

**UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID**  
**FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA**



**TESIS DOCTORAL**

**Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication among  
Congolose people**

Alternancia de lenguas en la comunicación mediada por  
ordenador entre las personas del Congo

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

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Madrid  
Ed. electrónica 2019

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID  
Facultad de Filología  
Programa de Doctorado en Lingüística Inglesa

IMP



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Tesis presentada para optar al Grado de Doctor  
presentada por

**Jean Mathieu TSOUMOU**

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AÑO 2018

## DEDICATIONS

*This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to the memories of my mother **Evelyne Mampiémé** and my father **Nestor Tsoumou**. Your loss was brutally inconceivable, naturally devastating, fatally heartbreaking, and gravely tragic. You both made the greatest caring parents that ever lived. I will always remember you and do whatever right to honour your names.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to both of my advisors, Professors **C. MAÍZ ARÉVALO** and **N. CALVO CORTÉS**. You have both been substantial mentors to me. You have been supportive, patient, encouraging and, more importantly, your interest in this project as well as your valuable comments and corrections while advising and directing me have been everything I could have asked for to complete this thesis. It was such an honour working under your supervision. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

My deeper thanks to Dr. **A. Gracia Gómez** and Dr. **Carlos de Pablos Ortega** for accepting to proofread this thesis. Your comments and suggestions were outstanding, insightful and gave a good shape to the final version of this dissertation. I am enormously grateful.

To **Raymond Size Echitchi** for your attentive and insightful critique of this thesis while yourself a PhD student with your own ongoing project in hand. Your advice on both research and my career, as well as your scarce and valuable time dedicated to my project, were invaluable. I am appreciative.

I am grateful to Brazzanews, BrazzaParisinfos, Brazzavilleinfos242, Diaspoinvestigation, Sadio-Kante Morel, ZianaTv management whose Facebook pages I used to collect data for my Ph.D. thesis. This research was partially funded by OGES - Congolese government, and I thank OGES management for support and assistance.

I would also like deeply to thank **Nestor Mouho** who has almost replaced my biological father. You have always been in my corner both during joyful and desperate moments. Also, thanks to my nephew **Sadj F. Ngoubili** for providing financial support every time I needed it.

Finally, special thanks to my brothers **N. Kimono Tsoumou**, **L. Tsoumou Madzou**, **A. Tsoumou**, and my only sister **Lucie** for your unconditional love. Thank you for enduring my absence with understanding, and for the sacrifices you have made on my behalf.

## **DISCLAIMER**

All the translations in this dissertation is true and complete to the best of our knowledge. I assume full responsibility and warrant the accuracy of the content of the information hereby presented.

Both the supervisors assume no responsibility nor liability for any errors or omission in the content.

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## **RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL**

El cambio de código o alternancia de lenguas (Codeswitching), el préstamo, la transferencia cultural y lingüística, la convergencia y el calco lingüístico, generalmente conocidos como fenómenos lingüísticos, son los resultados inherentes del contacto de lenguas. Según los datos, estos fenómenos se producen tanto en la comunicación presencial (o frente a frente) como en la comunicación online (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Poplack, 2001; Gumperz 1961; 1982a; Myers-Scotton 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 2006; Cardenas-Chloros 2009; Bullock & Toribio 2009). Por ello, el presente estudio se centra en el análisis de algunos de estos resultados en un contexto muy específico de la comunicación online (o comunicación mediada por ordenador; CMC en inglés), que es la comunicación mediante la red social Facebook. A pesar de todos los intentos de investigar lenguas en la comunicación online, existe un gran número de idiomas que sigue estando insuficientemente investigado en el contexto de la comunicación mediada por ordenador. En el caso particular del Congo-Brazzaville, no se ha llevado a cabo hasta la fecha ningún intento de investigar la naturaleza de la incidencia que la CMC está teniendo en los usos lingüísticos, aunque la comunicación online en estas lenguas es diaria. La presente tesis tiene la intención de corregir este desequilibrio mediante el análisis del cambio de código (o alternancia de lenguas) en la comunicación online en Congo-Brazzaville.

Según los datos, en 2017 el número de usuarios activos de internet es de 400.000 personas son usuarios activos de Internet en la actualidad, y unos sesenta idiomas se hablan dentro de las fronteras nacionales. Por ello, el estudio del cambio de código entre los usuarios de Facebook en Congo es obviamente importante no sólo para investigar el fenómeno como tal, sino también para proveer datos sobre el impacto de CMC (sobre todo Facebook) sobre los idiomas en Congo-Brazzaville. Así pues, el objetivo del presente estudio es doble: (1) evaluar los diferentes idiomas involucrados en el discurso en Facebook de los congoleños y (2) examinar

las motivaciones sociolingüísticas del cambio de código, así como la estructura sintáctica en la que se produce.

En concreto, las cuestiones de investigación que el estudio intenta responder son:

1. ¿Los usuarios de Facebook congolese cambian de código mientras interactúan en Facebook?
2. ¿Por qué los usuarios de Facebook congolese cambian de código en este sitio de redes sociales? En otras palabras, ¿cuáles son las funciones pragmáticas del cambio de código (al que nos referiremos como CS de ahora en adelante)?
3. ¿Cuál es la relación entre los diferentes códigos empleados en las actualizaciones y los respectivos comentarios en Facebook?
4. ¿Cuántos idiomas hay involucrados en CS en Facebook de los usuarios congoleños?

La tesis está organizada en ocho capítulos diferentes. El capítulo uno se dedicará a la introducción. El segundo capítulo presentará la revisión de la literatura que investiga el cambio de código.

El tercer capítulo explorará profundamente la comunicación online centrándose en Facebook mientras que el capítulo cuarto se centrará más concretamente en la descripción de las prácticas lingüísticas en Congo-Brazzaville. El capítulo cinco presentará los marcos teóricos. El capítulo seis describirá la metodología. La primera fase de la metodología fue seleccionar arbitrariamente una muestra de 262 publicaciones en Facebook hechas por los congoleños, así como los distintos comentarios que siguen estas publicaciones. La única limitación fue el tema, ya que se han considerado solamente aquellas publicaciones que tratan de las cuestiones políticas nacionales. A continuación, estos datos serán copiados de Internet y pegados en un archivo .doc, llevándose a cabo la traducción al inglés de aquellos que no estén en dicho idioma. Por último, se especificará el contexto de su producción antes de comenzar el análisis

propiamente dicho. El capítulo siete analizará y discutirá en profundidad los datos del estudio. Por último, el capítulo ocho ofrecerá las conclusiones finales de la investigación.

Los hallazgos sugieren que los usuarios de Facebook en Congo pueden alternar idiomas con la intención de expresar sentimientos personales (o internos) como molestia, asombro, enojo, frustración, etc. Además, la alternancia de idiomas demuestra ser una estrategia comunicativa efectiva adoptada por los usuarios de Facebook como una señal de adaptación del habla. Un usuario puede cambiar de idioma porque encaja y ajusta su discurso al anterior publicado por otro usuario. Esto verifica la segunda hipótesis, que los casos de CS en los comentarios de Facebook entre las personas congoleñas dependen de la CS en las actualizaciones de Facebook en las que aparecen, ya que la mayoría de las interacciones muestran ejemplos de divergencia y convergencia.

Se realizó una evaluación de los idiomas involucrados con la intención de responder la cuarta pregunta de esta investigación: cuántos idiomas están realmente involucrados en las instancias de alternancia de idiomas en Facebook. Los hallazgos revelaron al menos cuatro grupos de lenguas, incluyendo francés, inglés, lingala y kituba, y varios idiomas étnicos.

Si bien el uso del francés como el idioma no marcado no planteó ninguna pregunta, los idiomas marcados utilizados junto con el francés fueron todos cuestionados. De hecho, los hallazgos revelaron que probablemente se haya adoptado el inglés para satisfacer los deseos y las necesidades de alertar a los poderosos estados y comunidades angloparlantes sobre las crisis políticas que se producen o están a punto de ocurrir en el país. En lo que respecta a kituba, lingala y las lenguas étnicas, su uso parece estar relacionado con una expresión de solidaridad con otros usuarios de Facebook. En relación a esto, como un componente sustancial de la cultura, los idiomas a disposición de los usuarios congoleños de Facebook sirven como un medio vital para renegociar su identidad fuera de línea y sus características culturales. La

segunda hipótesis del estudio, que el uso del lenguaje en Facebook refleja su comunicación fuera de línea, fue luego verificada.

Además, las ocurrencias de lenguas en análisis se encontraron variables. Además del francés, el lenguaje marcado utilizado resultó ser Lingala, tanto en las actualizaciones de Facebook como en los hilos de comentarios. Mientras que el inglés ocupó el segundo puesto en las actualizaciones de Facebook analizadas, ocupó el tercer lugar en el comentario, justo después de los idiomas étnicos. Kituba, por otro lado, es el lenguaje marcado menos utilizado.

## **RESUMEN EN INGLES**

Language research in Computer-mediated communication (hereafter CMC) is a relatively new and dynamically evolving field (Herring et al. 2013). Unlike offline (or face-to-face) communication, CMC is, according to Herring (1996), a communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers or other devices (e.g. Smartphones, tablets, etc.) that allow users to connect to the Internet. CMC implies the use of the Web 2.0 as a medium of communication. Understood as an umbrella term covering different phenomena – e.g. social networking communication, netspeak and so on – CMC includes different channels such as instant messaging, email, chatrooms, online forums, social networking services, and so on.

CMC is characterised by two fundamental and opposing modes (Crystal 2001, 2003). The synchronous mode (or real-time conversation) takes place as all participants (senders and receivers) are simultaneously online during text message exchange (i.e. chat rooms). The asynchronous mode, on the other hand, requires the messages to be stored in the addressees' inbox until they can be read (e.g. email). Nevertheless, Facebook, on which the present thesis is based, is a CMC channel that involves both synchronous and asynchronous modes (Pérez-Sabater 2012; Maíz-Arévalo 2015).

While the literature on CMC is fast-growing, much evidence from many other languages and cultures is still needed (Herring 2010; Thurlow & Puff 2013). Hundreds of languages notably used in CMC remain under-investigated around the world. In the particular case of Congo-Brazzaville, no attempt to investigate the nature of the impact which CMC is making on language(s) has been undertaken so far, though online materials have increasingly penetrated the country.

Furthermore, despite all the attempts to investigate the different phenomena of Facebook, there is still a lack of research on the extent to which Facebook affects or influences language use in

a multilingual context. In fact, attention paid to CS on Facebook has still been sparse and unfortunately, no investigation exists on this topic in Congo-Brazzaville, to the best of our knowledge. One plausible explanation might be that, decades before the advent of Facebook, CS was almost pervasive in face-to-face communication. This had led numerous scholars to investigate the phenomenon focusing on verbal language only, neglecting written interaction such as letter writing, diary writing, email, chat, forums, and so on (Huang 2009; Eldin 2014). The study of CS amongst Congolese Facebook users is needed not only to investigate the phenomenon as such but also to provide evidence of the impact of CMC (particularly Facebook) on languages in Congo-Brazzaville. Therefore, the aim of the present study is twofold; (1) to examine socio-psychological, sociolinguistic as well as interactional motives of CS, and (2) to evaluate the different languages involved in Congolese Facebook discourse.

More specifically, I intend to answer four main research questions.

1. Do Congolese Facebook users codeswitch while interacting on Facebook?
2. Why do Congolese Facebook users codeswitch on this social networking site? In other words, what are the pragmatic functions of CS?
3. What is the correlation between CS in *Facebook updates* and CS in *Facebook comments*?
4. How many languages are involved in CS on Congolese Facebook?

The findings of this study turn out to be consistent with what has previously been reported in studies undertaken by Siebenhaar (2006) and Androutsopoulos (2006). On the one hand, Siebenhaar (ibid: 21) was among other CMC pioneers in suggesting, while presenting the findings on the distribution of Swiss-German dialects and standard German in Swiss-German IRC rooms, that CMC influences language, not only its vocabulary but also the choice of the variety used, which is independent of the use of English. On the other hand, Androutsopoulos (2013: 428) indicates that English dominated the Internet landscape of the 1990s in terms both of the native language of estimated users and the language

of available websites, but more recent years have witnessed a rapid increase in linguistic diversity, with the majority of users and websites today using a language other than English. In the particular case of this study, the findings have suggested that French is not the only language used in CMC among Congolese people (especially on Facebook); multiple other languages are extensively used side by side. This collective use of languages may lead to assume that CMC among Congolese users is a multilingual exchange. This fact is consistent with Allothman & Alhakbani's (2012: 29) assertion that "an investigation into CMC among multilingual users of the Internet demonstrates that it constitutes an increasingly multilingual communicative environment".

The findings also confirm to some extent what has been suggested in the literature as to the ways in which the Internet may contribute to the maintenance of endangered and minority languages by providing a space for their documentation and literacy promotion (Crystal 2001, 2007; Androutsopoulos 2006, 2013). As such, Congolese ethnic languages, which have long been struggling for survival against discrimination, stereotypes and, more importantly, the lack of institutional management, and the overwhelming increase of French and the two locally-widespread lingua francas, might have found in the Internet (Facebook, in the present case) a free public space for their maintenance. This may be seen as a turning point in language choice where long-denigrated languages become an essential part of spontaneously produced communicative activities. The Internet, which is the medium of computer-mediated communication as Crystal argues, offers "minority and endangered languages a new opportunity for progress, in two respects; 1) it aids documentation because digital techniques allow the easy recording of ethnological material [...], and (2) it aids language revitalisation, by enabling speakers separated by distance to maintain virtual contact through email, chat and message [...] (2005:3)".

The study of language alternation on Facebook is important as it enables elucidation of basic principles and patterns of language use which operate as both a visible reflection of face-to-face communication and a new Congolese linguistic configuration. In this thesis, light has been shed on some of those principles and patterns in Facebook communication involving Congolese users. In fact, both linguistic and cultural features informing the backgrounds of Facebook users in a community have been thoroughly examined and discussed.



In addition to the scientific contributions, the present study has some valuable implications for national language policy and cultural awareness. The findings are of substantial importance in the ever-changing national language policy which has long prioritized only a few languages, namely French, Kituba and Lingala, while neglecting dozens of others. The use of all these languages on Facebook may be seen as an indication that every language is of valuable importance in the political discourse in Congo. On the other hand, the findings of the study may also be seen as a visible illustration of the fact that languages are valuable tools in shaping the cultural awareness of their speakers. This awareness is here manifested through the interest Congolese Facebook users devote not only to the national widespread lingua francas, but more importantly, to their ethnic languages. Facebook may thus be seen as a public space on which Congolese people freely build upon their cultural specificities as indicators of culture and language awareness restoration.

Finally, the present study has certainly contributed to addressing the issue related to the need of much evidence from cultures and languages other than English on CMC. As pointed out earlier, Herring (2010) along with Thurlow & Puff (2013) insist on the need of more evidence from other languages and cultures. In this regard, the present study may be seen as a partial response to this quest as it provides evidence of CS among Congolese Facebook users (see also Androutsopoulos 2009).

## **PSEUDONYMS**

In an effort to protect personal privacy the following names were used pseudonymously throughout this thesis as they refer to particular public figures.

1. JOHN
2. SMITH
3. SARAH
4. TOM
5. JERRY
6. JONSON
7. KANE
8. JIM
9. LUTHER
10. JACK
11. KURTIS
12. SEAN
13. MICHEAL
14. VINCE
16. RICHARDS
20. PETER
21. CHLOE
22. EDGAR

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

A80: An indicator of Bantu languages located in a geographical zone A according to Guthrie's (1971) language classification.

AU: African Union

B70: An indicator of Bantu languages located in a geographical zone B according to Guthrie's (1971) language classification

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BBS: Bulletin Board System

C20: An indicator of Bantu languages located in a geographical zone C, according to Guthrie's (1971) language classification

CA: Conversation Analysis

CAT: Communication Accommodation Theory

CAT: Communication accommodation theory

CCTV: China Central Television

CEMAC: Central African Economic and Monetary Community

CMC: Computer-Mediated Communication

CNN: Cable News Network

CS: Codeswitching

F2F: Face-to-Face

FROCAD-IDC: Congolese opposition platform

H: High

H10: An indicator of Bantu languages located in a geographical zone H, according to Guthrie's (1971) language classification

IRC: Internet Relay Chat

L: Low

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

L3: Third Language

LOL: Laugh Out Loud

NBC : National Broadcasting Company

PCT : Parti Congolais du Travail

R.C: Republic of Congo

RO: Right and Obligation

SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics

SMS: Short Message Service

SVO : Subject Verb Object

U : User

UE : European Union

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

WWW: World Wide Web

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>**

### **1.0. Chapter overview**

This Chapter is divided into four sections. Section one overviews the research topic and delimits the scope of the study. Section two states the problem of the study. The aims of the study as well as the research questions and hypotheses will be presented in section three. Finally, the thesis structure is explained in section four.

