

Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Letras e Ciências Humanas

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**Planning an Onomasiological Dictionary
for Atchan - An Endangered Language
of the Ivory Coast**

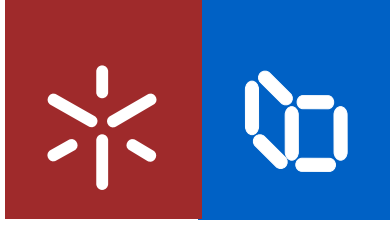
Meyan Djeya Ange Océane Meyan **Planning an Onomasiological Dictionary for Atchan - An Endangered Language of the Ivory Coast**

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Master's Dissertation
European Master in Lexicography

Supervised by
Professora Idalete Maria da Silva Dias

November 2020

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Statement of Integrity

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

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Planning an Onomasiological Dictionary for Atchan - An Endangered Language of the Ivory Coast

Abstract

The current thesis consists of an onomasiological dictionary project which should contribute to the preservation of the Atchan language and the culture of the Tchaman people. The project aims at providing a model for the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary. Other project goals are the collection of data on the use of the Atchan language (the frequency of use, the domains in which it is used, the interlocutors), the assessment of the threat level of the Atchan language, the description of the current language documentation. To achieve these goals, two tools were used: a questionnaire and UNESCO's criteria to assess language vitality or endangerment. At the end of the work, it is hoped that the proposed model, the methodology adopted and the research carried out will contribute to the compilation of an onomasiological dictionary in the future and the preservation of Atchan and, consequently, the culture of the Tchaman community.

Keywords: Atchan, endangered language, ethnographic product, language revitalization, onomasiological dictionary.

Planeando um Dicionário Onomasiológico para Atchan - Um Idioma Ameaçado da Costa do Marfim

Resumo

A presente tese consiste em um projeto de dicionário onomasiológico que tem como objetivo contribuir para a preservação da língua Atchan e da cultura da comunidade Tchaman. O projeto propõe um modelo para a macro e microestrutura do dicionário. Além disso, existem outros objetivos, nomeadamente a coleta de dados sobre o uso da língua Atchan (inclui a frequência de uso, os domínios em que é utilizada, os interlocutores), a avaliação do nível de ameaça da língua Atchan e a descrição da documentação atual do idioma. Para atingir esses objetivos, duas ferramentas foram usadas: um questionário e os critérios da UNESCO para avaliar a vitalidade duma língua. No final do trabalho, espera-se que o desenho proposto, a metodologia adotada e a pesquisa realizada possam contribuir para a compilação de um dicionário onomasiológico e etnográfico no futuro e a preservação de Atchan e, consequentemente, da cultura da comunidade Tchaman.

Palavras-chave: Atchan, dicionário onomasiológico, língua em perigo de extinção, produto etnográfico, revitalização da língua.

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INTRODUCTION

The current work is a Master's dissertation entitled "Planning an Onomasiological Dictionary for Tchaman - An Endangered Language of the Ivory Coast". In order to provide an overview of the thesis structure and the tasks carried out to achieve the goals, the introduction firstly presents the topic concerned. The objectives and purposes of the thesis are then discussed, and the methodology adopted to achieve these goals. An overview of the thesis structure is addressed at the end of the introduction.

0.1 Presentation of the topic

"Without adequate documentation, a language that is extinct can never be revived." (UNESCO, 2003: 2). In fact, the phenomenon of language endangerment is a phenomenon which affects many languages, and which is becoming more and more extensive. One of these endangered languages is Atchan. Atchan is the language of the Tchaman speech community living in Ivory Coast, a West African country. Due to various factors, this speech community is on the verge of losing its language and culture. As a matter of fact, Ivory Coast presents an ethnic mosaic which includes more than 60 languages divided into four linguistic groups. Each group occupies a specific area of the country. The Tchaman settled in Abidjan, the current capital city, and in areas around it, before the arrival of the colonizers and the establishment of the Ivory Coast as a French colony on March, 10th of 1893. Before the country underwent changes, the lifestyle of this community was based on fishing and farming, its main means of subsistence. Their territory was made up of fields and water allowing them to have their means of subsistence. But Abidjan being a coastal city became the occupation zone of the French colonizers. The French set it up as the capital city. And even after the celebration of the independence, the government as the landowner, took possession of the Tchaman living space. Abidjan evolved in terms of urban construction and industrialization to the detriment of the autochthones, the Tchaman. And as a consequence, buildings, subdivisions of neighbourhoods, stadiums, etc., profoundly transformed the landscape (Cotten, 1974: 188). The big plantations disappeared in favour of buildings, neighbourhoods, and every relevant aspect for a city to become a capital. Abidjan underwent big changes and we saw migration flows to the city. Over the years, members of other linguistic groups left their corresponding zone to migrate to Abidjan for various reasons, among others, professional and academic reasons. The migration to Abidjan occurred not only on a national level, but also on an international level. Given the natural contact between the different cultures and the predominance of the

French language, the Tchaman community has over time come to lose part of its identity. This loss of identity is closely linked to the fact that Atchan is no longer passed on from generation to generation. Consequently, this situation has led to a certain cultural detachment.

Culture and Identity go hand in hand. This is illustrated by the famous *Fatchué*, an Atchan ritual. The Tchaman society is organized in generations and each generation includes four categories, i.e. age brackets. *Fatchué* is the celebration of a generation and represents a time period in which this generation is celebrated. More than a celebration, it is a means of preparing the village administration, it is a political organization. That is, it prepares the generation for the political leadership of the village. From an early age, people are taught how to lead the village, how to respect oneself and the others, how to be sociable and how to take the others' interests into consideration. *Fatchué* is meant to serve a useful purpose: stability in society. Beyond this, *Fatchué* is a way of showing and assuming one's own identity. If you do not belong to a category, you are not considered a *Tchabio* (male member of the Tchaman speech community) or *Tchabia* (female member of the Tchaman speech community). Members of the community who maintain a closer link to the speech community and the traditions are more likely to master the language. On the other hand, those members, in principle, the members of the younger generation, who do not practice the language, try to maintain their link to the community through the *Fatchué*. In essence, *Fatchué* is what keeps the Tchaman people together and what unites all generations of the speech community.

Even though the language is not mastered by all generations, the Tchaman culture is still practiced and for this reason, it is important to document the Tchaman traditions and Atchan, the language spoken by the Tchaman. The current project aims to: (i) collect data on the use of the Atchan language; (ii) analyse Atchan's level of endangerment based on UNESCO's criteria on Language Vitality and Endangerment; (iii) collect and describe the current documentation available for Atchan, such as dictionaries, ethnographical publications; (iv) propose a design for the macro- and microstructure of an ethnographic onomasiological dictionary for Atchan. One of the most disturbing trends of our time is the accelerating rate of language extinction and endangerment. The latest edition of the UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger was published in 2010 and lists around 2,500 endangered languages, which approximates the generally accepted number of around 3,000 endangered languages worldwide and provides analytical reports (UNESCO, 2011: 8). According to the atlas (UNESCO, 2011: 6), at least 43% of languages spoken worldwide are in danger of disappearing. This instrument has attracted the attention of researchers, the media, and the public, with hundreds of press articles from around the world devoted to the Atlas, highlighting its impact as a tool for raising awareness about

endangered languages. General proposals for language revitalization include among others, documentation and preservation, curriculum/resource development, language engineering, teacher training/post-secondary initiatives, policy development and political advocacy, research, language classes, bilingual schooling, immersion practices (cross-generational/community-based), early childhood focused, K-12 immersion (McIvor *et al*, 2006: 2-5). As emphasized by UNESCO (2003: 6), endangered languages documentation is of importance due to the following reasons: “1) it enriches human intellectual property, 2) it presents a cultural perspective that may be new to our current knowledge and 3) the process of documentation often helps the language speaker re-activate linguistic and cultural knowledge”. The current project will focus primarily on language revitalization through documentation initiatives that include collecting and analysing the resources available for the Atchan language such as vocabularies, ethnographical publications, little terminologies, literacy works and the proposal for the representation of ethnographic data in an onomasiological dictionary. The objectives and purposes of these aims are addressed below.

0.2 Objectives and purposes of the thesis

As described in the previous chapter, language revitalization and/or preservation projects include language documentation. The documentation of an endangered language can be managed through dictionary making. A dictionary is a photograph of the language and a guide for speech communities and language learners. Dictionaries have an important role to play in endangered language revitalization through language documentation (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006: 68). The Hawaiian speech community which tried to develop material including dictionaries such as the Hawaiian Dictionary Online (<http://www.wehewehe.org>) is an example (Galla, 2009: 172). This resource is a bilingual bidirectional online dictionary, available in Hawaiian-English and English-Hawaiian. The dictionary is organized alphabetically. In the Hawaiian-English dictionary, we have the headword in Hawaiian and its translation equivalent(s) and/or meaning(s) in English. Conversely, the English-Hawaiian dictionary lists English words and its translation equivalents and/or meanings in Hawaiian. However, in both dictionaries, the explanation and examples are in English. The microstructure, i.e. the entries in the Hawaiian-English dictionary, includes the following information: a picture illustrating the word, the headword, the part-of-speech of the headword, the different meanings of the headword, translation equivalent(s), collocations, example sentences, grammatical information. In the English-Hawaiian dictionary, the treatment of the lexical unit combines the headword, the explanation(s), the translation equivalent(s) in Hawaiian,

collocations in English and the translation equivalents in Hawaiian. Interesting in this dictionary is also the use of hyperlinks to redirect the user not only to other entries, but also to other resources where he/she can find more information that should be helpful for his/her learning process. There are hyperlinks to grammars, articles, literature, handbooks, in other words, links that redirect the user to references and diversified literature about the Hawaiian language and speech community. Considering the type of data included and the way it is presented, one could say that the Hawaiian dictionary is aimed for a user who is proficient in English and willing to learn Hawaiian.

Another lexicographic resource worth mentioning is the Comprehensive Dictionary of Ket (CDK), a highly endangered indigenous language spoken in Central Siberia (Kotorova, 2016: 129). The following presentation is an extract of the review on the CDK written by Andrey Filchenko (2016: 178-185). The CDK “is a new account of Ket language”, a language that is the only survivor of the Yeniseian language family and which attracts linguists and anthropologists studying in Siberia. The dictionary was edited by E. G. Kotorova and A. Nefedov, co-authored by a team of experts on Yeniseian languages, with the financial support of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig) (Filchenko, 2016: 178). The compilation of the CDK is based on prior lexicographic studies, making the dictionary a long-term tradition and a large-scale study of the Ket language. The CDK covers more than 6.100 lexical entries and consists of two volumes. Volume 1 consists of 368 pages and provides a lexicographical treatment of all Ket lexical classes except verbs which are treated in Volume 2. Volume 2, with 270 pages, covers in exhaustive detail the verbs of Ket. The lexical entries contain usage examples, resources of the dictionary, illustrative contexts, explanations, comments, “a combination of the phonological transcription of the headword and the detailed phonetic notation of the examples, allowing for rich insights into the actual phonetic realization of the lexical units running natural speech” (Filchenko, 2016: 182). The general observation after considering the review of the Comprehensive Dictionary of Ket is that CDK is both a resource for people willing to learn Ket and material which should serve as one more asset for the Ket language documentation and revitalization.

For these reasons, we take a great interest in the production of a bilingual ethnographic onomasiological dictionary French>Atchan. Below a detailed account of the objectives of the current project:

(i) Collection of data on the use of the Atchan language

First of all, a survey was conducted to collect information on the use of Atchan: the language skills of the speech community, the frequency and domains of Atchan language usage, the profile of the

interlocutors. Besides this, we collected data on the attitude(s) of a sample of the speech community towards the language. In other words, one of our goals is to verify whether the community is aware of the level of endangerment of their language and assess their perceptions of revitalization measures.

(ii) Vitality assessment of Atchan

Presenting the Atchan language as a threatened language requires empiric research and statements based on the results obtained from this research. Another objective of the current thesis is therefore to provide an analysis of the Atchan language's threat level. At the end of the analysis, we should be able to assess the degree and aspects of endangerment of the Atchan language.

(iii) Collection and description of current Atchan language documentation

We also intend to collect the actual resources available for the Atchan language and describe them. The current project is not the first attempt to document the Atchan language. Therefore, it is necessary to present a status of the previous works that have been created. The thesis aims to analyse and describe the resources available in order to identify the needs and the aspects that could possibly be improved. In fact, the analysis should help us to determine the current level of documentation of Atchan.

(iv) Proposal of the macro- and microstructure of an ethnographic onomasiological dictionary for the Atchan language

Our main goal in carrying out this project is to contribute to the documentation status of Atchan and, consequently, to the preservation of the Atchan language. Apart from this, we would like the dictionary to serve as an instrument for acquiring knowledge about the language, by means of a better understanding of the Tchaman culture. That is, it should help the present as well as the future Atchan generations to learn their language and culture. Since the Atchan language is not well documented, our ethnographic onomasiological dictionary proposal with macro- and microstructural specificities intends to aid the reactivation of the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the Tchaman speech community.

The objectives presented above and the key results will provide us with essential matter for the compilation of the French-Atchan Dictionary that given its ethnographic and onomasiological characteristics will promote language and culture revitalization. The methodology adopted to achieve these goals will be specified in the following chapter.

0.3 Methodology

With regard to the endangerment situation of the Atchan language and the circumstances related to its extinction, we believe that the dictionary proposal mainly raises the following question: *To what extent can an ethnographic onomasiological dictionary contribute to reactivate and promote the revitalization of Atchan?* This question generates two others, namely: *What topics should be included in the dictionary to fulfil this function?* And, *regarding the topics selected, what type of data should be introduced and how should this information be organized?* The methodological approaches will help us to assess: (i) the level of endangerment of Atchan; (ii) if a bilingual ethnographic onomasiological dictionary can be a suitable and effective instrument to combat language endangerment; (iii) which concepts should be included in such a lexicographic resource.

To verify these hypotheses, answer the questions and, thus, achieve the objectives set, we decided to adopt a particular methodology that we tried to adapt to the subject and to the tools at our disposal. This methodology includes: (i) the identification of concepts; (ii) the establishment of the dictionary basis; (iii) the term extraction; (iv) the proposal of the macro- and microstructure model.

The identification of concepts (step 1) was carried out via three activities: a questionnaire, readings and the concept collection and hierarchy. The questionnaire aims at providing an authentic gathering of relevant Tchaman cultural artefacts. The readings should also help us to identify relevant cultural themes of the Tchaman speech community. In what concerns the concept collection and hierarchy, it consists of drawing up a list of the concepts identified via the questionnaire and the readings, and then modelling a hierarchical tree of these concepts. The establishment of the basis (step 2) is a step towards the compilation of the corpus. The lack of resources makes the finding of texts dealing with the concepts identified difficult i.e. barely achievable. Thus, at this stage of the work, we will manually extract words, expressions and sentences which somehow relate to the concepts collected in the questionnaire. The next activity is the identification of the terms (step 3). The objective here is to draw up a list of potential terms referring to the concepts that we found. After all these steps, we should then be able to propose a design for both the macro- and microstructure, which is the fourth and last activity of our methodology.

In order to show how all these points were concretely discussed, the structure of the current thesis is presented in the chapter below.

0.4 Overview of the thesis structure

The dissertation is structured in four chapters which are divided into two parts: the theoretical and the practical sections.

The theoretical section includes the first two chapters, *Atchan – endangered language of the Côte d'Ivoire* and *Threat level of the Atchan language according to UNESCO's criteria*.

The first chapter deals with the historical, political, socio-linguistic context of Atchan, the language policies and the linguistic laws of the Ivory Coast. That is, the first chapter consists of a brief presentation of the Ivory Coast, an overview of the situation of the Atchan language in the country, and its status in the Ivorian language policy landscape. The second chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the level of endangerment of Atchan with regard to the UNESCO criteria. These criteria helped us to assess the degree of language vitality of Atchan and focus was laid on the documentation of the language. The assessment of the vitality level allowed us to confirm that Atchan is seriously threatened, i.e. endangered. Apart from the level of endangerment, the level of documentation is addressed in the second chapter. The existing material is presented and discussed with special attention to its content and functions.

The practical component of the thesis is composed of two main chapters dedicated to the dictionary planning and the dictionary production processes. The success of the dictionary production process depends on the preparatory work carried out in the dictionary planning process.

Dictionary planning can actually be seen as the methodology adopted by lexicographers to compile a dictionary. In their article about the treatment of the data in dictionaries with regard to the methodology guided by lexicographic functions, Bergenholtz & Leroyer (2013: 158) argue that lexicographers should compile a typology of potential users, use situations and problems that might arise for each type of user in each type of use situation. The dictionary planning chapter discusses the stages from the profiling of the user to the list of the terms and the microstructure. The profiling of users, the typology of use situations, the genuine purpose of the dictionary, i.e. the lexicographic functions, the choice of the dictionary type, the dictionary basis, the microstructure, the medium of publication and the innovative features are addressed.

The chapter on the dictionary production processes addresses the dictionary basis, the use of the corpus on the macro- and microstructural levels, the design of the macro- and microstructure of the French » Atchan bilingual ethnographic Dictionary, and presents examples of entries.

CHAPTER I: ATCHAN –ENDANGERED LANGUAGE OF THE IVORY COAST

The current dictionary project aims to compile a prototype of an onomasiological dictionary for Atchan, a threatened language of the Côte d'Ivoire. Nevertheless, it is necessary to introduce the language concerned. The first chapter deals with the presentation of the Atchan language in terms of (i) the historical and socio-political context of the Côte d'Ivoire, (ii) the Atchan language and the Tchaman people past and present, (iii) the Ivorian language policy.

1.1 Overview of the historical and socio-political situation of the country

The Tchaman people constitute a speech community located in the Côte d'Ivoire, a West African country. Chapter 1.1 presents not only the country in its historical, socio-political, and linguistic context, but also its population and the linguistic group to which the Tchaman speech community belongs to.

1.1.1 Historical context of Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire is a West African country whose area is estimated at 322,462 Km². It forms a republic and is therefore also called Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (République de Côte d'Ivoire). The country has two capitals: Yamoussoukro, the political and administrative capital, and Abidjan, the economic capital. The countries bordering Côte d'Ivoire are Liberia and Guinea in the West, Mali and Burkina in the North and Ghana in the East.

In fact, Côte d'Ivoire used to be a French colony before the declaration of its independence on August 7, 1960. Leclerc (2018) gives us an overview of the historical relation between France and Côte d'Ivoire. The Portuguese were the first to have colonized West Africa and even named some Ivorian towns and rivers (Sassandra, San Pedro, Fresco). The French then gradually settled on the coast until being driven by the British in 1870. After the respective zones of influence of Britain and France were determined at the Berlin Congress in 1885, Louis Gustave Binger was referred to as a "French inhabitant of Côte d'Ivoire" and acted as a representative of France in front of local chiefs. After that, contracts were signed in France with Ivorian peoples, the Bettié, Agni and Abon. It was not until March 10, 1893, that the decree was signed, which declared the founding of the French colony Côte d'Ivoire. The

administration of the colony as such was not easy. The French had fierce opposition from the inhabitants, and it took more than twenty years for France to really prevail in Ivory Coast. In 1946, Houphouët-Boigny, then Member of the Côte d'Ivoire at the French Assembly, defended the law abolishing forced labour in the French Overseas Territories, a status that Côte d'Ivoire also obtained. Houphouët-Boigny was a close ally of General de Gaulle. On August 7, 1960, he proclaimed Ivorian independence and became president of the country. The two countries, however, maintained close ties, notably through the presence of a large French community in Côte d'Ivoire. Despite the diversity of existing Ivorian languages, the Ivorian politicians of the day decided to adopt the language most directly available and functional: the language of the former colonizer, French. However, the language is not the only heritage from the colonial time. After the colonization, the country underwent some changes which had consequences on various aspects, among others, the population, and its evolution.

1.1.2 Population and urbanization

Faster than the average of Sub-Saharan African countries, cities are growing rapidly in Côte d'Ivoire. The rate of urbanization has increased from 17.7% in 1960 to more than 50% in 2018. This makes Côte d'Ivoire the third most urbanized country among the African countries with more than 5 million inhabitants, behind Cameroon and Ghana¹. For the whole period 1960-2017, there is an annual average of 37.64. The variation between 1960 and 2017 is 185% (185% variation in 57 years). It is in 2017 that the highest value is recorded (50,33) and it is in 1960 that one records the lowest value (17,68). That is, the more years pass, the higher the urban population rate increases.²

The current population is estimated at 26,434,356 where 51,3% of it is urban³. This population is unevenly distributed over the territory. The density and composition of the population vary according to the regions. This is closely related to the economic situation of each region. In fact, the Ivorian territory counts 31 regions and 2 districts (Abidjan and Yamoussoukro, the capital cities)⁴: *SAN-PEDRO, NAWA, GBOKLE, INDENIE DJUABLIN, SUD-COMOE, KABADOUGOU, FOLON, GOH, LOH DJIBOUA, BELIER, IFFOU, N'ZI, MORONOU, GRANDS PONTS, AGNEBY TIASSA, LA ME, TONKPI, CAVALLY, GUEMON,*

¹ La Banque Mondiale. (2019, February 21). *Perspectives économiques en Côte d'Ivoire : 8 graphiques pour comprendre les enjeux de l'urbanisation*. Available on <https://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/cotedivoire/publication/cote-divoire-economic-outlook-understanding-the-challenges-of-urbanization-in-height-charts>.

² Perspective Monde. (2020, June 9). *Population urbaine (% de la population totale), Côte d'Ivoire*. Available on <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/tend/CIV/fr/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS.html>.

³ Woldometer. (2020, July 30). Côte d'Ivoire Population (LIVE). Available on <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/cote-d-ivoire-population/>.

⁴ Institut National de la Statistique. (2012). Informations Générales sur la COTE D'IVOIRE. Available on http://www.ins.ci/n/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19&Itemid=27

HAUT SASSANDRA, MARAHOUE, PORO, TCHOLOGO, BAGOUE, GBEKE, HAMBOL, WORODOUGOU, BERE, BAFING, GONTOUGO and BOUNKANI.

Lagunes (Abidjan), *Haut-Sassandra*, *Savanes*, *Vallée du Bandama*, *Montagnes* exceed 73% of the total population, with *Lagunes* alone accounting for 34% of the population⁵. According to the ranking table of the 10 biggest cities of Ivory Coast, published in February 2018⁶, Abidjan is the only city whose population exceeds 2 million. With 4.707.404 inhabitants, we register in Abidjan 20% of the total population. It is followed by Bouaké with 608.138 inhabitants. The third city, Daloa, counts 319.427 inhabitants. Yamoussoukro, the politic and administrative capital, with 310.056 inhabitants is the fourth biggest Ivorian city. In the north, we have Korhogo which counts 286.071 and is therefore the fifth city of the country. The other five cities are: San Pedro (in the South- West) with 243.918 inhabitants, Gagnoa (in the West) with 213.918 inhabitants, Man (in the West) with 188.704 inhabitants, Divo (in the South) with 179.455 inhabitants and Soubré (in the South) with 175.163 inhabitants. The reasons why they belong to the top 10 of the biggest Ivorian cities are multiple: education and professional training institutions, job opportunities and sanitary facilities (Cotten, 1973: 621).

The current chapter will briefly present the education and professional facilities. The big cities have several primary schools and frequently a secondary school. There are three Higher Education Institutions in the country, namely in Abidjan, Bouaké and Korhogo. So, education has sociological and geographic consequences. Education and schooling facilities leads to travel and then causes migrations to cities and especially to Abidjan. Another origin of migration to the cities are the employment opportunities they offer. Bouaké's economy for example constitutes 3% of the Ivorian GDP⁷. Abidjan hosts 80% of the formal works and 90% of the enterprises⁸. San Pedro, the coastal city ranks among the most important agglomerations of the country due to the fact that it houses one of the two autonomous ports that Côte d'Ivoire has⁹ and thus, this leads to migration, on national as well as international level. To conclude, 1) the population is not equally distributed; 2) the urbanization rate is linked to the density of the population; 3) the Ivorian urbanization has led to the establishment of new ways of life, new ways of relating to members of other ethnic groups and/or tribes and the dominant use of the French language to the detriment of community languages; 4) urbanization has accelerated in big cities, while

⁵ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Available on <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

⁶ Soriano. (2018, February 26). Les 10 plus grandes villes de Côte d'Ivoire. In Ouest In. available on <https://ouestin.com/listes/2018/02/26/10-plus-grandes-villes-de-cote-d-ivoire/>. The data may undergo changes, especially with the update of the data from the National Statistics Institute.

⁷ Soriano. (2018, February 26). Les 10 plus grandes villes de Côte d'Ivoire. In *Ouest In*. available on <https://ouestin.com/listes/2018/02/26/10-plus-grandes-villes-de-cote-d-ivoire/>.

⁸ La Banque Mondiale. (2016, September 22). *Repenser les villes ivoiriennes*. Available on <https://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/cotedivoire/publication/reimagining-ivorian-cities>.

⁹ Soriano. (2018, February 26). Les 10 plus grandes villes de Côte d'Ivoire. In Ouest In. available on <https://ouestin.com/listes/2018/02/26/10-plus-grandes-villes-de-cote-d-ivoire/>.

small cities see no investment in basic infrastructures. However, the more a region is affected by contact with members from other linguistic groups, the more the speech community living in this region is likely to lose its own traditions and contacts. In fact, each Ivorian speech community belongs to a specific group with its specific area. How are these groups i.e. languages distributed? The next chapter aims to present Atchan in the Ivorian language distribution.

1.1.3 Overview of the Ivorian Language distribution

The approximately 27,000,000 inhabitants of Côte d'Ivoire form an ethnic mosaic that can be divided into four groups. They are called *Mandé*, *Voltaïque*, *Krou* and *Akan*¹⁰ (see Figure 1). This linguistic diversity is composed of more than 60 languages and, according to the texts of the first European researchers, today's ethnic characteristics are due to migrations at the time of the constitution of the great empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhaï¹¹. In the Figure below, the four main groups and their respective regions are labelled with different colours: the *Krou* in turquoise blue, the *Akan* in blue, the *Voltaïque* in yellow and the *Mandé* in pink. But the map shows only the dominant languages of each group. This subchapter focusses on *Akan*, the linguistic group of the Atchan language.

