope negotiated relates to the relationship in question (uncle-nephew), the shifting modalities (spoken vs. written), and the channels used (phone call).

The organization of an almsgiving, a specific cultural practice called *sarax* in Joola (and Wolof), is also multimodal and multilingual. It takes place over two days, and involves 17 turns: 3 missed calls, 3 voice messages, 10 text messages, and 1 video, the volume of interaction underscoring the importance of these arrangements. Felipe says that he first made a phone call to a *voyant* 'seer' in Senegal to ask how he could get rid of "bad energy" (English in original). The voyant prescribed the details of the sarax, and Felipe turned these spoken prescriptions into a text message in French (line 1) and sent it twice to his nephew, who carried out the offering. To make sure he was understood, Felipe used both the Wolof kimbe (kemb), and the French arachide décortiqué to tell his nephew to get 'shelled peanuts'. This food item is typical of Senegal, as is *laahe (laax)*, the Wolof name of a specific dish consisting of boiled cereal, often eaten with fermented milk and as part of specific ceremonies – here it is the dish that should be given to the children to carry out the sarax. Furthermore, Felipe follows up the written instructions with a voice message where he repeats the explanation, giving more details (lines 2–14), so that both written and spoken modes are used to iterate the message. This repetition strategy is followed throughout the interaction, and the nephew also uses this strategy to make sure he gets it right and to confirm that he has received the messages.

In the voice message, Felipe tells his nephew to call him when the alms have been given. The nephew does try to call him several times, and then instead sends a text message to confirm that the *sarax* has been carried out (line 21). Felipe replies: *Merci* [nephew's name].

# Example 1: Sarax by Whatsapp

(key: *French* in italics, **Wolof** in bold, <u>Joola</u> underlined, undetermined in plain text)

#### Felipe: text message 1. Arachide (kimbe) decprtique et petit 'Peanuts (shelled) shelled and small paquets de biscuit .donne a des enfants biscuit packets. Give to the children 2 bole laahe avec lait (enfants) two bowls of porridge with milk (children)' Felipe: voice message 2. [?] sarax yayu ende ee...egerte kembe '[incomprehensible] the alms, whatsit er...peanuts shelled peanuts' 3. yahufeli ni ende ee...ebiskit les petits 'shelled and whatsit er... biscuits the sachets sata ende small sachets of whatsit' 4. sibiscuit sajare vignt cinq walla 'the biscuits which cost 25 or 50 like *cinquante* miña [?] that [incomprehensible]' 5. trois quatre cinq walla six 'three, four, five or six' 6. fanu...ebiskiteye.de..fanu ubole yo 'you'll...the biscuits...you'll mix ende ay de de de gerteay them, the whatsit de de de the peanuts' 7. nonu bambusabu bati tabu ma jarmu 'like if it's the small sachets that cost xowuma vignt cinq mina I don't know 25 like that' 8. mais ule ebiskiteye ule dundeyo 'but you mustn't the biscuits you mustn't do that' 9. fanu danunde duboleyo di bambusabu 'you'll take that, you'll mix with the bati tabu bambusabu little sachets' egerteay nunde yo nahutob ma 'the peanuts, you take them like that' 10.

11.	<u>utob ma ugoner de gerteyay nahusen</u> <u>bañil abu</u>	'take them like that mix them with the peanuts and give them to the children'
12.	aaaaaaah <u>ee ende ende di mubol</u> muluba mati elah	'*groans* er whatsit whatsit with two little bowls of porridge'
13.	<u>di muil muil mondomu dubaj ukan</u> jatiit [?] jak mukan hmm	'with milk milk that you have do a little [incomprehensible] not too much huh'
14.	<u>di ubol sata alah ungar usen banil abu</u> <u>kuten</u>	'with the bowls of porridge you take them you give them to the children they eat'
15.	nondomu upare duhoniom OK [?]	ʻif you finish you call me OK [incomprehensible]'
16.	merci merci	'thank you thank you'
17.	Nephew: missed call	
18.	Felipe: forwarded video	
19.	Nephew: missed call	
20.	Nephew: missed call	
21.	<b>Nephew: text message</b> <i>C déjà fait</i>	'It's already done'
	Felipe: text message	

22. *Merci* [nephew] 'thanks [nephew]'

### Nephew: text message

23. De rien

'You're welcome'

With his nephew's help, Felipe is able to carry out a *sarax* that he could not have completed in Norway, as he explains. He could not have found the right components, he says, and people do not have the same practice: *"ils vont se dire: c'est quoi ce gars là?"* ('they will ask themselves: what kind of guy is that?') (interview data). Through multilingual, multimodal, and transnational WhatsApp mediated communication, Felipe can have some sort of control over how the *sarax* is performed, thus engaging with an important cultural practice.