### **1.1. Overview of the research topic**

Most experts on language contact have long agreed that being able to interact in more than one language has consequences for linguistic productions in face-to-face communication as well as in its relatively recent online counterpart (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Poplack 1998, 2001; Gumperz 1961; 1982a, 1982b; Auer 1984a, 1984b, 1995, 1998; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b, 1997c, 2001, 2002, 2006; Cárdenas-Claros & Isharyanti 2009; Bullock & Toribio 2009; Gardner-Chloros 2009). Phenomena such as codeswitching, borrowing, cultural and linguistic transfer, loan translation, convergence, are actually considered inherent outcomes of language contact (Auer 1984a, 1998; Treffers-Daller 2009; Backus 2010). Codeswitching (CS), understood as the use of more than one language in a single sentence or discourse, is certainly the most highly discussed phenomenon of them all. As shown by previous studies, switching back and forth between two languages is far from easy since it entails not only minimum linguistic skills in both languages but also, by codeswitching, the speaker intends to convey a message which is by far different from which is literally conveyed (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Poplack 2001; Myers-Scotton 1998a, 1998b, 2006).

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<sup>1</sup> The original title, which is here kept for conformity reason as it matches the official title, was broader at the beginning of the process as it reads Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication among Congolese people. As the research progressed it developed to more specific areas -i.e. Codeswitching in computer-mediated communication among Congolese Facebook users.



Language research in Computer-mediated communication<sup>2</sup> (hereafter CMC) is a relatively new and dynamically evolving field (Herring et al. 2013). Unlike offline (or face-to-face) communication, CMC is, according to Herring (1996), a communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers or other devices (e.g. Smartphones, tablets, etc.) that allow users to connect to the Internet. CMC implies the use of the Web 2.0 as a medium of communication. Understood as an umbrella term covering different phenomena – e.g. social networking communication, netspeak and so on – CMC includes different channels such as instant messaging, email, chatrooms, online forums, social networking services, and so on.

Previous research has mostly analysed language in face-to-face interaction, but with social media being increasingly used every day, research has recently been interested in online interaction as well. However, hundreds of languages notably used in online communication remain under-investigated around the world, though attention has spread to the study of well-established multilinguals who codeswitch from one language to another.

CMC is characterised by two fundamental and opposing modes (Crystal 2001, 2003). The synchronous mode (or real-time conversation) takes place as all participants (senders and receivers) are simultaneously online during text message exchange (i.e. chat rooms). The asynchronous mode, on the other hand, requires the messages to be stored in the addressees' inbox until they can be read (e.g. email). Nevertheless, Facebook, on which the present thesis is based, is a CMC channel that involves both synchronous and asynchronous modes (Pérez-Sabater 2012; Maíz-Arévalo 2015).

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<sup>2</sup> CMC is not the only term used in online studies. Some researchers have made an attempt to call it digital discourse (Baron 2011; Thurlow and Mroczek (ed.) 2011). Others have referred to it as Internet-mediated communication (Yus 2011). However, the term CMC is adopted throughout the present thesis because it seems to be the term that is most commonly used in literature (Herring 1999 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2012; Herring et al. 2013, Androutsopoulos 2013).

## 1.2. Significance of the study

CMC is a new fast-growing field of research that has attracted serious attention from scholars over the past two decades. However, most of these research works seem to have focused on the two directions previously prescribed by Crystal (2001). On the one hand, some researchers have drawn most attention to investigating the linguistic properties of the so-called “electronic revolution”, which implies analysing whether the way in which people use languages on the Internet is becoming different from previous linguistic behaviour, and it might genuinely be described as a revolution. Based on the socio-psychological approach, a vast proportion of attempts in this line have intended to investigate structural features, such as acronyms, abbreviations, emojis that purposefully characterise CMC (Baron 1984; Herring 1999; Zhao et al. 2008; Yus 2011, Herring 2010; Herring et al. 2013). Different online interactional features, as opposed to their offline counterpart, have also been the subject matter of some studies (Barron 1984, 1998, 2002, 2010, 2013; Walther & Tidwell 1995; Walther 1996, 2002; Crystal 2001; Anderson et al. 2010; Ellison et al. 2007; Lorenzo-Dus & Bou-Franch 2013; Maíz-Arévalo 2013, 2015)<sup>3</sup>. It has actually been concluded that CMC is a hybrid mode of communication (neither similar to the oral nor to the written language) that emerges depending on the context of the interaction (Baron 1984; Herring 2001; Crystal 2001, 2003, 2006, 2010; Yus 2011; Bernicot et al. 2012; Witten 2014; Eisenstein 2015; Maíz-Arévalo 2018). However, a large proportion of this language research in CMC has had the English language as its subject matter (as the Internet first originated in English-speaking countries), generally ignoring other languages (Herring 2013; Maíz-Arévalo 2013).

Other researchers have, on the other hand, devoted most interest to investigating whether the Internet is emerging as a homogeneous linguistic medium, whether it is a collection of distinct

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<sup>3</sup> The references mentioned here are described in detail throughout the different chapters of the thesis.

dialects, reflecting the different backgrounds, needs, purposes and attitudes of its users, or whether it is an aggregation of trends and idiomatic usage which as yet defy classification (Crystal 2001, Herring 2002, 2007, 2012; Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007b, 2013; Anderson et al. 2010; Yus 2011; Herring & Dainas 2017). As such, the rapid diffusion of the Internet to other countries has pushed forward the subject matter toward investigating CMC as it is managed in multilingual environments. Herring (2013: 4) observes that “native-traditions of research into Computer-Mediated Communication have now become established in Germany, France, and the Nordic countries, and starting to emerge in Japan, China, Spain, Italy, and Greece”.

The emphasis that was formerly on the English language has shifted to multilingualism<sup>4</sup>. Such a shift in focus (from monolingual to multilingual speakers and practice) has led to the conclusion that CMC is truly an aggregation of different communities with different languages, needs, attitudes and purposes (Auer 1998; Yang 2007; Siebenhaar 2006, 2008; Androutsopoulos 2006, 2012; Anis 2007; Herring 2007; Compermolle 2008; Nishimura 2008; Golbarg 2009; Poon 2010; Huang 2009; Bou-Franch 2013; Eldin 2014).

Before moving forward, it is reasonable to point out that a vast majority of researchers prefer using the term *multilingualism* or *multilingual* in order to describe both bilingual and multilingual situations (Muysken 2000; Poplack 2001; Myers-Scotton 1992, 2002, 2006; Androutsopoulos 2012). The term *multilingual* is, therefore, adopted throughout the present thesis as an umbrella term to refer to the use two or more languages.

While the literature on CMC is fast-growing, much evidence from many other languages and cultures is still needed (Herring 2010; Thurlow & Puff 2013). As mentioned earlier, hundreds

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<sup>4</sup> While conducting research on people who use more than one language in conversation, I realized that a vast majority of researchers prefer to use the term “Multilingualism or Multilingual” (even where two languages are involved) in order to describe both bilingual and the multilingual situations (Muysken 2000; Poplack 1998, 2001; Myers-Scotton 2002, 2006). Following this, a deliberate choice was made to use “multilingual or multilingualism” as an umbrella term in the present study to describe both bilingual and multilingual situations.

of languages notably used in CMC remain under-investigated around the world. In the particular case of Congo-Brazzaville, no attempt to investigate the nature of the impact which CMC is making on language(s) has been undertaken so far, though online materials have increasingly penetrated the country.

According to *Internet live state*<sup>5</sup>, a website proving the usage of the Internet by country, the penetration rate of the Internet in Congo-Brazzaville is in constant growth as shown on the following table.

**Table 1: penetration rate of the Internet in Congo-Brazzaville from 2014 to 2017**

	Users	A total population	Percentage
2014	320,303	4.5 Billion	7.1%
2015	342,411	4.6 Billion	7.4%
2016	357,471	4.7 Billion	7.5%
2017	400,000	4.8 Billion	8.2 %

The usage of Facebook – the social networking website under investigation throughout this thesis – is in fact parallel to the Internet penetration rate with 400,000 users (8.2 % of the country’s population) in 2017.

The present thesis is then a ground-breaking and enthusiastic study. It intends to redress this imbalance by analysing CS in CMC in Congo-Brazzaville and hopes to fill the gap by providing evidence from a country where about sixty languages are spoken within the national borders.

As said before, Facebook is the social networking website under investigation throughout this thesis. It is one of the world’s most popular social networking websites that make it easy to

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users-by-country/> Retrieved on December 25<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

connect and share information online (Cf. Facebook Inc. 2016). It was developed by Mark Zuckerberg in 2004, a student at Harvard University at that time. By 2006 Facebook had grown from a private club at Harvard to a service open to everyone. Today, millions of people around the globe frequently communicate on Facebook. It has become a platform in which participants

have a uniquely identifiable profile that consists of user-supplied content, content provided by other users, and/or system-provided data; 2) can publicly articulate connections that can be viewed and traversed by others; and 3) can consume, produce, and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by their connections on the site (Ellison & Boyd 2013: 157).

### **1.3.Delimitation of the scope of research**

The phenomenon under study is codeswitching (hereafter CS) on Facebook. This social networking website is an increasingly substantial communicative means which is nowadays an intrinsic part of human beings' lives. Investigating human beings' activities on Facebook is a breakthrough in an attempt to gain an understanding of how people behave beyond their traditional face-to-face space. The study of language alternation on Facebook is remarkably important as it enables us to elucidate basic principles and patterns of language use which operate as a visible reflection of face-to-face communication. Shining a light on these principles and patterns is a fundamental step in a quest to understand both linguistic and cultural features surrounding the backgrounds of Facebook users in a community.

Facebook has inspired a considerable body of research. Scholars from a broad range of backgrounds (e.g. socio-psychological, (socio)pragmatic, sociolinguistic, etc.) have examined different aspects of the social networking site in order to understand the practices, implications, cultures, and meaning of the site as well as users' engagement within it (Boyd & Ellison 2007). More precisely, analysis of the sense of community in the relationship between participants on the social networking site has been of interest to many researchers (Boyd & Ellison 2007; Zhao & Martin 2008; Steinfield et al. 2008; Brandtzaeg & Nov 2011; Houghton & Johnson 2013;

Ellison, et al. 2013; Naeemi et al. 2014; Liu, et al. 2014; Ingvadotti 2014; Derakhshan & Hasamabbai 2015).

Other researchers have highlighted the effects of Facebook on language learning and classroom interaction, including positive or negative effects of Facebook on student-to-student and student-to-teacher relations (Blatter and Fiori 2009, 2011; Reinhardt 2011; Gafin & Dari 2012; Perez-Sabater 2012, 2014; Wand & Chen 2013; Petersen & Johnston 2015). In addition, some others have explored electronic discourse as opposed to its offline counterpart. Paralinguistic features and pragmatic rules underlying online interaction have also been scrutinized (Pérez-Sabater & Montero-Fleta 2014; Maíz-Arévalo 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2018). Finally, attempts have been made to investigate social capital among Facebook users and the way it might be related to psychological and social well-being (Steinfeld, et al. 2008; Valenzuela 2008; Zhao & Martin 2008; Hughes et al. 2012; Seidman 2013).

Despite all the attempts to investigate the different phenomena of Facebook, there is still a lack of research on the extent to which Facebook affects or influences language use in a multilingual context. In fact, attention paid to CS on Facebook has still been sparse and unfortunately, no investigation exists on this topic in Congo-Brazzaville, to the best of our knowledge. One plausible explanation might be that, decades before the advent of Facebook, CS was almost pervasive in face-to-face communication. This had led numerous scholars to investigate the phenomenon focusing on verbal language only, neglecting written interaction such as letter writing, diary writing, email, chat, forums, and so on (Huang 2009; Eldin 2014).

Furthermore, as will be further explained in chapter 6 (Cf. subsection 6.3.1), the focus of the study will be on communication on Facebook. However, considering that Facebook is a widely-open social networking website on which diverse topics can be discussed, a decision was made to choose a topic that could not only generate CS as such but, most importantly, be of sole

interest to Congolese people. The national political issue was therefore selected to be the topic that the analysis will be based on.

#### **1.4. Research aims, questions, and hypotheses**

As noted above, Congo-Brazzaville is a multilingual country in which almost sixty languages are spoken within the national borders. Of all these languages, French is the only national official language.

Kituba and Lingala are both major and widespread indigenous lingua francas in Congo-Brazzaville. Both languages are well known and overused in daily communicative transactions across the country (Cf. chapter 4). However, it is mostly the linguistic systems of both languages that have generated studies carried out by missionaries and (local) language experts (Nkeket Ndabiza 2012; Ndamba 2011, Samarin 2013). These basically descriptive investigations have specially provided the two languages with phonological, morphological, derivational, lexical, syntactic, and semantic systems. Thus, while technically both languages are relatively codified – as shown by the availability of dictionaries, textbooks, etc– which could be used both in written and spoken means of communication, they are still hardly recognised institutionally, for example, neither is taught at school nor institutionally implemented despite having some fairly elaborated written forms. In fact, they are mostly used as oral varieties as will be explained in chapter 4.

Being able to communicate in French is just part of the picture. The reality is that most-spoken languages in Congo-Brazzaville adopted in everyday conversation are Lingala and Kituba, both lingua francas. Most Congolese people, for instance in Brazzaville, are relatively fluent in both Kituba and Lingala; these two languages are unofficially used at work, in shops and restaurants. They are heard in songs played on the radio, at church, and in clubs, to name a few places. They are both the real languages of most urban people in their everyday conversation, no matter how educated.

Thus, having noted that CS on Facebook communication has been underinvestigated, and that the few studies conducted in this area have demonstrated that Facebook tends to be a multilingual environment (Sukyadi, D. et al. 2012; Inuwa et al. 2014; Bukhari 2015), the study of CS amongst Congolese Facebook users is needed not only to investigate the phenomenon as such but also to provide evidence of the impact of CMC (particularly Facebook) on languages in Congo-Brazzaville. Therefore, the aim of the present study is twofold; (1) to examine socio-psychological, sociolinguistic as well as interactional motives of CS, and (2) to evaluate the different languages involved in Congolese Facebook discourse.

More specifically, I intend to answer four main research questions<sup>6</sup>.

1. Do Congolese Facebook users codeswitch while interacting on Facebook?
2. Why do Congolese Facebook users codeswitch on this social networking website?  
In other words, what are the pragmatic functions of CS?
3. What is the correlation between CS in *Facebook updates* and CS in *Facebook comments*?
4. How many languages are involved in CS on Congolese Facebook?

Given such interplay between languages in Congo-Brazzaville, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the linguistic background of Congolese Facebook users has a core role to play in their linguistic choices they make in Facebook interactions. In other words, Congolese

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<sup>6</sup> The comments and suggestions made by the external expert Dr. Antonio García Gómez were extremely important, relevant and constructive. Therefore, they were carefully considered in the final version of this thesis. Regarding the order of the research questions of the investigation, it was finally decided to leave them in the original order, in an effort to keep track of the two main aims of the study and attend to the chronological order of the data-driven analysis.

Once the first research question found an answer, we were able to explore the motives and factors for the language alternation. The intention of the second research question was thus to shed light on these motives and factors. The research question three was concerned with the connection between updates and comments. It is therefore an independent question that has been posed that way for the sake of mythological clarity. Finally, the aim of fourth research question was to provide an inventory of the languages involved in Facebook interaction once the answers to the research questions one and two were already known. All in all, it should be noted that the research questions (1), (2), and (4) are interconnected in such a way as question (2) cannot be answered without knowing the answer to question (1), nor can question (4) be answered without a previous knowledge of the responses of both questions (1) and (2).



people make use of more than one single language in Facebook communication as a reflection of their communication in offline mode.

In addition, on Giles and Coupland's (1991) assumption that when people interact, they adjust their speech, their vocal patterns and gestures to accommodate others, it was eventually expected that CS cases in *Facebook comments* amongst Congolese people depend upon CS in *Facebook updates* in which they appear. In other words, multilingual *Facebook updates* could trigger even more cases of CS in *Facebook comments* than one language *Facebook updates* because of communication accommodation.

### **1.5. Structure of the study**

This study focuses on codeswitching among Congolese Facebook users and will be organised in eight chapters. The rest of the thesis is structured as follows.

Chapter Two will present an overview of the literature on CS by defining CS in contrast with other linguistic contact phenomena such as borrowing, loan translation and so forth. In addition, a typology of CS will be presented as well as a variety of taxonomies of functions underlying CS. The chapter will conclude with the presentation of an overview of current approaches to the study of CS both in face-to-face and online communication.

Chapter Three will explore CMC with a particular focus on Facebook. Different characteristics of CMC will be described. The objective of the chapter will be comprehensively to review the literature on the linguistic aspect of CMC with a main focus on concepts such as online community, speech community, community of practice, and social networking sites (SNSs).