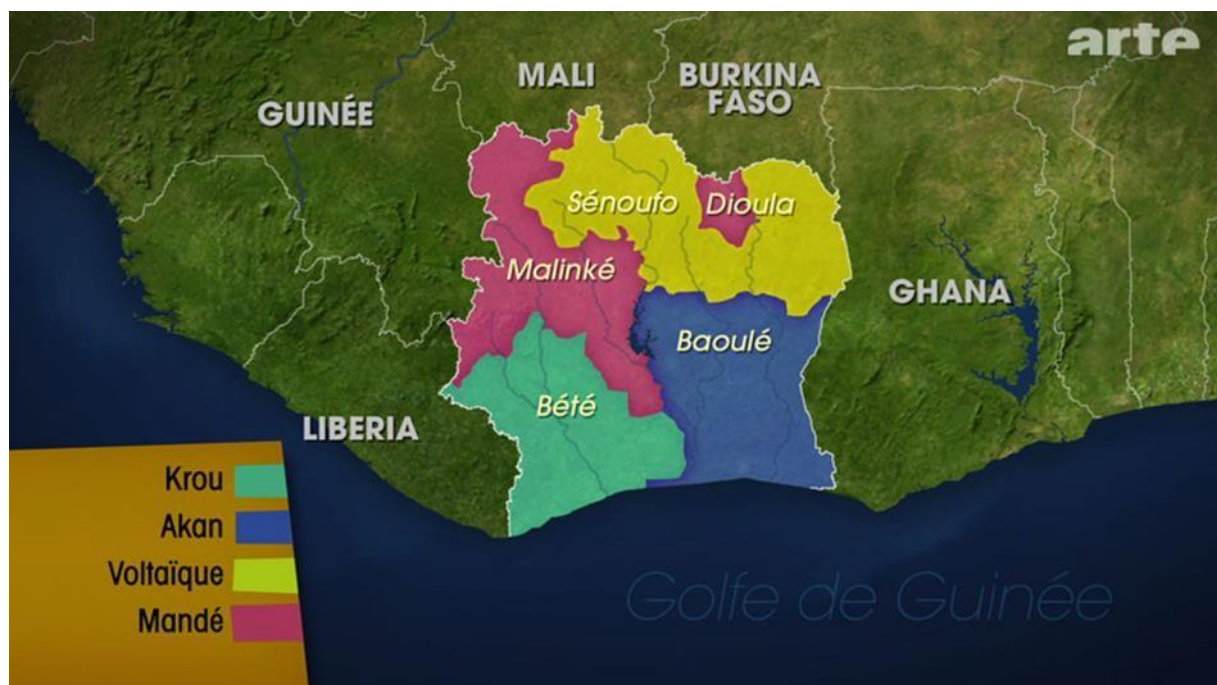


Figure 1: The four main groups of the Ivorian language distribution

¹⁰ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Available on <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

¹¹ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Available on <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

The South-East is the area of the largest ethnic group, the *Akan*. According to the geographical location and customs, the *Akan* are divided into three groups: the *Akan du centre*, *Akan frontaliers* and *Akan lagunaires*¹².

The *Akan du centre* are the *Baoulé*. *Baoulé* stands for the family of about twenty ethnic groups: *Oualébo*, *Agba*, *Ngban*, *Faafwe*, *Nzikpri*, *Nanafwè*, *Akpouè*, *Satiklan*, *Gôly*, *Ayahou*, *Saha*, *Gbloh*, *Ouéllé*, *Ahitou*, *Gôdè*, *Ahaly*, *Sondo*, *Faly*, *Dô'n*, *Souhamlin*, *Andô*, *Elomué*, *N'guin* and *Yôwrê*¹³. With all its dialects, the Baoulé ethnic group represents 23% of the rural population. This makes it the most important ethnic group of Côte d'Ivoire when it comes to numbers. In addition, Baoulé competes with French in the informal sector and thus in everyday communication.

The *Akan frontaliers* occupy the east of the country. This population is located on both sides of the border between Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Among them are the *Abron*, the *Agni* and the *Nzima*¹⁴. The Agni represent 4.5% of the total population¹⁵ and are among the most spoken local languages.

The South-East is the region of the *Akan lagunaires*. They are called lagunaires, because they inhabit around the huge lagoon, the "lagune Ebrié (Ebrié lagoon)". They form a family of fifteen ethnic groups: *Abbey*, *Abidji*, *Abouré*, *Ahizi*, *Adjoukrou*, *Alladjan*, *Attié*, *Avikam*, *Ebrié* (Atchan), *Ega*, *Ehotilé*, *Essouma*, *Krobou*, *M'batto*, and *N'zima*¹⁷.

These people form the circle of lagoons. Chapter 1.2 addresses the Atchan language and the Tchaman people in a socio-cultural and political context.

1.2 Situation of the Atchan language and Tchaman people in Ivory Coast

The following subchapter focusses on the Tchaman society and their culture on the one hand and the current situation of the Atchan language and the Tchaman culture with regard to the urbanization of Abidjan on the other hand.

¹² Lecoite, Cathérine. *Les ethnies de Côte d'Ivoire*. Available on <http://lecoite.catherine.free.fr/articles/ethnies.html>.

¹³ Akwaba.fatom. (2017). *Le peuple Akan*. Available on <http://www.fatom.org/akwaba/region1/akans.php>.

Baoulés (updated on 29th of April 2019 at 15'16). Retrieved from <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baoulés>.

¹⁴ Sellier, Jean. (S.d.). *Côte-d'Ivoire*. Available on http://www.ben-vautier.com/ethnisme/new_cartes_detail.php3?quoi=8.

¹⁵ Institut numérique. (2012, September 25). Les groupes ethniques. In Les enjeux de la transition politique et humanitaire : le cas de la crise politico-militaire et postélectorale en Côte d'Ivoire. Available on <https://www.institut-numerique.org/213-les-groupes-ethniques65-5061bdeb096c3>.

¹⁶ The lagoon bears the name of the Tchaman people. In fact, the Tchaman are also called Ebrié. Ebrié is both a name for the people and the language they speak.

¹⁷ Sellier, Jean. (S.d.). *Côte-d'Ivoire*. Available on http://www.ben-vautier.com/ethnisme/new_cartes_detail.php3?quoi=8.

1.2.1 The Tchaman speech community in the Ivorian society

Also called *Ebrié*, the Tchaman speech community, belonging to the *Akan lagunaires*, represent the first people to have settled in Abidjan, the actual capital city of the country and the area going from Bingerville to Dabou. As autochthones, the lagoon that runs through the city of Abidjan even bears their name, hence the name *Lagune Ebrié*. Without it being possible to specify the origin of the Tchaman people, the oral tradition shows that Tchaman people come from the Ashanti (from Ghana), as well as their linguistic group *Akan*. The word “Atchan” means “the chosen ones” and stands for the language, while “Tchaman” stands for the people, the speech community. *Ebrié* stands for the language as well as the people.

There are thirty-seven languages with more than 50.000 speakers and Atchan belongs to them, with about 152.000 people in 2018. This represented 0,6% of the total population¹⁸. The Tchaman society is made up of tribes divided into groups called “goto” meaning “siblings”. All the villages are located in the autonomous district of Abidjan. The organisation of the Tchaman society is based on the family: the global family and the small family. The latter is built by a man and his wife, including all the children from their marriage. The global family is a group of small families. The Tchaman people practise two activities: fishing, the main activity, and agriculture, which is one of the most profitable economic activities in the country. They grow food crops such as manioc, banana (plantain), taro, cassava, yam, and produce attiéké¹⁹, which is consumed on both the national and international level. Thus, they contribute to the economy of the country.

However, the government, as landowner, has taken over the Tchaman spaces. As a consequence, there is almost no village with plantation privilege. Even fishing became a rare activity: the lagoon only exists by name. Some areas like Songon²⁰ remain “protected” because modernization has not reached them yet. The waters and plantations are still there. The areas that have been spared are those areas that are far from Abidjan. But they have started to become “contaminated”. With this accelerated development, we notice a high concentration in the city of Abidjan which threatens the Atchan villages. Tchaman people lost their livelihood – people could not go to sea anymore, the Tchaman speech community is weakened, has no social or community life as it used to. But despite the rapid growth of Abidjan which

¹⁸ LECLERC, Jacques (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde, Québec, CEFAN, Université Laval. Retrieved from <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

¹⁹ This is a typical Ivorian dish, a culinary specialty. It is made of manioc, a farm product grown by the Tchaman people. Attiéké is not exclusive to Tchaman. It is also cooked by other lagoon peoples such as Adjoukrou, Alladjan, Abidji, Avikam, Ahizi. Attiéké has become a good exporting product in recent years. From the Economic Community of West-African States (ECOWAS) to Europe, France and Belgium, this Ivorian dish is valued and sold at a good price.

²⁰ Songon is the fourth sub-district of Abidjan and is one of the Tchaman living areas.

dispossesses them of their land, the Tchaman have fought to keep their traditions. As an example, we have the “Fatchué²¹”, the “fête de génération”, the initiatory ceremony that marks the passage from one stage to another in the life of the young girls and boys of the age groups that make up a generation. It is one of the biggest traditional events of the Tchaman people and serves for socio-political matters²².

The Atchan culture is full of customary and traditional practices. To name a few, these practices are related to the following themes: family, marriage, tutelage, emancipation, bans, properties, inheritance, contracts, rules, personal liability. Although integrated in the city, the Tchaman survive and try to maintain their customs and traditions. Since the colonial period, Abidjan underwent changes which threaten the Tchaman villages. In fact, they are located in a space where their way of life is confronted with an ever-increasing urbanization.

1.2.2 A culture threatened by urban development: urbanization of Abidjan

Abidjan became the capital of the colony of Ivory Coast on July 1, 1934. After the acquisition of independence in 1960, Abidjan thus becomes capital of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. The city, then known as "*La Perle des Lagunes* (The Pearl of the Lagoons)" entered a period of prosperity, energized by what is called the "Ivorian miracle"²³. In fact, besides being the capital of the country, Abidjan is the economic centre of the country, but also of a whole region including Burkina Faso and Mali. It houses the seat of the presidency, the ministries, and the National Assembly. It is a place of privileged exchanges between Europe and West Africa and even the heart of the business between West Africa and the whole world. Home to national and international businesses, Abidjan is the most important financial centre of the sub-region with nearly twenty banking institutions. Like most coastal cities in Africa, Abidjan is an attractive hub, causing urge migrations. The Abidjan agglomeration attracts not only internal migrants (migrants from other parts of the country) but also international migrants (migrants from Mali, Burkina, Senegal, Niger, Syria, Lebanon, etc.). Internal migrants come from rural areas and secondary urban centres of the country. As for international migrants, they come for reasons that are also economic, because Abidjan concentrates most of the companies of the country and even of the sub-region (ONU HABITAT, 2012: 9). In 2016, the population of the metropolis Abidjan was approaching 5 million inhabitants, which was 20% of the total population²⁴. The agglutination in Abidjan

²¹ Fatchué is a Tchaman word. It refers to the “fête de generation” discussed above.

²² La ville d'Abidjan – Fêtes et danses traditionnelles. Available on <http://www.fatom.org/akwaba/region1/abidjan.php?fp=a7>.

²³ District Autonome d' Abidjan. L' HISTORIQUE. Available on <http://www.abidjan.district.ci/index2.php?page=pre&num=1>.

²⁴ La Banque Mondiale. (2016, September 22). Repenser les villes Ivoiriennes. Available on <https://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/cotedivoire/publication/reimagining-ivoirian-cities>.

causes insecurity, a bad quality of the environment, lack of infrastructures and mobility issues²⁵. These issues are the reasons why the whole city is under construction, with the opening of new roads, new bridges, and various infrastructures. However, this urban development does not spare the Tchaman's villages which are indeed located in the district of Abidjan. Let us take for example the Adjamé village. In fact, the municipality of Adjamé, which houses a large Ebrié community, could disappear in the coming years, since it is part of the urbanization plan of Abidjan. Adjamé is located north of Abidjan, next to the town of Plateau. Plateau is the business centre of Abidjan. In addition to its geographical position, the town of Adjamé houses the most important bus station of the country from which the bus serve all of Côte d'Ivoire as well as the sub-region. It is also a big commercial hub. The town can receive more than 2 million people during a day²⁶. The government is thus considering the construction of a bridge in the municipality, which should drive the village community off. The future toll bridge (the fourth bridge of Abidjan) should connect the town of Yopougon to that of the Plateau through Adjamé. Reboul Avenue, which runs through the Tchaman village, must be replaced by a large freeway allowing access to the fourth bridge. This necessarily implies dislodging the community. However, the population, which considers that it has already conceded a lot of space for the development of Abidjan²⁷, is not willing to accept this situation. There were demonstrations in the commune by the indigenous population, assisted by Ébriés from other villages in Abidjan. This has led to clashes with the police, who repel them with teargas²⁸. If the demonstrations of indigenous people do not bear fruit, Adjamé village, which houses the oldest population of Abidjan, the capital of the Bidjan, the founding people of the city of Abidjan are, will be demolished.

As Bergenholtz and Leroyer say, culture “*is shared through implicit and explicit models of norms and values that apply to a human community, which constructs, reproduces, shares, transforms, and transmits a common cultural system for each activity based on a specific interpretation of norms and values*”²⁹. However, the different situations discussed in this chapter, urban development, foreign invasion, eviction, constitute a great threat to the Tchaman people.

After presenting the Atchan language in a historical and socio-political context, it is necessary to present the language in a linguistic context. To do so, the next subchapter addresses the status of French and the Ivorian languages, Atchan included, in the linguistic laws.

²⁵ Côte d'Ivoire (2018, December 12). Retrieved from <https://www.populationdata.net/pays/cote-divoire/>.

²⁶ Commune Adjamé. <http://www.abidjan.district.ci/index2.php?page=com&num=2>.

²⁷ RFI. Nouveau pont d'Abidjan: les habitants d'Adjamé, menacés d'expulsion, en colère (published on September 08, 2018). Retrieved from <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20180908-4e-pont-abidjan-habitants-adjame-menaces-expulsion-colere>.

²⁸ N'GUESSAN, Béatrice Paule. Déguerpissement d'Adjamé village : Plusieurs générations de guerriers Ebrié sortent , la police recule et se retire pour l'instant (updated on September 07, 2018). Retrieved from <https://www.akody.com/cote-divoire/news/deguerpissement-d-adjame-village-plusieurs-generations-de-guerriers-ebrie-sortent-la-police-recule-et-se-retire-pour-l-instant-318041>.

²⁹ Bergenholtz, Henning & Leroyer, Patrick. *Métalexicographie culturelle, fonctions lexicographiques et finilite pragmatique* (January 2013). Available from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281104537_Metalexicographie_culturelle_fonctions_lexicographiques_et_finilite_pragmatique.

1.3 The Ivorian language policy and linguistic laws

After declaring the independence of Côte d'Ivoire, politicians sought a national unity that was to be achieved by using the French language, due to the more than 70 local languages available. The politicians considered French to be the most direct, available, functional, and appropriate language to form a nation. According to them, the preservation of French in Côte d'Ivoire was a means to neutralize local particularism and to merge the ethnic groups into one nation³⁰. For this purpose, laws and regulations have been established which lead to the definition of the conditions of use and areas of application of the French language and the Ivorian languages. This chapter deals with a description of the status of French and local languages according to the Ivorian laws. In order not to include the whole paragraph concerned, we will only quote the key terms used in the paragraph and provide an explanation of the statement of the law.

1.3.1 The French language and the Ivorian language policy

The Ivorian language policy grants French an important status. Paragraph 1 of the Law on the Ivorian Constitution defines French as the official language of the country in these terms “*La langue officielle est le français*”³¹³². Therefore, under the Regulations of the Ivorian Constitution, there is a text to determine the role of the Ministry of Culture and Francophonie. It is indeed one of the few legal texts in Africa devoted to Francophonie³³. The decree advocates the « *Représentation de la Côte d'Ivoire dans les organes de la Francophonie*”³⁴ and the « *Promotion et vulgarisation de la Francophonie auprès des populations*”³⁵³⁶. The decree praises both the Ivory Coast's standing in the Francophonie and the promotion and popularization of the Francophonie among the populations. In other words, the ministry should ensure that Côte d'Ivoire, as a French-speaking country, is represented in the Francophonie organs and makes a good statement. To this end, the Ministry of the Francophonie should ensure that the population has access to French, and that they adapt to the French and acquire knowledge of the

³⁰ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Available on <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

³¹ Translation into English: “The official language is French”.

³² Présidence de la République de Côte d'Ivoire. (2011). Loi n°60-356 du 3 novembre 1960 portant constitution de la Côte d'Ivoire. Available on <http://www.presidence.ci/constitution-de-1960/>.

³³ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Available on <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

³⁴ Translation into English: “Representation of Ivory Coast in the organs of the Francophonie”

³⁵ Translation into English: “Promotion and popularization of the Francophonie among the populations”

³⁶ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Décret n° 2012-625 du 06 juillet 2012 portant attributions des membres du gouvernement. Lois diverses à portée linguistique.

Available on [http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv-lois_div.htm#Décret_n°_2012-](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv-lois_div.htm#Décret_n°_2012-625_du_06_juillet_2012_portant_attributions_des_membres_du_gouvernement)

[625_du_06_juillet_2012_portant_attributions_des_membres_du_gouvernement.](http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv-lois_div.htm#Décret_n°_2012-625_du_06_juillet_2012_portant_attributions_des_membres_du_gouvernement)

language.

Pursuant to Article 27 of Regulation 2009-259 on the Public Procurement Code (2009), French is mandatory in written public procurement documents: “[...] *toutes les pièces écrites, publiées, [...] doivent être impérativement établies en langue française*”³⁷³⁸. In addition, the Law N° 95-15 of 1995, on the labour code stipulates in these terms “*Il est rédigé en langue française*”³⁹ that all training contracts must be written in French⁴⁰.

Ivorian language policy and linguistic laws determine that French is the official language. It is the language of the Presidency, the Republic, the National Assembly, the public administration, the courts, education at all levels (primary, secondary, technical and professional, university), the police, the armed forces, signage and the media. That is, French is the language of formal communication. However, what do the linguistic laws stipulate about the local languages? The following subchapter deals with the linguistic laws that describe the conditions of use of local languages.

1.3.2 The Ivorian languages in the linguistic laws

Paragraph 1 of the 1960 Constitution which grants French the status of official language was reproduced in paragraph 29 of the Ivorian Constitution of 2000 and a provision on the national languages was added in these terms: “*La loi fixe les conditions de promotion et de développement des langues nationales*”⁴¹⁴². This provision requires that the law should lay down conditions for the promotion and development of the Ivorian languages. It implies that the state must create opportunities to improve the situation of the Ivorian languages. Another implication of the law in the promotion of the local languages is introduced in Paragraph 21 of the Decree n° 2012-625 of 2012, July 6⁴³. The regulation on the Francophonie stipulates that, in terms of culture, the Ministry of Culture and Francophonie should ensure the promotion of the local languages. Therefore, the languages should be promoted, developed, and thus preserved. However, the purpose of the provision is not to change the status or conditions of use and uses of Ivorian languages in relation to the official language.

³⁷ Translation into English: “[...] All written, published [...] documents must be drawn up in French”

³⁸ Droit-Afrique. (2009). Côte d'Ivoire - Code des marchés publics 2009. Available on <http://www.droit-afrique.com/upload/doc/cote-divoire/RCI-Code-des-marches-publics-2009.pdf>.

³⁹ Translation into English: “It must be written in French”.

⁴⁰ Journal officiel. (1995, February 23). Loi n° 95-15 du 12 janvier 1995 portant Code du travail. N° 8, pp. 153-177. Available on <http://www.droit-afrique.com/upload/doc/cote-divoire/RCI-Code-1995-du-travail.pdf>.

⁴¹ Translation into English: “The law sets the conditions for the promotion and development of national languages”

⁴² La Constitution en Afrique. (2008, July 14). Constitution de la République de Côte d'Ivoire du 1er août 2000. Available on <http://la-constitution-en-afrique.over-blog.com/article-21220503.html>.

⁴³ Décret n° 2012-625 du 06 juillet 2012 portant attributions des membres du gouvernement. Runtergeladen von <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

The following describes the cases in which the local languages *may* be used in the areas of application of French designated by the Constitution.

(i) In court

Since French is the language of the courts, one of the first criteria for selecting jurors for a jury is to read and write French. However, it is not the whole population that understands French well and speaks fluently. The president of the jury should then contact an occasional interpreter, who is at least twenty-one years old. But he must swear to fulfil his mission faithfully. The use of the local languages in the court is therefore allowed, if ...

a) the court takes place in a city other than Abidjan, where the population does not hear the French language often; as stated in the paragraph (line 5): “*Il doit être fait appel à un interprète si l'accusé ne parle ou ne comprend pas la langue française*”⁴⁵.

b) the accused, the witnesses or one of them does not speak or understand the language. Thus, also the article 344 of the same law stipulates that “*le Président nomme d'office un interprète, âgé de vingt et un ans au moins, et lui fait prêter serment de remplir fidèlement sa mission*”^{46 47}.

(ii) In public administration

The language of the Ivorian public administration is French, especially in writing, so official documents are written in that language only. But orally, the civil servant responsible for civil status can use Ivorian languages with the citizens and, if necessary, use an interpreter when it is necessary to translate a document into the proceedings while the persons concerned do not speak the official language⁴⁸.

(iii) In Education

Laws have been passed to promote the introduction of local languages in the education system. In 1977, the Law of 18 August 1977, N° 77-584, on the reform of the school system was passed by

⁴⁴ Translation into English : « An interpreter must be brought in if the defendant does not speak or understand the French language”.

⁴⁵ UNODC. (1960, November 11). Loi n° 60-366 du 14 novembre 1960 portant code de procédure pénale. Available on https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/civ/1960/loi-no-60-366-du-14-novembre-1960-portant-code-de-procedure-penale.html/Cote_d'Ivoire_Loi_No_60-366_du_14_Novembre_1960_portant_code_de_procedure_penale.pdf.

⁴⁶ Translation into English: “The President automatically appoints an interpreter, at least twenty-one years of age, and make him take the oath to faithfully fulfil his mission”.

⁴⁷ UNODC. (1960, November 11). Loi n° 60-366 du 14 novembre 1960 portant code de procédure pénale. Available on https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/civ/1960/loi-no-60-366-du-14-novembre-1960-portant-code-de-procedure-penale.html/Cote_d'Ivoire_Loi_No_60-366_du_14_Novembre_1960_portant_code_de_procedure_penale.pdf.

⁴⁸ Ministère de l'Intérieur - Direction Générale de l'Administration du Territoire. Extraits de textes légaux et réglementaires sur l'état civil. Available on <http://citizenshiprightsafrika.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Cote-d'Ivoire-Extraits-de-textes-légaux-et-reglementaire-sur-l'état-civil.pdf>.

Parliament with the aim of introducing national languages into official training⁴⁹. The paragraph states that the introduction of local languages in the classroom should be understood as a factor of national unity and the revaluation of Ivorian cultural heritage. For this purpose, the Institute of Applied Linguistics was entrusted with a special task under paragraph 68 of the same Law No. 77-584⁵⁰. The law instructs the Institute to prepare the introduction of local languages in the schools. It is the responsibility of the Institute to engage in the conception of didactic works. And this should be done by describing, codifying, identifying, and recording the grammars and dictionaries of the local languages.

The Minister of Education also plays a role in the introduction of local languages in education. While the Institute of Applied Linguistics prepares the introduction of local languages in education through the conception of didactic works, the Ministry of Education is committed to developing teaching programs in local languages. It also needs to take action to verify the application modalities and efficiency of these programs. For this purpose, the ministry should promote the teaching programs in the local languages⁵¹.

The brief description of linguistic laws on the conditions of use and uses of French and local languages suggests that there is a gap between them. The areas of application of French are the cities, the formal communication. The linguistic laws allow the use of local languages in cases where the agents are not sufficiently familiar with French. While some laws extend the space of local languages by imposing their introduction on education, it seems that these texts are only declaratory. The texts and measures for implementing the introduction of local languages have never been put in practice. The lack of space in the school system for local languages is not the responsibility of the Institute of Applied Linguistics, but rather the responsibility of politicians who lack the will to change things on the grounds of political and sociocultural issues⁵². The introduction of local languages in education initiatives is not a political priority. Consequently, this has contributed to the endangerment of local languages. The next chapter analyzes the assessment of the threat level of languages using UNESCO's criteria with particular focus on the Atchan language.

⁴⁹ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Loi du 18 août 1977 n° 77-584, portant réforme de l'enseignement. In Côte d'Ivoire. Available on http://www.axl.cefanelaval.ca/afrique/cotiv-lois_div.htm#Loi_du_18_août_1977_n°_77-584_portant_réforme_de_l'enseignement.

⁵⁰ Loi du 18 août 1977 n° 77-584, portant réforme de l'enseignement. Available on <http://www.axl.cefanelaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

⁵¹ Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Décret n° 2012-625 du 06 juillet 2012 portant attributions des membres du gouvernement. Lois diverses à portée linguistique. Available on http://www.axl.cefanelaval.ca/afrique/cotiv-lois_div.htm#Décret_n°_2012_625_du_06_juillet_2012_portant_attributions_des_membres_du_gouvernement.

⁵² Leclerc, Jacques. (2018). Côte d'Ivoire. In : L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde. Available on <http://www.axl.cefanelaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm>.

CHAPTER II: THREAT LEVEL OF THE ATCHAN LANGUAGE ACCORDING TO UNESCO CRITERIA

This chapter aims to assess the threat level of the Atchan language according to the methodology proposed by UNESCO. In this section, some of the objectives of the thesis described in the introduction will be carried out, namely, the collection of data on the use of the Atchan language, the vitality assessment of Atchan and the description of the current documentation available in Atchan. Chapter 2 is thus subdivided into three sub-chapters: 2.1 which presents the UNESCO's criteria for assessing Language Vitality and Endangerment, 2.2 which deals with the assessment of the threat level of Atchan and 2.3 which addresses the description of the documents existing in the Atchan language.

2.1 UNESCO's criteria for assessing Language Vitality and Endangerment

The latest version of the UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Endangered Languages identified around 2500 endangered languages (UNESCO, 2011: 8). To be able to identify languages in need of preservation in a more efficient and adaptive manner, UNESCO proposes a means of assessing the status of these languages. A methodology to determine the strength level of a language was thus developed in 2002 and 2003 by an international group of linguists at UNESCO's request, and consists of nine criteria. In the document entitled "Language Vitality and Endangerment", adopted by the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages proposes a classification of these criteria. The classification includes three categories: six factors for the language vitality assessment, two factors for the assessment of attitudes towards the language and one factor to evaluate the need for documentation. The group points out that none of the criteria can be used separately, but taken together, they are "useful for characterizing a language's overall sociolinguistic situation" (UNESCO, 2003: 7). The factors are as follows (UNESCO, 2003: 17):

- **Factor 1:** Intergenerational Language Transmission
- **Factor 2:** Absolute Number of Speakers

- **Factor 3:** Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
- **Factor 4:** Shifts in Domains of Language Use
- **Factor 5:** Response to New Domains and Media
- **Factor 6:** Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy
- **Factor 7:** Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, including Official Status and Use
- **Factor 8:** Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language
- **Factor 9:** Type and Quality of Documentation.