In the middle of carrying out the alms, the nephew receives a humorous video from his uncle. It shows a male comedian, dressed as a woman, pretending to give advice to the president, in Wolof, regarding how to win the elections. Since this 'advice' comprises beer and pork, it is particularly funny for the Christian minority in Senegal and can be read as a reference both to their shared ethnic and religious background, and to Felipe's political views. As such, the video represents a re-negotiation of the mobile chronotope. The conversation is not only about the nephew helping him, but about Felipe sending different kinds of 'gifts' to his nephew. This video qualifies as carnivalesque (Bakhtin 2017), demonstrating a disregard for etiquette and decency in the mentioning of the head of State. Felipe also sends information about a scholarship (in Senegal) that the nephew can apply for, and a prayer. Moreover, part of the money that he sends is for the nephew, and he qualifies him as 'brother' by sharing a chain message that should only be shared with frères que tu aimes 'brothers you love'. Hence, they co-construct mobile chronotopes for playing out their uncle-nephew relationship: one for the helping uncle, who shares his financial resources as well as resources in the form of digital messages with his nephew, another for the uncle in need of practical help from his nephew (facilitating mediated communication between Felipe and his grandmother, distributing money and giving alms), and one for playfulness and 'brotherhood'. To keep in contact between the more extensive interactional episodes, they also send messages at Christmas and the New Year, referring to a broader chronotope of their substantial relationship. Thus, through WhatsApp communication, they both cultivate their relationship and benefit from it in ways they could not have done without the digital connection, while also sharing a visual space and the sense of mediated presence and proximity (cf. Lobinger 2016). As such, the mobile chronotopes cater to emotional, relational, economical, practical, and spiritual needs. And, as the next section shows, Felipe uses different linguistic resources here than in the interaction with his childhood friend, where the communicative norms differ.

# 5.2 Cultivating friendship on Messenger

In the following series of interactions, Felipe uses Messenger to communicate with his close friend, who lives in Casamance. The two interlocutors grew up in neighbouring villages, have a distant family relationship, and their parents know each other well. "*Je peux dire un frère*" ('I could call him a brother'), Felipe said in the interview. They share an interest in football, Felipe as a player and the friend as a staff member of the club, but they have quite different levels of education: Felipe attended university, while his friend attended school for four years. The communication collected took place from July 2013 to May 2017 and we analyse how the friends

draw on their multilingual repertoires, the written modality, and a culturally and linguistically specific form of banter to negotiate their relationship and create virtual co-presence. They make use of different affordances offered by the tool, communicating both in text messages and phone calls. However, for video calls, they use Skype, since video calls for Messenger were not introduced until April 2015.

Felipe attests that in spoken communication, he and his friend would tend to use a mix of Wolof and Joola. Certain parts entextualize (Bauman and Briggs 1990) these everyday encounters, taking up greetings and banter that they would use face-to-face. However, in the Messenger conversation, most of the interaction is in French, as predicted by the written modality, although their use of orthography differs. Felipe maintains a relatively long-hand, sometimes almost formal style (as-tu Skype?) (as discussed in Section 5.1), with only a few abbreviations or textspeak forms. His friend, in contrast, diverges significantly from standard French orthography. This discrepancy may be due to their different levels of exposure to different types of literacy practice as a result of their different educational backgrounds, although it may also represent a difference in attitude towards standard French orthography (and by extension to French itself). Either way, the difference between their respective 'styles' of written French reveals a distinction that may not be present in spoken interaction, and interestingly there appears to be no impetus for either of the men to accommodate to the other's way of writing French (see Watson 2019). Wolof and Joola are used less; however, they are used for specific purposes and play an important role in constructing a close peer group friendship. Wolof appears in some greetings, some banter, and some basic exchanges of information. Formulaic greeting exchanges can be regarded as a crucial aspect of Senegalese social relations and interactions. Therefore, making the effort to type a language that they would use in spoken face-to-face communication serves to evoke a sense of place, although the speakers return to French after a few exchanges, reflecting their greater familiarity with French in the written domain. For both men, the Wolof and Joola forms display features of various orthographies, with a low degree of standardization.