Chapter Four will describe linguistic practices in Congo-Brazzaville. The chapter will be divided into three sections and aimed at drawing the linguistic picture across Congo-Brazzaville as well as shedding light on the multilingual issues governing the sociolinguistic environment, which will contribute to understanding the way people interact on Facebook. The

first section will present the linguistic situation in Congo-Brazzaville with emphasis on the different linguistic functions displayed by languages as well as their typical linguistic features. The second section will examine the conditions under which French, the current official language, was elected and implemented. The last section will examine some potential patterns of multilingualism across the country by broadening both the use of lingua francas and the patterns of language use.

Chapter Five will focus on describing the frameworks selected within which to analyse the data, namely *Markedness*, *Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)*, and *Minimal Action Games*. These three theoretical models are mostly sociological, psychological and linguistic approaches in nature. They are all used in an attempt to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners (or writers and readers) use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs (Myers-Scotton 2006).

Chapter Six will describe the methodology, explain the advantages and limits of *Netnography*, which is the methodological approach adopted. *Nethnography* is an ethnographic method adapted to the study of cultures and online communities (Bowler 2010; Kozinets 2002a, 2010a, 2012, 2015a, 2015b, 2017). The implication of *Netnography* in the study will be highlighted as well as the reasons why Facebook has been chosen over other CMC forms. The chapter will also briefly examine Facebook interaction in contrast with its face-to-face counterpart. In addition, participant backgrounds and data-gathering procedure will also be described. The ethics regarding CMC research will be pointed out as well.

Chapter Seven will describe and analyse the data. It will be divided into two major sections. The first will be dedicated to the description of the data; the second will analyse the results.

Finally, chapter eight will focus on drawing conclusions from the findings analysed and discussed in the preceding chapter, setting limitations of the thesis, and suggesting future research.

### **1.6.Chapter summary**

This chapter has introduced and set the scope of the study in section one. Its significance was addressed in section two. The object under study was stated in section three. Section four stated the research aims and posed research questions as well as research hypotheses. Finally, the structure of the thesis was explained in section five.

## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON CODESWITCHING**

### **2.0. Chapter overview**

This chapter is divided into four sections and aims to provide an overview of the literature on CS. Firstly, a general idea of CS definitions will be presented as well as the different types of CS. Concepts such as situation CS, metaphorical CS, intersentential CS, and intrasentential CS will be described. Secondly, different taxonomies for functions of CS will be pointed out and explained. Thirdly, a comparison of CS and other language contact phenomena – i.e. borrowing, loan translation, convergence, and transfer – will be drawn. Finally, current approaches to the study of CS will be described in section four.

### **2.1. Overview of code-switching definitions**

CS is one of the most widespread language-contact phenomena in research (Huang 2009). However, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 68) argues that “examining topics that trigger CS and code-mixing in Internet chatting requires an understanding of the main concepts that frame the study”.

Scholars dealing with CS from different perspectives do not seem to share a common and single definition since the phenomenon has attracted the attention of several distinct disciplines, especially linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, or linguistic anthropology (Backus 2004, 2005, 2010; Bagui 2014). Bagui (2014:86) explains that “whatever the definitions are, it is obvious that anyone who speaks more than one language switches back and forth between these languages or mixes them according to certain circumstances”.

Many attempts to defining the phenomenon of CS have been made throughout the history of language contact. Zentilla (1981) for example describes CS as the ability of multilingual speakers to alternate between the languages in their linguistic repertoire. A further definition is provided by Gumperz (1982b) who defines CS as the juxtaposition, within the same speech

exchange, of pieces of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. Most frequently the alternation takes the form of two subsystem sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his/her message or to reply to someone else's statement. A notable example of such alternation is provided in Lowi's (2005) in which English and Spanish are both used in the same utterance.

Example (1).

Ay hhh **Anyway** se caba [sic], de ir el Alvin **now**.

(Anyway, Alvin has just left)

(Lowi 2005: 1399)

Ultimately, reiterating, emphasizing and replying are, according to Gumperz (1982b) and Lowi (ibid), among the reasons for which people codeswitch. Furthermore, Crystal (1987, quoted in Pagano 2010:23) pointed out that CS "occurs when one individual, who is multilingual, interacts with another multilingual individual in more than one language".

In the past, codeswitching in the course of a conversation conveyed some stigmatised connotation as speakers switching languages in the same sentence would be downgraded and disregarded (in society). In other words, CS as a linguistic phenomenon used to be perceived as a manifestation or realisation of the lack of proficiency (especially) in second language acquisition contexts (Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult 1999).

Over years of refinement and redefinition scholars became aware of CS in different situations; and thus, the phenomenon has recently been regarded as normal and a natural linguistic production accepted by almost all scholars involved in the study of multilingualism across the globe (Zentella 1981, 1990, 1997; Gumperz 1982a; Auer 1984a, 1984b; Appel & Muysken 1987; Wei 2000, 2002, 2005; Grosjean 1982, 2001; Danet & Herring 2007; Bullock & Toribio 2009; Bagui 2014). Thus, for multilingual speakers, for example, multilingualism is an opportunity rather than a threat. Gardenas-Chloros explains that

developing communicative competence in two or more languages gives individuals not only opportunities to express their feelings and thoughts as well as shape their identity, but it also helps them to satisfy their individual and social needs in the different contexts where the language is used (2009:1).

Similarly, Lowi (2005) reports that CS is viewed as a multilingual practice that is used not only as a conversational tool but also as a way of establishing, maintaining and delineating ethnic boundaries and identities. In this light, CS may be described as a means by which multilingual speakers may converge to others sharing the same language or diverge away from those speakers of other languages.

CS is a term frequently used in the literature, but to date there is no consensus on its definition. Some scholars consider CS a linguistic phenomenon wherein speakers switch between two or more languages in conversation, often within a single utterance (Bullock and Toribio 2009); for others, it simply refers to the use of more than one language in a conversation (Zakaria & Kalong 2008). Others regard it as a verbal strategy by which multilingual speakers change a linguistic code(s) within the same speech event as a sign of cultural solidarity or distance and as an act of culture identity (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b; Konidaris 2004); finally, still others see CS as the mixing, by multilinguals, of two or more languages in discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic (Poplack 1998; 2001).

As can be observed, the use of more than one language in the course of interaction embodies a multitude of concepts such as code-mixing, language choice, language alternation, all of which are the linguistic behaviour of multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts. These concepts all entail the juxtaposition of, at least, two languages in a single piece of discourse. However, throughout this dissertation, these terms – i.e. code-mixing, language choice and language alternation – are used without distinction under the umbrella concept of CS as will be explained below. In fact, CS as a communicative strategy is first and foremost a language choice made by multilingual speakers. Such choice results in mixing items from different languages in

conversation. This consideration falls within Pagano's (2010) definition of CS, in which the author describes it as all instances where speakers shift from one language to another, either in one or several turns of talk in interaction.

CS thus encompasses (a) all words from any other language inserted in conversation where naturally only one language is expected; (b) that the fact of mixing languages is rather a motivated choice emerging from both the intention of the speakers and social factors informing the context of the interaction. Poplack (1981:1) also describes CS as the process of mixing at least two languages by multilingual speakers often with no change of interlocutor or topic. Such mixing may take place at any level of the linguistic structure.

### **2.1.1. Types of codeswitching**

Recent research has suggested at least three main categories of CS, namely conversational, intersentential and intrasentential. These categories are based on the two parallel tracks that have largely dominated studies of CS over the years. Some scholars have focused on conversational and intersentential CS while investigating the social functions of CS (Auer 1984b, 1995, 1998; Wei 2002, 2005; Lowi 2005; Androutsopoulos 2011). Other scholars have devoted more attention to the analysis of intrasentential CS, with emphasis on the grammatical constraints of language alternation (Poplack 1981; Myers-Scotton 1992; 1993b, 1999c, 1997c, 1998a, 1998b, 199c, 2002, 2016; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1998b; Paolillo 2011). These three categories of CS (i.e. conversational, intrasentential and intersentential) will be described in detail one after the other in the next paragraphs.

#### **(1) conversational codeswitching**

Conversational CS encompasses (a) how pragmatic meanings produced by the alternation of more than two languages in a conversation are communicated; (b) how these meanings are simply specific to the social or conversational context. In other words, conversational CS can

be described in terms of social and pragmatic functions – such as quotation, repetition, emphasis, and so on – emerging as multilingual speakers make use of more than one language in conversation. Gumperz (1982b) distinguishes two subtypes of CS within conversational CS: situational and metaphorical CS. Both terms (as defined below) were first introduced and discussed by Blom and Gumperz in the 1970s. In earlier days the emphasis of the two concepts was merely on the analysis of homogenous groups who share the same experience of the two languages or linguistic varieties. According to Heller (1988) the two concepts are now equally applicable to inter-group interaction as well. Auer explains that

At the heart of the distinction between situational and metaphorical CS lies the assumption that there are situational parameters<sup>7</sup> that allow one to predict language choice; [and] there is a simple almost one-to-one relationship between extralinguistic parameters and the appropriate language for this situation (1984:88).

In other words, the social meaning of an interaction results in both social factors and the appropriate use of the language for a particular situation. Situational and metaphorical CS are thus defined and explained as follows.

- Situational codeswitching

According to Wardhough (2010 quoted in El-Saghir 2010: 3), “situational codeswitching happens when the change in language use occurs according to the situation”. In the same line, Paolillo (2011:3) explains that “situational switching is CS that is conditioned by factors of the situation in which an interaction takes place”. Paolillo provides a good example in order to explain situational CS. This author observes that native speakers of Spanish in Texas generally use Spanish at home or in private settings, but have to switch to English in institutional settings, such as schools, government offices, even when all interlocutors present are multilingual (ibid).

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<sup>7</sup> Such parameters may be participant constellation, topic, mode of interaction, etc.



When first introduced in the literature, situational switching was viewed as resulting in speakers' being aware of the notions of right and obligation in a particular setting – with *right* referring to the most appropriate language for a particular situation and the need to be used accordingly, and *obligation* referring to the condition of being morally bound to speak the right language in the right situation; the basic idea being that all speakers of any language have the right to speak that language whenever and wherever they need to, while obliged to use it appropriately – meaning that all languages (or varieties of languages) are linguistically equal but some are used in social contexts where others are less desirable and inappropriate. Linguistic clues surrounding the interaction therefore play a major role when signalling the context of a conversation in any given linguistic community. In chapter 4, for example, it is observed that ethnic languages are spoken among Congolese people in familial encounters while French is the only institutional and official language. A university lecturer who has a family gathering at home on Saturday has to switch to French on Monday at university because the situation there requires the use of French. However, it is not surprising to hear an ethnic language in a conversation involving two university staff members who share a linguistic background as a sign of linguistic identity and closeness. Speakers are always aware of when and to what extent they should use one variety (or language) instead of the other. They cannot violate or break the rules governing the event since both the right and obligation play out in any given conversational setting. To some extent, this explains how complex the relationship between language and social situations is.

Situational switching may be observed in both monolingual (within the varieties of the same language) as well as multilingual settings (between different languages). In the case of a monolingual setting there is the right and obligation to use standard and non-standard varieties. Within multilingual communities, however, there is also the right and obligation to use

dominant or majority languages and minority language. The choice of language or variety is indeed constrained and determined by social norms.

Multilingualism (or multilingual settings), usually seen as the fact of being able to use two (or more) languages relatively (or equally) well, may be described as a setting where different languages are interchangeably and regularly used (Zentella 1997). However, every situation in which two languages (or two varieties of the same languages) are used under different conditions within a community is referred to as Diglossia<sup>8</sup>. With regard to diglossia in multilingualism, Gumperz (1982b) points out that code alternation is largely of the situational subtype since distinctive varieties (or languages) are employed in certain settings – i.e. home, school, work – that are associated with some category of activities – i.e. public speaking, family negotiation, special ceremonials, verbal games; or used to address specific categories of interlocutor – i.e. friends, family members, strangers, social inferiors, or government officials.

- Metaphorical codeswitching

In the literature the term “metaphorical CS” tends to be used to refer to the juxtaposition of languages by multilingual speakers in conversation in order to discuss a topic that would normally fall within another communicative context. Thus, metaphorical switching may be viewed as a topic-based language alternation. Paolillo (2011) explains that switching is metaphorical because it exploits associations between codes and social roles of communicative effects. A classic example of metaphorical CS comes from Myers-Scotton (1993a, quoted in Paolillo 2011: 3) as the author describes an interaction at a bank in Kenya where a customer approaches the teller in situationally-appropriate Swahili. When the teller refuses to process a transaction, which would be against the bank’s rules, the customer switches to Luyia, a

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<sup>8</sup> Diglossia is, according to the Oxford Dictionary of English (3<sup>rd</sup> edition 2010), a linguistic situation in which two languages (two varieties of the same language) are used under different conditions within the same community, often by the same speakers.

minority language that customer and teller happen to share. In using Luyia to ask for a personal favour, the customer covertly appeals to the teller's sense of ethnic loyalty, and obligation to kin.

A closer examination of this example shows, to some extent, how the alternation of languages by the customer enriches the situation of interaction since it renders it pragmatically and socially meaningful. Systematically, there is a semantic as well as pragmatic value attached to both languages that allowed the customer to move from Swahili to Luyia. Swahili is seen by the customer as the "*they code*" associated with more formality; whereas Luyia is regarded as the "*we code*" associated with in-group membership. The linguistic background of both customer and teller is thus an essential component of the exchange.

Summing up these two subtypes of language alternation, it may be understood that situational and metaphorical codeswitching are both connected to the verbal behaviour that multilingual speakers exhibit whether in a particular situation or because of the constraints underlying some topics in any given society. The realization of either lies exclusively in certain social cues (or rules and norms) governing a given setting, topic, event, activity and so on. Auer (1984:90) argues that the "distinction between situational and metaphorical CS amounts to a distinction between extralinguistic parameters defining components of the speech situation, and the linguistic (ones), each of which may be related to conversational CS". This author further explains that the parameters such as time, place, topic are supposed to define the situation, whereas other parameters such as shifts between sequential units (story/comment, ongoing sequence/side sequence), different "keys" (e.g. joking versus seriousness) or shifts in intimacy or cooperativeness apparently leave the situation unchanged.

However, it is essential to point out that Auer is critical of Gumperz's view of both situational and metaphorical CS. Firstly, Auer (1984) explains that it is absurd to regard the situation as responsible for language alternation. He believes that such a situation is accomplished by co-

participants rather than chosen by them. The situation of interaction is barely stable: it is constantly created by language speakers as they communicate. In Androupotsoulos's words (2013: 669), CS is viewed as a "device in the internal organisation of conversational turn". Similarly, Auer (ibid) argues that speakers' turns and utterances are responsible for changing, maintaining, and /or re-establishing features of the situation.

Furthermore, Auer (1995) introduces two analytical concepts to determine the role an interaction plays in the process of language alternation. The first is termed "preference- (or participant-) related" CS, which comprises switches that suit the speaker's or addressee's preference, as well as instances of language negotiation between the interlocutors. The second is termed "discourse-related" CS, which Auer regards as a contribution to the organization of discourse in a particular conversational episode (see also Shin and Milroy 2000; Supamit & Shin 2009; Androupotsoulos 2013). According to Martin-Jones, to speakers,

discourse-related CS serves as a resource for accomplishing different communicative acts at specific points within interactional sequence, e.g. changing footing, moving in and out of different frames, doing a side sequence, representing the voices of different characters in a narrative, making topic changes (1995: 99).

Shin (2009) summarises preference-related and discourse-related CS as tools to negotiate the language of the interaction and accommodate the language competences and preferences of conversational participants, as well as to organize conversational tasks.

## (2) Intersentential codeswitching

Intersentential CS refers to the type of language alternation encompassing sentences from two (distinct) languages available to multilingual speakers. Some scholars believe that what is really termed CS is the intersentential language alternation; whereas intrasentential language alternation is assimilated to codemixing. According to Gardener-Chloros (2009), CS or intersentential code alternation occurs when a multilingual speaker uses more than one

language in a single utterance above the clause to appropriately convey his/her intentions. However, codemixing or intrasentential CS occurs when speakers use two or more languages below the clause level within one social situation, as in example (2) provided by Kaban

Example (2).

Le dije que no quería comprar el carro. He got really made.

(I told him I didn't want to buy a vehicle; he got really made [My translation])

(Kaban 2013: 1175)

### (3) Intrasentential codeswitching

While intersentential CS occurs at sentence level, intrasentential CS takes place within a sentence or clause. The switching thus implies lexical items building up the morphosyntactic structure of the different languages involved in CS. Sebba (2009) regards intrasentential CS as a remarkable achievement on the part of multilingual speakers since they are sometimes unaware of the shift. Sebba distinguishes two main strategies the speakers opt for within intrasentential CS; namely harmonisation and neutralisation, all of which will be explained in the upcoming paragraphs. Speakers use these strategies to make communication more effective and meaningful while employing words from two different languages in the same sentence.