With the exception of Factor 2, the threat level associated with each factor is assessed using a scale that ranges from *safe* (grade 5) to *extinct* (grade 0) (UNESCO, 2003: 17). In the following subchapter, an assessment of the Atchan language using UNESCO's schema and methodology is addressed.

2.2 Measuring the threat level of the Atchan language using UNESCO's criteria

One of the objectives of the current master's dissertation consists in analysing Atchan's level of endangerment based on UNESCO's criteria for assessing Language Vitality and Endangerment. It is important to emphasize that such an assessment requires gathering information from informants by means of a survey. The questionnaire designed for the survey is described in Chapter 2.2.1, the results of the survey are addressed in Chapter 2.2.2.

2.2.1 About the questionnaire

The reasons why the questionnaire was compiled, the distribution process and the results are respectively discussed in sections a), b) and c) below. The questionnaire can be consulted in Annex 1 of

the thesis.

a) Description of the objectives

The questionnaire served as instrument to gather authentic data ensuring a realistic and relevant description of the status of the Atchan language. The goals to be achieved are as follows:

- (i) Gather information about the language competences in Atchan and French;
- (ii) Identify the main means of communication between the members of the community;
- (iii) Compare both competences in Atchan and French;
- (iv) Ensure a better profiling of the users of the current dictionary proposal;
- (v) Identify the needs in terms of data to be included in a lexicographic resource;
- (vi) Gather information about the use of Atchan (frequency of use, interlocutors, domains of use);
- (vii) Determine whether the participants are familiar with the Atchan cultural and traditional events and to what extent they participate in these events;
- (viii) Verify whether the participants know of existing material in Atchan and use the available sources;
- (ix) Determine whether the participants show interest in the preservation of the Atchan language and culture.

To achieve the objectives of the questionnaire, we decided on twenty-two questions structured in four sections: *general information*, *language skills in Atchan*, *language skills in French*, *use and knowledge of Atchan*. The first section (questions 1-3) aims to collect general information regarding the respondents, such as: the Atchan tribe the respondent belongs to; the age bracket; gender. This information is relevant for the project as it will enable us to establish correlations between the variables 'age', 'gender', 'frequency of use', 'language competencies in Atchan', 'use of Atchan' (home and/or social domains, topics), 'intergenerational transmission', and 'attitudes towards the language' (defend language preservation)⁵³.

The second section (questions 4-7) focuses on the level of oral comprehension of Atchan as well as the respondents' approximate speaking, reading, and writing skills. This information will contribute to bring insight on the respondents' language competencies and the main means of communication in Atchan. In addition, the data will be relevant to identify what type(s) of materials are most needed to promote language education and literacy.

Taking into consideration the dominance of the French language in Ivorian society, it is of interest to

⁵³ The correlations are available in Annexes 2-6 of the thesis.

determine the Tchaman speech community's proficiency in the French language. The responses to questions 8-11 of this section will enable us to compare the competencies of the participants in both Atchan and French. Additionally, it will be possible to compare the means of communication used in both languages.

Section four (questions 12-22) addresses the following matters: the frequency with which members of the Tchaman community use the language; the interlocutors, i.e. the persons whom they speak Atchan with; the preferential domain of use; degree of participation and engagement in important cultural activities (*Fatchué*, *Attiéké* cooking process, celebrations, i.e. rejoicing dances, traditional wedding); the use of materials produced in Atchan (grammar books, reading books, orthographies, tales, audio materials, videos, etc.) and in which situations these materials are used. The last question of section four relates to the attitude of the respondents concerning the preservation of Atchan and their willingness to contribute to language revitalization.

b) Where was the questionnaire distributed? How? How many responses were obtained?

In order to obtain authentic information, not based on a single group or area, we had to work out a distribution plan that considers all these aspects: age group, tribe, i.e. area, gender. In other words, we tried to gather information from the different tribes, age and gender. This information distribution should ensure a relevant analysis, which considers the differences in the Atchan speech community. Thus, the questionnaire was distributed in various communes of Abidjan and around the city, Bingerville and Songon. An effort was made to distribute the questionnaire in the territory of the Tchaman, thus involving people from various tribes. The whole process - from the distribution to the collection of the responses - occurred within approximately one month. The questionnaire was compiled online with the Google Form tool, saved, and sent as a PDF file. This PDF version was then printed and distributed in the Tchaman territory by a family member, age fifty- one, who lives in Adjamé (Abidjan), in collaboration with his friends of approximately the same age. We obtained 150 responses in total. An overview of the impact of the distribution in different areas and to different groups of people is shown using pie charts.

c) The distribution of the responses according to age group, tribal affiliation, and gender

We will focus here on the answers obtained in the first three questions of the survey on the tribe, the age group, and the gender of the respondents. Grouping these three socio- demographic variables will provide us with relevant data that in conjunction with the other variables of the survey will shed light on the correlation between age group, gender, tribal affiliation and the respondents' relationship to Atchan

and the Tchaman culture.

(i) Age group

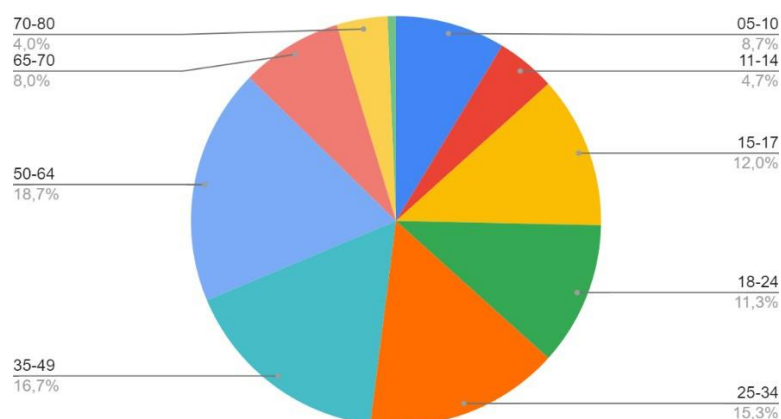


Figure 2: Pie chart representing the age groups and the percentage of participants within each group

As can be seen from Figure 2, the age brackets are not equally distributed. The three highest percentages are respectively associated to the groups 50-64, 35-49 and 25-34. Divided into two groups, a younger and an older generation, we obtain 52% of respondents for the younger generation (from 5 to 34 years old) and 48% for the older one (35 years old and above). The subdivision into both generations should allow us to establish correlations between the variables 'age', 'language proficiency', 'language usage frequency', 'interlocutor', i.e. conversational-partner, 'knowledge of the Atchan language and 'Tchaman culture', 'participation in cultural activities, 'willingness to defend the preservation of the Atchan language and culture'. These correlations aim to determine whether:

- the younger generation are familiar with and practise the Atchan language;
- the young members are familiar with the Tchaman communities' cultural traditions;
- the older generation passes the language on to the younger generations;
- the use of Atchan is directly related to age;
- the willingness to defend the language is linked to the age group.

Dividing the respondents into two groups also allows us to focus on the younger generation (the target users of the planned dictionary), identify their needs, establish a use situation typology, determine what the function and content of the current dictionary proposal could be.

(ii) Tchaman tribes

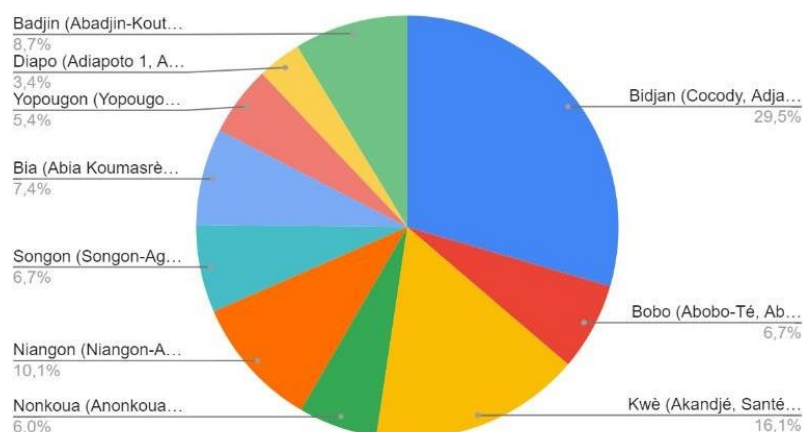


Figure 3: Pie chart representing the percentage of participants within each Tchaman tribe

The Tchaman speech community is composed of ten tribes. All of them are represented in the survey results, with a bigger or smaller number of participants. The highest percentage of responses (29,5%) was obtained from the Bidjan tribe most likely due to the fact that most of the collaborators who distributed the questionnaire live in this area. It was therefore easier to distribute the forms in this area. Although the survey distribution method did not allow for a balanced representation of respondents for each tribe or some of the tribes, an analysis of the survey questions based on responses from all Tchaman tribes is, in our opinion, an added-value of our study.

(iii) Gender

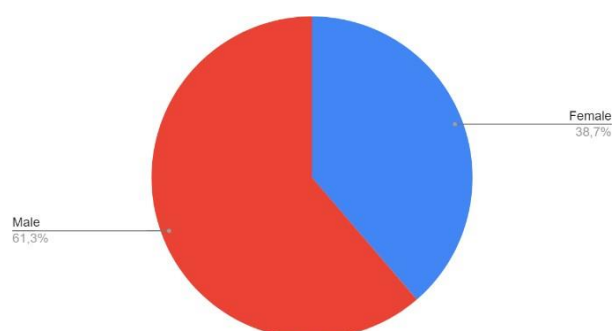


Figure 4: Pie chart representing the percentage of participants within both genders

Following the example of the variable 'age', the 'gender' variable was correlated with the variables 'language proficiency', 'usage frequency', 'conversational-partner', 'knowledge of the Atchan language and culture', 'participation in cultural activities', 'willingness to defend the preservation of the Atchan

language and culture'. Our objective here is to determine whether the use (frequency and interlocutor) and knowledge of Atchan is associated to gender. It is also interesting to explore if gender plays an active role in language transmission and participation in cultural activities.

Taken with the UNESCO's criteria for Language Vitality and Endangerment assessment, the answers to the questionnaire based on various profiles should enable us to provide a relevant analysis, i.e. description of the status of the Atchan language. The assessment of Atchan vitality is addressed in the following chapter.

2.2.2 Assessment of the threat level of the Atchan language

The factors for assessing the threat level of a language are classified in three groups: six factors for assessing the language vitality, two factors for assessing the attitudes of speech community members towards the language and one factor to evaluate the need for documentation. The assessment of the Atchan language will be addressed following this classification.

2.2.2.1 UNESCO's Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality

UNESCO has defined six major evaluative factors that serve as guidelines for assessing language vitality. These factors range from intergenerational language transmission to the availability of materials for language transmission.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission

Factor 1 concerns the transfer of language from one generation to another. The table below shows the six degrees of endangerment with regard to the Intergenerational Language Transmission.

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Speaker population
<i>safe</i>	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
<i>unsafe</i>	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
<i>definitely endangered</i>	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
<i>severely endangered</i>	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
<i>critically endangered</i>	1	The language is used by very few speakers, mostly of great-grandparental generation.
<i>extinct</i>	0	There are no speakers.

Table 1: Degree of endangerment with the corresponding grade with regard to Factor 1, Intergenerational Language Transmission (UNESCO, 2003: 8)

Whether Atchan is being transmitted from one generation to another was verified with the questionnaire. People were asked how often they use Atchan, with whom and in which domain. 55,1% of the participants use Atchan in their family, 30,9% use it with their friends and 14,7% use it with people who are neither their friends nor members of their family.

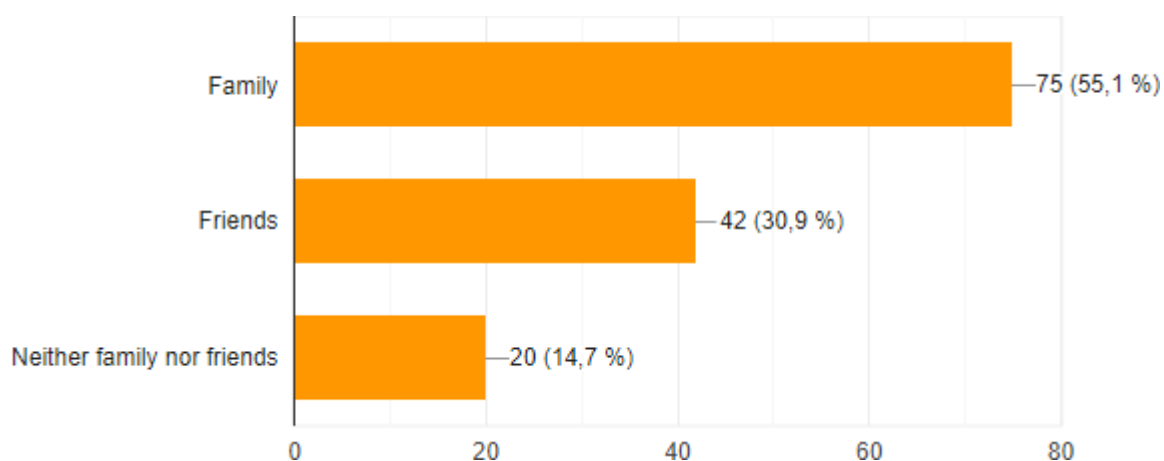


Figure 5: Bar graph representing the interlocutors of Atchan use in percentage

That is, more than half of the respondents use the language in the family sphere, which promotes an intergenerational transmission of the language. However, the younger respondents do not always use the language. According to the results of the survey, only 28,2% of the younger generation uses Atchan on a regular basis in their daily life, 23,1% use it frequently. 48,7% use it sometimes, rarely, or never.

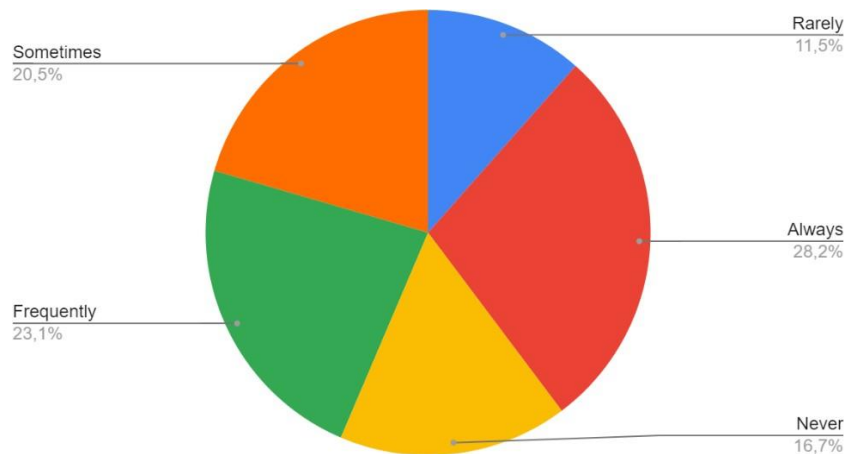


Figure 6: Pie chart representing the frequency use of Atchan by the younger generation

In fact, the transformations that the different Tchaman areas have undergone since the arrival of the French colons have had a negative impact on the transmission of the Atchan language. The introduction of French as official language makes the transmission of Atchan difficult, not only in homes, but also outside, in and around Abidjan, living space of the Tchaman tribes. Thus, the degree of endangerment of Atchan with regard to factor 1 corresponds to Grade 3.

Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

Assessing the vitality of a language based on the interpretation of the absolute numbers of speakers would be hard, because it is impossible to establish a hard and fast rule for interpreting absolute numbers. However, the smaller a speech community, the more prone it is to disappear (e.g. due to disease, warfare or natural disaster) and in addition to that, such a speech community is likely to merge with a neighbouring group, losing its own language and culture (UNESCO, 2003: 8-9). That is the case of Atchan. Compared to the other Ivorian ethnic groups, the Atchan speech community with around 150.000 speakers constitutes a small language group. Besides living in a territory where the urban development reduces its space and affects its culture, the speech community is confronted with an invasion of members from other regions. With time, Atchan may merge with one of the neighbouring groups such as Abidji or Adjoukrou, losing its own identity.

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

The following table shows the degree of endangerment of a language according to the number of speakers of a speech community out of the total population. The number of speakers of the speech community and the total number of the population may reveal whether the absolute number indicates a small or large group (UNESCO, 2003: 9).

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
<i>safe</i>	5	All speak the language.
<i>unsafe</i>	4	Nearly all speak the language.
<i>Definitely endangered</i>	3	A majority speak the language.
<i>severely endangered</i>	2	A minority speak the language.
<i>critically endangered</i>	1	Very few speak the language.
<i>extinct</i>	0	None speak the language.

Table 2: Degree of endangerment with the corresponding grade with regard to Factor 3, Proportion of speakers within the total population (UNESCO, 2003: 9)

The Ivorian population is estimated at 26,434,356⁵⁴ inhabitants. The 150.000 speakers of the Tchaman community represents under 1% of the total population. That is to say, the proportion of speakers of Atchan within the total population is extremely low. And compared to other languages of the country, Baoulé for example, whose community represents 6,6%⁵⁵, Atchan's situation is derisory. A language group of 150.000 speakers, i.e. less than 1% of the national population, barely constitutes a minority. Therefore, the state of endangerment of Atchan when considering the proportion of speakers within the total population corresponds to Grade 1 on the UNESCO scale. This means that very few people speak the language, so, with regard to the proportion of speakers within the total population, Atchan is critically endangered.

Factor 4: Shifts in Domains of Language Use

The transmission of a language from one generation to the next generations is affected by the situation and domain of use, the interaction, and the range of topics for which this language is used (UNESCO, 2003: 9).

⁵⁴ oldometer. (2020, July 30). Côte d'Ivoire Population (LIVE). Available on <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/cote-d-ivoire-population/>.

⁵⁵ Institut numérique. (2012, September 15). Les groupes ethniques. In *Les enjeux de la transition politique et humanitaire : le cas de la crise politico-militaire et postélectorale en Côte d'Ivoire*. Available on <https://www.institut-numerique.org/213-les-groupes-ethniques65-5061bdeb096c3>.

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Domains and function
<i>universal use</i>	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions.
<i>multilingual parity</i>	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
<i>dwindling domains</i>	3	The language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
<i>limited or formal domains</i>	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
<i>highly limited domains</i>	1	The language is used only in a very restricted number of domains and for very few functions.
<i>extinct</i>	0	The language is not used in any domain for any function.

Table 3: Threat level with regard to Factor 4, Shifts in Domains of Language Use (UNESCO, 2003: 10)

The wider the range of domains in which the language is used, the more the transmission to the next generation is possible. “Domain” in UNESCO’s terms refers to, among others, official domains such as government, public offices and educational institutions and public domains such as traditional religious institutions, local stores and those places where members of the community socialize (UNESCO, 2003: 9).

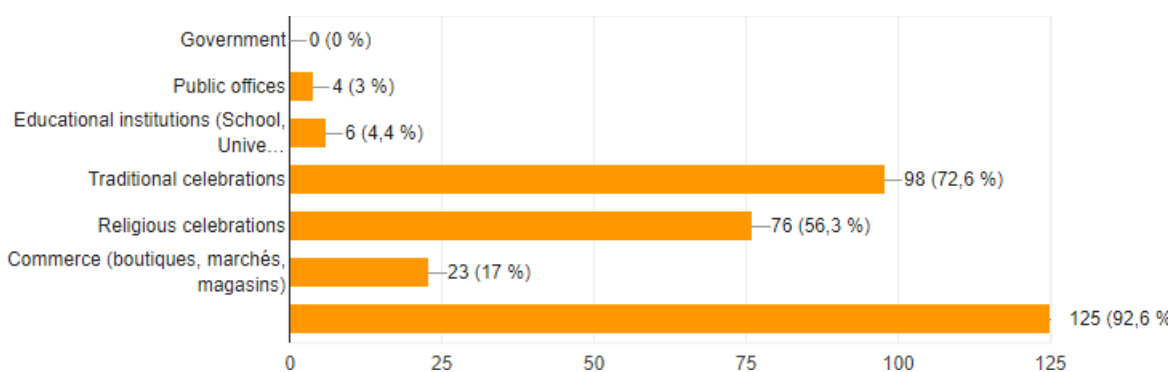


Figure 7: Bar graph representing the domains of use of Atchan in percentages

As can be seen from the survey results, 92,6% of the respondents use Atchan in an informal context (neighbourhood, home, street), 72,6% in traditional ceremonies and 56,3% in religious ceremonies. With regard to Factor 4, Atchan’s degree of endangerment seems to correspond to Grade 2, which

refers to the situation where a language is used in limited or formal domains and which may still be used at the community centre, at festivals and at ceremonial occasions where older members of the community have a chance to meet (UNESCO, 2003: 10). Atchan is mostly used in public domains, i.e. at home, on the street or in the neighbourhood, but also in traditional ceremonies like *Fatchué* (initiation ceremony), *tambruya* (leaving maternity ward), *nsoyahin* (traditional wedding). In other words, the situation matches the one described above. However, the Atchan language does not meet one of the criteria of Grade 2, namely the usage of the language in highly formal domains, especially in administration. Given this situation, it can be stated that Atchan can be positioned between Grade 1 and 2 of the UNESCO scale. In conclusion, the language does not cover a wide range of domains, certainly, but fulfils cultural functions.

Factor 5: Response to new domains and media

The domains of language use change accordingly to the community living conditions. A language community which does not meet the challenges of modernity becomes irrelevant and stigmatized (UNESCO, 2003: 11).

Degree of endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many new domains.
Coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
Minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

Table 4: Threat level with regard to Factor 5, Response to new domains and media (UNESCO, 2003: 11)

As described in Chapter 1, the Tchaman villages have undergone numerous transformations since the arrival of the French colonizers until after the independence of the Ivory Coast. The Tchaman living space has therefore been urbanized, and this urbanization has become part of the Tchaman peoples'

daily life. Although the dominant language, French, is used in all new media domains, Atchan is also used on digital communication platforms. In what concerns the audio-visual media for example, some people use Atchan to chat. We may also observe the use of Tchaman in some publications on social networks such as Facebook and WhatsApp. Apart from that, the Tchaman language was one of the languages of a TV program broadcast on the national channel. “Nouvelles du pays”, consisted of transmitting the news of the country in the Ivorian local languages. Each language was represented by a native speaker who was responsible for presenting the information exclusively in the language concerned, without using the French language. Nowadays, we also have comics in Atchan, published on Facebook, to encourage people to learn the language. Based on this presence of the Atchan language on the Internet and on social networks, its level of vitality seems to correspond to Grade 3 on the UNESCO scale. In other words, Atchan is coping, because it seems to be becoming more popular when it comes to computer-mediated communication.

Factor 6: Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Essential for language vitality is education *in* the language. In general, literacy is directly linked with social and economic development (UNESCO, 2003: 12).

Grade	Availability of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography and a literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school

	curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography is available to the community.

Table 5: Assessing the threat level with Factor 6, Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy (UNESCO, 2003: 12)

The Tchaman language community maintains strong oral traditions, but there are some written materials. In fact, no material purposefully created to be used in the education system is known, but there are introductory guides for language literacy.

The one guide *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié* by Rémy Bôle-Richard (2017) is meant for Tchaman people who are familiar with French and would like to read Tchaman. It contains the official orthography approved by the government. The other guide *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié* (2017) by the same author is meant to be used by the community members who can read and write in French and who have also learned to read Tchaman. Both manuals were compiled with the collaboration of APPA/CTA (*Comité de Traduction Acan*), the Language Science Department, EDILIS and UFC University (*Université de Franche-Comté*) (France). Although these resources are recognized by the government and attested by the Ivorian Institute of Applied Linguistics (ILA), these written materials are not part of the education curriculum. That is, they are only useful for some members of the community. A more detailed account of other materials available for Atchan will be provided in Subchapter 2.3.

Although books and materials on all topics for various age groups and language abilities are needed, the existing literacy material requires knowledge and language ability in French. Our survey reveals that the respondents in all age groups possess very different language skills in French. This means that literacy materials may not be accessible to members of the community with elementary skills in French. The availability of written materials in Atchan corresponds to Grade 2.

2.2.2.2 Assessing the attitudes towards the language

"The maintenance, promotion or abandonment of non-dominant languages may be dictated by the dominant linguistic culture, be it regional or national. The linguistic ideology of a state may inspire linguistic minorities to mobilize their populations towards the maintenance of their languages, or may force them to abandon them", (UNESCO, 2003: 12-13), leading to the promotion or the loss of these languages. Policies may discourage or even prohibit the use of languages other than the official, i.e.

dominant language. National policy, including the lack of overt policy, has in any case a direct impact on the language attitude of the community itself. The language attitudes and policies are concerned not only with the governmental and institutional attitudes and policies, but also with the community members' attitudes towards their own language (UNESCO, 2003: 12-13).

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

Governments and institutions of multi-language countries define explicit official language policies. These languages may either receive equal official status or "one language may be designated as the sole official language of the country while all others are condemned" (UNESCO, 2003: 13).

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitude towards Language
equal support	5	All languages are protected.
<i>differentiated support</i>	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
<i>passive assimilation</i>	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
<i>active assimilation</i>	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
<i>forced assimilation</i>	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

Table 6: Threat level with regard to Factor 7, Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status of Use (UNESCO, 2003: 14)

In what concerns the Ivory Coast, in order to avoid the Ivorian plurilingualism to cause divisiveness and threaten the national unity, the postcolonial Ivorian politicians opted for a single official language: French. The Ivorian language policies and linguistic laws legislate the use of the French language and encourage the promotion of the indigenous languages. In what concerns Côte d'Ivoire, the degree of

endangerment with regard to the Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies may correspond to Grades 3 and 2 at the same time. According to the UNESCO, in the case of passive assimilation (Grade 3), “*the dominant group’s language is the de facto official language and most non-dominant language do not enjoy high prestige*” (UNESCO, 2003: 13). The dominant language in Ivory Coast is French, and Atchan, the non-dominant language, as discussed below, does not enjoy high prestige, and is only used in limited domains. There is a higher degree of endangerment in the case of active assimilation, because the exclusive provision of education in French is a means to encourage the minority groups to feel more comfortable with the dominant language, placing the education in the minority language on a marginal level, as stated in the definition of active assimilation⁵⁶ (UNESCO, 2003: 13).

Article 29 of Law n°2000-513 of the Ivorian Constitution encourages the promotion of the Ivorian languages, but not explicitly. In other words, this encouragement seems to be only declarative. On closer analysis, it can be stated that the government does not implement concrete initiatives to protect the minority languages. The policy particularly encourages an assimilation to French, which is the only official language. Thus, it can be considered that in the case of Atchan, the assimilation is passive and active at the same time.

Factor 8: Community Members’ Attitudes towards Their Own Language

As emphasized by UNESCO, national language policy has a direct impact on the attitude of the community itself towards the minority language and the community members’ attitudes may be positively or negatively influenced. They may:

- see it as essential to their community and cultural identity and take action to promote it;
- use it without promoting it;
- be ashamed of it and, therefore, not promote it;
- see it as a nuisance and actively avoid using it. (UNESCO, 2003: 13)

What is the Tchaman speech community members’ attitudes towards Atchan?