Joola is the most restricted in terms of its usage. There are variations of the forms *bou ma* 'how's things?', *kukoli* 'your balls!', and *esamay* 'mate'; otherwise it is generally not used. Again, this is interpreted as an artefact of the even more restricted use of Joola in writing/ literacy, as they would use Joola far more in spoken communication. If the use of Joola is restricted, the forms are still highly significant to the chronotope. *Esamay* 'mate' is a term of affection, and *kukoli* 'your balls', is used for the banter that strongly indexes the nature of their relationship, linking them to their shared homeland and heritage. It is significant that Joola is the only language used for the *kukoli*<sup>4</sup> game (see below). As mentioned above, Felipe said in the interview that he rarely gets a chance to use these languages in face-to-face interaction in Norway, much less indulge in the sort of taboo word based banter observed in this conversation. Iteration of *kukoli* and *esamay* throughout the conversation not only connects him with his friend (cf. Gordon 2009), but also with his home environment.

The written modality moreover facilitates a flexible type of conversation. The communication is sporadic, with intermittent bursts of activity followed by periods of absence. The speakers are also in touch on other channels such as phone calls and Skype conversations, where more involved or urgent information exchange can be carried out verbally and in real time. It seems that, for them, Messenger is used primarily as a way of staying in touch to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>We use *kukoli* as an orthographic form throughout the text, although it appears in a variety of spellings in the data, attesting to the lack of a standardized orthography for Joola, with Felipe and his friend drawing on their various literacy resources to produce this written word on the fly.

maintain the friendship. The propensity of this channel to be used for written communication makes it ideally suited to the communication of "insignificant or non-urgent updates" (Diallo 2013, 9) that, nonetheless, create a "sense of ambient accessibility, a shared virtual space that is generally available" (Ito and Okabe 2005, 38), and which gives a feeling of emotional support – your friend is there if you need him.

The men also make use of emojis. These are of particular value during the exchanges of banter, which often involve rather strong insults. In the absence of face-to-face cues such as facial expression and laughter, Felipe draws on the illocutionary force of emojis (cf. Dresner and Herring 2010) to soften the impact of his own remarks, express the friendly nature of the exchange, and show a positive reaction to the responses of his friend. For example, directly after his friend threatens to 'kick his ass', Felipe types four smiley faces and asks *sinon nakamou?* 'anyway, what's up?' (example 2, lines 7–8), underscoring the fact that these threats and insults serve as greetings.

Example 2: Greetings and banter

Friend: text message 'you spoiled guy, how is it?' 1. Boy boub rew nakala Felipe: text message 'I will beat you up' Niuss nala 😃 2. Friend: text message 3. Wahko [other friend] moye sa morome 'say it to [other friend], he is your age' Felipe: text message 4. 'I'm going to say it to [other friend], 5. *je vais le dire a* [other friend] *il va te casse* he's going to kick your ass 😃 ' la gueule 😃😀 Friend: text message 6. *Epui moi je te case la gueule* <u>kou kol</u> 'And then me I'll kick your ass. Balls!' Felipe: text message 7. 'Otherwise, how are things?' 8. Sinon nakamou?

In some portions of the conversation other chronotopes are negotiated that exist as a direct result of Felipe living in Norway. These are chiefly transactional: there are some mentions of money transfers (as well as requests thereof), evoking the overseas remittance sender, and at one point the men are organizing a shipment of building materials that Felipe is sending from Norway to Senegal. These interactions are not detailed, however, and it seems that the details have been discussed on another platform. The bulk of the interaction serves to maintain the

relationship in culturally specified ways, using the extended greetings and enquiries after family that are typical in Senegal.