#### - Strategies of harmonisation

Sebba (ibid) observes that when congruent categories – categories in agreement within a sentence – exist across the languages involved, CS can accommodate the grammatical categories of languages being treated as though they were identical categories in the other language. In other words, harmonisation refers to an over-simplification of the linguistic structure of a language using linguistic forms from another. The structure of switching thus appears in agreement with the morphosyntactic rules of one of the languages concerned. In the example (3) both English and Spanish are all together harmonised in the same sentence.

Example (3). Aberlado tiene movie tickets

(Aberlado has got movie tickets)

(Kaban 2013: 1175)

- Strategies of neutralisation

The strategy of neutralisation occurs in a situation of divergence between languages. According to Sebba (2009:48), “where the grammars of the languages concerned are too divergent to allow harmonisation strategies, speakers may nevertheless effect CS by means of a neutralization strategy”. In other words, when certain linguistic constructions appear to violate the linguistic structures of both languages involved in the sentence, speakers utilize neutral morphosyntactic structures based on the structures of these languages. Example 4 below is a Greek/English in which the structure of the sentence is neutralised in order to match the speaker’s communicative goal. The structure of the sentence below is neither Greek-based nor English-based but neutral.

Example (4).

Na kani tick dio properties tha tu pari dio lepta

(To do tick two properties will him take two minutes)

(It will take him two minutes to tick two properties).

(Balamoti 2010: 20)

The strategy of neutralisation may, in other words, be understood as a violation of the systematic structures of the languages involved in switching. Sebba (2009:49) explains that “in spite of the opportunities for using harmonisation (...), in some cases where switching takes place it is found structures that appear to violate the grammar of both languages”. In example (5) the Luyia-English speaker compromises the structures of both languages.

Example (5).

Varima zi-foot ziziiza eighty-five na mawe ilikuwa futi ishirini na inne hapo. Mawe. Walikuwa wana-drill na ku-pump maji wana-drill na ku-pump maji MPAKA NIZIDUKA.

(They drilled more than eighty-five feet and the, rocky area was twenty -four feet. They were drilling and pumping water, drilling and pumping water until they attained the number of feet they wanted)

(Kebeya 2013: 230)

### **2.1.2. Taxonomies for functions of codeswitching**

Multiple taxonomies have been proposed in the literature on CS depending on the viewpoints from which CS has been approached. Gumperz (1982a) identifies six types of functions that multilingual speakers tend to exhibit when they mix up languages in interaction, namely quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation versus objectivation.

While analysing CS in second language acquisition, Flyman-Mattsson and Burenhult (1999) identify five functions of CS, mainly linguistic insecurity, topic switch, affective functions, socialising functions, repetitive functions. Similarly, Gulzar (2010) identifies eleven functions of CS including clarification, giving instruction effectively, translation, socialising, linguistic competence, topic shift, ease of expression, emphasis, checking understanding, repetition function, end creating a sense of belonging.

The functions of CS thus vary depending on the context of the study. Thus, CS is indeed a strategy which multilingual speakers use in order to fulfil specific pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and discursive functions.

## **2.2. Codeswitching and other phenomena of language contact**

As noted at the outset, experts on language contact have long agreed that being able to interact in more than one language has consequences in linguistic production (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982a; Myers-Scotton 1993, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2006; Thomason 1997; Poplack 2001; Solorio & Liu 2008; Johanson 1993; Cardenas-Chloros 2009; Bullock & Toribio 2009, Kamwangamalu 1992, 2010). Phenomena such as CS, borrowing, cultural and linguistic

transfer, loan translation, convergence, result from language contact (Auer 1984a; Treffers-Daller 2009; Backus 2010). In the coming paragraphs, a detailed description of each of these related phenomena will be given.

- Borrowing versus codeswitching

There seems to be a consensus in the literature that every language has somehow borrowed from others at least a couple of words (Appel and Muysken 1990). This seems to be a common practice in any language contact environment. However, establishing a clear borderline between borrowing and CS has been an important controversy in scholarship. While some scholars argue against the unification of both concepts, others tend to consider them in a unifying way.

In fact, while discussing the difference between *we code* and *they code*, Gumperz (1982a: 66) begins by pointing out that CS must be separated from loanword usage or borrowing. According to him, borrowing can be defined as the introduction of single words, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety to the other. These single words are usually integrated according to the morphosyntactic characteristics of the receiver language; and as such they are treated as part of the internal systematic structure of the language. CS, on the other hand, relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinctive grammatical systems. It is worth pointing out that Gumperz is much more interested in the social aspect of language alternation; therefore, he considers loan words and borrowing to be the same even though he is aware that other scholars distinguish between established and recent loans.

Likewise, Kamwangamalu (1992) argues that CS and borrowing are distinct linguistic contact phenomena since borrowing entails the integration of linguistic units from one language into the system of other languages. In other words, borrowing may be viewed as a process through



which outside linguistic units undergo a phonological, morphological and syntactic transformation, at the end of which these outside units integrate the lexicon of the recipient language.

As Haugen (1953) points out, there are three main stages in the process of borrowing, namely CS, interference, and integration. The borrowing process goes from the simple mix-up of single words from a foreign language down to their complete integration in an internal linguistic system, passing by interference occurring in conversation as speakers communicate. In this perspective, Backus (2010: 230) explains that “lexical borrowing is the diachronic counterpart of synchronic codeswitching. Borrowing is the process whereby words from a lending language become entrenched as conventional words in the receiving lexicon”.

However, there is an inconsistency with the argument that CS and borrowing are two distinct phenomena. For example, Myers-Scotton (1992) challenges such a view as she explains that borrowed and code-switched forms behave in the same way morphosyntactically in the matrix language; hence they should not be considered distinct processes. Myers-Scotton’s argument is somewhat based on the matrix language-frame model. This model accounts for a basic argument that languages cannot mix in a balanced way in a sentence/clause; there is an asymmetrical relation between the matrix – the dominant language, which usually plays the major role, and the embedded one – the other participating language whose role is usually minor. Furthermore, according to Myers-Scotton (2006), when CS occurs, content morphemes (i.e. nouns and verbs) are usually supplied by the embedded language, whereas system morphemes or closed-class items (i.e. functional words) come from the matrix language. This renders the distinction between both language contact phenomena rather subtle.

- Loan translation versus codeswitching

“Loan translation” is a term frequently used in the literature, but to date there is no consensus on its definition. The broad use of the term is sometimes equated with the adaptation by one language of a phrase or compound word whose components are a literal translation of the components of a corresponding phrase or compound in a foreign language (Backus 2010; Scotton 2006).

According to Backus (2010), borrowing is a departure point noticeably differentiating CS and loan translation. The author explains that there are two types of mixed words encountered in CS data: newly switched and established words. Newly switched words are thus considered cases of simple CS, whereas established words refer to loanwords. Backus regards CS as pertaining to a synchronic event, while borrowing pertains to a diachronic process. Myers-Scotton (2006) reports on a notable example of loan translation from the English word *skyscraper*. In fact, this word has been loan translated in both German and French as *Wolkenkratzer* (literally cloud scratcher), *grate-ciel* (literally scratch-sky), respectively.

Backus’s aforementioned explanation clearly serves to distinguish CS, borrowing, and loan translation, especially when approaching them from both synchronic and diachronic standpoints.

- Convergence versus codeswitching

Another controversial concept in the literature is convergence. Johanson (2005) describes convergence as occurring when codes in contact gradually become more similar, regardless of whether this is due to unilateral influence, reciprocal influence or both. On the other hand, Pfaff (1979) explains that CS may lead to convergence in that the more speakers codeswitch as they communicate, the more alike languages become. However, Clyne (1987a) challenges Pfaff’s view, arguing that convergence may lead to CS. Treffers-Daller (2009) was able to show that,

despite the terminological confusion, the difference between convergence and transfer appears to be as follows. Firstly, convergence does not need to be externally motivated, whereas transfer by definition must be. Secondly, transfer implies directionality – for instance, from language A to language B, while convergence does not. Thirdly, convergence often involves simplification of the structures or features, whereas transfer can lead to complexification (see also Clyne 1987b).

Convergence between languages is sometimes present when speakers over-neutralise the existing structures of languages available. This is the case where an existing structure in L1 is used to incorporate an element from L2 that belongs to an easily switchable category such as nouns or verbs. Myers-Scotton provides an example of convergence in which a German immigrant to Australia converges from German to English in order to offer to have a cool drink.

Example (6).

Einen kühlen **drink** hab-en

A cool drink have-infinitive

(Have a cool drink)

Homeland German: Etwas kühles trinken “something cool to drink”

(Myers-Scotton 2006:273)

In many multilingual contexts, some outcomes of convergence are certainly related to the creation of new languages such as pidgins and creoles.

- Transfer versus codeswitching

Auer (1984: 27) considers “linguistic transfer” the weakest alternative with which speakers have to content themselves if they cannot demonstrate that the production of other-language items has a function”. According to Auer, although both CS and transfer are types of intra-repertoire variation, they differ in the way in which the repertoire is used by multilingual

participants. Auer (ibid: 29) explains that “transfer has been said to be neutral with respect to the negotiated language-of-interaction, whereas CS invites other parties to switch languages as well until further notice”. In other words, *transfer* can be viewed as a participant-based choice, while CS is much more conversational, implying that the interaction plays a key role in the process of language alternation. In her study of language and culture in the foreign language classroom, Calvo Cortés (2006) provides a good example of language transfer. By comparing two cultures, the author was able to show that participants show a tendency to transfer certain words (or concepts), such as *Prime Minister*, from one to the target culture. As regards Auer’s perception of CS and transfer, the type of transfer provided in Calvo Cortés’s study could be seen as independent of any communicative act.

### **2.3. Overview of current approaches to the study of codeswitching**

CS derives from the communicative behaviour of multilingual speakers and consists in using more than one language in interaction. As mentioned before, in observing speakers’ daily interactions in multilingual communities, linguists have been able to note that multilingual speakers intentionally or unintentionally combine two or more languages in socially and communicatively meaningful ways (Auer 1984a, 1984b, 1995; Myers-Scotton 1998c, 1999c; Gardner-Chloros 2009).

CS has been approached from multiple perspectives such as a socio-pragmatic, grammatical, cognitive and psycholinguistic. All these approaches have attempted to determine the real meaning, motives, reasons, and consequences of language alternation in multilingual communities. Kootstra (2012) points out that CS is a fundamental component of multilingual speech in all its parameters.

Firstly, from a socio-pragmatic perspective, CS has been approached in order to examine the conversational meaning of the phenomenon. This perspective has paid attention to social

factors as major components of language shift. Types of CS, such as situational and metaphorical, have been the focus of investigation (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b; Auer 1884). Other scholars have, however, attempted to explain social and pragmatic functions of CS in the course of interaction (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982b; Auer 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993, 1998d. Myers-Scotton & Bolonyal 2001). Various theoretical models have been suggested in this respect. Gumperz (1982a), for instance, proposes the situational and metaphorical interpretation of CS in naturally-occurring data; whereas Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) points out the social meaning behind the occurrence of CS in any conversational act by introducing models such as *Markedness*.

Secondly, from the grammatical perspective CS has been investigated in order to analyse and determine the morphosyntactical restrictions and constraints on CS (Poplack 1980, 1981, 1998, 2001; Clyne 1987a, 1987b; Sebba 2009). Intrasentential CS is the perfect type of CS that falls within this perspective. Multiple framework models have been developed in the literature with the aim of explaining how grammatical regularities and rules tend to trigger language alternation within sentences (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980; Myers-Scotton 1997c, 2002, 2003, Sebba 2009; Proefschrift 2012). The most influential contributions include the *equivalence constraint model* proposed by Poplack (1980) and the *Matrix Language Frame model* developed in the 1990s by Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1997c, 2002).

Thirdly, cognitive approaches to CS have focused on the mental mechanisms used by multilingual speakers while interacting. According to cognitive linguists, CS is a communicative strategy whereby speakers intend to negotiate the language of interaction, by converging to or diverging from one another, depending on the situation in which such interaction occurs (Proefschrift 2012).

Finally, psycholinguists have engaged with questions regarding how the linguistic systems of multilingual speakers are stored and organised in the cognitive system and how they are

accessed in language production and language perception (Dorleijn and Nortier 2009; Hamzeh 2014).

As will be explained in chapter 3, section 3.4, studies on CS have in their earlier days mostly focused on speech rather than written discourse. Interestingly, recent studies have drawn attention to written discourse as well, especially in computer-mediated communication (Herring 2004 2012, 2010; Herring et al. 2013; Androutsopoulos 2013; Eldin 2014; Halim and Maros 2014). Androutsopoulos (2013:1) argues that “early linguistic research on CMC focused on language/technology relations, and some of its key categories are conceived and best operate within a monolingual frame (...)”. Likewise, Corterell et al. (2014) explain that until the last decade, language alternation was observed mainly as a spoken phenomenon. However, with the widespread use of CMC much work on CS has been carried out (Androutsopoulos 2006, 2013; Bukhari et al. 2015). Moreover, Androutsopoulos (2013) adds that CMC as a discourse field challenges the assumption that spoken face-to-face interaction is the essential source of CS.

Regarding the evolution of studies on CS, three research lines have mostly been dominant over the last five decades, the time period in which scholars have somewhat been concerned with the significance of the phenomenon in multilingual communities (McClure 1981, 1977). In the first two decades studies on CS were mainly focused on sociolinguistic parameters as factors triggering language alternation (Blom & Gumperz 1972, Gumperz 198a, 1982b; Poplack 1980, 1998; Auer 1988). In the following two decades much attention turned to the effects of social factors on CS and its counterpart in second language acquisition and classroom interaction (Martin-Jones 1995; Kazuko 1996 McClure 1977; Flyaman-Mattsson and Burenhult 1999; Guzlar 2010; Lin 2013). More recently, because of a widespread use of the Internet via social networking sites, a new trend has become increasingly focused on computer-mediated

communication (Danet & Herring 2007; Huang 2009; Wang & Chen 2013; Androutsopoulos 2006, 2013).

#### **2.4. Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed issues regarding the literature on CS. Different types of CS were described by highlighting basic concepts such as situational, metaphorical, intersentential and intrasentential CS. In addition, CS as a language contact phenomenon was contrasted with other phenomena, namely borrowing, loan translation, convergence and transfer. Finally, current approaches to CS studies were described as well.

## **CHAPTER 3. CODESWITCHING IN COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION**

### **3.0. Chapter overview**

This chapter addresses issues regarding the features of CS in computer-mediated communication. The chapter consists of four sections. Firstly, CMC will be described, including an overview of the literature. Section two will focus on describing the main characteristics of CMC. In section three the literature on CS in Facebook interaction will be discussed. The last section – which will describe Facebook as the junction of both synchronous and asynchronous – will be divided into three subsections. Subsection one will focus on describing CS on Facebook. Subsection two will explain the notions of *speech community*, *community of practice* and *social networks* in relation to Congolese Facebook community. Subsection three will be dedicated to the description of the potential interactional functions of Facebook.

### **3.1. Computer-mediated communication**

The World Wide Web has brought about a real and considerable change to people's everyday life. Now, more than ever before, people gather in online spaces to share ideas, discuss topics, solve problems and form communities (Crystal 2001; Androutsopoulos 2003, 2006, 2008; Witten 2014). The world has become a real village just as first announced by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s (McLuhan 1962, 1964; Georgakopoulou 1997). Participants in online communities have found new and creative ways to express who they are and to differentiate themselves from others (Witten 2014; Jones et al. 2015). In relation to this, Bareket-Bojmel (2013: 11) explains that “we [people] now have tools that enable us to share our thoughts, experiences, and emotions in ways that were impossible just a few years ago”. This way of



communication using the Internet, which is increasingly getting attention from researchers, is referred to as Computer-mediated Communication (CMC).

Different definitions have been given of CMC. For example, Herring (1996:1), one of the pioneers in the field, defines CMC as a “communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers”. Likewise, December (1996, quoted in Romiszowski and Mason 2004: 398) considers “CMC as the process by which people create, exchange, and perceive information using networked telecommunication systems that facilitate encoding, transmitting, and decoding messages”. Most of these definitions share similarities. It can be observed that CMC always implies the use of computers or any other electronic devices as means of interacting with individuals.

There are traditionally two main modes of communication in CMC, asynchronous and synchronous. The former does not require users (senders and recipients) to be logged on at the same time to send or receive messages from one another. Rather the messages are stored at the addressee’s site until they can be read (e.g. email) (Lorenzo-Dus & Bou-Franch 2013). The latter is also called “real-time” mode; here, the online interaction occurs in real time. Therefore, the participants are all simultaneously active at the same time during a text message exchange (e.g. chat rooms). Nevertheless, as will be shown later, Facebook, which enables a variety of genres to be accessed through the same platform, involves both synchronous and asynchronous modes (Perez-Sabater 2012, 2014).