⁵⁶ Active assimilation (2): The government encourages minority groups to abandon their own languages by providing education for the minority group members in the dominant language. Speaking and/or writing in non-dominant languages is not encouraged (UNESCO, 2003: 13).

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes towards Language
5	<i>All</i> members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	<i>Most</i> members support language maintenance.
3	<i>Many</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	<i>Some</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only <i>a few</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	<i>No one</i> cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

Table 7: Assessing the threat level using Factor 8, Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language (UNESCO, 2003: 15)

As shown in Figure 8, most members of the Tchaman speech community, 98% of the survey respondents, have a positive attitude towards Atchan.

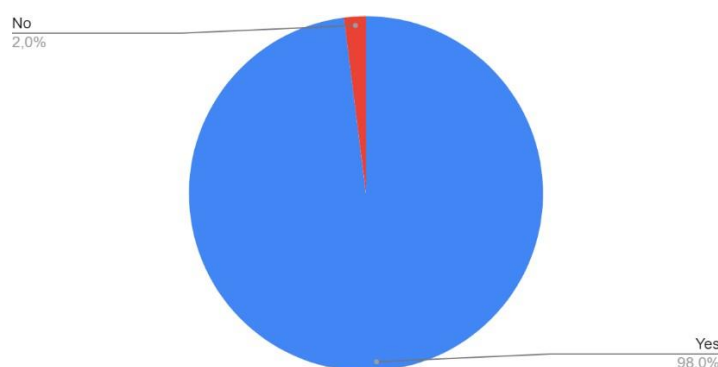


Figure 8: Pie chart representing the percentage of the Tchaman speech community members willing to preserve the Atchan language

Tchaman community members are in favor of the maintenance of the language and there are even associations which aim to promote the Atchan language and culture. One of these associations is called the VNA. The VNA (*Vision Nouvelle Atchan*), an association of Tchaman people that aim to contribute to the recovery and revitalization of the Tchaman culture and the Atchan language. The VNA's missions include the teaching of Atchan to children (by creating schools in the villages), the compilation of a book which recounts the Tchaman people's history from the beginning to the present, the creation of Atchan TV and radio channels and a data base. Recognized by the Ivorian government, the VNA has an official Facebook page and a WhatsApp community which allows it to disseminate activities and reach a larger audience. The Facebook page was created on December 3rd, 2017 and has 8 486 members. On their page as well as in the WhatsApp group, they daily publish resources such as cartoons in Atchan,

pictures and videos of Tchaman ceremonies and women and men in Tchaman traditional dresses. They also organize debates in Tchaman, meetings and other events. Apart from VNA, there is also the *Communauté Atchan de Facebook* (Facebook Atchan Community) composed of a group of Tchaman people committed to promote the Tchaman culture and language. The page has 23 187 members and the publications are aimed to promote Atchan.

These are two examples which point out the engagement of the Tchaman people and their will to maintain and revive their culture. In fact, the terms used by the 98% of the participants willing to defend the Atchan culture and language clearly demonstrate their support for the Atchan language preservation initiatives and the strong link between them and their culture and language. For them, Atchan represents their “cultural and ethnic identity”, “ID”, “inheritance”, “patrimony”, “point of reference”, “social organization”. The 2% of participants who responded that they are not willing to preserve the Atchan language state that they do not know how to help and/or they do not feel encouraged to do so. As emphasized in Figure 9, 85,3% of the participants take part in *Fatchué*, 8,7% take part in Attiéké cooking, which is a Tchaman culinary specialty. That being said, the respondents take a great interest in their culture.

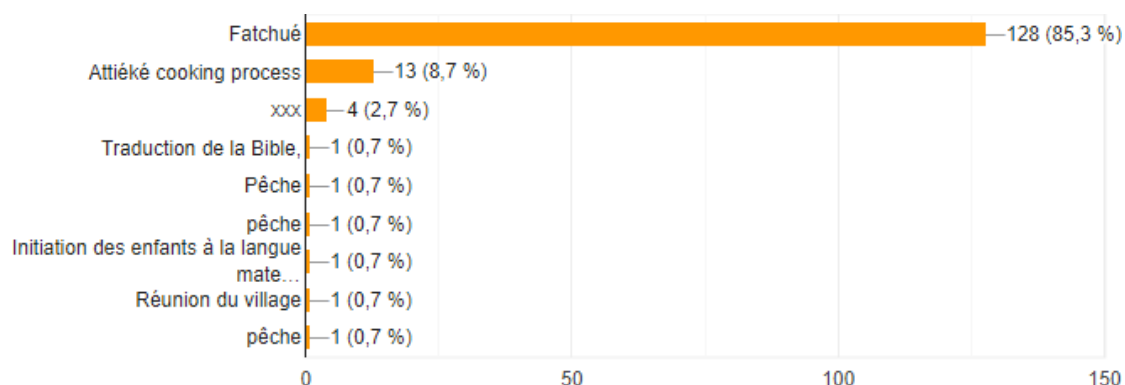


Figure 9: Bar graph representing the participation of the respondents in Atchan cultural activities

The survey clearly shows that the vast majority of respondents does not want Atchan to disappear, on the contrary, the participants showed a strong desire to see Atchan being practised and transmitted from generation to generation. All these elements indicate that Grade 4 corresponds to Atchan's situation with regard to Factor 8.

2.2.2.3 Evaluating the need for documentation

Factor 9: Type and quality of documentation

The level of documentation of a language is an important factor not only to assess the vitality of the language but may also help to determine the means and measures needed to maintain and revitalize the language. According to the UNESCO, there are two main criteria for assessing the urgency of the need for documentation, namely the type and the quality of existing materials in the language. In this context, materials are understood as all types of records ranging from written, oral, transcribed, translated to audio-visual records (UNESCO, 2003: 16). A distinction between five types of documentation is made. With regard to the type and quality of the materials available for a language, the documentation of this language can be *superlative*, *good*, *fair*, *fragmentary* or *inadequate*.

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts, and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated highquality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There is one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
Fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient numbers of grammars, dictionaries and texts but no everyday media; audio and video recordings of varying quality or degree of annotation may exist.
Fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists

		and texts useful for limited linguistic research but
		with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings of varying quality, with or without any annotation, may exist.
Inadequate	1	There are only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality or are completely un-annotated.
undocumented	0	No material exists

Table 8: Threat level based on Factor 9, Type and quality of documentation (UNESCO, 2003: 16)

As will be shown in Chapter 2.3, the type and quality of documentation in Atchan is fragmentary. There are very few grammar books and small vocabularies in the format of magazines, ethnographic publications, and audio-visual recordings available on the internet, mostly musical content, and TV news broadcasts, which are no longer transmitted. A more detailed presentation of the type and quality of documentation of Atchan is addressed in 2.3. The analysis of the information will help us to identify the needs of documentation for the language and which aspects are relevant for the current dictionary proposal.

2.3 Level of Documentation of Atchan

In order to determine the level of documentation of Atchan, we set out to search for all types of existing material in Atchan. Since materials in both print and digital format were found, a typology that distinguishes between written and digital documents was adopted for presentation purposes. The following presentation aims to describe the materials with regard to their structure and content.

2.3.1 Print material

In spite of the strong oral tradition, the Tchaman community has some written materials at its disposal. These are mainly literacy and ethnographic publications.

2.3.1.1 Literacy materials [Guides]

Before describing the literacy materials of the Atchan language, it is necessary to address the distinction between didactic and literacy resources, pointing out the reasons why the materials presented here are labelled *literacy materials* and not didactic ones. To be able to grasp the contexts to which the concept 'literacy' may be applied, it seems relevant to consider the definitions of two important international organizations. From the European Literacy Policy Network's point of view, literacy is defined as "the ability to read and write at a level whereby individuals can effectively understand and use written communication in all media (print or electronic), including digital literacy" (ELINET, 2016: 3). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development defines literacy as "understanding, evaluating, using and engaging with written text to participate in the society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential" (OECD, 2012: 20). That said, literacy refers to the ability of community members to apply reading and writing skills to acquire knowledge, adapt to the environment and participate in community activities. Thus, in the context of the current project, literacy materials are intended to contribute to the preservation of the language by promoting a stronger link between language use in the community and ethnocultural identity.

The concept of 'didactic materials', on the other hand, is mainly applied in educational settings in which the materials are created and/or adapted by teachers to suit specific learning strategies and goals (Sesma & Léon Fontes, 2016: Vol. 40 No. 3)⁵⁷. Considering the distinction made above between literacy and didactic resources, the materials for Atchan presented in this subchapter can be classified as literacy resources as they were created with the principal objective of promoting the Atchan language and the Tchaman culture within the community. Although some of these resources can serve as language learning tools, they are not integrated in any educational programme.

(i) Grammar Books

1. *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié* (Bôle-Richard, 2017)

Guide de lecture de l'ébrié is a reading guide of Tchaman. The first edition of the manual was published in 1986 and the second edition was published in 2017. The manual was compiled by Rémy Bôle-Richard in collaboration with APPA/CTA, the language science department, EDILIS and UFC University

⁵⁷ The definition of didactic material varies depending on the authors, but we find similarities in the defining approaches by Tomlinson (1998), Harmer (2005), Ogalde and Bardavid (2003). The three authors agree on the fact that a didactic material consists of anything which is used by teachers or learners as part of language learning. They are learning aids which facilitate the teaching-learning process within a global and systematic educational context.

(France), and with the support of the Institute of Applied Linguistics (ILA). *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié* is written in French and is thus meant for the Tchaman people with French reading and writing skills, who want to read Atchan. Thanks to its correspondence to the official norms of ILA and the approbation of the concerned ministries (National Education, Culture, Rural Development), the orthography presented is the official orthography approved by the government (Bolê- Richard, 2017: 7). The guide comprises 56 pages and is divided into five chapters.

The five chapters are dedicated to the articulation of the consonants and the vowels, the intonation, and verb conjugation. Chapter one deals with the vowels, nasal and oral. Chapter two addresses the intonation and the word music including the acute and grave accent and the circumflex in the subchapters. The consonants are covered in chapter three, with twelve subchapters in which groups of consonants or single consonants are classified according to the manner of articulation. Chapter four, composed of five subchapters, is concerned with the intonation, respectively the low, the falling, the apostrophe, the exclamation mark, and the hidden tone. The last chapter focuses on the conjugation of verbs. The type of information given and the way this information is presented in the book will be applied to one specific chapter: the consonants.

The group of consonants *ph, th, kh, p, t, k* and the group *ch* and *c* constitute the first two subchapters. They present the case of words with different consonants and quasi similar pronunciations. The subchapters 3 to 11 deal respectively with the consonants *f/s/h/v/z, kp/gb, b/d/j, b/bh/m, l/n, y, w, r* and *wr*. This subdivision of the chapter corresponds to a classification of the consonants with respect to the manner of articulation. The subchapters of this book are organized in the following manner: an introductory description of the grammatical aspect followed by examples of the phenomenon in Atchan and the corresponding French equivalent. The presentation of the examples in tabular form help the user to distinguish between the items and to retrieve the information efficiently. The left column lists the Atchan words which contain the consonant i.e. the sound concerned followed by its French equivalents in the right column. Being aware of the complexity of the consonant sounds in Atchan, the author resorts to didactic elements such as “Attention”, “Read (again) the following words containing the sound *x*”, “Learn to distinguish them well” or “Train yourself...” that are interesting elements to be included in a learner’s dictionary. These sentences could correspond to the information boxes existing in dictionaries to attract the users’ attention to a particular use of a word or an expression.

Guide de lecture de l'ébrié as reading guide for beginners has strong points that not only ensure an efficient result for those who want to read Atchan, but that could even be included in a dictionary for learners. The use of basic vocabulary in the examples favours the learning process because these are

words that the user uses frequently. If the author had used the passive vocabulary, this might slow down the learning process, since the passive vocabulary contains words that the speaker scarcely uses. On the typographical level, there is lack of typographical markers which makes it difficult for users to easily distinguish between different types of content.

2. *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié*⁶⁸

The grammar book *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié* was also written by Rémy Bôle-Richard in collaboration with APPA/CTA, the language science department, EDILIS and UFC University (France), and with the support of the Institute of Applied Linguistics. The first edition was published in 1990 and the second edition in 2017. The target users of this guide are Tchaman people who can read and write French, and who also learned to read Atchan. That is, the use of this manual requires reading competence in Tchaman. For that reason, one should start with the reading guide *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié* presented above before starting to use this resource. According to the author, the manual can be used as a practice guide for those who want to write (translators, writers, storytellers, etc.) in Atchan (Bôle-Richard, 2017: 7).

The book is subdivided into the following eleven chapters: *the Atchan alphabet, the consonant clusters, the compounds, the hyphen, the consonants NN and NM, the two-syllable verbs, the object pronouns, the plural forms of nouns, the agreement of the plural adjective, the nasality agreement of the verb with the subject pronoun, and the long vowels*. Only three of the eleven chapters are subdivided. The chapter concerning consonant clusters comprises four subchapters which are *consonant with "y", consonant with "w", consonant with "r" and consonant with "wr"*. Chapter six covers the verb combinations *verb + noun, verb + verb* and the true disyllabic verbs. A detailed analysis of the eighth chapter concerning the plural forms of nouns will provide information on the structural components of the book.

In Atchan, there are different ways to form the plural, and the author subdivided the chapter into subchapters, each corresponding to a specific rule: *plural with prefix í- or -n, plural with suffix -mán, plural with suffix -hɔn or -mánhɔn, plural of agent nouns in -wo and -ya, invariable nouns and irregular plurals*. Many nouns that have a prefix *á* in the singular form their plural with a prefix *í* (Bôle-Richard, 2017: 35). These are for example *áyá* (tree) → *íyá* (trees) and *ákpró* (hut) → *íkpró* (huts). Similarly, singular nouns in *a-* (low pitch) form their plural in *n-* (low pitch). An example for this category would be *agbán* (plate) → *ngbán* (plates). Many singular nouns without prefixes take a prefix *í-* in the plural. The

⁶⁸ Bôle-Richard, Rémy. *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié*. Abidjan: EDILIS 2017.

author indicates that this rule applies mostly to animal designations, like *gɔgɔ* (grasshopper) → *ɲgɔgɔ* (grasshoppers), *la/abhô* (duck) → *ɲla/abhô* (ducks). Man, woman and person also form their plural in *ɲ-*, as follows *sɛ* (man) → *ɲsɛ* (men), *bhye* (woman) → *ɲmye* (women), *lephan* (person) → *ɲnephan* (persons). The categories presented above are the categories of the first subchapter, *plural with prefix ɲ- or -n*. The chapter is subdivided into subchapters which correspond to rules of plural formation and each subchapter is also subdivided into categories. For each category, the information given is the same: the gloss, the singular and the plural forms. In some cases, the author also provides details in relation to the tone. For the *plural with suffix -hɔn or -mánhɔn*, the suffix *-hɔn* raises the tone that precedes it. The author provides the user with information about the gloss (in plural), the pronunciation and the written form. For example, *mothers* which is pronounced *mmânhɔn*, but is written *mmanhɔn*, *spouses* is pronounced *nmyâhɔn*, but is written *nmayhɔn*. Thus, it is of importance that the author provides a note on the tone to point the user's attention to this particularity.

The introductory sentences, the explanations and the notes can be considered as the strong points of the guide *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié*. Unlike the *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié*, the author uses typographical markers in this guide. Italics are used to emphasize the content, i.e. *verb*, *gloss*, *translation*, *plural*, *singular*, etc. non-typographical markers such as underlining (x), colon (:), equal (=) and plus (+) signs are used too. They ensure a better information retrieval and a better understanding of the content. This guide could serve as an important source of lemmas to be included in a learner's dictionary. And particularly the lists of nouns categorized in Chapter eight where the plural formation is explained by categories are interesting for an onomasiological dictionary.

2.3.1.2 Small vocabularies

During our research we did not find a dictionary of Atchan. However, there are small lexicons compiled as small books or vocabulary sections at the end of some works. In what follows, we will provide a brief description of one such small vocabulary book, *Expressions Atchan: Parlons couramment Atchan*.

The book was published in the context of the promotion of the Atchan language. Ahoua Mobio Aristide, the author, is the President of the VNA, presented above in 2.1 (Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their language). Ahoua Aristide has worked in favour of the development of the Tchaman community through the promotion of the language and the consolidation of the Tchaman culture. This purpose has led him to compile a collection of four books to which *Expressions Atchan:*

Parlons couramment Atchan belongs. The book was published in November 2017 in collaboration with Josée Koutouan.

The book comprises 37 pages and is mainly a collection of small vocabularies covering the following topics: the days of the week, the months of the year, greetings, the human body, common expressions, the family, fruit, vegetables and ingredients, some Atchan sauces, cooking utensils, animals, numbers and money, verbs, furniture, personal pronouns, colours. The macrostructure is an ordering structure, cf. Wiegand (1989a: 372). Gouws and Prinsloo (2005: 65) claim that the successful retrieval of information in a dictionary often depends on an unimpeded access to the needed lemma-sign. However, the lemmas presented in the book are not ordered. The lemmas are included in the macrostructure of a dictionary as guiding elements of an article (Gouws & Prinsloo, 2005: 135). The author uses a systematic macrostructure, certainly, but there is no order in the list. This characteristic makes it difficult for users to find and retrieve information. Below we provide an extract of the lexicon (Mobio, 2017: 16) of the human body to illustrate this assertion.

THE HUMAN BODY

FRANCAIS (FRENCH)	ATCHAN
Nez (nose)	N'FONMIN
Sein (breast)	N'GNIN
Oreille (ear)	INDJE/N'DJE
Pied (foot)	INTHA
Langue (tongue)	ALE
Dent (tooth)	N'NO
Cuisse (thigh)	N'TABO

The author of *Expressions Atchan: Parlons couramment Atchan* does well by choosing a thematical approach, but despite that, some of the topics covered by the book don't contain representative items. In fact, the section *Common Expressions* lists expressions that would not be used in common daily life. It mainly includes expressions that are used in a very formal context and seem to be the language of a receptionist or the conversation in an office: *The line is busy. Would you like to wait? From whom, please? Do you want to make an appointment? Can I take your name and phone number? I will*

call/pick up a bilingual agent for you. Listing these sentences in a small vocabulary would not be helpful, unless the user needs to know how to express these sentences in Atchan for professional reasons.

Regarding the lexical treatment of the words in *Expressions Atchan: Parlons couramment Atchan*, the author provides the user with two items: the item giving the lemma sign and a semantic item, namely the respective equivalent. The information is presented as follows: the French words on the left and the Atchan equivalents on the right. The Atchan words are written with the Latin alphabet. As non-typographical markers, the author uses the colon, the asterisk, the parenthesis, and the arrow. These elements are only used in the topic *Numbers and Money* to explain the calculating system in Tchaman. The French words are written in red and the Tchaman words are written in green. However, this scheme is not followed consistently throughout. In some cases, the author uses capital letters for both (French and Tchaman), red for French, blue for Tchaman, or small letters. This might be distracting for the reader.

Expressions Atchan: Parlons couramment Atchan as a collection of vocabularies encompasses strong points which might be interesting for an onomasiological dictionary project.

2.3.2 Ethnographic Publications

1. Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire

The book is about the Tchaman musical art and was published in 2010 by Aka Konin. It is not only the result of an ethnomusicological research project conducted in 2009 among the Tchaman of the sub-prefectures of Songon and Abidjan, but also the fifth work in a series of studies devoted to the musical cultures of Côte d'Ivoire and published by the Royal Museum of Central Africa (RMCA) in Tervuren (Belgium) in the digital collection "Documents of Human and Social Sciences". The work is mainly a product of various internships within the Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnomusicology Section of the Royal Museum of Central Africa and a data collection project implemented in some Tchaman villages and with the participation of the different village chiefs (Konin, 2010: 5). The work is composed of two parts preceded by an introduction. The first part covers the musical instruments and the second part deals with the *fatchué*, "fête de générations".

In the introduction, the geographical space, the origin, the tribes, the *Fatchué*, the political and traditional organisation of the Tchaman are addressed. In two pages, the author provides the reader

with a general overview with detailed and relevant information.

In order to provide the reader with as much information as possible, Part I presents a non-exhaustive inventory of musical instruments, even those that have disappeared or fallen into disuse (Aka, 2010: 5). The section is composed of four main chapters whose order corresponds to the famous Sachs-Hornbostel classification, taken up by H. Zemp: idiophones, membranophones, chordophones, aerophones (Aka, 2010: 5). For each chapter, there is an introduction in which the concerned instruments are briefly defined, and the subchapters are named. In the last subsection of the chapter, that is, at the term level, the author proposes the French equivalent or a gloss which is also the title of the subsection, followed by the Tchaman term and the presentation of the instrument concerned. The type of information given in the presentation is detailed and of encyclopaedic nature. The reader is provided with information about the physical aspect of the instrument, the material used to make it, the purposes it is used for, the origin of the term used to designate the instrument, the way the instrument is played and an illustration. We will take the drum *djidji ayôkwé* as example to illustrate the type of information found in the book. *Djidji ayôkwé* is a polychrome slit drum (black, white, red, natural pigments) with two lips (edges). These two lips are extended on unequal lengths of arc on both sides of the slot, which, therefore, is no longer in the middle. By striking on these lips, we obtain sounds of different intensities, associated with notions of man and woman. Its name comes from the wood in which it is carved, the *iroko* (*Chlorophora excelsa*), specially chosen because of its hardness and its rot-proofness. This drum was used as a means of communication for the transmission of messages of linguistic nature thanks to the varied sounds that it could emit. The drum language is the exact expression of the spoken language, by means of which it is possible to say all that can be said in the language. *Djidji ayôkwé* is a signalling device intended to transmit indications or orders of a political or economic nature (Aka, 2010: 15-16). Here is an illustration of the drum designated by the term *djidji ayôkwé*:



Figure 10: The drum Djidji Ayôkwé. Source (Konin, 2010: 17)

In addition to the categories of information mentioned above, the author provides the reader with information about the artist, the name of the instrument according to different Tchaman tribes and its history. *Djidji ayôkwé* was created by the Tchaman sculptor Biengui. In what concerns the history of the instrument, the author mentions the two contradictory histories: on the one hand, the Tchaman's version and, on the other, Commandant Simon's version (Konin, 2010: 17).

Part I ends with a conclusion pointing out that, due to the disappearance of many of the Tchaman instruments and the lack of usage opportunities, a systematic inventory of the musical heritage of Côte d'Ivoire is needed. In Part II, the *Fatchué* is discussed in three chapters. These three chapters focus on the origins, the different steps involved in, and the music and the musical practice of *Fatchué*. Chapter I addresses the cultural, historical, and mythological origins. Chapter II covers the different steps of the *Fatchué* which are the preparations, the choice of warriors, the protection of warriors and the village, the moment in which the warriors come out and the day after the celebration. The vocal music, the instrumental music, the musicians, the musical instruments, music and rituals, music and initiation, the types of dances performed during the *Fatchué* and the choreographies are addressed in the third chapter. In III.1, the author provides information about the structure of the songs, the way these are performed, the types and constitution of the songs, the categories of the musical repertoire and proposes a text as example.

The information contained in chapters II and III can be used to compile a parallel corpus of French and Atchan. In fact, the author uses a bilingual designation when it comes to terms, that is, the designation in French and the equivalent in Tchaman or vice-versa. We have for example an excerpt from the text of a song (Aka, 2010: 47) presented to illustrate the songs' structure described in III.1:

Chorus

Bertin houanmié ninsi éba Les filles de Bertin avancent

(Bertin's daughters are moving forward)

Hogbo ogbréi wéba Dans leur état de pauvreté (In their poverty condition/symptoms)

Dévaluation hinon wété Ce sont des choses de dévaluation que nous faisons (We are performing devaluating things)

Kassé epô éba wouhooo Si ça te plaît tu viens voir (If you like it, come and see)

Kassé élépô éninlo bitéhé Si ça ne te plaît pas tu vas en brousse (If you do not like it, go to the bush)

Kassé élépô éninlo bitéhé noné élotchrè Si ça ne te plaît pas va t'asseoir en brousse. (If you don't like it, go and sit in the bush)

In addition to the information that can be extracted to be included in a parallel corpus, the classification used in Chapter I might be interesting to include in an onomasiological dictionary. The terminological character as well as the illustrations of the book can constitute a strong point and can help to extract cultural concepts for an onomasiological dictionary project.

The four appendices included by the author enrich the publication. The first appendix presents additional Tchaman musical terminology. This terminology comprises the musical instruments, the dances and the terms of musical interest collected from the Tchaman people of eight Tchaman villages. The author proposes a list of terms, expressions and sentences for each of the eight villages. These lists are bilingual and monodirectional, from Atchan to French, and are ordered alphabetically. The lists contain the same items, but the content may differ from one list to another. Like *Abénanmé nanmé koman* which does not exist in the left list but is contained in the right list. Items which exist in more than one list have the same meanings, like *abi* drum (generic term) or drum sound box. Here is a sample (Aka, 2010: 58):

Tchaman - Abadjin-Kouté (Badjin tribe)

Abi : tambour (terme générique) ou caisse de résonance du tambour.

Abi bli : petit tambour.

Abi gbé : danse.

Abi ko ou abi man : grand tambour.

Abi tô : timbre du tambour.

Abi ya : baguettes ou crochets à tambouriner.

Tchaman - Songon-Dagbé (Songon tribe)

Abènanmè nanmè koman : musiciens de classes d'âge.

Abi : tambour (terme générique) ; caisse de résonance du tambour ; danse.

Abi gbé : danser.

Abi bri : petit tambour.

Abi kɔ : grand tambour.

Abi kwaɔ : fabricant de tambours.

Appendix 2 represents a synoptic table of the Tchaman musical instruments and Appendix 3 an index of the musical instruments cited in the book. In effect, the terms contained in both appendices are practically the same. What differs is the information provided in each appendix. In Appendix 2, there is a table containing three categories of information: the class, the type and vibration process of the instrument. The lists are bilingual, and the target language is Atchan. However, in Appendix 3, Atchan is the source language. Here, the reader is only provided with the bilingual lists of musical terms according to the classification presented in Chapter 1. The classification is relevant because it can serve as a guideline for the macrostructure of the onomasiological project, and the terms can serve for the term lists. The fourth and last Appendix covers the Tchaman tribes and the villages that compose them. The information is given in a table containing two types of information: tribes and villages.