**Example 3:** How is everyone?

	Friend: text message	
1.	Boy sava	'guy how's it going?'
	Felipe: text message	
2.	Oui ca va	'yes it's OK'
3.	Et toi comment ca va	'and you how's it going?
	Friend: text message	
4.	Et ta petite famille el von bien	'and your little familly, are they well?'
	Felipe: text message	
5.	<i>Tout le monde se port bien</i>	'everyone is doing well'
6.	Et tienne comment elle va ?	'and yours, how are they doing?'
	Friend: text message	
7.	Tu a pu amener ta fille	'were you able to bring your daughter?'
	Felipe: text message	
8.	Oui elle est la 😲	'yes, she's here 😶'
9.	Et [other friend] comment il va?	'and [other friend] how's he doing?'
	Friend: text message	
10.	Tu a tres bien f j penser que tu es	'you've done very well, I thought you were an
	kon ms tu es loin d letre	idiot, but you are far from that'
11.	Le petit [Felipe] il va bien	'the little [Felipe], he is doing well'
	Felipe: text message	
12.	Nice nice <i>il grandi</i> ?	'good, good, is he growing?'
13.	Et madame	'and your wife'

There is also an example of a playful exchange where the friend invites Felipe to come and eat. This is a typical social convention in Senegal in face-to-face interaction that can carry several simultaneous implications. It is an expression of hospitality and welcoming, but can also (as in this case) mean that a meal is ready and a conversation is being brought to an end. Of course, there is no possibility of the former situation happening, as Felipe acknowledges with his "*he*-*hehe*", but using this typical social convention his friend is "reshaping distance and presence" (Bacigalupe and Cámara 2012, 1433), to create a sense of co-presence.

## Example 4: Come and eat!

### Friend: text message

1.	Vien manger	'come and eat'
	Felipe : text message	
2. 3.	Hehehe C'est quoi l meny hehe	'hehehe' 'what's the menu hehe'

The conversation is notable as an exchange of banter. The conversation is peppered with frequent insults, assertions of superiority, and threats of physical discipline, transgressions into the carnivalesque (Bakhtin 2017). This is illustrated in example (2) above. This type of exchange between close male friends is a conventionalized and salient aspect of the peer group friendship in the Casamance, serving here, as in other societies, to "reinforce in-group solidarity" (Culpeper et al. 2017, 4). Insults follow certain themes (laziness, disrespect, incompetence) which closely resemble commonly heard reprimands (the qualities of being hard-working, respect and skill being extremely important). Unlike reprimands, the insults are not intended to be taken seriously and, rather, serve as a form of phatic communication involving an enjoyable display of closeness and solidarity, whilst also connecting them to the shared social values of their home society.

In addition, the participants engage frequently in a form of banter that can be considered ritualistic insofar as it is formulaic, competitive, and outrageous (Culpeper 1996), and which we term here as the '*kukoli* game'. This is a common game between male peers in Senegal. The aim is simply to be the first to open a new exchange with the form *kukoli*! 'your balls!' or various permutations thereof. The other participant then feigns offence and reprimands the offender. Again, emojis – an affordance of the digital written modality – are used to underscore friendly intention and enjoyment, and to signal that the insults are not being taken seriously. The analysis of Felipe's conversation with his friend from childhood shows an entextualization of banter usually reserved for spoken interaction; it is recontextualized in a Facebook Messenger conversation, interactively negotiated with his childhood friend (see Androutsopoulos 2014).

## Example 5: Kukoli 1

## Felipe: text message

- 1. <u>Coucoli</u> :) :)
- 2. Nakamou

## Friend: text message

- 3. <u>Awfofe</u>
- 4. coul *may* **boy naka** *madame*

## Felipe: text message

5. éè man sa grand la 😬

'your balls' 'how is it?'

'you too' [response to line 1] 'cool but guy how's the wife'

'hey, I'm older than you 😷'

6. 7.	Elle va bien	'she's well' ∵		
7.	Friend: text message dagua dof mane malayar	'are you crazy, I raised you'		
8.	Felipe: text message Bouma fonto boy	'don't play with me guy'		
Example 6: Kukoli 2				
1.	Friend: text message Si koli sata alouloum ha ha ha ha ?	'white man's balls ha ha ha ha'		
2.	Felipe: text message Hamadi 😀 😀	'impolite		

The game is typically phatic in that its implications depend more on the intention of the communication (i.e. a demonstration of solidarity and shared identity) than the literal meaning (Kisielewska-Krysiuk 2010, 198). It is significant that they choose Joola for this game, to frame the talk "within a local chronotope of everyday normalcy in order to heighten intimacy and togetherness despite the geographical distance" (Lyons and Tagg 2019, 9–10). Both Wolof and French are possible choices, but the use of Joola links them to Casamance, and in fact to their specific part of Casamance, as this is a word that exhibits regional variation. It thus indexes not only their shared Joola identity but also evokes the place of their shared upbringing, and times spent enjoying friendly company. The entextualization of greetings exchanged in their physical encounters binds them together as they become routines of their everyday interaction (see Gordon 2009).