However, it is essential to point out that with the increase of the hyper connectivity of many users thanks to the notifications they receive whenever there is a new message, the typical asynchronous means are certainly turning into synchronous ones. For example, an email exchange, which used to be considered as an authentic asynchronous mode, can now occur in a form of real time between two (or more) users connected via their iPhones which provide them with real-time notifications.

Unlike face-to-face interaction, typing on the keyboard almost remains the main characteristic of CMC, but not exclusively since CMC users make use of speech as well to carry out the interaction (e.g. when using Skype). The use of both spoken and written languages on different CMC platforms has generated questions as to the nature of discourse performed via CMC. These questions have been at the heart of research studies interested in such a mode of communication throughout the last couple of decades (Crystal 2001, Bou-Franch 2006, 2013; Dorleijn and Nortier 2009; Herring 2010, 2012, Herring et al. 2013; Maíz-Arévalo 2018; among others).

There is a consensus among social scientists that language is changing in CMC. Some believe that the kind of interaction that occurs by means of the computer tends to become a speech-like form of communication (Baron 1984, 1998; 2010). Others consider CMC a neutral form of communication that is neither similar to traditional (or standard) writing, nor is it like a face-to-face interaction. They thus conclusively report that CMC is a branch of many different genres, resulting in a mixture of both written and spoken modes of communication (Walther 1996, 2002; Baron 1998, 2013; Herring 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, Crystal 2001, Yus 2011; Maíz-Arévalo 2018). Herring (2001:2) asserts that computer networks are often considered to be a medium of communication different from writing and speaking. Likewise, Baron (2010: 1) insists that a persistent question intriguing Internet research has been whether the stylistic features of CMC are more similar to those of informal speech or paradigmatic writing<sup>9</sup>.

In the 1960s the focus of CMC was mostly English-based. This is, perhaps, due to a direct link between the Internet and the English language since the web was first developed by English

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<sup>9</sup> Describing some of the main characteristics of CMC Baron argues that: “It [CMC] resembled speech in that it was largely unedited; it contained heavy use of first and second person pronouns, present tense, and contractions; its level of formality was generally low, and CMC language could be rude or even obscene. At the same time, CMC looked like writing because interlocutors were physically separated, and that separation fostered personal disclosure and helped level the conversational playing field between interlocutors at different points on a social hierarchy. Moreover, CMC resembled writing in that the medium was durable, and interlocutors commonly employed a wide range of lexical choices and complex syntax” (Baron 2010: 5).

language speakers mostly residing in the USA and the UK (Crystal 2001). As such, English was long considered the language of the web. As time went by CMC gradually developed its interest in multilingual environments as well. Crystal (2001) may be considered the pioneer in noting that Internet globalisation has steadily risen.

Hence studies dealing with languages other than English, such as French, Chinese, Japanese, Finnish and German have been gradually carried out recently. Siebenhaar (2006), for instance, examines the code choice and CS in Swiss German Internet Ray chatrooms. Hinrichs (2006) analyses CS between English and Jamaican Creole in e-mail communication. Bou-Franch (2006) analyses solidarity and deference in Spanish Computer-mediated Communication, with the focus on students' emails to lecturers. Yang (2007) devotes a sociolinguistic analysis of adaptation in the Chinese writing system by Chinese Citizens. Anis (2007) proposes a typology of netnographic transformation based on a corpus of French private SMS texts; Meanwhile, Compermolle (2008) examines language variation in online personal ads from Quebec; more specifically the author concentrates on the analysis of *ne*. Nishimura (2008) examines (im)politeness perspectives of Japanese BBS websites as online communication. Golear (2009) studies Spanish-English CS in email communication. Huang (2011) investigates computer-mediated communication in Taiwan. Vinton Poon (2010) evaluates the linguistic norms of Hong Kong English computer-mediated communication. Eldin (2014) devotes a sociolinguistic study of CS of the Arabic language of social networking sites. Maíz-Arévalo (2015) investigates mock impoliteness – e.g. jocular mockery – in CMC contrasting Spanish and English Facebook communities. There are even more studies, but it is beyond the scope of this study to revise them all.

Such studies set up a new research direction based on the belief that the future of the interest in CMC lies even more in multilingualism and cross-cultural exploration and understanding. Crystal (2001) agrees that the web offers a worldwide welcome for global linguistic diversity.

However, although extensive research has been carried out on linguistic diversity in CMC, Herring (2010) along with Thurlow & Puff (2013) insist on the need of much evidence from other languages and cultures. In this respect, the present study is a partial response to this quest as it pays ample attention to CS among Congolese Facebook users.

### **3.1.1. Prior research on linguistic characteristics of CMC**

The language of the Internet presents unusual features that had never been available before the invention of this system. As said before, these features have been of interest to researchers all around the world (McKinlay et al. 1993; December 1996; Yates 1996; Garcia & Jacobs 1999; Cherny 1999; Crystal 2001; Herring 2001, 2002, 2010, 2012; Bou-Franch 2006, 2013; Androutsopoulos 2007, 2009; Siebenhaar 2006, 2008; Anderson et al. 2010; Yus 2011).

The first research tradition of these investigations was interested in how people adapt to CMC systems with a focus on the characteristics of media used for organisational communication (Herring 1999; Canessa & Riolo 2003; Anderson et al. 2010). This line poses the problem of the lack of simultaneous feedback between people involved in online communicative acts (Maíz-Arévalo 2015). Anderson et al. (2010:2), for instance, consider CMC to be a “lean” channel since, in the case of email, simultaneous feedback is typically missing, and nonverbal cues are absent.

The second tradition has addressed the issue of the lack of nonverbal cues in CMC and focused mostly on the idea that the lack of nonverbal cues in CMC causes more task-orientated, hostile, self-absorbed or impersonal communication than face-to-face encounters (Walther & Tidwell 1995; Walther 1996; Ellison et al. 2007; Zhao et al. 2008; Anderson et al. 2010; Maíz-Arévalo 2013, 2015, 2017a, 2017b). Maíz-Arévalo (2015: 296), for example, explains that “sitting in front of our screen (obviously without the use of a webcam) disembodies us for our

interlocutors, who cannot physically see whether we are smiling, laughing, or making any other kind of gestures while typing (or reading) our messages”.

The third tradition, which is closely connected to the previous ones, has concentrated on turn-taking management in CMC. Researchers in this line of investigation seek to explain how the lack of nonverbal cues and other properties of CMC systems affect turn-taking, which presumably contributes to reducing levels of interactional coherence, and renders less effective the management of the conversational process (Garcia & Jacobs 1999; McKinlay et al. 1993; Cherny 1999; Anderson and al. 2010; Maíz-Arévalo 2015).

These research traditions have in common that they all deal with CMC as opposed to face-to-face interaction (December 1996; Herring 1999, 2001, 2002, 2012; Yates 1996). Herring, for example, explains that

interactive exchanges in a variety of CMC modes tend to be less tightly stitched together than in face-to-face conversation: responses are often separated from the turns they are responding to, topics tend to decay quickly, and multiple, overlapping exchanges often share the same channel (Herring 1999:11).

In relation to language change on digital platforms Androutsopoulos (2009) argues that prototypical networked writing is shaped by four main conditions that the author classifies as follows: (a) it is vernacular, in the sense that it is a non-institutional writing located beyond education or professional control; (b) it is interpersonal and relationship-focused rather than subject-orientated; (c) it is unplanned and spontaneous; (d) it is dialogical and interaction-orientated, carrying expectations of continuous exchange.

The author further emphasises that these properties set the frame for a prototype of new writing, which was first materialized in pre-web applications such as personal emails, newsgroups and chat channels, and was later incorporated in forums texting and instant messaging. Likewise, Witten (2014) sees CMC as a set of sociolinguistic changes whereby writing and speaking

manifests as one. However, many of these pioneering studies were mostly English-language-based investigations with less attention devoted to other languages.

The fourth research tradition, which has developed recently, has concentrated on the study of multilingualism in CMC. This line of research attempts to provide answers to multiple questions prompted by linguistic diversity in CMC. Alothman & Alhakbani (2012) observe that, with the remarkable increase of Internet use among speakers of other languages, the multilingual Internet is being used as a descriptive concept by CMC scholars to refer to innovative practices in languages other than English (Andoutsopoulos 2006, 2012; Danet & Herring 2007; Huang 2009; Paolillo 2011; Alothman & Alhakbani 2012; Eldin 2014). Among other issues in this line there are several questions, such as that of multilingual practices online, language shift and maintenance on the Internet. Studies of CMC involving minority languages speakers have pointed out that the Internet has the potential to support and even revitalise endangered languages (Danet & Herring 2007: 21). In relation to this, and as will be described in chapter 4, Congo-Brazzaville is a country in which a considerable number of languages are endangered.

### **3.2. Basic characteristics of CMC**

While Crystal (2001) identifies five Internet-using situations within CMC, that is, email, chatgroups, virtual worlds (Muds), message boards and World Wide Web, Baron (2010, 2013) reports that one challenge in interpreting some of the CMC literature is that it generalises across different genres of CMC (e.g. email, chat, web pages), while usage patterns across genres may show considerable disparity. However, the full discussion of email, virtual worlds, and Worldwide lies beyond the scope of the present study; therefore, they will not be dealt with in depth as the focus of the present investigation is on Facebook, more specifically Facebook interaction.

According to Crystal (2001: 1), “chatgroups are continuing discussions on a particular topic, organized in ‘rooms’ on particular Internet sites, in which computer users interested in the topic can participate”. There are two situations here, depending on whether the interaction takes place in real (synchronous) or in postponed time (asynchronous). Baron (2010) argues that structurally CMC can be defined in terms of two basic parameters. The first is synchronicity, in which transmission is essentially instantaneous, and interlocutors are assumed to be physically present to read and respond to messages, whereas in asynchronous CMC neither of these assumptions holds. The second parameter refers to whether the communication is one-to-one (i.e. between two users) or many-to-many (i.e. multiple participants’ messages being broadcast to multiple potential interlocutors).

### **3.2.1. Synchronous mode**

According to Crystal (2001), synchronous messages are those which are written/sent and read/received in real time as the interaction is simultaneously engaged. In a synchronous situation a user enters a chat room and joins an ongoing conversation in real time, sending named contributions which are inserted into a permanently scrolling screen along with the contributions from other participants. Internet Relay Chat (IRC) is an example of one of the main systems available to users, consisting of thousands of rooms dealing with different topics. Crystal further explains that although most people enter just one room at a time, there is nothing to stop them from opening more than one chat window and engaging in two or more conversations simultaneously, if they have the required cognitive and linguistic skills. Likewise, Anderson et al. (2010) argue that in synchronous modes of interaction participants share a simultaneous, non-threaded message environment. The participants must be logged in at the same time in order to send and receive messages.

### **3.2.2. Asynchronous mode**

Asynchronous interactions are those that occur with delay, meaning that the message is received later than the time it was sent in the first place. Senders do not usually expect the receivers to read the texts they send off at the exact time as they send them. In an asynchronous situation, according to Crystal (2001), the interactions are stored in some format, and made available to users upon demand, so that they can catch up with the discussion, or add to it at any time – even after a considerable period of time has passed. Some classic examples of asynchronous modes are Bulletin Boards, email, Usenet, etc.

### **3.3. CS in CMC**

One of the major aspects to bear in mind while dealing with CS in CMC is that in the 1960s and 1970s research on this language contact phenomenon was mostly concentrated on verbal language or spoken interaction. At that time little was known about its realization in written language (Eldin 2014; Halim and Maros 2014). Huang (2009) observes that, in the studies of CS, spoken interaction has been the focus, while written interaction such as letter writing, daily writing, and email writing has been largely ignored in the literature. In part, the reason for this is, when writing, people tend to revise their draft repeatedly before they use them to communicate (e.g. publishing, sending them) making it difficult to come up with written discourse in more than one language.

As the use of the Internet, which facilitates both written and spoken interactions, has become more widespread, CS in CMC has received quite considerable attention from linguists who are now interested in studying language use via CMC in multilingual communities (Huang 2009). With the development of CMC, CS can now be easily identified in CMC as well (Hinrichs 2006; Huang 2009; Golbarg 2009; Androutsopoulos 2011).



As soon as a number of scholars attempted to determine how language alternation manifests in CMC, the departure point was the acknowledgment of linguistic diversity in online interaction, considering not just English speakers but, more importantly, all individuals – regardless of the language they use – with access to this relatively modern mode of communication. Interestingly, Androutsopoulos stresses that

English dominated the Internet landscape of the 1990s in terms of both the native language of estimated users and language of available websites, but more recent years have witnessed a rapid increase in linguistic diversity, with most users and websites using languages other than English (2006: 428).

Consequently, other languages such as French, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese and German are increasingly becoming the object of different studies in relation to CS and CMC (Androutsopoulos 2006; Siebenhaar 2006; Huang 2009; Allothman & Alhakbani 2012; Eldin 2014; among others).

Given that the Internet has become a truly global communication network and considering the number of spoken languages across the globe (roughly 7,000 spoken languages<sup>10</sup>), the literature on CMC certainly remains scarce. In other words, it is worth saying that most languages that have been investigated in the literature are still those so-called international languages such as Spanish, French, English. However, very little is still known about thousands of other spoken languages in South and Central America, New Guinea, in Africa, and so on (Danet & Herring 2007).

Finally, in terms of frameworks and methodology in the study of CS in CMC, it seems as if the fieldwork still has much to offer (Androutsopoulos 2013). Most methods and theoretical models used still come from relative social sciences such as discourse analysis, pragmatics, psychology, (socio) linguistics and anthropology (Herring 2010; 2013). A consistent

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/how-many-languages> Retrieved on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017

theoretical model taking into account all CMC particularities is yet to be defined and implemented. As such, the three frameworks selected in the present study are all socio-psychological, pragmatic, and linguistic in nature.

### **3.4. Facebook as a combination of synchronous and asynchronous components**

The social networking website Facebook on its own remains, perhaps, one of the top popular websites on which much work is still needed (Jucker and Durcheid 2012; Perez-Sabater 2012; Ong'onda et al. 2013). The rapid growth of this social networking site is, without doubt, setting up new challenges to researchers interested in investigating the linguistic characteristics of Facebook. It is also probable that the more popular Facebook becomes, the greater its complexity will be.

In fact, one of the challenges to bear in mind while investigating Facebook is that the social networking site allows several genres to occur on it. For example, not only does Facebook allow users to interact and collaborate; it also offers them a range of possibilities such as the exchange of text messages (in an IRC fashion), going live, posting texts, photos and videos.

The peculiarity of Facebook lies mostly in its inclusion both of synchronous and asynchronous features. Interactions can be synchronous when they occur in real time, as both the sender and receiver are online simultaneously. Likewise, interactions on Facebook can also occur asynchronously when messages are stored in a format and made available to users as soon as they log on again.

In addition, Facebook offers its users a range of communicative possibilities. In fact, depending on how important the message is, participants may publicly post a text on their timelines or privately inbox it to a selected (or tag) number of "Friends".

Similarly, exchanges on Facebook can also occur as one-to-one and one-to-many. In the former case the interaction involves two users who may be both senders and receivers at a time.

Facebook offers its users the opportunity to engage in private communication. In this line only, the person to whom the text is supposed to reach out reads it and perhaps eventually responds. In one-to-many communication, Facebook users may post messages on their timeline and expect others voluntarily to leave *comments* or *iconic reactions*. The post and its subsequent *comments* are openly available and visible to many people. One-to-many interactions are thus public exchanges whereby every Friend on the user list is able to read the post and get involved in the conversation by simply leaving a *comment* (Gafni & Deri 2012).

The present research, however, focuses on textual messages and hybrid ones (for example, if a text is accompanied by an image) only. Iconic responses to *comments* and *updates* (such as likes, videos, emojis, etc.), on the other hand, will not be considered (Cf. chapter 6 subsection 6.4.2.).

### **3.4.1. CS on FACEBOOK**

As said before, studies on the impact of CS in CMC are newer than CS in offline mode (Halim and Maros 2014). Androutsopoulos (2013: 667) reports that even though CS online attracted the attention of linguists as early as the mid-1990s, it remains less well researched than other linguistic processes in CMC. For decades before the advent of Facebook most studies on CS usually focused on face-to-face communication. This led numerous scholars to investigate the phenomenon focusing mostly on verbal language only, neglecting written interaction such as letter writing, diary writing, emails, chats and forums (Huang 2009; Eldin 2014).

Recently a few attempts at investigating CS on Facebook have revealed that the website is in fact a multilingual environment in which multilingual users freely switch between languages in order to achieve interactional goals during the exchange.