2. *Histoire et coutumes de la Côte d'Ivoire. Tome I, Le cercle des lagunes, les ébriés.*

The book, authored by the Ivorian National Archives Department, seems to be the oldest document about the Tchaman people. In fact, it was published in 1900 in Abidjan by the National Archives Department. It belongs to the collection “*Monographie des cercles*”. These monographies are historical studies concerned with a region or an ethnic group of Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, they have a historical and legal interest. From the historical point of view, the monographies embody essential information about the civilization of the different ethnic groups of Côte d'Ivoire. They provide the reader with information related to the past of the Ivorian people, because they were compiled in a period when the customs of these groups had not yet undergone any transformation. In what concerns the legal aspect, the monographies were meant to satisfy two needs: 1) to prevent the imposition of French law on the population, 2) allow the prohibition of certain local practices contrary to the principles of France (Histoire et coutumes de la Côte d'Ivoire. Tome I, Le cercle des lagunes, les ébriés, 1900: 3-4). It is written in French and comprises 98 pages. The chapters of the book mainly focus on important facets of the Tchaman people and discuss how they apprehend them: family, marriage, filiation, guardianship, emancipation, property, inheritance, donations, testaments, contracts, and personal civility.

3. *L'histoire des Tchaman: origine et migration*

The author of the above-mentioned publication, Ahoua Mobio Aristide, with the aim of promoting the revitalization of the Tchaman culture, compiled the book *L'histoire des Tchaman: origine et migration*. It was published in November 23, 2017, in Abidjan and aims to trace the history of the Tchaman from the origin through migration to the present day. In 87 pages, the author provides the reader with information on several themes: the migration of the Tchaman, the geographical location of the Bidjan in the past, the classification order of *Fatchué* in the Bidjan, the specific history of some Tchaman villages, the contact with the French settlers, the origin of the name Abidjan, the organization of the Tchaman villages, the Tchaman tribes and villages after the migration process, the subdivision the present Tchaman territory.

4. *Fête de génération*

This work, authored by Ahoua Mobio Aristide, was published in 2017. The book comprises 62 pages

and contains information about diverse facts regarding the Tchaman society. It discusses the origin of the *Fatchué*, the political and traditional organization of the Tchaman, the preparations for and the procedure involved in the *Fatchué*. In addition, the *Fatchué*, the generation ceremony that celebrates the rite of passage from one generation to the next, is closely related to data on the agricultural and ritual calendar, the economic and traditional activities of the Tchaman, ownership, dowry, the *tambruya* (Tchaman tradition which consists of a special ritual devoted to the wet nurse), the village chief and the spokesperson.

5. *Noms Atchan et signification*

In order to compile this book, the author, Ahoua Mobio Aristide, carried out research in Tchaman villages by interviewing community members about the history of the Tchaman. *Noms Atchan et signification* was also inspired by Remy Bole-Richard's book "Min can Tchaman Ntchamen rhô". The information is composed of two data categories: the Atchan name and an explanation.

2.3.3 Online and/or digital resources

The digital resources presented in this subchapter are composed of a mobile application and audio recordings. Given the widespread use of digital devices and applications, the creation of digital resources for endangered languages can play an important role in language revitalization initiatives. An interesting aspect to be studied in the future is the influence of digital content published online on the attitude of community members towards the language.

(i) Digital and/or mobile Applications

❖ *Apprendre l'Atchan*

Tchaman people have at their disposal a mobile application available on Play Store. This application, *Apprendre l'Atchan*, is a small bilingual lexicon and has been developed by an Informatician, who has also developed the same application for other local languages such as Baoulé, Lobiri, Camara, Sénoufo and Koulango⁹⁹.

The application *Apprendre l'Atchan* is ordered by topics. It covers twelve topics listed in the navigation

⁹⁹ The other applications developed by the author are contained in a link, proposed in the application under the category "Autres applications".

menu of the application. These topics are *numbers, animals, colours, anatomy, family, feelings, time, food, clothes, pronouns, expressions* and *sentences*. When opening the app, one has access to the list of these twelve topics illustrated by a picture. By clicking on the icon of one topic, we discover the data corresponding to the chosen topic. The microstructure is simple. There are three columns with the following information:

1) a sound file, 2) the lemmas, 3) an illustration. In other words, the application provides a sound file, the French lemma and then its equivalent, followed by a picture illustrating the lemma. Apart from the topic on the *numbers*, which lists the numbers from one to one hundred, none of the topics list more than forty lemmas. The topic *Expressions* rather contains verbs like to help, to sit, and daily objects such as spoon, plate, knife and so on. The topic *Sentences* covers 13 lemmas in total and comprises sentences that are common in daily life (*I don't know, I don't understand, ...*).

Although the application does not cover a wide range of topics nor offers exhaustive vocabulary lists, listing frequently used words can make it very useful for those who want to consolidate basic Atchan vocabulary.

(ii) Audio and/or video recordings

Our research has shown that most audio and video recordings in Atchan were produced in the context of evangelization initiatives, including basic Christian instruction. The recordings produced by Global Recordings Network (GRN), offers the opportunity to evangelize excluded groups through their biblical audio stories, lessons, study tools, messages, songs, and music. For Atchan, GRN made available an audio Bible and gospel recordings on the website of the Joshua project⁶⁰.

Many Christian songs in Atchan are available online. Christianity is the primary religion of the Tchaman people, 95% of the members are Christian⁶¹. Among the songs in local languages performed in churches, there are many songs in Tchaman. Some of these songs have been collected in books, others are available on scores.

Given the above considerations on the assessment of the vitality of the Atchan language and the presentation of the documentation available in Atchan, one can conclude that it is a highly endangered

⁶⁰ <https://joshuaproject.net/about/details> <https://joshuaproject.net>

⁶¹ *Kyama, Ebrie in Côte d'Ivoire*. Available on https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/12930/IV

language. There is an urgent need for preservation. Since documentation in various formats can play an important role in promoting language and culture revitalization, our proposal focuses on the design for the macro- and microstructure of an ethnographic onomasiological dictionary of French-Atchan.

CHAPTER III: ABOUT THE DICTIONARY PLANNING PROCESS OF THE FRENCH-ATCHAN ETHNOGRAPHIC ONOMASIOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

Dictionary planning is a practice that is carried out on a basis of different steps ranging from the profiling of the users to the creation of word lists and the presentation of the data. The production of a dictionary for an endangered language is no exception to the rule. Gouws and Prinsloo take on Tarp's words from the publication *Translation Dictionaries and Bilingual Dictionaries – two different concepts* (2002) to argue that the "methodology for planning a dictionary should make a typology of potential users, user situations and problems that might arise for each type of user in each type of user situation" (Gouws & Prinsloo, 2005: 8). In the following chapter, the description of the planning process of the dictionary will be addressed by focussing on the target user profiles, the typology of the use situations, the genuine purpose of the dictionary and the dictionary functions, the dictionary type, the medium of publication and the innovative features.

3.1 Profiling users

According to Bergenholtz & Leroyer (2013: 158), before drawing up the types of situations for which the dictionary is designed, it is necessary to profile the user groups. To do this, a set of key parameters must be considered. As listed by Bergenholtz & Leroyer (2013: 159), the following are general questions which lexicographers must answer: "*What is the native language of the users? What is their level of proficiency in the mother tongue? What is their level of proficiency in the foreign language? What is their level of competence in translation between the languages considered? What is their level of general, encyclopaedic, and cultural knowledge?*"

The present dictionary project is meant for the Atchan speech community. In order to help us to profile the users authentically, we used the results of the survey presented in Chapter 2. It is necessary to mention that the target users of the dictionary are young people. Thus, although the informants of the survey span various age groups, for the dictionary planning process our analysis of the results focused on young people aged from 15 to 34 years old. Following the key parameters proposed by Bergenholtz & Leroyer above, the survey aims to provide insight into the level of proficiency of the informants with regard to the four language skills, namely listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

It is important to emphasize that the total number of informants for the age range 15-34 is 58, subdivided as follows: 15-17 (18), 18-24 (17) and 25-34 (23). In order to be able to establish a comparative view between age groups in terms of competencies, it was necessary to balance the samples by reducing the total number of informants belonging to the older generation from 71 to 58. This was achieved by removing the age group 71- 80 and reducing the number of informants in the age group 65-70. Before comparing the competencies of both generations, we assumed that (i) the older generation possesses a higher level of competencies in Atchan than the young generation. In what concerns the French language: (ii) the younger generation is more comfortable in French than in Atchan; (iii) the younger generation has a higher level of competence in French than Atchan.

Table 9 below provides us with an overview of the informants' listening skills in Atchan.

Skill Age group	Atchan Language – Listening/Oral comprehension			
	None	Uncomplicated sentences	Simple conversations	Sophisticated discussions and debates
Competence				
15 – 34	5,2%	17,2%	63,8%	13,8%
35 – 70	0%	7,8%	14,1%	78,1%

Table 9: Listening competencies in Atchan by young and old generations

As can be seen from Table 9, the majority of the informants belonging to the younger age group understand simple conversations in Atchan. In what concerns the comprehension of sophisticated discussions and debates, there is a large difference between the age groups: 78,1% of the informants from the age group 35 - 70 against 13,8% for the younger generation. All respondents belonging to the older generation possess some degree of listening skills in Atchan. The same cannot be observed for the younger generation: 5,2% of the younger respondents have no listening skills in Atchan.

The same tendency observed for listening skills between the two age groups can be verified in relation to the speaking skills in Atchan.

Skill \ Age Group	Atchan Language – Speaking				
	None	Simple and short phrases	Basic grammatical structure, limited vocabulary	Participate in conversational topics	Wide range of conversational situations
15 – 34	17,2%	22,4%	32,8%	22,4%	5,2%
35 – 70	1,6%	4,7%	9,4%	25%	59,4%

Table 10: Speaking competencies in Atchan by young and old generations

As can be seen from Table 10, 59,4% of the older generation can deal with a wide range of conversational topics, against 5,2% for the younger generation. Only 1,6% of respondents from the older generation admit to having no speaking skills in comparison to 17,2% from the younger age group. If the competencies ‘Simple and short phrases’ and ‘basic grammatical structure and limited vocabulary’ are considered, more than half of the younger informants (55,2%) admit to having only basic speaking skills in Atchan in contrast to a much lower percentage for the older informants (14,1%).

Does the same tendency apply for reading skills?

Skill \ Age Group	Atchan Language – Reading				
	None	Limited simple vocabulary and sentence structure	Conventional Topics and non-technical subjects	Materials which contain idioms and specialised terminology	Sophisticated materials, including those in proposed field of study
15 – 34	72,4%	22,4%	5,2%	0%	0%
35 – 70	23,4%	28,1%	35,9%	3,1%	9,4%

Table 11: Reading competencies in Atchan by young and old generations

Table 11 confirms the tendency verified in the skills analysed previously. 72,4% of respondents in the younger age group cannot read Atchan, against 23,4% for the older generation. 0% of younger informants have reception competencies related to materials which contain idioms and specialised terminology and advanced materials, including those in proposed field of study, in contrast to 12,5% of older informants. A large difference between the age groups is also noticed when it comes to the items 'limited to simple vocabulary and sentence structure' and 'conventional topics and non-technical subjects': 27,6% for the age group 15-34 against 64% for the older age group.

Table 12 below provides a comparative view of the writing skills of both generations.

Skill	Atchan Language – Writing			
	None	With some errors in spelling and structure	On academic topics with few errors in structure and spelling	With idiomatic ease of expression and feeling for the style of the language
Age Group				
15 – 34	82,8%	12,1%	5,2%	0%
35 – 70	50%	25%	18,8%	6,3%

Table 12: Writing competencies in Atchan by young and old generations

There are 82% of young participants with no writing skills, against 50% by the older Tchaman generation. None of the young Tchaman respondents can write with idiomatic ease of expression and feeling for the style of the Atchan language. A low percentage of older informants (6,3%) admit to having advanced writing skills. Overall, it can be stated that participants from the older generation possess a higher degree of writing competencies.

The results of the survey presented in the tables above show that the older generation is more proficient in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in Atchan. What can be said about the French competencies? The following tables present a comparison of the French skills between the younger and older generations. We set out from the hypothesis that the respondents in the age group 15-34 present higher percentages for each one of the items concerning the different skills in French.

Let us begin with a comparison of the listening skills:

Skill	French Language – Listening/Oral comprehension				
Age Group	None	Uncomplicated sentences	Simple conversations	Conversations on simple academic topics	Sophisticated discussion of academic topics
15 – 34	0%	3,4%	46,6%	37,9%	12,1%
35 – 70	1,6%	15,6%	17,2%	37,5%	28,1%

Table 13: Listening competencies in French by young and old generations

While all the young respondents possess some level of listening comprehension skills in French, we observe that a very low percentage (1,6%) of the older generation does not understand French. Surprisingly, 46,7%, almost half of the young respondents, can only deal with simple conversations.

What can be said about the French speaking skills of both generations?

Skill	French Language – Speaking				
Age Group	None	Simple and short phrases	Basic grammatical structure, limited vocabulary	Participate in conversational topics	Wide range of conversational situations
15 – 34	1,7%	22,4%	27,6%	39,7%	8,6%
35 – 70	7,8%	18,8%	7,8%	34,4%	31,3%

Table 14: Speaking competencies in French by young and old generations

As is the case with French listening skills, the number of members belonging to the older generation who possess no speaking skills in French is substantially higher than the number of young people who do not speak French at all. In the case of competence levels 'Simple and short phrases', 'Basic grammatical structure, limited vocabulary', and 'Participate in conversational topics', we also register higher percentages in the age group 15-34. But in what concerns the last competence level 'participate

in a wide range of conversational situations, the young Atchan people's skills are remarkably lower than expected.

Table 15 below provides a general outline of the informants' French reading skills:

Skill \ Age Group	French Language – Reading				
	None	Limited to simple vocabulary and sentence structure	Conventional topics and non-technical subjects	Materials which contain idioms and specialised terminology	Sophisticated materials, including those in proposed field of study
15 – 34	6,9%	24,1%	43,1%	17,2%	8,6%
35 – 70	12,5%	7,8%	31,3%	23,4%	25%

Table 15: Reading competencies in French by young and old generations

Here again, we observe that the percentage of older Atchan people with no reading skills in French is expectedly higher (12,5%) than the one representing the young people with no skills (6,9%). The higher percentages by the young generation are also recorded for the three middle levels of competencies taken together 'Limited to simple vocabulary and sentence structure', 'Conventional topics and non-technical subjects' and 'Materials which contain idioms and specialised terminology'. Unexpectedly, the older generation is more competent in dealing with advanced materials, including those in proposed field of study.

Table 16 below presents the results of the informants' French writing skills.

Skill	French Language – Writing			
	None	With some Errors in spelling and structure	On academic topics with few errors in structure and spelling	With idiomatic ease of expression and feeling for the style of the language
Age Group				
15 – 34	8,6%	51,7%	34,5%	5,2%
35 – 70	15,6%	25%	31,3%	28,1%

Table 16: Writing competencies in French by young and old generations

15,6% of the older respondents cannot write in French. Among the younger informants, 51% can write with some errors in spelling and structure; 34,5% can produce texts on academic topics but with few errors in spelling and in structure. With regard to the idiomatic ease of expression and feeling for the style of the language, the members of the older generation (28,1%) seem to be more competent than the members of the younger age group (5,2%).

In general, the results above seem to demonstrate that although the percentage of younger respondents with competencies in French is higher than the percentage of older respondents, the younger respondents present a lower level of advanced French skills.

One of the weak points of the survey is that it does not include a question about the scholarly and/or professional status (occupation) of the participants, making it impossible to correlate the variables ‘occupation’ and ‘French skills’. Even though it was not possible to retrieve this information from the questionnaire, these results can be explained by publications and research carried out on the subject of French spoken in Côte d’Ivoire. As a matter of fact, the article by Jérémie Kouadio (2008), *Le français en Côte d’Ivoire: de l’imposition à l’appropriation décomplexée d’une langue exogène* provides an overview of how the French language underwent changes from “imposed language” to French varieties which the population adopted with ease, which results from the effort to adapt this foreign language to local reality. As mentioned in the abstract of the article, the expansion of French was implemented through the school and was the instrument by which the colonized could reach civilization (Kouadio: 2008: 191). Young people learn French, as did the older generation, but both generations do not speak it the same way. The younger generation mostly speaks Nouchi. “*Nouchi* is a slang born in the early 1980s and was created by out-of-school youth who left school with more or less sufficient knowledge of

French. Born in the street and has become the rallying code for a majority of young Ivorians: pupils, high school students, students, street youth, young delinquents” (Kouadio, 2007: 81). For our study, it is relevant to understand why Nouchi plays such an important role in young people’s lives. A research study implemented in schools and universities pointed out the reasons why young people identify themselves with Nouchi (Kouadio, 2007: 81): easy communication (36%), influence (15%), identification matters (14%), fun and fashion (12%), construction of a secret language of young people (11%), by constraint (8%), absence of an Ivorian official language (3%). That being said, Nouchi being spoken by young people represents not only “an increasingly pronounced feeling of linguistic insecurity among young people in relation to standard French” (Kouadio, 2007: 81), but also, as emphasized by Koio (2016: 141), “a generational linguistic variety, created to account for the daily difficulties of young people and meet their need for communication and identity construction”. However, these linguistic difficulties may not be easily overcome, as long as there is a feeling of estrangement in relation to French, that leads them “not to read or even refuse to read works written in a language variety which is foreign to them. [...] There is a gap between the French taught in schools (French of books) and the language they use, Nouchi” (Kouadio 2011: 189). The results obtained in our survey concerning the unexpected lower percentages of advanced French competencies by the younger generation are explained by the fact that “Nouchi sets young people against adults” (Koio, 2016: 143). It leaves them at a disadvantage in relation to adults.

At the end of this analysis concerning the profiling of target users, the general observation related to the correlation between the variable ‘age’ and ‘language competences in Atchan’ allowed us to draw the following conclusion: the younger participants, i.e. the target users of the current dictionary project, are more familiar with French than Atchan. The percentages of young respondents with little to no knowledge of Atchan are higher than those indicating the young Atchan people with no knowledge of French. The results of the survey show that the target users can understand spoken Atchan better than they can speak, read, or write it. Based on this analysis, younger participants are able to translate simple sentences from Atchan to French, but they would not be able to translate from French to Atchan. The survey results confirm the hypotheses formulated at the start of this dictionary project: (i) the older Tchaman generation masters the Atchan language more than the younger one; (ii) the younger generation can mostly understand oral Atchan, but can barely read, speak, and write it.

Survey questions on general, encyclopaedic, and cultural information, participation in Tchaman socio-cultural activities and the use of materials in Atchan reveal a lack of general, encyclopaedic, and cultural knowledge. In fact, out of 58 participants belonging to the age group 15 to 34, 62,1% (22

respondents) named Tchaman cultural activities other than *Fatchué* and *Attiéké cooking*: *sortie de maternité* (return from maternity hospital), *la danse allégnin* (allégnin dance), *danses traditionnelles* (traditional dances), *fêtes de réjouissance* (rejoicing dances), *mariage coutumier* (customary wedding), *mariage traditionnel* (traditional wedding), *assemblée villageoise* (village meeting), *dot en famille Tchaman* (dowry in Tchaman family), *la pêche* (fishing), *balayage du cimetière* (sweeping cemetery), *réunion du village* (village meeting), *fêtes des chorales* (choir festivals), *intronisation des chefs de village* (enthronement of village chiefs), *aller tirer le manioc* (grind cassava), *jeux à la ficelle* (strings games), *nids d'oiseaux* (bird nests).

When asked to name existing materials in Atchan, 6 participants in the age group 15 to 34 mention the following resources: audio-visual recordings and print materials, namely audio recordings of Tchaman chorales and artist performers, video recordings of Tchaman dances, calendars, stories, the Bible.

The target users of the current dictionary project are thus people with a low level of Atchan language proficiency and an interest in acquiring more knowledge of the Tchaman cultural traditions and contributing to the revitalization of Atchan. Having identified the profile of the users of the French-Atchan Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary, the next step consists in establishing the respective use situations.

3.2 Typology of use situations

According to Bergenholtz & Leroyer (2013: 157), the first step to establish a typology of use situations is the identification of the dictionary user profile. This means that specific dictionary consultation needs of users should be taken into consideration in this process. As discussed in 3.1, the target users are young Tchaman people who have developed more knowledge in French than in Atchan and possess poor knowledge of the Tchaman culture. Consequently, the following use situations were identified:

- (i) the need to retrieve information on an Atchan term or expression (reception and production);
- (ii) the need to become familiar with the relevance of an Atchan term or expression in the Tchaman culture (reception);
- (iii) the need to know the historical, social, and cultural context of an object, term or concept used in the Tchaman community (reception);
- (iv) the need to know the terms associated to a cultural relevant concept (production);
- (v) the need of a translation equivalent of a French word or expression in Atchan (production);
- (vi) the need to acquire information on the language, such as grammatical information, phonetic and

orthographic information (production).

Each of these use situations is discussed below.

The type of information needed in the use situations (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) can be considered as encyclopaedic and cultural, i.e. ethnographic information. Examples of situations in which the users may need to consult a dictionary to retrieve cultural information are the following:

- in the context of a Tchaman event or in a day-to-day communication in Atchan, a young member hears a term which is new to him/her and would like to consult the meaning of the concept and the relevance of this term in the Tchaman culture;
- in the same situation, a young member may be interested in obtaining more detailed information on the historical, social and cultural context linked to a term used in the speech community;
- in a conversation with friends or people from other language speech communities, a young member may be asked about the terms used to describe or name a concept in his speech community;
- in a debate, a young member may need to know the relevance and ethnographic information related to an Atchan term or concept in order to present a cultural relevant artefact of his speech community.

The results of the survey seem to point out that the members of the younger Tchaman generation do not have sufficient knowledge of their culture. These users could consult an onomasiological dictionary for example in a situation where they need cultural information to participate in a specific community event or in day-to-day oral communication with older community members who tend to refer to specific cultural concepts in conversation.

Such a dictionary can also be used by all members of the community to pass on cultural knowledge to children. Cultural information can be provided via encyclopaedic information. Engelberg & Lemnitzer (2004: 6) state that encyclopaedias provide factual information about lexical units. The authors define 'encyclopaedic knowledge' ('enzyklopädisches Wissen') as knowledge about the object represented by the word, in contrast to linguistic knowledge ('Sprachwissen'), phonological, morphological and syntactic information. The authors take banana as an example (2004: 7): "Language information about banana would be 'The word banana consists of three vowels and three consonants. Its nominative plural is formed using the flexive -s and it is a feminine noun.' Encyclopaedic information about banana would be 'The yellow-brown, curved fruit - botanically exact berry - a plant from the family Musaceae, of which the soft flesh - like other fruit – is likely to be consumed red'". Applied to the current dictionary

project, an example of encyclopaedic data in the entry of the term *djidji ayôkwé* related to the concept 'Music' and subconcept 'Musical Instruments' would be the material used to make the instrument, the description of the instrument (shape, size), the way it is played, the origin of the term, the history of the instrument and the importance of the instrument in the Tchaman culture.

Considering that 96,6% of the informants from the 15-34 age group expressed their willingness to defend the preservation of Atchan, it can be deduced that an ethnographic onomasiological dictionary of Atchan would greatly contribute to promote Atchan language and culture revitalization.

Below is addressed a discussion of situations in which a user could be in a situation where he/she needs to translate or to retrieve information on the Atchan language.

(v) Translation

When considering the results of the 58 respondents, age group 15 – 34, specifically related to (i) the variables for speaking in Atchan "None/No speaking skills" (17,2%), "simple and short phrases" (22,4%) and "basic grammatical structure, limited vocabulary" (32,8%), (ii) the variables for writing in Atchan "None/No writing skills" (82,8%) and "With some errors in structure and spelling" (12,1%), it can be stated that the majority of respondents in the referred age group express themselves orally and in written form with simple sentences, basic grammatical structures and a limited vocabulary. Thus, it is expected that younger members of the community resort to a dictionary in a situation where they need the translation equivalent of a French word (tambour de bois; EN → wooden drum) in Atchan (*djidji ayôkwé*). Example of use situations could be the following:

- a young speech community member, in a day-to-day communication situation, needs to express himself/herself in Atchan, build a sentence but does not know how to say a term in Atchan;
- in a conversation with friends from other language speech communities, a young member is asked to translate a French term into Atchan, or asked which words are used to name a concept in his speech community.

(vi) Information on the language (grammatical information, pronunciation, and spelling)

Given the survey results on the informants' reading skills in Atchan, variables "None/No reading skills" (72,4%), "Limited to simple vocabulary and sentence structure" (22,4%), "Conventional topics and non-technical subjects" (5,2%) and their writing and speaking skills in Atchan, it can be expected that in oral and written user production situations, a dictionary containing grammar, orthographic forms and

phonetic transcription of a word will prove to be a valuable asset to community members in general and to younger members in particular.

As expressed by Gouws & Prinsloo (2005: 8), user profiling plays a crucial role in identifying specific user needs according to specific user situations and guides the lexicographer in determining the genuine purpose of the dictionary and consequently which information should be included. As expressed by Gouws & Prinsloo (2005: 8), “a lexicographic function represents the assistance that a dictionary provides to a particular type of user to cover the needs of that user in a specific user situation”. The assistance that the dictionary to be compiled is meant to provide to the young members of the Tchaman speech community is discussed below.

3.3 The lexicographic functions of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary

This chapter is concerned with the genuine purpose of the dictionary, the lexicographic functions related to it and the corresponding data to be processed to fulfil the functions.

3.3.1 The genuine purpose of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary

Designated as *Gebrauchsgegenstände* (Engelberg & Lemnitzer 2004: 1), “dictionaries are practical instruments and are compiled to be used by specific target user groups and to fulfil a specific purpose and specific functions in the different situations of usage” (Gouws & Prinsloo, 2005: 13). This purpose is called genuine purpose in metalexicographical terms. Gouws & Prinsloo (2005: 14) define the genuine purpose as “a response to the needs of the potential target users” and is therefore codetermined by the intended target user group. That is to say, the identification and formulation of the genuine purpose comes after the profiling of the users. The current dictionary project’s genuine purpose is a response to different needs: (i) the need for more Atchan language documentation through the documentation of the Tchaman culture; (ii) the need for present and future generations to learn their language and culture, thereby promoting language revitalization. A successful dictionary consultation depends on the way in which the needed information can be retrieved, and this also depends on the way in which the dictionary is steered by its functions. A discussion of the lexicographic functions is addressed in Bergenholtz & Leroyer (2013: 158). According to these authors, the theory of lexicographic functions is based on the central distinction between two categories of usage: the communicative and the cognitive situations. Below a more detailed account of their theory.