If we compare these conversations with the exchanges with the nephew, although there are many obvious differences, such as the relative prominence of the three main languages (mainly French with some Wolof vs. mainly French with some Joola), the modality (text only vs. voice and text), and the nature of the exchanges (greetings and banter vs. transactional), we can also see important points of comparison which illustrate their use of digital communication and linguistic repertoires to construct mobile chronotopes. For example, Joola seems to be of particular importance in both exchanges. The prominence of Joola in the voice messages in the *sarax* exchange suggest that this would be the chosen language in face-to-face communication, thus reconstructing co-presence and evoking their shared home. The more limited use of Joola for a very specific form of banter suggests the importance of this language in highlighting significant aspects of the close peer group relationship. While the Messenger exchange is more obviously phatic, with frequent use of formulaic greetings and banter to emphasize a sense of togetherness and belonging, the *sarax* exchange also has features such as the video, the content of which highlights the interlocutors' shared identity as part of a Christian minority in Senegal.

# 6 Conclusion

Felipe uses the digital interactions analysed here to recreate the social spaces and practices of his home community and his own identity as an uncle, an authority figure, a childhood friend, a Joola. As a Joola and a Catholic in Norway he belongs to a religious and linguistic minority in an already small group of immigrants. In contrast to many Senegalese migrants elsewhere, such as France (Leconte 2001), the USA (Smith 2019; Sall 2020), and Italy (Hannaford 2017), he does not have village community contacts in his country of residence. As Sall (2020) finds for West African youth in New York, being able to connect with co-ethnics through a shared African language increased comfortability and sense of belonging. This connection Felipe makes primarily online. In particular, he carries out practices that he cannot carry out in Norway, where he would be qualified as crazy (the alms) or a bully (the banter) because of cultural differences. These interactions can thus be interpreted as a resilience strategy to bolster his confidence and sense of identity while living in an adopted country that is culturally very different from his own, and may sometimes be hostile to immigrants. Evoking familiar practices in this way is a comfort.

While Bakhtin (1981, 97) described the meeting in chronotopic terms – two persons have to be in the same place at the same time – the virtual encounter does not require this. Furthermore, the multimedia nature of the communication can be exploited for different goals. Not only can the interlocutors create virtual co-presence when geographical distance separates them, but even time is more dynamic, as an unanswered phone call can be followed by a voice or text message, emojis, videos, and memes that the receiver can react to when they have time, and the dialogue is still facilitated. They are "on the same device(s)", and messages are exchanged within an acceptable time frame for communication.

Language use is a central aspect of these practices. In the multilingual greetings exchanged between Felipe and his childhood friend, linguistic styles associated with speech are used in writing. These linguistic styles are used to negotiate 'mobile chronotopes' (Lyons and Tagg 2019), heightening intimacy and togetherness; it is significant that they use Senegalese languages for the most salient linguistic markers of their relationship building, i.e. greetings and banter. They create virtual co-presence (Baldassar 2008) not through ordinary co-presence routines (see Nedelcu and Wyss 2016), but through ordinary co-presence multilingual practices.

Felipe and his interlocutors thus create mobile chronotopes that allow for identity and relationship constructions that cannot take place in the physical place where Felipe finds himself. Activities take place that are not socially possible to carry out in the Norwegian everyday life context as they are in Senegal. The chronotopes are still affected by aspects that go beyond the mobile interaction context: shared childhood experiences and shared cultural practices where specific rights and obligations are assigned to specific roles. The language use, almsgiving, and outrageous banter are non-chronotopic, and thus socially unacceptable or unrecognised, where Felipe is now (see Blommaert and de Fina 2017), but not in the WhatsApp interaction with his nephew and friend. The analysis of interactions with other individuals, with other genders, ages, and relationships, would probably show other communicative patterns, and further research could investigate a wider range of relationships (e.g. with women) to understand the nature and importance of these digital exchanges. Through studying these instances of interaction, we learn about how people draw on their linguistic and multimodal resources to deal with their transnational lives in the complex movements between social contexts that they continuously construct digitally.

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