

## Le français et le français populaire africain : partenariat, cohabitation ou défiance ? FPA, appartenance sociale, diversité linguistique

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*En Afrique urbaine francophone, à côté du français dit standard, se développe un autre type de français qui, au départ perceptible au sein des classes sociales marginales, s'étend à présent aux élites. Cette langue dite FPA (Français populaire africain) est pratiquée dans les capitales africaines comme Abidjan, Dakar, Cotonou, Lomé ou Ouagadougou. La particularité de cette langue qui a ses propres règles grammaticales et son lexique riche et varié est de révéler l'esprit et le sens de créativité de ses locuteurs. Cette langue FPA participe de ce fait au développement d'une diversité linguistique et culturelle propre à sa communauté de locuteurs qui s'étend d'un bout à l'autre de l'Afrique subsaharienne francophone. Le français populaire africain est en train de s'imposer de plus en plus comme une deuxième langue que ne dédaignent pas utiliser les élites car à sa marginalisation des débuts, se substitue à présent un phénomène d'adoption qui lui ôte son caractère de langue de ghetto et lui confère un certain statut social que n'ont pas les langues africaines. De plus en plus, ce sont ceux qui ne parlent pas cette langue qui se sentent exclus, à la marge. Le fait de pouvoir communiquer en FPA tend à devenir un symbole d'appartenance social très fort.*

*Dans cette réflexion, nous nous proposons d'analyser les pratiques du FPA et sa cohabitation avec le français dit officiel. Un partenariat est-il possible entre ces deux langues ? Comment se fait la cohabitation ? Est-elle pacifique ou y a-t-il défiance permanente ? Qu'en pensent les écrivains ? L'appropriation du FPA renouvelle-t-elle la langue française ou l'appauvrit-elle au contraire ?*

Les pratiques du FPA reflètent la diversité linguistique de ses locuteurs dans la mesure où cette langue se nourrit de l'apport et de l'influence des langues africaines auxquelles elle emprunte les figures, les images, les expressions. C'est un français africanisé sans pour autant être du Créole car il procède différemment. Son existence, d'abord le fait des jeunes marginalisés des centres urbains africains, tend à être adopté par d'autres classes sociales. De langage à la mode, il est en passe de devenir le mode de langage d'une frange de plus en plus importante des populations africaines. Né sur les bords de la lagune Ébrié pour ce qui concerne le FPA de la sous-région Ouest africaine et d'abord connu sous l'appellation de français populaire ivoirien (FPI), le FPA s'est africanisé en franchissant les frontières des pays avoisinants grâce aux jeunes, étudiants, élèves, peu ou prou scolarisés, grâce aussi à la musique, au théâtre, à la danse, en somme, par le biais de la culture. Il est important de noter que l'usage du FPA se fait de façon consciente, délibérée. Ses locuteurs ne sont pas forcément des analphabètes qui n'ont pas d'autre choix de langue parce qu'ils n'en ont pas appris une. Les locuteurs du FPA proviennent aussi d'une certaine élite qui maîtrise bien le français officiel. Le fort sentiment d'appartenance, de soudure sociale dont font preuve ces locuteurs explique son adoption par une élite de plus en plus nombreuse.

S'il a quelque origine avec le Nouchi, le FPA en diffère énormément par le choix délibéré de ses pratiquants d'user de la dérision, de l'humour caustique, de la provocation plaisante.

L'une de ses particularités réside dans ce choix de la dérision et de l'humour plutôt que de la violence à laquelle était assimilé le Nouchi, ce qui justifie sa popularité auprès de franges diverses des populations urbaines africaines.

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