3.3.2 The lexicographic functions

As emphasized by Bergenholtz & Leroyer (2013: 158ff.), the communicative situations are those which refer to the act of communication, both oral and written. The dictionary consultation will then be carried out to find information which could help the user to solve communication problems. The communicative functions of the dictionary being proposed should help the user to solve problems related to: (i) text reception in L2⁶², (ii) text production in L2, (iii) translation into L2 and translation from L2. On the other hand, the cognitive situations are those in which the user wants to acquire more information on a given subject such as general encyclopaedic knowledge, specialized information in the field of a scientific discipline, or linguistic information in the context of the process of learning a language. The FR-AT Ethnographic Dictionary aims to fulfil cognitive functions that will provide the user with: (i) ethnographic information on Tchaman social and cultural heritage, (ii) specialized information on a given concept, word or term and (iii) grammatical information on the language.

Considering this categorization, the onomasiological dictionary to be compiled aims to fulfil the following functions:

- help the users to solve problems related to the reception of texts in Atchan;
- help the users to solve problems related to the production of texts in Atchan;
- help the users to solve problems related to the translation of texts from French to Atchan;
- provide grammatical information on the Atchan language;
- provide ethnographic information about Tchaman artifacts, traditions and heritage;
- provide specialized information on a certain Atchan word or concept.

After discussing the type of users, the use situations, and the lexicographic functions of the FR-AT Ethnographic Dictionary, it is necessary to talk about the choice of the dictionary type. The next chapter addresses the reasons why we think an onomasiological resource is the suitable one in order for the dictionary to fulfil the functions mentioned below.

3.4 The choice of the dictionary type

To ensure that the genuine purpose of a dictionary is achieved, it is important to choose the adequate

⁶² In their article *Métalexigraphie culturelle, fonctions lexicographiques et finilité pragmatique*, Bergenholtz and Lemnitzer (2013) consider L2 as the foreign language. In the current project, L2 is understood as the target language, here Atchan.

dictionary type for the dictionary project and the potential target users. Considering the type of information we propose to include in the dictionary and the assistance we want to provide to the target users, we decided on an onomasiological dictionary.

It is important to emphasize that, according to the dictionary typology proposed by Hausmann (1989, HSK), onomasiological dictionaries belong to specialized dictionaries, specifically, information type-oriented dictionaries. In onomasiological dictionaries, the main stress of the dictionary is on the kind of information about the different lemma. In fact, onomasiological dictionaries are conceptual ordered dictionaries. Onomasiology consists in a semantic approach starting from the idea i.e. the concept to study the different words and expressions used to designate the concept in a given language. Central here is to know how we designate X-concept in a given language.

The choice of an onomasiological dictionary was mainly motivated by a discussion of Ulrike Mosel on dictionary making in endangered speech communities. In her article "Dictionary making in endangered speech communities", the author points out the problems which are characteristic of lexicographic work in short-term language documentation projects. According to Mosel, the alphabetical approach in the compilation of a dictionary for an endangered language is not appropriate. The thematic approach favours the compilation of word lists and the writing of entries. A little dictionary comprising only one subject area or subdomain is more useful than a dictionary comprising words starting with *a*. One should therefore select subject areas, compile the word lists and write the entries for each subject area. The question is to know which subject the speech community, i.e. the native speakers, think are most important for their culture. These arguments motivated the choice of an onomasiological over an alphabetical dictionary, as the former seems to be a more appropriate solution for the presentation of cultural relevant topics for the preservation of the Atchan language.

It is our view that the preservation of Atchan, aim of the present dictionary project, can be promoted through the identification, listing and compilation of Tchaman cultural artefacts. In the current project, we are working on a specialized lexicon, i.e. a lexicon of Atchan cultural artefacts. That is why we decided to work on an onomasiological dictionary, organized by themes, concepts. It is true that the typology of Hausmann classifies onomasiological dictionaries into paradigmatic dictionaries such as synonymy/antonymy dictionaries, but the current dictionary proposal is ethnographic i.e. ethnocultural rather than paradigmatic. In fact, the profiling of users, the identification of the use situations, the fact that Atchan is a highly endangered language led to the conclusion that we need a dictionary in which a collection of themes and concepts relevant to the Tchaman speech community can be consulted. Instead of proposing a semasiological dictionary, the onomasiological approach is more suitable for the

current dictionary project. Our goal here is to assist the speech community members in finding the Atchan terms to express a relevant cultural concept or artefact. Compiling a semasiological dictionary would require that users already know the word and are looking for its meaning. However, our potential target users will most probably not be acquainted with the term in Atchan. In this case, the user will go from the cultural concept to find the linguistic form, here the Atchan term which designates this concept in the Tchaman speech community.

Now that we made clear why we think the onomasiological, yet ethnographic, i.e. ethnocultural dictionary, is the most suitable dictionary type for the documentation, preservation and revitalization of the Tchaman language via its culture, let us present the methodology adopted to achieve this in the current dictionary project.

3.5 Methodology

The methodology to carry out the current dictionary project comprises the following four steps: the identification of concepts, the establishment of the dictionary basis, term extraction, and the macro- and microstructure design. The following is a discussion of each methodological step.

3.5.1 The identification of concepts

The current project's objective is to propose a model for an onomasiological ethnographic dictionary which mainly aims at contributing to the preservation and promotion of the endangered language Atchan. It is essential to identify linguistic and socio-cultural phenomena relevant to the Tchaman people. Since the immersion in the Tchaman community was not possible, the collection of the concepts to be included in the FR-AT Dictionary were obtained through two different means, namely a questionnaire and readings.

3.5.1.1 The questionnaire

Since the Atchan language is not sufficiently documented, interviewing the speech community members, including village chiefs, would have provided us with authentic information about their knowledge in and about Atchan, their attitudes towards the language, their knowledge about the traditions and their behaviour in given social and cultural situations. However, since this data collection

method turned out not to be feasible, the questionnaire allowed us nonetheless to gather authentic information concerning the members of the Tchaman speech community. As presented in Chapter 2.1, the questionnaire is composed of twenty questions subdivided into four categories. The fourth and last category, use and knowledge of the Atchan language, encompasses questions concerned with the use of the language and knowledge of Tchaman cultural activities, apart from *Fatchué* and *Attiéké cooking*. 46% of the informants were able to list many Atchan cultural and traditional acts, that can be categorized as follows: *entertainment/recreation, dances, ceremonies, socio-political organization*. Some of the respondents wrote the concepts in French, and others gave both the French equivalent and the Atchan term. Here is an extract of the terms used to designate the concepts:

Mariage coutumier

Cérémonie de dot

La sortie de la maternité: tambrôya

Cérémonie de libation

Intronisation chefferie

Assemblée villageoise, danse des guerriers, tambrôya

Règlement des conflits villageois

Porte-parole

Conseil de sage aux affaires villageoises

Réunions et conseils du village

Conseil aux affaires coutumières

La danse des hommes (n'sè mi)

La danse des femmes (n'niè mi/amidi)

Danses traditionnelles cocoma et sidjè

La danse grolo

Les jeux (djomlè, cauris, agbo...)

Le conte (alèmô)

Atchan goto fe (festival des lagunes)

The extract represents a list of the terms that were mentioned with a high frequency by the respondents. Some readings also provided us with more information about the Atchan culture.

3.5.1.2 Readings

The written texts collected and presented in this work in Chapter 2.3 are ethnographic publications, academic works, and small lexica. The two publications that most contributed to the present dictionary project were as previously mentioned *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire* and *Histoire et Coutumes de la Côte d'Ivoire*. The first book mentioned can be considered an academic book which deals with the musical art of the Tchaman people. This book does not give the reader a general overview of the Atchan culture, but focuses on musical instruments, music, dances, events where music is involved. In other words, it deals with topics which are related to music in the Atchan society. The second publication mentioned above was written at a time when the history and customs of the Ivorian peoples had not yet undergone significant transformations. The work reports on the past of the Tchaman population by giving an overview of their customs. It covers the following topics: family, marriage, filiation, tutelage, emancipation, guardianship, property, succession, donations, will, contracts, prescription, and civil liability. The book provides us with information about the way these different notions were culturally perceived and dealt with in the Tchaman society. Although the publication dates back to 1900, it contributed to the identification of the concepts that were important to the Tchaman community in the past and which concepts continue to be essential to the Tchaman community in the 21st Century. Based on the concepts and terms identified in the book, it was possible to search for other publications related to these specific concepts and terms. After identifying the concepts, the next step consisted in collecting them and establishing a hierarchy which would later serve for the concept structure of the dictionary.

3.5.2 Concept collection and hierarchy

At this stage of the work, the questionnaire and the readings ensured the identification of some Atchan cultural concepts. The current project being the prototype of an onomasiological dictionary focussing on cultural concepts, the concepts identified were organized into a hierarchy. Depending on the conceptual domain, we organized the terms into different levels. We take the conceptual domain Music⁶³ as an example of the concept hierarchy used to organize the dictionary:

⁶³ The hierarchy presented here serves as example and should not be considered as the whole concept hierarchy for the conceptual domain Music.

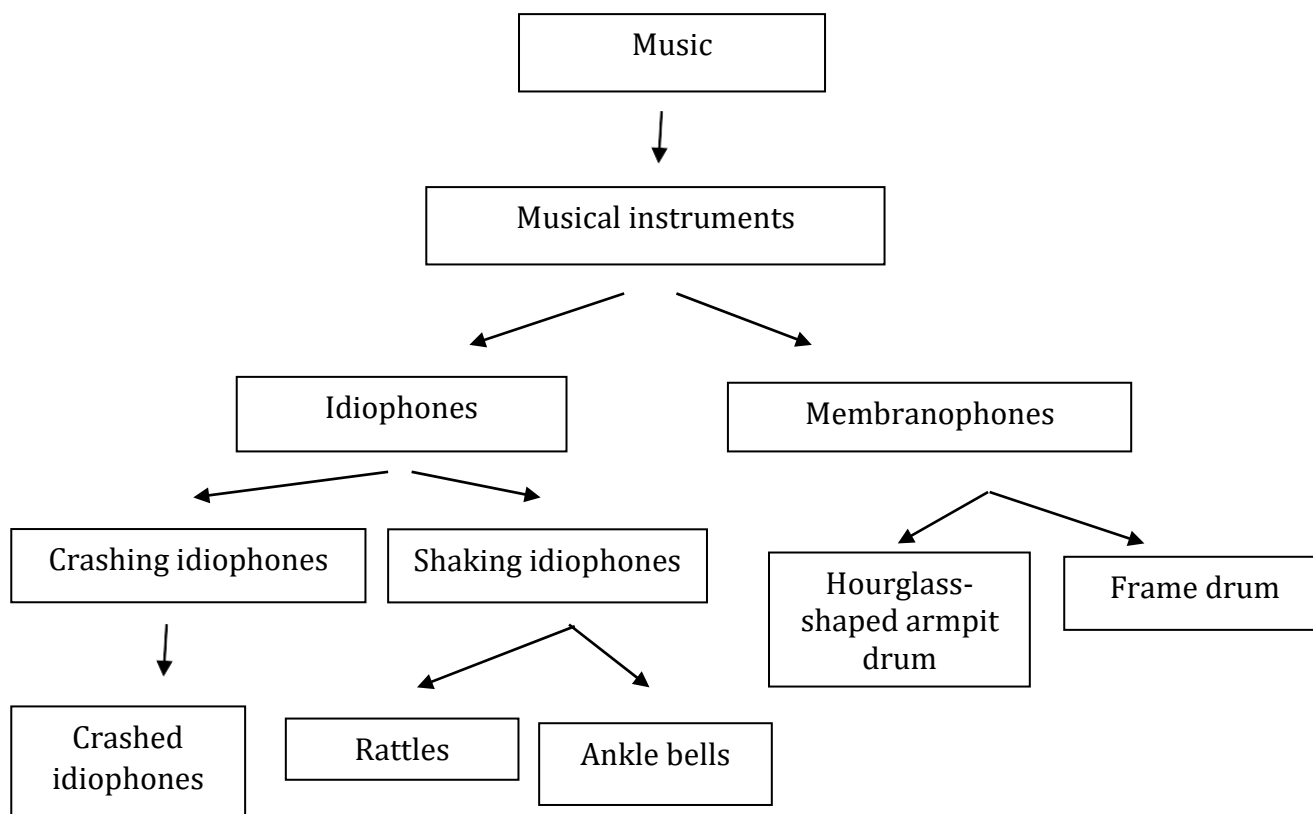


Figure 11: Illustration of concept hierarchy using the concept Music and the subconcept musical instruments

As can be seen from Figure 11, the concept system is composed of a hierarchy of superordinate, subordinate and coordinate concepts. The coordinate concepts share common properties on the one hand and possess distinguishing characteristics on the other. When compiling an onomasiological dictionary, it is important that the lexicographer be familiar with the relations between the concepts in a concept system. This knowledge will greatly help the lexicographer to model the macrostructure of the dictionary, but also the user who will then be able to identify the different sections of the dictionary corresponding to the main concepts of the Tchaman culture and the respective terms used to designate those concepts. The term selection process is discussed in the subchapter below.

3.5.3 The term selection process

The term selection is the establishment of the list of terms to be treated in the dictionary. Elizaveta Kotorova, in her article *Dictionary making for a minority language: the Case of Ket* (2016), points out that linguists experienced in compiling dictionaries of minority languages suggest three term selection methods which are (p. 131): “(i) the translation of the list of the most frequent words from a European

language (very often English), (ii) the extraction of the word list from a corpus of texts of the described language, (iii) the thematic elicitation from native speakers to find words for narrowly defined subject areas (for example, colour terms, housekeeping, etc.)". As referred by Kotorova, although method (i) does not require a corpus in the researched language, it is not an adequate method if a project intends to cover cultural phenomena and the respective concepts and terms of the minority language. Method (ii) is only efficient when there is a large and representative corpus, which is not the case of Atchan. In the case of method (iii), although Kotorova states that it should be used as a complement to other methods as the results obtained are fragmentary, this is the method that most suits the purposes and the setting of the current lexicographic project. Even though a closer collaboration with the speech community members was not possible, the survey that was implemented and the ethnographic resources that were analysed provided us with information on relevant thematic concepts for the Tchaman.

The word list of the dictionary was extracted from the dictionary basis discussed and described in 3.6. Once the concepts to be included in the dictionary had been identified and the hierarchy and semantic relations between them had been established, the corresponding terms were easily selected. For each concept, we went through the dictionary basis and extracted the term(s) which designate the concept. The term extraction was done manually. Considering that we do not have a huge corpus at our disposal and since space won't be a problem, the term selection was not based on criteria such as frequency counts. We rather focused on the criterion proposed by Ulrike Mosel (2013: 2) regarding the choice of the subject areas: "Which subject areas do the native speakers think are most important for their culture?".

In fact, if we want the data to fulfil the genuine purpose of the dictionary, we have to select terms which are the most important to the speech community's culture. We did not have the possibility to interact i.e. collaborate directly with the community, but informants' responses to the questionnaire guided us in obtaining a clear idea of the elements present and alive in their culture and which traditions are important to them. By following this methodology, the FR-AT Dictionary fulfils one of its purposes, namely the improvement of the documentation status of Atchan. The chapter below deals with the presentation of the sources which constitute our dictionary basis.

3.6 The basis of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary

According to Gouws and Prinsloo (2005: 15-16), the general preparation phase of a dictionary

comprises four main components: ‘lemmatisation process’, ‘microstructural programme’, ‘frame structure’ and ‘dictionary basis’⁶⁴. In the dictionary preparation phase, it is thus important to identify and describe the nature and extent of the source materials that will serve as a basis for the dictionary. Our dictionary basis is made up of sources written mainly in French that include phrase or sentence equivalents in Atchan. These resources that are mostly in print form belong to various text types, namely ethnographic publications and existing terminologies and vocabularies, and address a particular aspect of the Atchan language or the Tchaman culture. Below a list of these resources:

- *The questionnaire* (Annex 1, pp. 124-128)
- *Aspects de l’art musical des Tchaman de Côte d’Ivoire* (Konin, 2010) Aspects of the musical art of the Tchaman of the Ivory Coast
- *Introduction à l’écriture et à l’orthographe de l’ébrié* (Bôle-Richard, 2017) Introduction to Atchan writing and spelling
- *Guide de lecture de l’ébrié* (Bôle-Richard, 2017) Reading guide of Atchan
- *Histoire et coutumes de la Côte d’Ivoire. Tome I, Le cercles des lagunes : les ébriés* (Direction des Archives nationales, 1900)

History and customs of the Ivory Coast. Volume I, the circles of the lagoons

- *Apprendre l’Atchan*

Learn Atchan

- *Expressions Atchan. Parlons couramment Atchan. Tome 1* (Ahoua, 2017) Atchan expressions.

Let us speak Atchan fluently

- *Origine et migrations. L’histoire du peuple Tchaman* (Ahoua, 2017) Origin and migrations. The history of the Tchaman

- *L’alphabet Atchan*

The Atchan alphabet

- *Fête de génération* (Mobio, 2017) Initiation ceremony
- *Noms Atchan et significations* (Mobio, 2019) Atchan names and meanings

Our corpus focuses specifically on the extraction of the parts of the publications that contain bilingual

⁶⁴ Lemmatisation can be understood as “an over-simplified way as the selection of a specific form from a given paradigm to be used in a dictionary as the starting point for information retrieval” (Gouws & Prinsloo, 2005: 67). The frame structure is known as a type of dictionary structure including the outer texts namely the front and back matter texts of a given dictionary (Gouws & Prinsloo, 2005: 57).

With regard to the general preparation phase, in the current thesis, we are not including the discussion of the lemmatisation process and the frame structure. The discussion of the microstructural programme is addressed in Chapter 3.5.7.

French-Atchan words, phrases and/or sentences. This will allow the creation of a parallel corpus that can be further processed electronically. Ideal here is to convert the resources in electronic form, use optical character recognition programs which should then ensure the tokenization of the corpus. Let us consider the following example sentences and phrases taken from the ethnographic source text *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire* (Aka, 2010: 47-48)⁶⁵:

(1) AT: *Bertin houanmié ninsi éba*

FR : Les filles de Bertin avancent

(EN: Bertin's daughters are moving forward)

(2) AT : *Hogbo ogbréi wéba*

FR : Dans leur état de pauvreté (EN: In their poverty condition)

(3) AT : *Dévaluation hinon wété*

FR: Ce sont des choses de dévaluation que nous faisons (EN: We are performing devaluating things)

(4) AT : *Kassé epô éba wouhooo*

FR : Si ça te plaît tu viens voir (EN: If you like it, come and see)⁶⁶

In the case of the lexicographic resource *Expressions Atchan. Parlons couramment Atchan. Tome 1* (Ahoua, 2017: 7), that has an onomasiological structure, it is easier to identify and extract the French words and the Atchan equivalents to be added to the parallel corpus automatically:

FRANCAIS (FRENCH)

ATCHAN

Nez (nose)

N'FONMIN

⁶⁵ It is an extract of the song that women sing during the *Fatchué*. Sentences translated into English by author.

⁶⁶ From Konin Aka, *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire*.

Sein (breast)	N'GNIN
Oreille (ear)	INDJE/N'DJE
Pied (foot)	INTHA
Langue (tongue)	ALE
Dent (tooth)	N'NO
Cuisse (thigh)	N'TABO

As can be deduced from the concepts found in this resource, it aims to be an introduction to Atchan. The division by concepts: the days of the week, the months of the year, greetings, the human body, common expressions, the family, food, cooking utensils, animals, numbers and money, common verbs, furniture, personal pronouns, colours, including the parallel alignment of the French word and Atchan equivalent, aids the language learning process and facilitates, as mentioned above, the electronic processing of the material.

Improving the documentation status of Atchan via this dictionary requires terms from specific subject areas but also a specific entry structure for each of the term. The chapter below focuses on the information that can be extracted from the dictionary basis for the term entries.

3.7 Preparing the microstructure of the dictionary proposal

As was the case for the term selection process, the dictionary basis also played an important role in the preparation of the microstructure of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary. The categories we decided to include in the term entry of our ethnographical dictionary are: *Headword*, *Grammar*, *Semantics* and *Description*. In the category *Headword*, we have the term in French, the translation equivalent in Atchan (written with the Atchan orthography, not the French alphabet), an illustration (picture or video). *Grammar* includes the phonetic transcription, the pronunciation (as audio file), the

part of speech of the term (PoS), collocations and example sentences⁶⁷. Concerning *Semantics*, we have the context of use of the term, the meaning/definition of the term, and the related terms. The last category, *Description*, aims to provide the user with information about the physical features or sequence i.e. phases of events, cultural elements and historical facts associated with the term. In other words, we aim at providing components which refer to linguistic, cultural-specific, and encyclopaedic data. The extraction of such information for all the terms was relatively difficult. It is true that one of the sources, the academic work on the Tchaman musical art, provides information on the physical description of the instruments, the way there are played, on which occasion they are played, and in some cases, the author even provides information on the creator, the origin and the term designating the person who plays such an instrument. In addition to this kind of data found in this publication, we also found it relevant to collect other types of information such as grammatical information (plural form, part of speech of the term, valency, collocations), phonetic and spelling information. Since the dictionary basis used does not, in some cases, contain sufficient grammatical information and, as mentioned above, the collaboration with native speakers with solid knowledge of Atchan was not possible, the microstructure of the entries may differ depending on the information that was possible to collect for each term. After the collection of the data categories, we drew up a tree diagram to model the microstructure of the entries. This diagram is explained in more detail in Chapter 4.2.2 on the dictionary production process.

The encoding i.e. the writing of entries requires a specific data organization. However, the data organization depends on the medium of publication. Chapter 3.8 below will focus on this aspect of the dictionary planning process.

3.8 Medium of publication

The onomasiological dictionary French-Atchan is meant to be an ethnocultural product. The target users are Atchan young people aged 15 to 34. We see the Dictionary as a community project, aimed to promote the preservation of Atchan linguistic and Tchaman cultural heritage, that should be widely distributed and freely accessible to its members. Consequently, we are of the opinion that the electronic form is the most suitable means of publication, as our target users are more familiar with the digital world. The electronic and the paper mediums are both efficient means of publication, presenting both strong and weak points. We did not choose to publish the dictionary in paper version for diverse

⁶⁷ The inclusion of collocations and example sentences depends on the term being treated. For some terms like musical instruments for example, this information might not be applicable.

reasons: (i) the formatting properties (the data's representation and presentation), (ii) the space restriction (fixed number of pages), (iii) accessibility matters (price, usability considerations). In fact, publishing the dictionary in paper implies that these young people will have to pay to get the product. With electronic dictionaries, accessibility issues don't arise. Available in smartphones, the users will not have to be concerned about the weight of the dictionary or the space it will occupy. Consequently, they will permanently have access to the dictionary, as long as they have their mobile devices. This means that they will have the dictionary at their disposal on the street, during Atchan cultural activities, in family gatherings, in the neighbourhood, in all the places and domains young people move in.

Apart from these advantages, there are other reasons why the electronic medium was preferred: (i) no space restrictions, (ii) hypertextuality, (iii) search options. The following addresses a brief discussion of these advantages.

(i) Space considerations

In paper dictionaries, lexicographers need to resort to specific space-saving techniques, such as abbreviations, example condensation, symbols and criteria to decide on which information to include in a specific entry (for example, frequency criterion). In electronic dictionaries, on the other hand, the content and form of the data can appear without resorting to these techniques, making dictionary consultation easier as the user is not required to be familiar with abbreviations and symbols. Lexicographers can provide all the information they consider relevant for the target group(s) and prepare the layout of the dictionary and its content without space restrictions (Debus-Gregor & Heid, 2013: 1007).

The ethnographic nature of the FR-AT Dictionary requires the inclusion of detailed cultural and encyclopaedic information on the concepts and corresponding terms of the Atchan language. Presented in the electronic form, the FR-AT Dictionary will be able to fulfil its function by allowing for a detailed presentation of this type of data and the introduction of information such as collocations, fixed expressions, example sentences of the headword/term taken from corpora, etc. The dynamic nature of the electronic medium allows lexicographers to link related information in a more efficient manner via the hypertextual cross-reference function.

(ii) Hypertextuality

Storrer (2013) cites the glossary of the “Hypertext/ Hypermedia Handbook” defining the term *hypertext* as “*an assemblage of texts, images, and sounds – nodes – connected by electronic links so as to form a system, whose existence is contingent upon the computer*” (2013: 1244). The concept implies the following features: non-sequential structure, multimedia, interactivity, and computer-based technology. This means that users can (i) traverse a network of information by clicking on the links; (ii) access graphics, photographs, pictures, sound, video files; (iii) not only benefit from tools and options for interactive browsing and searching, but may also be able to participate in the improvement of the hyperdocuments (Storrer, 2013: 1245).

The hypertextuality and the space availability are valuable features which will allow us to: (i) provide the user with links to videos, sound files, images which serve as illustrations for events or objects relevant to the Tchaman culture; (ii) allow the user to navigate from one term entry to another, by clicking on a related term available as hypertext in a term entry; (iii) enable the user to navigate from one term entry to another one with the aim of completing the information retrieved in the previous entry; (iv) provide the user with hypertexts linking concepts, topic or cultural information; (v) allow the user to access (potential) sources i.e. references available in digital form. This is a means of ensuring a better dictionary consultation experience. Taken together with the search options, this should help the user to acquire knowledge about his language and culture efficiently.

(iii) Search options

Měchura (2008: 1295) acknowledges the fact that users consult dictionaries with “low- quality input” like misspelled words, inflected words, complete sentences. In his article, *Giving Them What They Want: Search Strategies for Electronic Dictionaries*, Měchura addresses search techniques which should compensate for this issue. These are: inflection awareness, multi-words items, misspelling detection, text normalization, and language selection. Interesting for us here is the misspelling detection. Since the metalanguage of the dictionary is French, we expect the user to search for an Atchan term by entering the French term in the search box to look for the translation equivalent in Atchan or to access the term entry. However, a user may already know the term in Atchan and yet look for information on this term. Taking into consideration that the younger generation possesses few or no writing skills in Atchan, we propose that the dictionary returns results for searches conducted with misspellings.

The electronic medium is also a means of combining features which are discussed in the chapter below.

3.9 Innovative features

The discussion of the existing materials for the Atchan language highlighted the nature and content of the current Atchan documentation. With regard to the quality and level of documentation presented in Chapter 2.2, we found it necessary to highlight the innovative features of the current dictionary project. According to our knowledge and following from the research carried out, there is no material in and for Atchan which combines the features specific to the following dictionary proposal. These are as follows:

(i) Reference work following lexicographic principles

The few existing works on the Atchan language and Tchaman culture belong to different genres. There is no dictionary known as a whole, whether general or specialized. Although some resources include general language vocabulary and others more socio- cultural terminology, for example the publication *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire* by Aka Konin (terminology of music instruments and related subjects), none of these resources adhere to lexicographic principles. The current dictionary project aims to follow specific lexicographic guidelines in close relation to endangerment language documentation in order to contribute to the revitalization of the Atchan language and Tchaman cultural traditions.