In his study on creativity in multilingual communication among Hong Kong native Cantonese speakers on Facebook, Ng (2012) reports that the reasons and motives for the change of code

can be explained from a pragmatic perspective, as a pursuit of perfect face-to-face interaction, and from a social perspective, as an identification of a social group member.

Likewise, Parveen & Aslam (2013) observe, while analysing reasons for CS on Facebook by Pakistani Urdu English bilinguals, that CS is a prevalent phenomenon among Pakistani English bilingual speakers on Facebook. These authors go on to conclude that the phenomenon is not only apparent in spoken discourse but also in online written discourse and the reasons for switching codes are similar to those that explain CS in verbal communication. Furthermore, while applying Malik's (1994) ten reasons for CS as a framework, Parveen & Aslam found out the exact same reasons could be applied to Facebook users, which include lack of facility, lack of register, mood of the speaker, habitual expression, emphasizing a point, semantic significance, showing identity with a group, addressing a different audience, pragmatic reasons, and attracting attention.

In a similar way, the study carried out by Inuwa et al. (2014) on factors motivating CS within the social contact of Hausa-English bilinguals concluded that alternating between languages (Hausa-English) is a discourse strategy used by bilinguals to communicate effectively, which is mostly influenced by certain social variables (e.g. age, social status, etc.) and morphosyntactic structures of the languages involved. Similar findings were revealed by Khadim (2014) in his study of CS on Facebook by Bangladeshi users. The author conclusively reports that the use of CS is based on the social relationship of the speakers, and that relationship is reflected in the use of language on Facebook.

Additionally, Halim and Maros (2014) examine CS functions amongst Malay-English bilingual Facebook users in Malaysia. They argue that these Facebook users use CS both as a tool to enhance their interaction and as a strategy to communicate and negotiate meanings effectively on Facebook. Their findings indicate that this phenomenon occurs on Facebook to express

different social meanings, namely quotations, addressee specification, reiteration, message qualification, clarification, emphasis, checking, indicating emotion, and so on.

Finally, Bukhari et al. (2015) have examined the phenomenon of CS that exists on Facebook among Malaysian university students. Their findings show one basic pragmatic reason, amplifying and/or emphasising a point, to be the trigger of language alternation among the specific group of students that took part in the study.

As explained earlier, such interest in multilingualism comes to compensate many years during which CS investigation was focused on analysing spoken interaction, ignoring written communication. One probable explanation is that, due to its formal characteristic, written language has mostly been for a long time the form in which only one language was likely to be tolerated. Not to mention that CS is a common linguistic practice among multilingual speakers; as such its pervasiveness can only be observed in multilingual communities. The advent of CMC worldwide has offered opportunities for written CS, and a number of studies on language alternation using written material are now available (Hinrichs 2006; Goldbarg 2009; Androutsopoulos 2012, 2013). Applying multi-dimensional scaling and tree-diagram methods in his study on Spanish-English CS in email Communication, Goldbarg (2009:1) for instance, reports that “switches to Spanish functioned to personalize otherwise transactional or work-related English-dominant emails”.

### **3.4.2. The notion of *community* in Facebook: *community of practice*, *speech community*, and *social network***

Previous research in sociolinguistics, CMC, Anthropology, sociology, and many other social sciences, taken together, recognize at least three types of community; namely, speech community, a community of practice, and social network (Milroy 1987; Eckert & McConnet-Ginet 1992; Labov 2001; Tosca 2002; Bou-Franch 2006; Ravindranath 2009; Blattner & Fiori

2009, 2011). These communities differ from each other according both to the context in which an investigation takes place and the kind of population (or participants) involved in the study. In a very broad sense these are communities because they all entail norms any given group of individuals stands for, beliefs people share, ties sustaining a given society that make it simple or complex in a certain way (Milroy 1987; Labov 2001).

The notion of community is always relevant to social studies since it enables us to understand human language and the social meaning it entails in each society (Bou-Franch 2006, 2013). As said before, at least three different but related types of community are considered in the literature.

Firstly, *speech community* comes to be one of the most studied concepts among researchers from such different backgrounds as sociolinguistics, anthropology and sociology. According to Gumperz (1961: 31) a linguistic community or speech community is a social group, which may be either monolingual or multilingual, held together by the frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding area by weaknesses in the lines of communication. Likewise, Labov (1972: 120-1) argues that *speech community* is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms. These norms may be observed in overt types of evaluation behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation that vary in respect of particular levels of usage. One fundamental concept within speech community is *shared norms* which play a key role in every item of discourse among community members. Such norms are specific to each society, and they imply a shared evaluation of patterns of usage as well as a set of norms and linguistic forms that delineate one community from another (Wenger 1998; Witten 2014; Beverly & Wenger-Trayner 2015).

Secondly, unlike speech community, *community of practice* is, according to Eckert & McConnet-Ginet (1992:464) “an aggregate of people who come together around mutual

engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices emerge during this mutual endeavour”. The main characteristic of the *community of practice* is threefold; *mutual engagement*, *joint enterprise* and *shared repertoire* (Wenger 1998). On the one hand, according to Witten (Witten 2014: 9), the term *mutual engagement* refers to members’ source of coherence in a community. It is also described as a process through which dialogue and commitment among community members are built. On the other hand, the *joint enterprise* is closed to the negotiation among community members. As group members their commitment to the enterprise sometimes make them decide what is important to them all and to the group as a structure. This negotiation along with the commitment of the group are made possible through engagement, participation and sharing ideas. Furthermore, *shared repertoire* involves not only objects or requirements of group membership, but also includes the terminology (part of its register), stories, inside jokes, ways of doing things, symbols, concepts and all other that things the community can produce or are a part of the practice itself. In the *community of practice*, the social meaning is co-constructed in the interaction involving its members (Milroy 1987; Wenger 1998; Baran & Cagiltay 2010; Beverly & Wenger-Trayner 2015).

Thirdly, two dimensions describe *social network*, namely *density*, and *multiplexity* (Milroy 1987; Witten 2014). These dimensions are, according to Milroy (1987:139), “excellent indicators of the pressures on a person to adopt the norms and values – including linguistic norms and values – of the local”. Network density refers to the number of existing ties between participants within the network. In dense networks most or all the participants are connected to each other; in loose networks, most participants do not know each other. Multiplexity refers to the strength of the ties – participants who know each other in more than one role (e.g. participants who are both friends and co-workers). There are two basic concepts within a social

network, namely the weak and strong ties between community members. In weak ties any innovation spread is easily observed among the participants.

It is important to mention that most of the characteristics of these communities were mostly noticed in face-to-face interaction in their earlier days. However, when taking face-to-face interaction and CMC as one in that both are channels through which people get into contact with each other, all the definitions of these communities apply to CMC as well with eventually similar outcomes.

For instance, the Congolese Facebook community can be portrayed as a *speech community*, a *community of practice* and a *social network*. It fulfils all the necessary requirements to be considered as such. As a *speech community* it has its specific norms that only Congolese people are aware of. The mutual use of such languages as Kituba, Lingala and French in the same piece of discourse can be understood as typical to Congolese people since no other nation could make use of these languages interchangeably.

The Congolese Facebook community can also be a *community of practice* in that certain online practices that emerge as Congolese people interact are clearly typical of this online community. For instance, CS involving Kituba and Lingala in political discussion, where both languages used are neither official nor fully structured, justifies to some extent that among Congolese people there are some who believe that these languages are part of Congolese culture, history and life.

It is also worth pointing out that the Congolese Facebook community is an ultimate *social network*. Firstly, known as a social networking website, Facebook is basically a social network that relies on the two traditional dimensions of density and complexity. Weak ties between Facebook users may usually trigger some types of communication that are likely to be more public. In fact, wide topics of general interest – politics, football, health, music and so on – are



usually discussed in a large scale among members. However, strong ties between Facebook users generally promote more private communication involving family members or close friends. Topics discussed in this circle are more likely to be personal.

Considering Erickson's (1997)<sup>11</sup> six basic characteristics defining the concept of community, the Congolese Facebook community can be defined in terms of membership, relationship, commitment and generalised reciprocity of shared values and practices, collective goods, and duration.

- *Membership.* To be a member of Facebook the first and foremost requirement is always to sign up and get a personal Facebook account. It is worth mentioning that everyone interested in having a Facebook account is free to possess one.
- *Relationship.* Facebook offers its users a range of relationships within the same platform. These relationships run from casual acquaintance, friendship, to deep emotional bonds (between family members).
- *Commitment and generalised reciprocity* among Congolese Facebook users can be portrayed by the fact that, regardless of political affiliation, there is a mutual belief that the progress of the country will benefit all citizens. Fighting for the development of the Congo is therefore a duty and responsibility of every citizen.
- *Shared values and practices.* The Congolese Facebook users, especially those involved in the current study, share a set of political concerns. They are all bound by the history of Congo, which is their common homeland. As said before, the interchangeable use of local languages in political debate certainly proves that these languages are an important part of Congolese culture, values and citizenship. They are an essential tool that should not be ignored.

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<sup>11</sup> [http://www.pliant.org/personal/Tom\\_Erickson/VC\\_as\\_Genre.html](http://www.pliant.org/personal/Tom_Erickson/VC_as_Genre.html). Retrieved on May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017

- *Collective Goods.* The ultimately-collective good among Congolese people is certainly the desire and hope to see the country become as prosperous as many others around the world; the desire to be represented by a responsible government that cares about all citizens. They all want to see Congo-Brazzaville become stronger and fairer than it is at present, allowing all Congolese the chance to succeed.
- *Duration.* In terms of duration Facebook is a social networking website on which relationships are constantly rebuilt and rethought among users. They may be brief or long-lasting. In this regard, the Congolese Facebook community is expected to have a long existence as long as politics remains a national common concern. In addition, as is demonstrated throughout the analysis below, Facebook communication is clearly embedded in the Congolese culture as users express their linguistic and cultural backgrounds while interacting. Moreover, the fact that highly important issues such as politics are being discussed on Facebook explains somewhat that Facebook has become a substantial communication medium in Congo.

### **3.4.3. Interactional functions of Facebook**

Every medium of communication plays, besides the merely conversational role, several others not quite disconnected but related. While providing a review of doctor-patient CMC, Lee & Zuercher (2017) number nine functions of CMC which can be highlighted as follows, especially in the present case of Facebook.

Before listing these functions, however, it is essential to stress that CMC is an umbrella term used to describe interactions carried out by people through the use of Internet-connected devices. It entails several mediums and platforms including Facebook. Thus, the functions of CMC, though enumerated in the context of doctor-patient CMC, may certainly bring light to an understanding of the international motives behind the use Facebook as well.

- *Task-orientated function*

Most Facebook interactions tend somehow to aim at fulfilling the traditionally task-orientated function of communication. In using Facebook, users are implicitly or explicitly motivated by the ultimate need to achieve certain communicative goals, in the same way as they do while using other media. Facebook is, indeed, an essential communicative tool used on purpose to serve as a solution to meet a specific goal. While Facebook offers multiple possibilities and related activities, most users would mostly focus on how to get their message out, especially in situations of despair, such as political conflict, protest, sickness, death threat, and so on.

- *Information seeking and sharing*

It seems undeniable nowadays that Facebook is one of the most reliable means of seeking, getting and delivering information. People appropriate Facebook in the purpose to carry out multiple activities related to health, business, sport, politics and so on. Seeking and sharing information play a key role in today's world dominated by natural catastrophes – i.e. earthquake, sinkholes, and so on; and human disasters – i.e. global warming, civil war, migration and so on. One could assume, as mentioned earlier, that people use Facebook to get informed of what is going on in the world. It is also clear nowadays that most international or national broadcasts (TV and Radio) possess Facebook accounts and pages to keep their viewers and listeners updated in real time (e.g. CNN, NBC, BBC, TV5 monde, RFI, CCTV).

- *Request for action*

Facebook is also a platform used to request or require and urge others to act. Many national or international marches aiming, for instance, to reclaim human rights, including women's rights, environmental protection, freedom of speech, alerts to domestic violence, sexual abuse, have found huge echoes after having been announced on Facebook. In some countries such as Chad and Congo-Brazzaville Facebook has sometimes been viewed as a real threat to the serving

administration since the platform has appeared to be an essential means for opposition leaders to request and/or urge strikes, peaceful marches or rallies<sup>12</sup>. This constantly happens in Mali (2017), Republic Democratic of Congo (2016<sup>13</sup> and 2018), Togo (2017), Congo-Brazzaville (2015 and 2016), Burundi (2014 and 2015), and so on. Facebook, like other social media, is usually shut down during critical moments such as election process periods. For example, in Republic Democratic of Congo, the Internet was suspended all day long as a result of a march called by opposition leaders on December 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

- *Administrative function*

Both public and private sectors have found Facebook a reliable platform able to satisfy some of their communicative needs. Communication is a key to successfully carrying out nearly all administrative tasks, and effective communication is expected to keep posted all stakeholders within any administration in every fashion and as fast as possible. Facebook as a social medium offers just that when used as an administrative tool. Currently many administrative meetings, for example, are being streamed live on Facebook, which allow every person concerned to take part regardless of where they are.

- *Relationship-orientated function*

The relationship-orientated function is perhaps the primary function known by almost all Facebook users. Facebook has proved to be a fundamental tool that enables renewal, creates and even fosters relationships among users. At its basic level a Facebook account is created expressly to keep in touch with friends (Seidman 2013, Jones et al. 2015).

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<sup>12</sup> <https://rsf.org/fr/actualites/le-signal-de-rfi-et-internet-coupees-au-congo-brazzaville>. Retrieved on April 13<sup>th</sup> 2018

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20150120-rdc-heurts-kinshasa-kabila-loi-electorale-coupure-sms-internet-tirs>. Retrieved on April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018

- *Socioemotional exchanges*

The socioemotional function stands for the basic idea that Facebook offers its users opportunities to express personal feelings overtly while keeping their true identities hidden behind (sometimes fake) profiles. Unlike face-to-face interaction, Facebook communication has now appeared to be a platform on which all topics can be discussed, and everything can be said (Zhao, et al 2008). In dictatorships, for example, where the freedom of the press is threatened and denied, Facebook (just like other social media) becomes the only means to beat fear and express concern.

- *Complaint and criticism*

Many Facebook users find the platform a wonderful environment in which unequivocally and overtly to make a complaint and express their opinion without fearing any repercussion. Unlike face-to-face, Facebook interactions are much more protective with regard to freedom of speech. Feelings such as anger, anxiety, happiness and so on can freely be posted on Facebook, and this is done regardless of the social rank of the person or group of people whom these complaints and criticisms target.

- *Building a good relationship*

Once two people become Friends on Facebook their communication usually tends to include some of the informal features. As will be seen in chapter 7, Facebook interactions seem to promote unusual communicative habits between individuals who in face-to-face communication would not probably carry out such a conversation in a rather less formal language and with such aggressiveness (Zhao et al. 2008; Ellison 2007; Ellison & Boyd 2013; Seidman 2013; Jones et al. 2015; Maíz-Arévalo 2017a).

### **3.5. Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed some of the most important aspects regarding CMC, describing its main characteristics. An overview of the literature on linguistic aspects of CMC was first offered, with particular attention paid to studies on CS. The chapter went on further to examine some of the main characteristics of Facebook as a social networking website. Such concepts as *speech community*, a *community of practice*, and *social network* were broadly reviewed before looking into the Congolese Facebook community. Finally, the interactional functions of Facebook were highlighted in the final subsection.

## **CHAPTER 4. SHAPING LINGUISTIC PRACTICES IN CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE**

### **4.0. Chapter overview**

The present chapter is divided into three sections and aims at drawing the linguistic picture across Congo-Brazzaville as well as shedding light on the multilingual issues governing the sociolinguistic environment, which contributes to an understanding of the way Congolese people interact on Facebook. The first section presents the linguistic situation in Congo, with emphasis on the different linguistic functions displayed by languages as well as their typical linguistic features. Attention is devoted to the rise and evolution of Kituba and Lingala which are both major and widespread indigenous lingua francas in Congo-Brazzaville. Section two describes the conditions under which French, the current official language, was elected and implemented. Finally, section three examines some potential patterns of multilingualism across the country by broadening both the use of lingua francas and patterns of language use.

### **4.1. Languages in Congo-Brazzaville**

Congo-Brazzaville is one of the eleven countries that make up the Community of Central African States (CCAS). It is also one of the six-member states of the CEMAC (The Central African Economic and Monetary Community). Bordered by five neighbouring countries - Cameroon to the Northwest, the Central African Republic to the Northeast, Gabon to the West, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the East and South, and Angolan exclave of Cabinda to the Southwest – Congo-Brazzaville accounts for a population of over 4.5 million, a vast majority of whom lives in Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire, the two largest towns.

The linguistic situation in Congo is complex. Such complexity lies both in the co-existence and interplay of its several languages. About sixty indigenous languages are spoken within the national borders, with French being the only national official language (see map.1 below).

