

## **“Le français petit nègre” and the Construction of Social Identity in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa**

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The expression “le français petit nègre” is a metonymic term referring to the variety of “ungrammatical” French spoken during the colonial period by the indigenous colonized people of French Africa. By extension, it is used in a mocking and offhand way to refer to non-standard and/or faulty French, often with a racist undertone. The term has long been considered as an endogenous production in the colonies through learning on the job and contact between the indigenous populations and the colonizers. French writers such as Delafosse questioned the intellectual capacities of the African and, consequently, his language of expression. Writing in 1904, Delafosse asks:

Comment voudrait-on qu'un Noir, dont la langue est d'une simplicité rudimentaire et d'une logique presque toujours absolue, s'assimile rapidement un idiome aussi raffiné et aussi illogique que le nôtre? C'est bel et bien le Noir, ou d'une manière générale le primitif, qui a forcé le petit-nègre, en adaptant le français à son état d'esprit. (264)

[How do you expect the Black man, whose language has a rudimentary simplicity and a logic which is almost always absolute, to quickly assimilate a language as refined and inconsistent as ours? It is entirely the Black man, or in a general way the primitive man, who has created the petit-nègre, by adapting French to his state of mind.]

This consideration, erroneous as it were, obfuscates the role of the French colonizers themselves (especially the French colonial army) in the construction of this variety of language.

Delafosse's research and descriptions of “le français petit nègre” are often used as the starting point for linguistic analysis dealing with the question of creolization. Petit nègre is also the first instance of what has now come to be called “popular” French spoken in different parts of Francophone Africa. My paper will attempt to interrogate this metonymic term and what it signifies in the socio-historical construction of identity through the examination of a body of works that use or make use of the expression “petit nègre”.

### **Linguistic Policy of the French Colonial Power**

Convinced of the superiority of western civilization and the “civilizing” mission of France which would bring well-being, freedom and liberty to the rest of the world through the transmission of European knowledge and the values of the 1789 Revolution, the French republican ministers who had encouraged the colonial adventures in the 1880s were prompted by desires of assimilation aimed at bringing the colonized peoples to the level of the colonizers. This desire for assimilation however raised insurmountable practical difficulties since it implied that the colonial power would give certain rights to the colonized people, especially French nationality and the right to education under the same conditions as those in the metropolis. Even if the supporters of assimilation were inclined to grant these rights, they found it impossible to do so. This desire also presupposed that the colonized would accept to be assimilated. This was farther from the truth. As Denise Bouche (1975, 885) reports, “l'administration coloniale dut user de contrainte pour imposer l'école à ses débuts. La pression dut être maintenue plus ou moins longtemps, souvent jusqu'au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale” (même si) “l'opposition ne prit jamais la forme d'une résistance ouverte. Les populations les plus réfractaires se contentaient d'attendre le relâchement du maître ou un changement d'administrateur pour retirer les enfants de l'école.” [In the beginning, the colonial administration had to use force to impose the French school,

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