(ii) Atchan orthography

During our research and analysis of the already existing Atchan documentation, we found out that, apart from the guides which consist of an introduction to reading, spelling and writing in Atchan, there is no material which provides the user with the spelling of a word in Atchan. The Atchan words are written with the French alphabet. Considering that our target users do not possess solid writing skills in Atchan, we find it interesting to provide the user with the orthography of the word.

(iii) Phonetic transcription

Among the already existing Atchan documentation, we verified that, apart from the two guides for reading, spelling and writing, the materials do not contain phonetic transcriptions. We propose that the dictionary should include this information to allow the user to have the pronunciation of an Atchan word. Of course, the user is not likely to know the Atchan alphabet. That is why we propose to provide him as well with the actual pronunciation of the word.

(iv) Pronunciation (sound file)

Interesting for the improvement of speaking and reading skills, the onomasiological dictionary of Atchan should implement means of providing the pronunciation of the term. Being an electronic resource, the pronunciation can be made available as sound file, recorded authentically, by native speakers. These authentic audio recordings can be used for further research, including linguistic research purposes.

(v) Cultural and encyclopaedic information

Very few of the resources available give the user information about a concept designated by a specific term. The more dictionary-like materials available essentially provide two types of information: the French word and the Atchan equivalent. Additionally, providing the user with cultural and encyclopaedic information will not only help to improve his/her knowledge of the Tchaman culture. The integration of audiovisual and multimedia objects in the FR-AT Dictionary will enrich the lexicographic experience: a recording of a specific traditional dance or ritual will contribute to preserve and revive the Tchaman traditions for future generations.

(vi) Grammatical information

Grammars are considered important tools for language revitalization (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 5). The current Atchan documentation, *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié* et *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié*, provides introductory grammatical information in a de-contextualized manner: information on consonants, vowels, pronouns, word formation, verb types, etc. That said, including grammatical information related to Atchan terms in a socio-cultural and ethnographic context will not only help our target users to improve their speaking and writing skills, but also promote language learning through the

cultural component.

(vii) Electronic dictionary

To our knowledge, the only “electronic dictionary” known for Atchan is the application *Apprendre l’Atchan*. Presented in Chapter 2, this tool is a small dictionary to install on a smartphone and which is available offline. The electronic FR-AT Dictionary will constitute an added-value to the already existing resource *Apprendre l’Atchan*, with the above-mentioned and following features: (i) cross-references between entries via hypertextuality; (ii) simple and more advanced search options; (iii) responsive to multiple electronic devices.

Besides these innovative features, we would like to add an interactive function to the interface: the possibility for users to send feedback on the content of the dictionary, from making suggestions on new entries that could be included, commenting on user needs, weak points, strong points to uploading multimedia objects, etc. This will allow for the continuous improvement of the Dictionary. Since the Atchan language does not possess a large corpus and since our knowledge about the Atchan language is not rich enough, it will be beneficial to work in collaboration with the speech community i.e. the users. Obtaining feedback from the community members will not only allow us to be aware of their preferences and their needs but may also be a means of expanding our corpus and the list of topics i.e. terms.

With the set of features described above, the FR-AT Dictionary aims to constitute an important document for the Atchan language. Bringing all these features together will be a step towards the preservation of Atchan. An overview of the design proposal of all these features and the dictionary production process is presented in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER IV: ABOUT THE DICTIONARY PRODUCTION PROCESS OF THE FRENCH-ATCHAN DICTIONARY

Chapter IV deals with what Gouws & Prinsloo (2005) name “*the material processing phase*”. As defined by Gouws & Prinsloo (2005: 18), the material preparation phase designates “the application of the data distribution structure and the writing of the dictionary’s entries”. Before entering this phase, the dictionary compilers should make sure that the microstructural programme and the macrostructural selection have been elaborated. In fact, the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary should be elaborated before lexicographers can pursue the construction of the dictionary articles as texts. The microstructural programme and the macrostructure of the following dictionary proposal were discussed in Chapter III. The use of the corpus and the design of the macro- and microstructure of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary are discussed here.

4.1 The use of the dictionary sources

The data provided by the corpus assist the lexicographer during the lexicographic process. The following is a discussion of how we used our sources on both the macro- and microstructural levels.

Before discussing the use of the corpus, it is important to describe its type, size, and the problems related to creating such a corpus. In our case, it would not be appropriate to talk about primary, secondary and tertiary sources as is usual in Lexicography. Our corpus is mainly composed of ethnographic publications on the Atchan language and/or the Tchaman people. Additionally, we have some vocabularies in the format of magazines, grammar books and a mobile app. Except for the grammar books, the resources are available in digital form as PDF files. Given the nature of these files, the respective content and structure, we decided to extract the term list manually as this would allow us to work from an onomasiological perspective. Our primary concern was to acquire an understanding of the concepts that are important to the Tchaman and the representation of these concepts in the Atchan language. The fact that Atchan is an endangered language with a poor documentation level constitutes an obstacle to the compilation of the corpus: on the one hand, the search for texts or content in Atchan is a difficult task; on the other hand, most of the publications focus on linguistic aspects of Atchan and

very few on socio-cultural concepts. At the outset of the project, we considered using Natural Language Processing techniques, such as tokenization and automatic extraction of candidate terms to be included in the dictionary. After a thorough analysis of the documentation available and the project objectives, we found that it was necessary to identify concept systems and conceptual relations first and then analyze the linguistic and ethnographic information in the publications found. The term ‘corpus’ as used in this thesis should not be interpreted as a corpus available in machine- readable form. The term ‘corpus’ refers to the material, publications and documents described in Chapter 2.3.

Below a discussion of how the corpus was used on both the macro- and microstructural levels.

4.1.1 On the macrostructural level

The macrostructure is the “selection of lexical items to be included in the dictionary as lemma signs” (Gouws 2005: 63). They become the primary treatment units of the lexicographic process and as such, the selection and inclusion of the lemmata occurs according to well-defined criteria. As emphasized by Gouws and Prinsloo (2005: 30), when compiling a new dictionary, the word-frequency is a tool which assists the lexicographer during the compilation of a lemma list. The Statistics Dictionary STAT TREK defines frequency counts as “a measure of the number of times that an event occurs”. Word-frequency counts consist of word occurrences in a corpus. Working with such a tool ensures that no frequently used word is absent, and that space is not taken up by lemmas less used and not likely to be used. According to the required number of lemmas, the lexicographer can isolate the top from the frequency list and complete the lemma list with the less frequent until the desired number is met. Frequency counts is an important criterion because it allows lexicographers to compile a dictionary with words that are most likely to be looked up. However, in our case, we will not be able to rely on this tool for diverse reasons:

- Our corpus is not large enough and consequently, frequency counts will not be representative;
- Our corpus is not based on “natural” texts gathered from speech community members’ dialogs. The corpus is mainly composed of fragmentary texts comprising single words or expressions extracted from texts written in French. These single words and/or expressions were used to (i) name a cultural concept described in French, (ii) serve as illustration (in the case of the guides);
- The FR-AT Dictionary is not a general language dictionary, but an onomasiological dictionary that is intended to be an ethnographic product focussing on concepts of relevant cultural topics. We are of the opinion that there is no need to base the term selection on frequency counts, but rather on

Atchan relevant subject areas, especially those named by the survey respondents.

Keeping in mind that the FR-AT Dictionary aims to contribute to the revitalization of the Atchan language through the documentation of Tchaman culture, the entry structure has to include Tchaman cultural relevant information. On the macrostructural level, the corpus of the current dictionary project is going to be used with regard to cultural relevance. By cultural relevance, we mean the link between the concepts and the Tchaman culture. To what extent are these concepts important to the Tchaman speech community? Does integrating information on these concepts arouse interest in the use of the dictionary and improve the knowledge of our users? Can the introduction of these concepts in the dictionary help to preserve the Atchan language? These are our selection criteria. Affirmative answers to these questions mean the concept/term is eligible for selection. The responses of the informants as well as the readings allowed us to identify the candidate concepts to be part of the macrostructure. The collection and hierarchy of the concepts discussed in Chapter 3.5.2 is a means of establishing the macrostructural selection of the dictionary, the conceptual ordering of our onomasiological dictionary. At this point, we analyzed our dictionary sources and selected the Atchan terms which designate the concepts in the Tchaman speech community⁶⁸. In the macrostructural selection process, we did not consider terms which have no relation to Tchaman ethnic and cultural phenomena.

The entry structure assigned to each term should contain specific information to ensure the fulfilment of the genuine purpose of our dictionary proposal. The following subchapter addresses the discussion of the use of the corpus on the microstructural level. Focus is laid on the information that can be retrieved from our dictionary sources.

4.1.2 On the microstructural level

The microstructure is to be understood as “the selection of data categories given as part of the treatment of the lemma sign. A macrostructural element combined with its microstructural treatment constitute a dictionary article.” (Gouws & Prinsloo 2005: 64). Another definition of the term ‘microstructure’ is given by the same authors, when they define it as a set of “the data categories to be included in the treatment of the lemmata and the typical article slots allocated to these categories”. (Gouws & Prinsloo 2005: 15). Generally, concordance lines, an empirical approach used to analyse naturally occurring language based on corpora, assist lexicographers to implement the microstructural

⁶⁸ It is important to emphasize that the nature and extent of the dictionary basis did not allow to extract terms for all the concepts that have been identified and collected. For the further production of the dictionary, a collaboration with the Tchaman speech community should compensate for this issue.

programme. They are used for (i) sense distinction, (ii) the writing of definitions for each sense, (iii) the selection of appropriate examples (Gouws & Prinsloo: 2005: 149). In our case, working with concordance lines is not feasible due to the fact that the corpus is made up of fragmentary texts collected from mostly print sources. The work involved in the implementation of the microstructural program is for the most part manual.

On the microstructural level, we expected in the first instance to extract information such as: translation equivalents, phonetic transcription, definition of the concept, use of term in context, collocations, example sentences, related terms, physical, social i.e. cultural and historical description of cultural phenomena or artefacts. However, the extraction of data from our sources proved to be a difficult task. In fact, the retrieval of these items from the corpus was not consistent. In some cases, it is possible to extract the translation equivalents of the terms in Atchan, the illustration, the context of use, the meaning/definition of the concept, the physical, cultural, and historical description. This is the case for the terms designating concepts from the musical domain and ceremonies i.e. *Fatchué*. The source text *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire* (Aka, 2010) provides a detailed presentation of the musical art of the Tchaman speech community, making the extraction of information on terms related to music an easy task.

The retrieval of collocational information and usage and example sentences is a tricky task considering the nature and extent of our dictionary sources. Considering that the dictionary basis of the following proposal is mainly made up of ethnographic publications, the extraction of grammatical information was possible only from the two guides, *Guide de lecture de l'ébrié* (Bôle-Richard, 2017) and *Introduction à l'écriture et à l'orthographe de l'ébrié* (Bôle-Richard, 2017). These books address grammatical features of the Atchan language and contain both example sentences and collocations of some words. However, it is important to add that for the retrieval of grammatical information using these sources implies a deductive analysis. For most of the terms, it is not possible to extract collocations and example sentences from there.

The extraction of grammatical information, such as phonetic transcription and pronunciation of Atchan words, based on our sources was a difficult task as this information was not readily available. Given this difficulty, in our case, a collaboration with the members of the Tchaman speech community seems to be the adequate alternative. Compiling the dictionary together with the speech community would allow us not only to build an oral corpus but also to gather authentic natural dialogues in the form of audio files. This should then ensure that we include in the dictionary entries authentic information on the use of the Atchan language. By working with the Tchaman speech community, we will be able to provide our

users with pronunciation in audio files, and authentic collocational and usage examples.

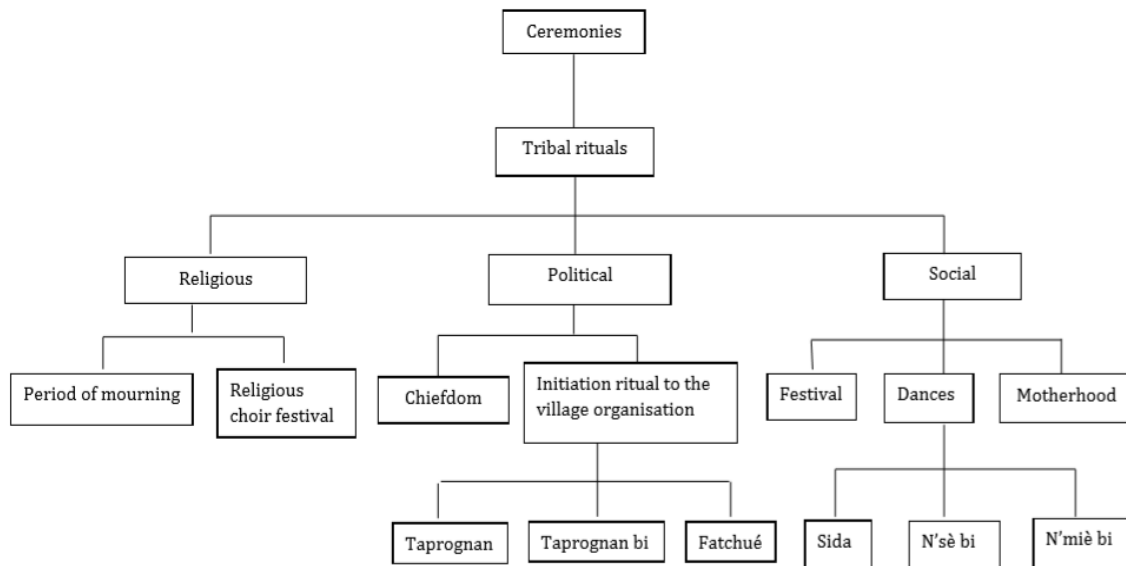
The presentation of the data organization of the dictionary proposal is addressed in the next subchapter.

4.2 Design of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary

The current master's dissertation addresses the planning of an onomasiological dictionary for Atchan, an endangered language. As such, the current work aims at proposing a prototype of a macro- and microstructure design for an ethnographic onomasiological dictionary for Atchan. With the following dictionary proposal, we intend to contribute to the documentation and preservation i.e. revitalization of the Atchan language via the Tchaman culture. We would like it to represent a resource which assists the young members of the Tchaman speech community to acquire knowledge about their language and culture, practice it and thus contribute to the revitalization of the Atchan language. This subchapter presents the design of the macro- and microstructure we want to propose for the compilation of the ethnographic onomasiological dictionary of Atchan. Chapter 4.2.1 deals with the presentation of the conceptual structure of the dictionary and Chapter 4.2.2 focusses on the data distribution structure. At the end, Chapter 4.2.3 presents concrete examples of the dictionary entries according to the microstructure design proposed.

4.2.1 Design of the macrostructure of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary

This subchapter introduces the prototype of the macrostructure we propose for the French-Atchan Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary. It is important to emphasize that the concepts included in the hierarchical tree are cultural themes collected from the informants' responses to the survey and the readings. The following is a hierarchical tree representing the conceptual ordering which serves as proposal for the macrostructure of the dictionary. The concept "ceremony" is taken as example.



Taprognan: Warrior

Taprognan bi: Warrior dance

Fatchué: Initiation ceremony

Sida: N/A (There is no

translation equivalent for

this typical Atchan term.)

N'sè bi: Men dance

N'miè mi: Women dance

Figure 12: Macrostructure design proposal

The design illustrated in Figure 12 is a partial representation of one of the concept systems of the dictionary that suffices to illustrate our macrostructure design proposal. It is important to emphasize that (i) unfortunately the nature and extent of the corpus we had at our disposal did not allow for neither a complete concept hierarchy nor for the extraction of all the terms nor a representative list of terms designating the concepts identified; (ii) the hierarchy proposed is *an* attempt at approximation, *one* among other possible ways of representing knowledge. This proposal constitutes our perception of the relation between the concepts based on the material available. On the first level, we have the superordinate concept, followed by the subconcepts on the second level. The subdivision of each subconcept is a subclassification into different categories, here the different types of tribal rituals we identified. Each category represents Tchaman cultural concepts we collected during our research. On the last level of the hierarchy, we can see terms used to designate and/or refer to the Tchaman concepts classified above. These terms are the lemmas to be included in the macrostructure of the dictionary. They consist of the word i.e. term list of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary. The prototype of the microstructure proposed for the treatment of the terms is presented below.

4.2.2 Design of the microstructure of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary

The satisfaction of the users' needs and the fulfilment of the dictionary's functions can be achieved by way of a well-defined microstructure model. In fact, the article structure and the data distribution determine the types of data categories to be represented, as well as the way they appear in the structure. When all these elements are combined, this leads to systematicity on the part of the user. That is, users can become familiar with the dictionary system and can therefore easily identify the type of information they can find when consulting the dictionary and where to find it. Our microstructure model is solidly grounded in the ethnographic nature of the dictionary that is considered a means of bringing community members closer to the endangered language in question via the Tchaman culture with its customs and habits. The following is a representation of the structure we propose for the data distribution and the writing of entries of French-Atchan Ethnographical Onomasiological Dictionary.

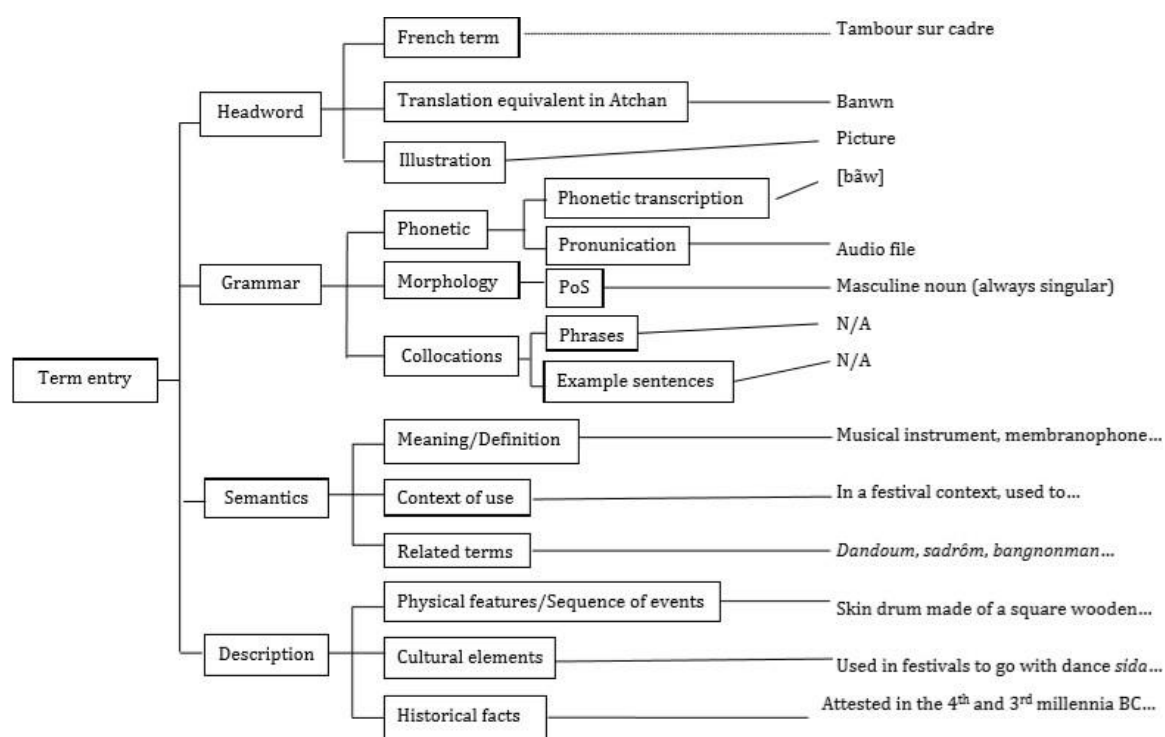


Figure 13: Microstructure design proposal

As can be seen in Figure 13, for the data category collocations, we have the tag “N/A”. This means that – to our knowledge - there is no collocations applicable for this term. Figure 13 stands for the

general prototype of microstructure proposed in the work, and, the following is a presentation of the application of this microstructure applied to concrete term entries.

4.3 Examples of entries

This last chapter provides an overview⁶⁹ of what the term entries of the dictionary should look like following the microstructure design proposed in the current work. We aim to provide an overview of the specific position of each data type included in the entries. *Djidji ayôkwé*, *attiéké* and *Fatchué* are the terms chosen to illustrate the term entries of the FR-AT Ethnographic Onomasiological Dictionary. These terms stand respectively for a musical instrument, a culinary speciality, and a ceremony. These terms were selected to demonstrate the diversity of the content in term entries designating different concepts. The information presented in the entries 1 and 3 is taken from the ethnographic publication *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire* of Konin Aka.

1. ⁷⁰Tambour-de-bois: *Djidji ayôkwé* [ɖɖi ajokwé]⁷¹



Nom composé masculin [uniquement singulier]

Définition : Tambour de bois faisant partie des instruments musicaux de l'art musical des Ebriés, particulièrement de la famille des idiophones [...]

Contexte: Ce terme est utilisé dans un contexte de guerre. Autrefois, après une victoire, les armes enlevées et les trophées des ennemis tués étaient placés à l'intérieur ou à proximité du hangar qui abritait le tambour. [...]

Termes associés : [djidji bi](#), [donga](#), [banwn](#), [ayokwé-enté](#)⁷²

Description: **(physique)** Tambour à fente polychrome (noir, blanc, rouge, pigments naturels) à deux lèvres (bords) d'épaisseur inégale. [...] Les lèvres s'étendent sur des longueurs d'arc inégales de part et

⁶⁹ The examples presented here are not complete entries. The examples contain the main data categories.

⁷⁰ Aka, Konin. (2010). *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire*. pp. 15-18.

⁷¹ This icon stands for the audio file of the pronunciation.

⁷² The italic type and different coloured writing indicate that the term entries can be accessed by clicking on the hyperlink.

d'autre de la fente [...] **(social)** Ce tambour était utilisé comme moyen de communication pour la transmission de messages à caractère linguistique grâce aux sons variés qu'il pouvait émettre. C'était un appareil de signalisation destiné à transmettre des indications ou des ordres à caractère politique ou économique. [...] Le tambourinaire chargé de le garder et de l'exécuter portait le nom d' [ayokwé-enté](#).

(historique) Pendant la période coloniale, le tambour servait de moyen d'organisation et de résistance aux populations Tchaman. À chaque opération, les Bidjan (les originaires d'Abidjan) informés et unis sous un seul commandement pour défendre le village attaqué, tenaient tête aux troupes de répression coloniale.

2. Attiéké : áyi [ayi] 🔊



Nom commun [uniquement singulier]

Collocations :

- 1) áyi + phé lí (vendre de l'attiéké), mɛn phé áyi lí (je vends de l'attiéké)
- 2) áyi phé (acheter de l'attiéké), mɛn phé áyi (j'achète de l'attiéké)
- 3) áyi lí (manger de l'attiéké), mɛn lí áyi (je mange de l'attiéké)

Définition : Spécialité culinaire des Ebriés, ainsi que d'autres ethnies du cercle lagunaire

Contexte : Ce terme est utilisé non seulement par la population ivoirienne, mais aussi par des personnes provenant de divers pays de la sous-région ou du monde, dans un contexte culinaire, gastronomique.

Termes associés : [n'bédé](#), [áyité](#), [agbodjama](#)

Description : **(caractères physiques)** L'attiéké est réalisée avec le manioc. Le manioc est mis à fermenter dans l'eau pendant des jours, séché au soleil, broyé,

essoré, séché et vanné puis mis à cuire à la vapeur. [...] Il a une texture plus légère que le couscous de blé et un goût très légèrement acide.

(éléments culturels) L'attiéké est un plat qui fait de plus en plus partie des habitudes alimentaires des populations de l'Afrique occidentale et centrale. Il remplace avantageusement le riz et les pâtes. Il se mange traditionnellement en accompagnement de viande ou de poisson, souvent avec une sauce (claire ou graine) dans la partie sud de la Côte d'Ivoire. **(faits historiques)** A l'origine (et parfois encore aujourd'hui), les femmes Ébriés ne confectionnent pas de la même manière l'attiéké qu'elles vendent avec celui qui est consommé par leur propre ménage. [...] Ce sont ensuite les transporteurs bambaras qui ont propagé ce mot le faisant passer à 'atchèké', puis le colons (certainement pour motif d'esthétisme à l'écriture) écrivit 'attiéké'. [...] Au fil du temps, ce sont développés plusieurs variantes d'attiéké: l'[abgodjama](#), l'attiéké petit grain ([áyité](#)), l'attiéké de garba.

3. ⁷³Fête de génération : *Fatchué*, ou *Afatchué*[fatchué] 🔊



Nom commun masculin (uniquement singulier)

Définition : Cérémonie initiatique qui marque le passage d'une étape à une autre dans la vie des jeunes filles et garçons des classes d'âge qui composent une génération. [...]

Contexte : Réalisée une fois par an, elle s'inscrit dans un cadre socio-politique dans la société

Tchaman. [...] *Termes associés* : [taprognan](#), [Blessoué](#), [Gnando](#), [Dougbo](#), [Tchagba](#) *Description* :

(déroulement) Elle se fait en trois étapes : les préparatifs, la sortie des guerriers, le lendemain de la fête. Pendant les préparatifs, [...] **(culturelle)** Fatchué représente la préparation à la vie et à l'organisation politique dans un village donné. [...] C'est aussi une cérémonie qui attire beaucoup de monde, au sein, tout comme hors de la communauté linguistique Tchaman [...]

(faits historiques) Vieille de plus de trois cent ans, de façon traditionnelle, cette cérémonie relate la

⁷³ Aka, Konin. (2010). *Aspects de l'art musical des Tchaman de Côte d'Ivoire*. pp. 42-46. Ahoua, Mobio Aristide. (2017). Fête de génération.

commémoration des guerres du pays Atchan contre leurs ennemis, [...] Lors de la migration, [...]