Multiple reasons could explain the difficulty in determining the precise and exact number of languages in Congo.

Firstly, it seems as if linguists have always faced uncertainty in adequately defining the term “*language*” as opposed to “*dialect*”. In fact, the traditional criterion of mutual intelligibility is now questionable (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 2006; Ogechi 2002b, 2003; McWhorter 2016). Evidence proves that two dialects of the same language may become two distinct languages based on political, social and economic considerations. A notable example is the case of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, which are all considered separate languages while systematically forming three dialects among which mutual intelligibility is observable (Myers-Scotton 1993a; Ogechi 2002b, 2003; McWhorter 2016). History, culture, politics and economics are fundamental factors accounting for the distinction between *language* and *dialect*. Another substantial example can be found in Uganda, where Myers-Scotton (1993a: 9) explains that “although they are mutually intelligible, Acholi and Lango are called separate languages, probably because the people see themselves as having different histories”. A similar case holds for many languages such as Kaamba versus Laari and Suundi versus Vili in Congo-Brazzaville. In fact, Kaamba and Laari (see map 1 below) are mutually understandable. Speakers converse with each other in their own native tongues. Linguists usually name these dialects of Koongo (Ndamba 2000, 2008; Mamono-Ngolo 2012; Ngoko 2013). However, because of history and political controversy, Kaamba or Laari native speakers might be tempted to think of themselves as native speakers of separate languages.

Secondly, in 1960 Congo-Brazzaville was declared independent from France, and the French language ultimately became the only national official language. During the first-ever National Conference in 1991 Kituba and Lingala both received subsidiary official recognition and became *the national vehicle languages*. No official attribution was ascribed to the remaining national languages, which have ever since been reduced to simple *dialects*.



Regarding the typology of languages spoken in Congo-Brazzaville, the scholarly literature shows that, given their origins, the languages spoken within the national borders derive from two linguistic sources; Bantu-based and Ubangian-based languages (Guthrie 1971; Mufwene 2009; Samarin 1991a, 1991b, 2013).

Bantu languages spoken in Congo-Brazzaville have usually been divided into four groups which include Group Koongo (H10), Group Téké (B70), Group Mbochi (C20), Group Njem (A80). Firstly, Group Koongo (H10) includes languages such as Beembe, Doondo, Gaangala, Kaamba, Suundi, Laari, among many others, spoken in the Southwest of Congo, particularly in the regions of Kouilou, Niari, Lekoumou, Buenza, and Brazzaville. Secondly, Group Téké (B70) includes languages such as Boo, Fuumu, Kukua, Ngunguwel, Téké-Alima, and so on, mostly spoken in South and Central Congo, especially in the regions of Plateaux, Cuvette. Thirdly, Group Mbochi (C20) includes languages such as Akwa, Koyo, Kwala, Mbochi-Bunji, Mbochi-Ole and many others spoken in the Northern part of the country. Finally, Group Njem (A80) includes languages such as Bekwel, Mpyemo, Mwaly, Njem and others found in the extreme North of Congo, in the Regions of Likouala, Sangha, and Ouesso (Baka 2005).

With regard to the Ubangian-based languages, they represent a very small group, mainly spoken in the Regions of Sangha, Likouala, Ouesso Impfondo. They include languages such as Baka, Banja, Gbaka, and Gbaya (Cf. map 1 below).

#### **4.1.1. Systematic features of Bantu languages**

Bantu languages are governed by at least four major systematic features: *Noun Class System*, *Agglutination*, *Reduplication*, and *Tonal system* (Demuth 2000, 2001). Such patterns are complex as they affect the whole grammar and morphosyntactic features in most Bantu languages.

To begin with, as defined in *SIL Glossary of Linguistic terms*<sup>14</sup>, a *noun class system* is a grammatical system that some languages – Bantu languages in the present case – use overtly to categorise nouns. *Noun classes* are (1) often based, at least in part, on characteristics (such as gender, animacy, shape and so on) of the referent of some of the nouns in each class, and (2) distinguished by an affix on the noun or word in the noun phrase, and an agreement of affixes on noun phrase constituents and on the verb. The *noun class system* is thus a substantial systematic characteristic of Bantu languages. It describes the morphosyntactic system since these classes realise as grammatical morphemes rather than independent items (Demuth 2000). Myers-Scotton points out that

A prominent feature of Bantu languages is their noun class system. [...] most languages have about 18 noun classes, but up to 22 are posited for proto-Bantu. Nouns are marked according to class membership by the prefixes they receive, as well as the agreement they govern on their modifiers, and their pro-forms occurring as obligatory subject prefixes in verbal assemblies and, also as object prefixes in these assemblies (1993a:10).

In the second place, most Bantu languages are genetically agglutinative, which means that some of their words are made up of a linear sequence of distinct morphemes and each component of meaning is represented by its own morpheme<sup>15</sup>. In other words, Bantu languages more often tend to express concepts in complex words consisting of many linguistic elements (Cf. Example 7 & 8 below). For example, prefixes are ultimate grammatical elements that indicate noun classes in Bantu languages. The relationship between prefixes and nouns constitutes a pivotal agreement whereby a form of a noun requires a corresponding form of a prefix (Ndouli 2001; Ikemou 2010; Apondza-Gombe 2010; Mamono-Ngolo 2012; Ngoko 2013). As shown in example 7, the prefixes *mo-* and *ba-* function as an agreement marker on the quantitative roots in Lingala.

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.glossary.sil.org/term/noun-class> Retrieved on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.glossary.sil.org/term/agglutinative-language>. Retrieved on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017

Example (7). (from the Lingala language)

(1) Moto moko

“a person”

(2) Bato babale

“two persons”

Moreover, *reduplication* is an additional main characteristic of the morphosyntactic system of some Bantu languages. *Reduplication* is usually defined as a morphological process in which the root or a stem of a word is repeated exactly or with a slight change in order to convey some grammatical and/or semantic functions. In other words, some words in most Bantu languages are meaningfully created on the basis of replicating one word just as described in example 8 below. *Reduplication* is also an indicator of the frequency and the intensity of the action signalled by the verb stem.

Example (8). (From the Lingala language)

(1) *Noki*

“soon”

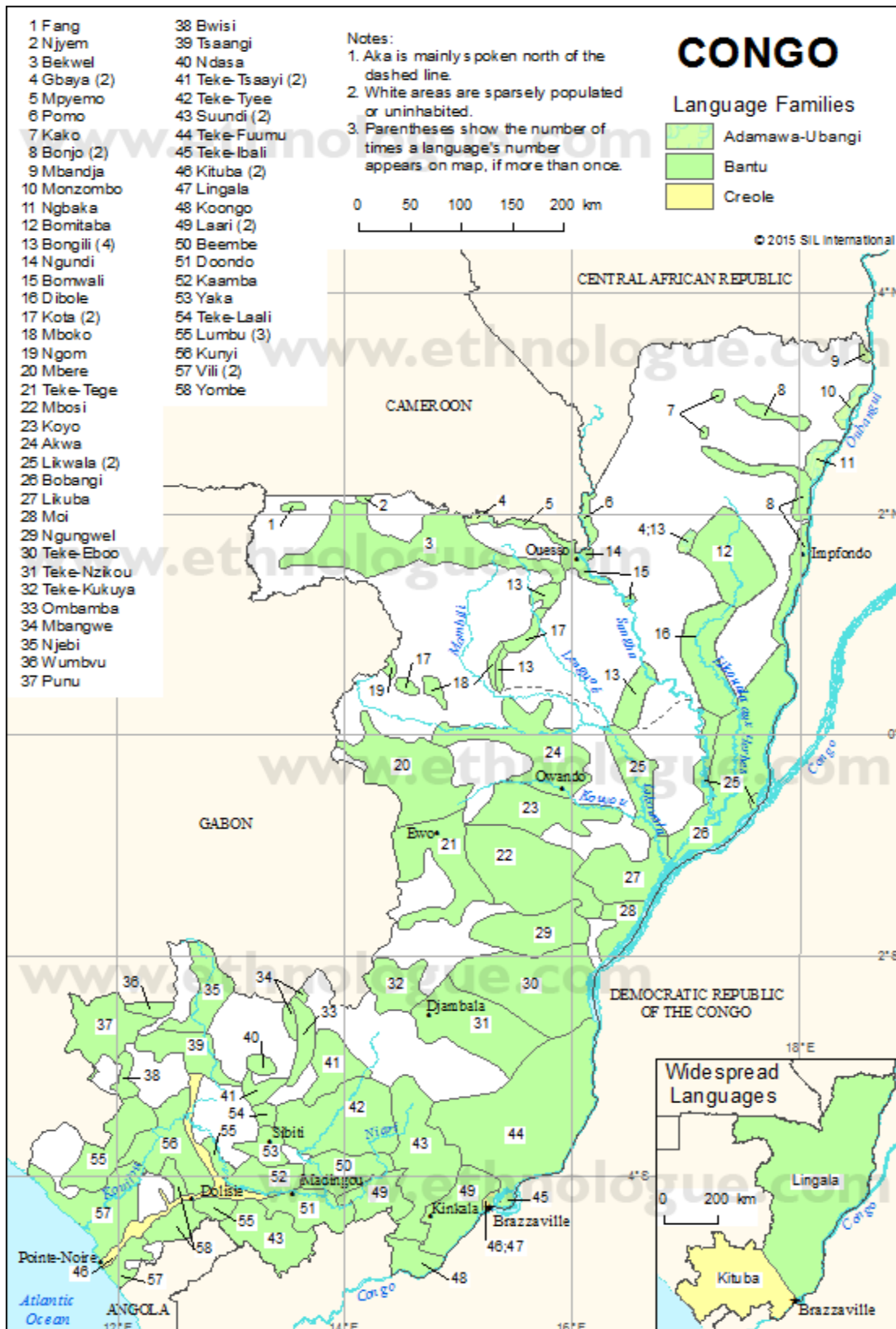
(2) *Noki noki*

“emergency”

To conclude, *tones* are also a basic characteristic of Bantu languages. The *Oxford Dictionary of English*<sup>16</sup> defines *tone* as a particular pitch pattern on a syllable used to make semantic distinction. In Lingala, for instance, [Mòtò] means “a person”, but if the tone changes to [Mòtó] the meaning is “head”, and if it changes to [Mótò] it means “a fire or light”.

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<sup>16</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)



<sup>17</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/CD> Retrieved on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017

#### 4.1.2. The rise of Kituba

Kituba is a contact-based language which arose under some historical circumstances at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to some potential needs of a lingua franca in the Southeast of Congo (Cf. map 2.).

There seems to have been a widespread view that the French settlers who first arrived in Congo came by boats sailing along the Pointe-Noire coast (Samarin 1991a, 1991b, 2013; Ndamba 2008; Mufwene 2009). Pointe-Noire then soon became the first attractive centre where slaves were sold, bought and deported. Assumingly, this implies that there may progressively have appeared a potential need of a means of communication among people then circumstantially gathered together (traders and indigenes). Hence this interpretation supposes that at first French settlers may have spoken an oversimplified, pidgin form of French to which indigenous people attempted to accommodate their different local languages. The main objective of this would have been to establish and facilitate communication, and such a contact (between French settlers and missionaries and indigenous people) may have favoured the rise of a pidginized form that later became Kituba. Samarin's (1991a:6) argument is convincing as he indicates that "it [Kituba] arose out of a widely known language that was not, however, true lingua franca; it arose out of somewhat pidginised lingua franca, and that it was created as pidginized lingua franca at the time of colonization."

Additionally, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries many West Africans arrived in Pointe-Noire, settling in along the coast as the environment there started to offer several opportunities for living. In such a multilingual and/or multicultural environment Kituba appeared the best choice to meet the needs of the time. More importantly, in the 1920s the construction of the first railway between Pointe-Noire and Brazzaville started. This huge project had to be executed manually and a large workforce was required from overseas as the construction lasted over 11 years, and many thousands of people lost their lives. Kituba was thus spoken at the

workplace between workers and settlers as well as among workers as they came from different linguistic backgrounds. Mufwene (2009: 1) explains that “like Lingala, Kituba evolved mostly out of labour migrations occasioned in the case by the construction of the railway connecting Kinshasa to the Atlantic Ocean in the early 20th century.”

Kituba is spoken not only in Congo-Brazzaville but it is also used in the Southwestern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo and in the Northern part of Angola. It still serves as both a lingua franca<sup>18</sup> and a first language of most youngsters born in towns such as Brazzaville, Pointe Noire (Congo-Brazzaville), and Kinshasa, Kisangani (in the Democratic Republic of Congo). Mufwene (2009:217) indicates that “while the young urban population generally speaks it as their mother tongue, a good proportion of the urban adult population still uses Kituba as a second or third language, although the overwhelming majority of them are fluent speakers”.

However, Kituba has been classified as a Bantu language (Guthrie 1971), though it still does not fully present the same typical linguistic features as many other Bantu languages do. As pointed out by Mufwene (ibid), Kituba’s structures are often different from those of the varieties globally referred to as ethnic Kikongo. One notable example is that ethnic Kikongo varieties have a lexical and grammatical tone, whereas Kituba has a predominantly fixed accent system, with the accent on the penultimate syllable.

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<sup>18</sup> Lingua franca is thereby defined as a common language used by people of diverse backgrounds.

### 4.1.3. The rise of Lingala

Unlike Kituba, which spread in the Southwest, Lingala arose in the area around the Congo River, in the Northwest of Congo, halfway between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Congo-Brazzaville (Cf. map 2 below). Most attempts at an explanation regarding its origin conclude that Lingala emerged among the tradesmen and riverine people of the Mongala, Ngiri, and Ubangui rivers who sailed these rivers in wooden canoes, known as *bwato* in Lingala, before and after their colonisation, in order to sell their agricultural and fishing produce (Motingea Mangulu and Mwamakasa 2008; Mufwene 2009; Yocum 2014). Yocum points out that

although there are different explanations of how that language evolved, it is usually agreed that Lingala evolved from Bobangi, the trade language of the Bangala (pl. form of Mongala), a cultural group of living along the Congo River upstream from what is now Kinshasa in the Mid-19th century (2014: 4).

Thus, colonisation seems to have pushed forward Lingala since the settlers had to speak it in order to better impose and settle their domination upon indigenous people.

Within the Congo River basin Lingala is practically spoken by inhabitants from both sides of the river as they share almost similar cultures and similar languages. More importantly, Lingala emerged because people from different linguistic backgrounds were gathered together to achieve specific goals. In fact, it could be argued that along the Congo River and adjacent stretches of tributaries Lingala speakers have used a linguistic predecessor, Bobangi, as a means of communication with other river cultures. As traders who travelled the River they had to negotiate with ethnic groups who never spoke other languages. As Kituba, Lingala is a lingua franca.

Lingala is actually a widespread and overused lingua franca in Congo-Brazzaville. The Lingala linguistic region occupies about half the territory of Congo-Brazzaville and covers nearly the

entire northern part of the country and much of the West from Brazzaville to Impfondo (Cf. Figure 1 and Map 2 below). Being able to communicate in Lingala is crucial for people living in areas around. Although French is the official language, Lingala is the main language of many inhabitants of all the towns in the North of the country (Samarin 1991a, 1991b, Mufwene 2009; Mwamba Kabasele 2014).

At the structural level Lingala is systematically a typical Bantu-based lingua franca. Basic linguistic features of most Bantu languages are present in Lingala. Fifteen noun classes govern its morphological system. Tones and agglutination are also semantically and grammatically as important elements as noun classes in Lingala as well.

Example (9).