As can be seen from the above entries, the microstructure of the FR-AT Dictionary entries is modelled to include the French term and the respective Atchan equivalent, followed by the phonetic transcription and the audio file containing the pronunciation. Information on gender and number is also provided. In some cases, collocational information will also be included. A careful analysis of the collocations section of the entry *Attieké* provides the user with valuable information on morpho-syntactic features of Atchan. Illustrations are very useful as a means of complementing the definition of the concept, a technique also used in some learner dictionaries. Given that the FR-AT Dictionary is an online lexicographic resource, the entries for *Attieké* and *Fatchué* should be enriched with videos on how to prepare this culinary speciality and on the preparation for and the actual initiation ritual respectively. Users can access entries of related terms that designate concepts in the same concept system. The ethnographic information is contained in the data category 'Description'. Depending on the concept in question, this section includes detailed information regarding physical description, preparation, phases, cultural and historical facts, etc.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

The master's thesis entitled "Planning an Onomasiological Dictionary for Atchan - An Endangered Language of the Ivory Coast" consists of a research project in line with guidelines for endangered languages revitalization. The project intends to demonstrate that lexicography can play a significant role in promoting the preservation of endangered languages and cultures, in this case the preservation of the Atchan and Tchaman culture. One of the main challenges of this thesis consisted in defining the type of dictionary and the specific design criteria that best suit the above goal. Dictionary design means here a design of the macro- and microstructure to be applied to the dictionary proposal. To perform a well-structured research, the work was divided into two main parts: a theoretical and a practical part. The theoretical part dealt with the presentation of the Atchan language as threatened language on the one hand and discussed the threat level of the language according to UNESCO's assessment criteria on the other. In fact, the second chapter, "Threat level of the Atchan language according to UNESCO's criteria", consists of an analysis of the threat level of Atchan resorting to two tools, namely a questionnaire and UNESCO's criteria to assess whether a language is vital or endangered. The practical part discussed the preparation phase of the dictionary and encompasses the presentation of the design of the macro- and microstructure. Hence, an important question to be addressed was to what extent an onomasiological dictionary can protect the Atchan language from extinction. Following from this, five other aspects needed to be considered: profile of dictionary users and use situations, which concepts should be included in the dictionary, how are these concepts going to be collected, which information should be included in the entries and how should the information be presented. The questionnaire played an important role because it helped us to answer these questions. In fact, the responses of the participants demonstrated that (i) more than half of the Tchaman people use the language on a daily basis, in an informal context, especially in the family, (ii) the younger members of the Tchaman community possess less competences in Atchan than older members, (iii) the young informants possess better French skills than Atchan, (iv) 68,8% of the young informants were not able to name cultural themes apart from those mentioned in the questionnaire, (v) 79,3% of the participants do not use any material in Atchan and they supposedly don't know of such materials, (vi) 98% of the participants are willing to contribute to the preservation of the Atchan language and Tchaman culture. This does not explicitly indicate that an onomasiological dictionary is more suitable than a general one, but we clearly see that there is a lack of knowledge about the culture from the part of the young

informants. Besides, taken with the nine UNESCO's criteria, the results from the questionnaire provided us with authentic data to be able to assess to what extent the Atchan language is endangered and to confirm the assumptions that we made at the beginning of the work:

(i) an onomasiological dictionary is a suitable and effective way to protect the Atchan language and the Tchaman culture from extinction and (ii) the appropriate information to be included are topics about the daily life of the Tchaman people and their culture. With regard to the entries, the survey ensured a better profiling of the users and the identification of their needs. The results of the survey demonstrate that the younger informants can understand Atchan (only 5,2% of the respondents from the age group 15-34 have no listening skills), but can barely read, speak, and write it. Thus, they could consult the dictionary for translation needs (from French to Atchan), text reception and production, retrieval of cultural information on an Atchan term. Considering this fact, we established a design for the microstructure which includes information on the language, cultural-specific and encyclopaedic data.

The macro- and microstructural model proposed in this thesis will greatly benefit from an immersive experience within the Tchaman community with the aim of collecting linguistic, socio-cultural and ethnographic material in different recording formats to be included in the FR-AT electronic dictionary. A high degree of participation of the community members in the conception and production of the dictionary will, in our view, contribute to strengthen the identification of the members with Atchan and Tchaman cultural values. This, in turn, will contribute to the revitalization of the Atchan language. Thus, the electronic medium plays an important role here. It will ensure an easy exchange between the users and the dictionary makers and will allow the latter to assess if the dictionary is being consulted, which information is being consulted and in which situations. The importance of the cooperation with the speech community is also discussed by Mosel (2004: 2), when she states that a dictionary compiled in close cooperation with the speech community "should serve the needs and interests of both the speech community and the academic community".

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: The questionnaire

18/12/2019

General information

General information

This questionnaire was compiled for a survey which will be used to gather information on the Atchan language and culture, the language proficiency of the speech community and their use and knowledge of the Atchan culture. The information collected will be anonymous and will be used in an academic context, for the writing of a Master thesis.

*Obligatoire

1. Which Tchaman tribe are you from?

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Kwé (Akandjé, Santé, Akwagban, Abata, Anono, M'pouto, M'badon, Akouédo, Aghien, Akwadjamé, Agbadou, Brégbo, Anan)
- ☐ Bidjan (Cocody, Adjamé, Santé, Agban, Anoumabo, Atécoubé, Locodjro)
- ☐ Yopougou (Yopougou-Kouté, Yopougou-Santé, Yopougou-Azito, Yopougou-Béyago)
- ☐ Nonkoua (Anonkoua-Kouté, Anonkouagon, Agbogodoumé, Anonkouaté/Biockhaus, Élokaté, Élokato, Abiaté)
- ☐ Songon (Songon-Agban, Songon-Dagbé, Songon-M'braté, Songon-Té, Songon-Kassembé)
- ☐ Bobo (Abobo-Té, Abobo-Baoulé)
- ☐ Diapo (Adiapoto 1, Adiapoto 2, Godoumé, Adiapoté, Adiapodoumé)
- ☐ Bia (Abia Koumasré (Ancien-Koumassi), Nabo (Petit-Bassam), Abé)
- ☐ Niangon (Niangon-Adjamé, Niangon-Santé, Niangon-Lokoa)
- ☐ Badjin (Abadjin-Kouté, Abadjin-Bimbresso, Abadjin-Doumé)

2. Age bracket *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ 05-10 ☐ 11-14
- ☐ 15-17 ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-49
- ☐ 50-64 ☐ 65-70
- ☐ 70-80 ☐ 81-90
- ☐ 90 et plus

3. Gender *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Language proficiency in Atchan

How would you assess your Atchan language skills?

4. Oral comprehension *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Uncomplicated sentences
- ☐ Simple conversations
- ☐ Simple academic topics

5. Speaking ability •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Simple, short phrases
- ☐ Basic grammatical structure, limited vocabulary
- ☐ Participate in conversational topics
- ☐ Wide range of conversational situations

6. Reading Ability •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Limited to simple vocabulary and sentence structure
- ☐ Understand conventional topics and non-technical subjects
- ☐ Understand materials which contain idioms and specialised terminology
- ☐ Understand sophisticated materials, including those in proposed field of study

7. Writing ability •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ With some errors in spelling and structure
- ☐ Write on academic topics with few errors in structure and spelling
- ☐ Write with idiomatic ease of expression and feeling for the style of the language

Language proficiency in French

How would you assess your French language skills?

8. Oral Comprehension •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Uncomplicated sentences
- ☐ Understand simple conversations
- ☐ Understand conversations on simple academic topics
- ☐ Understand sophisticated discussion of academic topics

9. **Speaking ability** •

General information

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Able to complete structurally simple short phrases
- ☐ Use basic grammatical structure, speaking with limited vocabulary
- ☐ Adequate to participate in conversational topics
- ☐ Can handle a wide range of conversational situations

10. **Reading Ability** •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Limited to simple vocabulary and sentence structure
- ☐ Understand conventional topics and non-technical subjects
- ☐ Understand materials which contain idioms and specialised terminology
- ☐ Understand sophisticated materials, including those in proposed field of study

11. **Writing Ability** *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ None
- ☐ Write simple sentences on conventional topics
- ☐ With some errors in sentence structure
- ☐ Write with idiomatic ease of expression and feeling for the style of the language

Use and knowledge of Atchan

How often and with whom do you speak Atchan? Do you know the Atchan culture and tradition?

12. **How often do you use the Atchan language?** •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Never ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes ☐
- Frequently ☐ Always

13. **With whom?**

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- ☐ Family
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Neither family nor friends

14. In which domain?

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- ☐ Government
☒ Public offices
☒ Educational institutions (School, University)
☒ Traditional celebrations
☐ Religious celebrations
☒ Commerce (boutiques, marchés, magasins)
☒ Informal (Home, neighbourhood, street)

15. Do you take part in the following Atchan cultural activities? •

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- ☐ Fatchué
☐ Attiéké cooking process
☐ Rejoicing dances ☒
 Traditional wedding ☒ Autre :

16. Which other Atchan cultural activity do you know? •

17. Do you use any material (grammar books, reading books, orthography, stories, audio/video files, etc) available in Atchan ? •

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☒ Yes
☐ No

18. Can you name some?

19. In which situation do you use them?

20. Are you willing to defend the preservation of the Atchan culture and language? *

Une seule réponse possible.

General information

☐ Yes

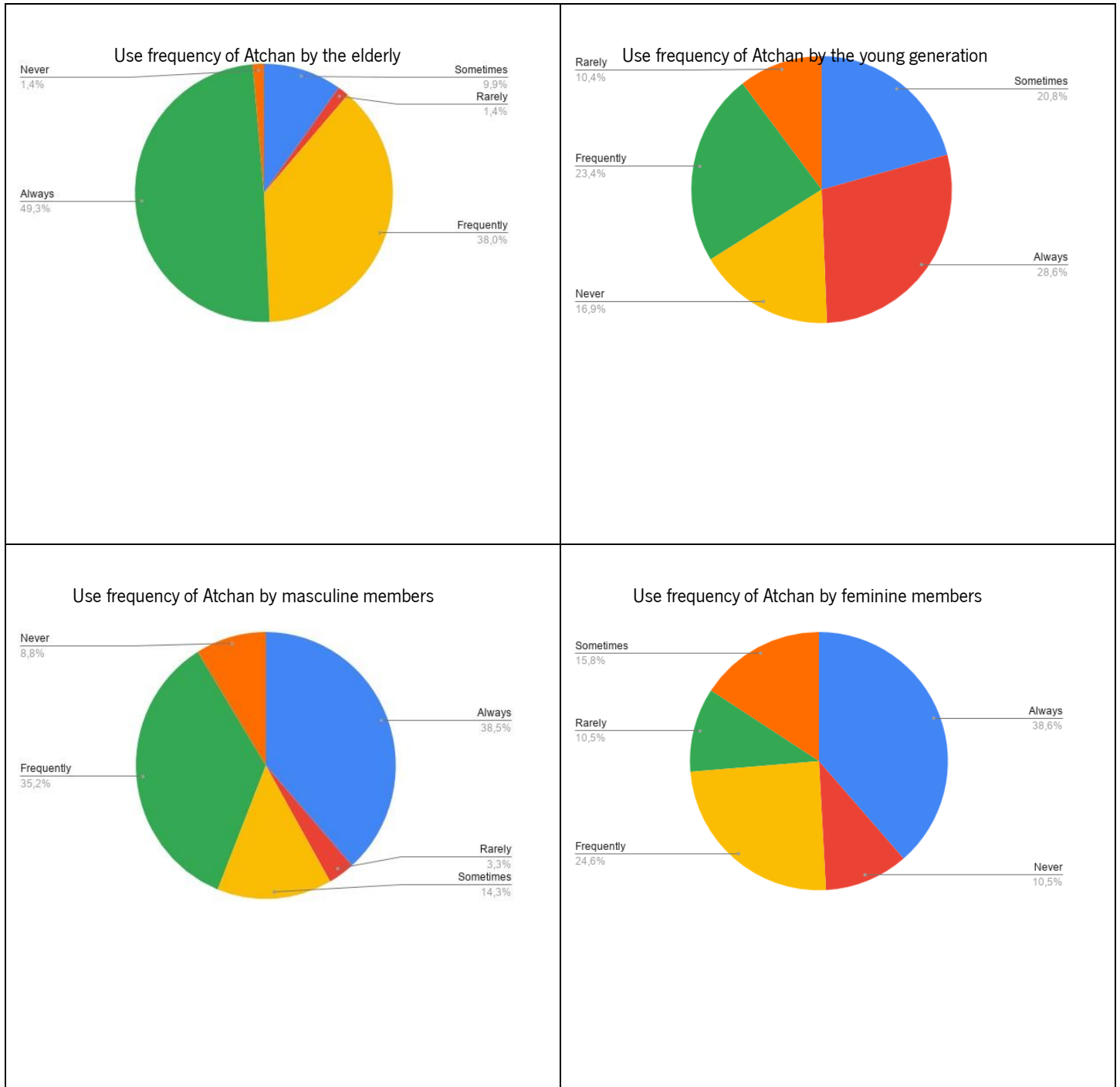
☐ No

21. If yes, why?

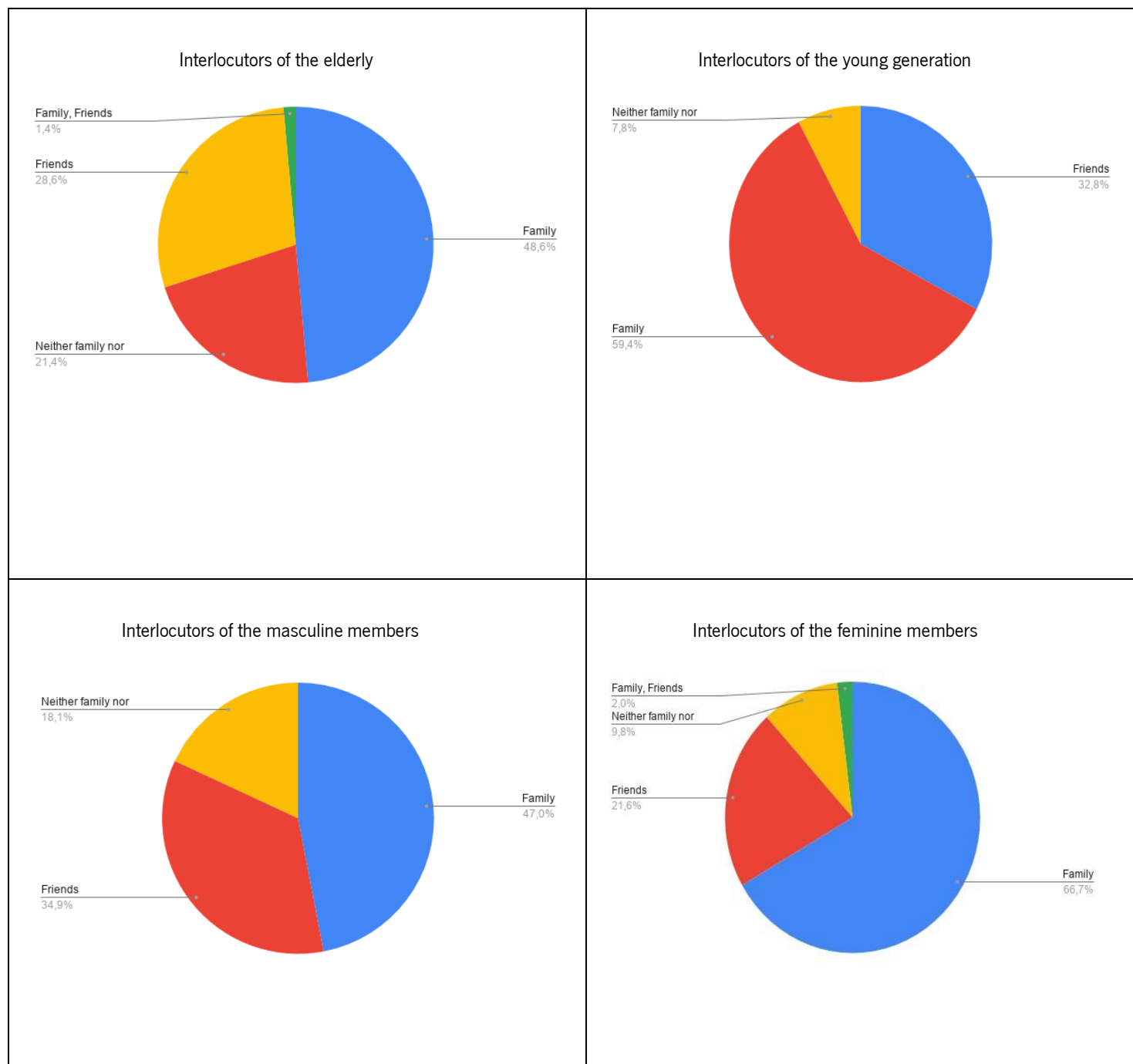
22. If not, why?

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 Google Forms

Annex 2: Correlation between the variables 'age group', 'gender' and 'frequency of use of the Atchan language'

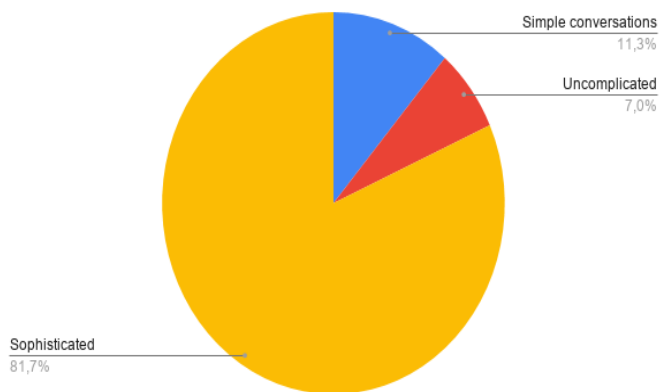


Annex 3: Correlation between the variables 'age', 'gender' and 'interlocutors'

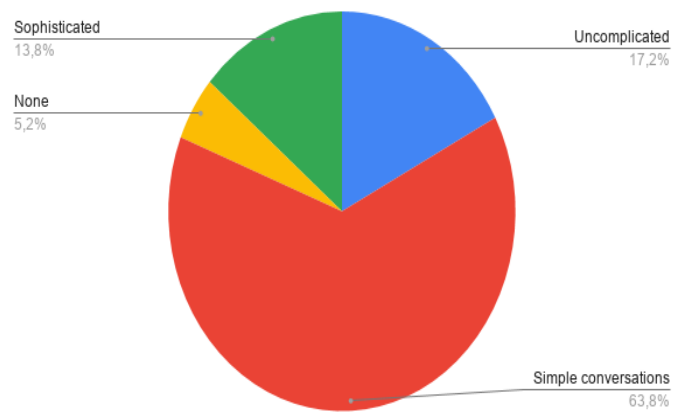


Annex 4: Correlation between the variables 'age' and 'language competencies in Atchan'

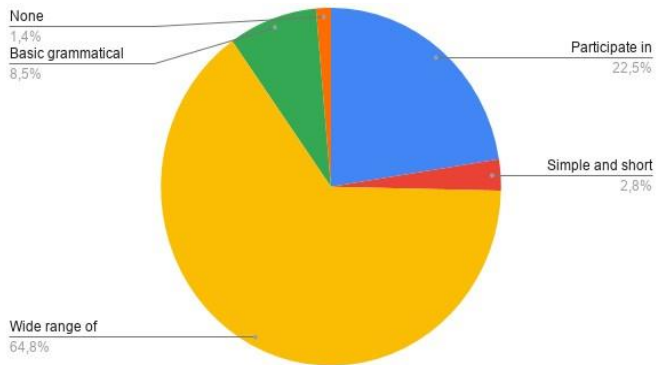
Listening skills in Atchan by the elderly



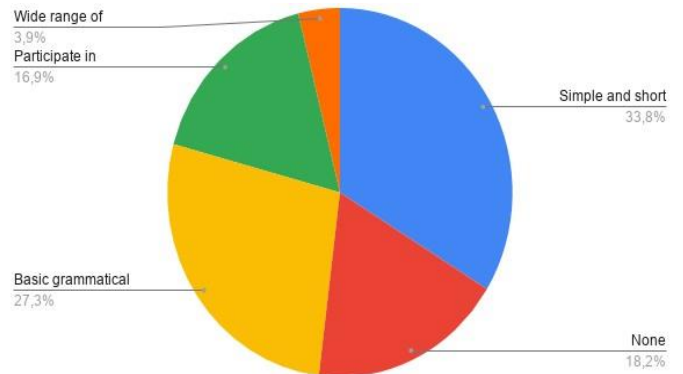
Listening skills in Atchan by the age group 15-34



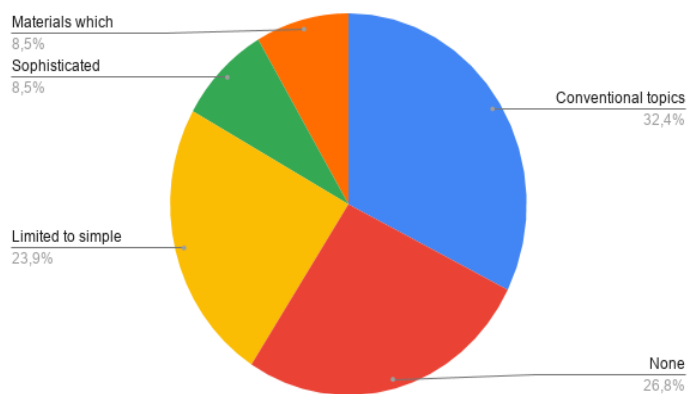
Speaking skills in Atchan by the elderly



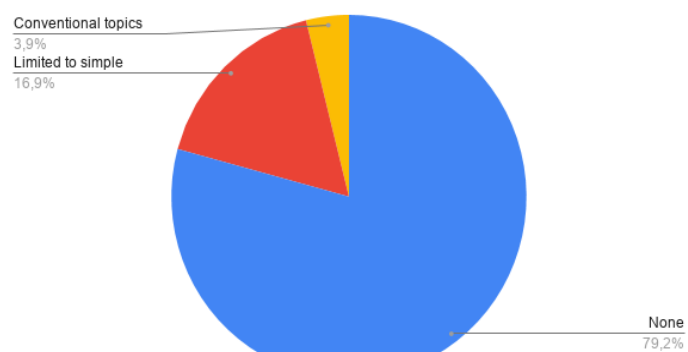
Speaking skills in Atchan by the age group 15-34



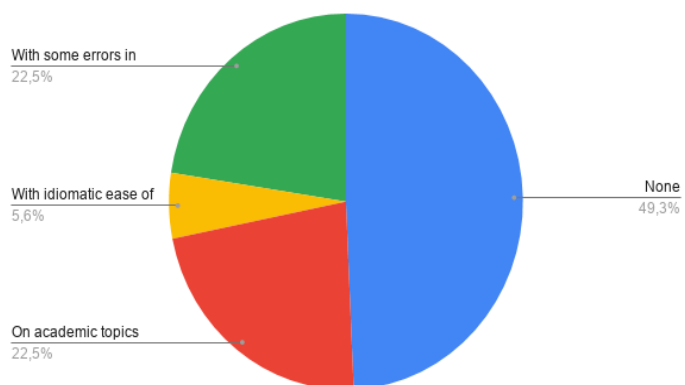
Reading skills in Atchan by the elderly



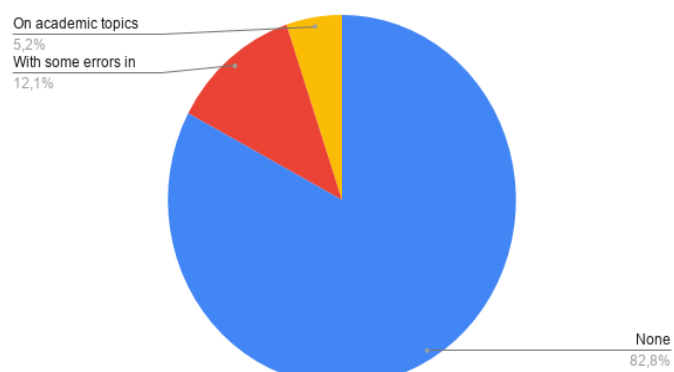
Reading skills in Atchan by the age group 15-34



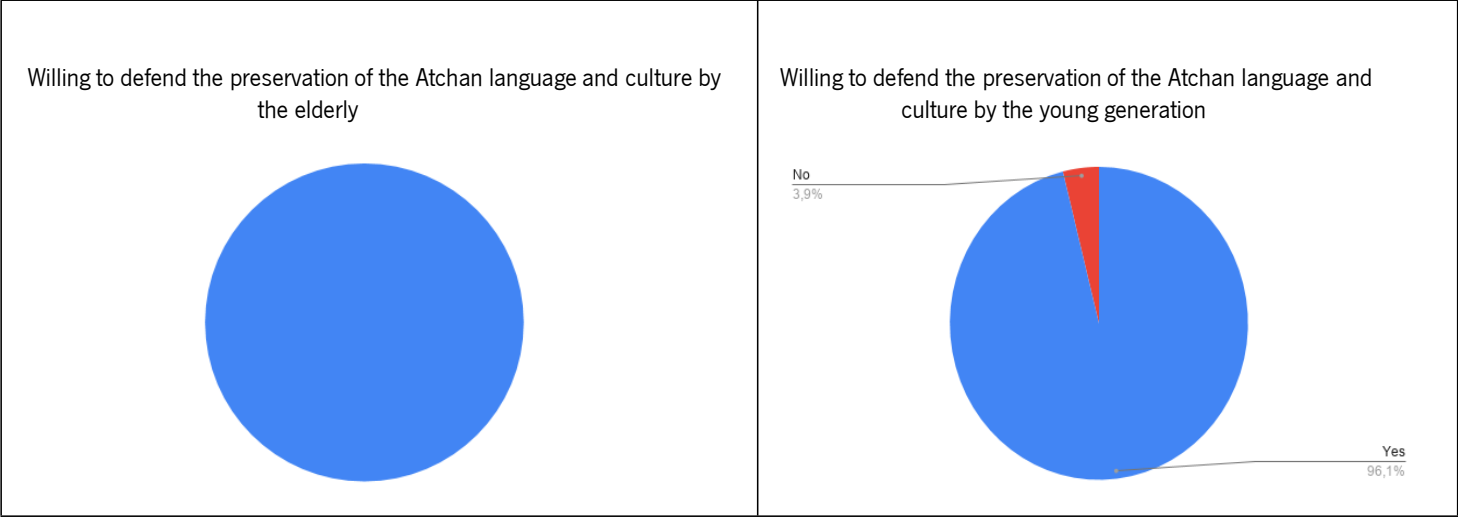
Writing skills in Atchan by the elderly



Writing skills in Atchan by the age group 15-34

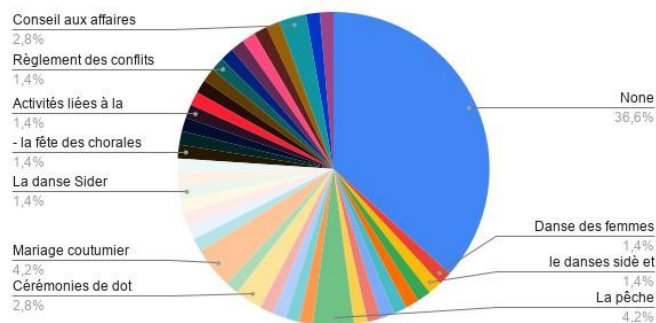


Annex 5: Correlation between the variables ‘age’ and ‘language attitudes towards the Atchan language’



Annex 6: Correlation between the variables 'age' and 'knowledge about the Tchaman culture'

Knowledge about other Tchaman cultural activities by the elderly



Knowledge about other Tchaman cultural activities by the young generation