(1) *sango*

“news”

*Sángó*

“churchman”

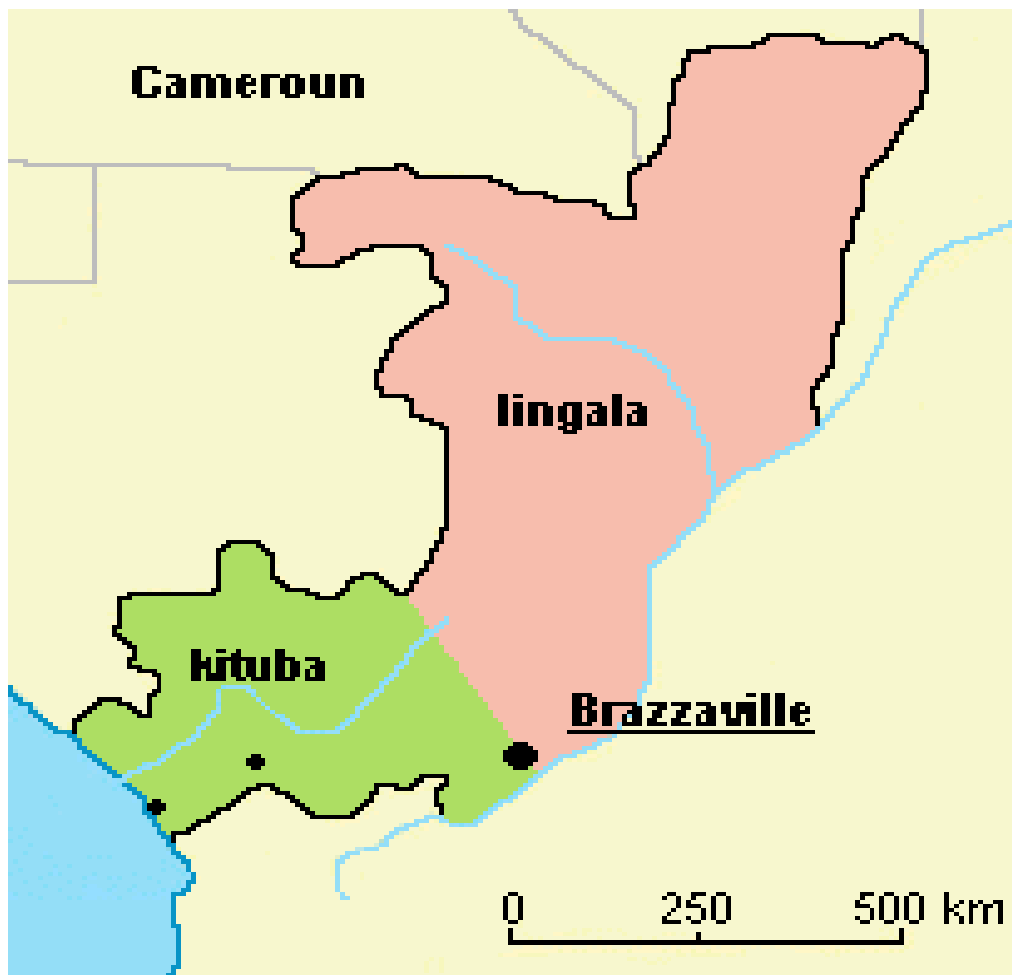
(2) *Nakangá*

“I closed”

*Nakanga*

“I close”





Map 2: Lingala and Kituba as the lingua francas across Congo<sup>19</sup>

#### 4.2. The process of choosing an official language

As mentioned before, the country became independent in 1960 and French was appointed the official language. Certainly, this choice of French as the sole national official language was predominantly based on political and economic rather than emotional considerations (Myers-Scotton 1993a).

On the one hand, in the 1960s, while French was ascribed such a predominant status, less than ten percent of the average population could speak it fluently (Calvet 1994). On the other hand, unlike other African countries such as Kenya and Mozambique, where there are no indigenous languages numerically dominant (Myers-Scotton 1993a), Kituba and Lingala have always been

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/CD>. Retrieved on November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017

numerically widespread in Congo. That is, if an official language had to be chosen only by virtue of its relative ethnic neutrality and emotional considerations, both Kituba and Lingala could certainly have been appropriate choices for multiple reasons.

To begin with, languages have always set up social boundaries as they play a substantial role in the political stability of the nation. Each ethnic group wants to impose its dominance on others. Political conflicts are also linguistic as they often oppose one ethnic group to another. The choice of an official language is indeed subject to political implications. In the second place, Kituba and Lingala have always been neutral communication tools since they are used all over the country with no stereotypes attached. Being lingua francas, no practical social identity lies behind their public or private use. They are often used with no apparent political incidence on their speakers. Furthermore, although it has never been overtly pointed out, the use of French has always remained an explicit indicator of ruthless colonization once endured. Morally this still has negative implications in the way Congolese people regard French as opposed to other national languages. Moreover, it is certainly clear that both Kituba and Lingala were numerically dominant. Unlike French, which is mostly used by educated people, Lingala and Kituba, for example, are understood by almost everyone, regardless of social class (Ndamba 2011). In this respect, promoting either Kituba or Lingala would have been a perfect match that would linguistically include all citizens in the development of the country. To conclude, as mentioned earlier, even though French is the only national official language, it has become apparent that being able to communicate in French is just part of the picture. The reality is that the languages spoken in everyday conversation are Lingala and Kituba. Most Congolese people, for instance in Brazzaville, are relatively fluent in both Kituba and Lingala as they are used at work, in shops and in restaurants. They are frequently heard in a song played on the radio, at church, and in the clubs, to name just a few places. They are both the real languages of most urban people no matter how educated.

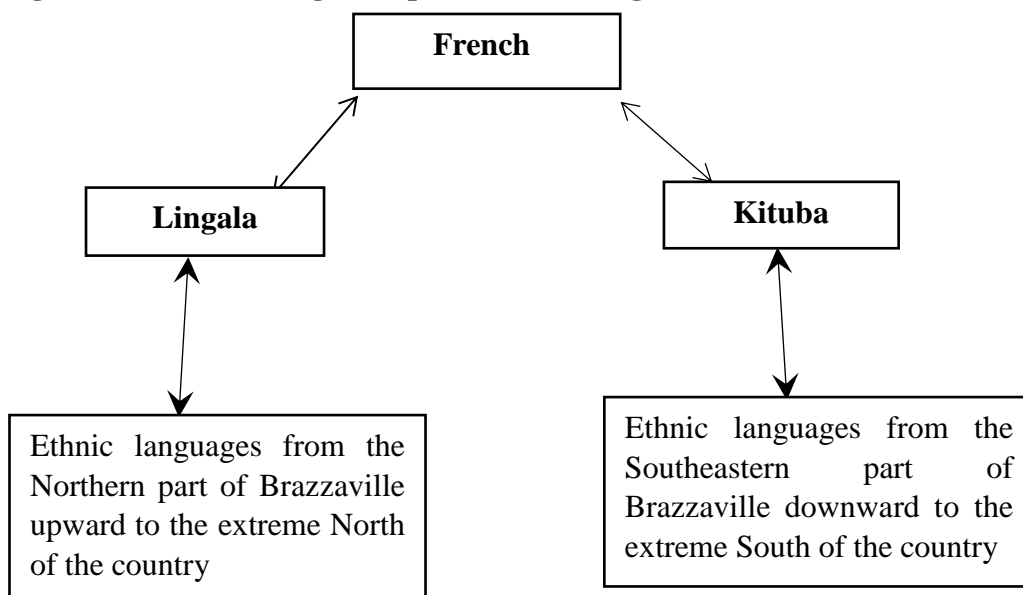
French has gained an increasing official recognition in the linguistic configuration of the country since 1960 (Cf. Figure 1 below). It is the compulsory language and a school subject from primary school to university. It has been strongly established in almost all officially major roles in the government, mass media and business spheres.

While real access to French comes through extended formal education, becoming fluent in Kituba and/or Lingala is entirely independent of any formal education. They are spontaneously acquired and usually used with no stereotypical significance. In Kituba, for example, Mufwene indicates that

since its beginning, Kituba has functioned as a lingua franca, especially in the extra-coutumiers non-traditional centers formed by the colonial administration, in the Christian missions, and in the factory towns created by large concession and exploitation companies (2009: 217).

The difference between French and the two local lingua francas is also structural. While Kituba and Lingala are both Bantu-based languages, structurally characterised by features such as *agglutination* and the *Noun Class System* or *reduplication*, French is an inflectional language based on the SVO system.

**Figure 1. Picture of linguistic practices in Congo-Brazzaville**



Kituba and Lingala are both contact-based, which means they are not associated with a particular ethnic group. They therefore serve as indigenous lingua francas together with French, which serves as exogenous lingua franca, mainly among educated people. Both languages arose as people from different ethnolinguistic groups were brought to live next to and with each other in such new localities; Lingala from the North and Kituba from the South.

It is essential to note that these two languages have a relatively elaborated grammatical system developed, as said earlier, by missionaries and language experts at the department of linguistics at Marien Ngouabi university<sup>20</sup>. However, it seems hard to describe the extent to which an average person knows the standard written form of these languages since they are not taught at all in the national educational system. One could argue that an average person who has no linguistic background might spell or write Kituba or Lingala words as they literally hear them.

It is also important to argue that social identities are usually expressed by means of an ethnic language since they represent the L1 for most citizens. An ethnic group is thus named after a corresponding ethnic language, which, in turn, operates as an indication of both social and linguistic identities. Paradoxically, these are not easily accepted, especially in public spheres, since most people cover those by means of avoiding ethnic languages. One of the reasons for this avoidance might be the overrated value attached to the French language. French is a highly-rated language whose use suggests high education, and modern-day life; whereas the use of ethnic languages is stereotypically downgraded to that ordinary and lower position in life. In other words, ethnic languages are simply considered negligible and less worthy than their hegemonic or imperial counterparts (Calvet 1994).

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<sup>20</sup> Marien Ngouabi university is the only public university in the country.

### 4.3. Patterns of multilingualism in Congo-Brazzaville

In Congo-Brazzaville almost everyone is multilingual<sup>21</sup> (Ndamba 2011; Massoumou 2001, 2003a). In addition to a first language (L1), usually ethnic, the typical urban person may, *a priori*, have acquired one of the two indigenous lingua francas (Kituba and Lingala as his/her L2) and, later an official language (French as L3). Two factors need to be taken into account in the distribution of multilingualism in Congo-Brazzaville.

The first point to consider is that the typical multilingual situation of an urban person in Congo-Brazzaville is diglossic.

According to Ferguson (1959), diglossia is

a relatively stable language situation, in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language, which may include a standard or regional standards, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, quoted in Chekayri, 2006: 41-2).

Chekayri (2006: 42) supports Ferguson's definition. He believes that Ferguson makes a good distinction between:

- a) oral and written registers;

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<sup>21</sup>The distinction between the sociolinguistic situation of an Urban as opposed to Non-urban person is of less importance throughout the present thesis since I do not have enough information on the kind of linguistic situation a Non-urban person lives in; not to mention that the only existing sociolinguistics studies in Congo-Brazzaville (at least to the best of my knowledge) have been concentrated on the use of Language in Urban contexts. The reasons for this are manifold. First of all I have noticed that literature on the sociolinguistic situation of Congolese people has been much more concerned with Urban than Non-urban settings. The argument usually pointed out by dialectologist, sociologists and sociolinguists is that Non-urban Centres (at east in Congo) always represent one village with one language and one culture (Ndamba 2000; Nkouka 2001; Massoumou 2003a, 2003b). Although this classic argument can be up to a certain point questionable, the convincing idea is that only in cities can bilingualism or multilingualism be pervasive since these are usually seen as the places where people from different backgrounds get together. Secondly, with the current urbanization of the country, people are now more than before moving into the cities leaving behind them empty countryside. This makes it difficult enough to find evidence from the Non-urban contexts. Last but certainly not least, the Urban sociolinguistic situation has a significant influence on the way languages are being used in the Non-urban ones.

- b) two different codes where high (H) refers to the superposed variety and low (L) refers to other varieties;
- c) written literature which is learned largely by formal education and other varieties learned outside literacy context; and
- d) an H variety, used for most written and formal spoken purposes, as opposed to an L variety, which is used in informal speech.

The aforementioned interpretation seems to be compatible when applied to the case of Congo-Brazzaville. As regards the first distinction, (a) oral and written registers are ascribed to French, which is both the oral and the written language or register. As for the second aspect, French is a high (H) or a dominant language and refers to the superposed variety whereas Kituba and Lingala (the low (L) languages) refer to the other varieties. In relation to the third point, French is a written variety which is learned largely in formal education and Kituba and Lingala are varieties learned outside the literacy context, and mostly used as spoken varieties. Finally, as for the last distinction, French is the high variety used for most formal spoken purposes, as opposed to Kituba and Lingala, the low varieties, which are used for informal spoken interaction.

Another point is that education is a key element in shaping the multilingual practices in Congo-Brazzaville. At its basis, extended education means learning the official language (as it is the main medium of education in the entire educational system) in addition to the mother tongue. Educated people are thus highly exposed (or predisposed) to acquiring and/or learning several languages (Ndamba 2011; Massoumou 2003a, 2003b).

#### **4.3.1. Patterns of Language use and the use of lingua francas in Congo-Brazzaville**

In Congo-Brazzaville people do not only speak a lingua franca as their second language; they also know some other languages (Massoumou 2001 2003a; Ndamba 2000). Learning another

ethnic language results in many types of social relationship, e.g. neighbourhood, client-shopkeeper, boss-employee, to name just a few. Even in a relatively remote rural area where almost everyone is a first-language speaker of an ethnic language, people living there undergo the influence of Kituba or Lingala (the two indigenous lingua francas and widespread languages in the country).

In such a multilingual context at least four sets of language use can be identified, especially in urban areas: home, neighbourhood, workplace and school. Unlike rural areas where a single language can be used both with neighbours and within a family, in urban centres each language better operates in a specific context (at home, with neighbours, at work and at school). A notable example could be the university student who is fluent in French and who uses it most of the time at university, and who becomes quite a different person (using different languages) when s/he goes online to chat, when s/he interacts in the streets with friends or neighbours, when s/he goes home to become a father/mother, an uncle/aunt, a brother/sister, etc.

There are languages almost exclusively spoken with family members (mostly ethnic languages), in a neighbouring setting (mostly Kituba and/or Kituba), at school (mostly French), and in the workplace (mostly French). At first, unless descending from an inter-ethnic marriage or from a highly educated couple, Congolese people still speak their mother tongues among family members. Secondly, with neighbours from other ethnic groups there is a need to use a neutral language. Lingua francas like Kituba and Lingala mostly intervene in such situations. Thirdly, with co-workers and online (mostly in formal situations) French is the only language expected to be used. As a result, patterns of CS can be observed in family encounters (between a lingua franca and a mother tongue, or between a mother tongue or any lingua franca and the official language), in the neighbourhood (between any lingua franca and the official language), in the workplace (between any lingua franca and the official language, with the lingua franca usually used in informal interaction) (Ndamba 2011; Massoumou 2003b).

Regarding factors promoting CS, Myers-Scotton (1993a:39) points out, however, that “how much CS occurs seems to be [or is] a function of the speaker’s educational level and occupation, but also of age”. For example, Congolese people at the top of the socio-economic ladder are those who speak French (the official language) most of the time with children at home to improve their chances to do better at school. They are also aware of how to display language use in different communicative contexts.

Before moving to chapter 5, it is however important to note that in order to provide a thorough understanding of the socio-cultural environment as well as the complexity of the linguistic situation in which Congolese Facebook users live, the choice of a suitable theoretical model represents a crucial step in this study, since such model needs to enable to provide an exhaustive explanation of the linguistic aspect of Facebook interaction at both micro and macro levels. In fact, using one framework may not be enough to shed light on the motives and principles surrounding language alternation on Facebook. Thus, as will be observed in the next chapter, three different but related socio-psychological theoretical models, namely *Communication Accommodation Theory*, *Markedness Theory* and *Minimal Action Game* are applied altogether in an effort to offer an exhaustive understanding of both the interactional as well as socio-cultural meanings surrounding CS on Facebook. It will be noted, for example, that the motive behind the application of *Communication Accommodation Theory* is the desire to explore the patterns and occurrences of CS in Facebook updates as opposed to Facebook comments. The *Markedness Theory* was applied in order to categorize languages used by Congolese Facebook users into two groups. As explained in section 4.2. French is the sole official language, as such its use on Facebook is thus unmarked. Other languages used apart from French are referred to as marked choices (Cf. chapter 5). Finally, the choice of *Minimal Action Game* was motivated by the desire to consider Facebook interaction as a set of actions and reactions performed by users in order to fulfil their communicative needs. The joint use of these three theoretical



models is therefore relevant and helpful to give thorough answers to the four research questions of the investigation, and determine fundamental factors accounting for CS in Facebook interaction.

#### **4.4. Chapter summary**

This chapter has drawn the sociolinguistic configuration across the country. It has then shed light on linguistic practices offline. On the one hand, it was stated that, apart from French, two language families control the linguistic situation in Congo, Bantu and Ubanguian languages. On the other hand, it was reported that most of the languages spoken in Congo (apart from French) are Bantu-based, mostly characterized by four major features: *Noun Class System, Agglutination, Reduplication, and Tonal system*. Furthermore, issues involving language use were discussed and clarified as well as patterns of multilingualism. Finally, particular emphasis was accorded to Lingala, Kituba, and French, which are likely to be the means of Facebook interaction amongst Congolese people since they are the three lingua francas widely used across the country. The linguistic features of these languages were presented as well as.

## CHAPTER 5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

### 5.0. Chapter overview

This chapter is centred on the description of the three analytical frameworks used for the data analysis, and it is divided into four sections. It starts with a description of *Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)*, explaining the relevance of this theory when applying it to computer-mediated communication via the analysis of CS on Facebook. In section one the main premises of *CAT* will be highlighted as well as the basic principles. Section two focuses on describing *Markedness Theory*. Section three brings together both analytical approaches by highlighting their strengths in the process of the data analysis. Finally, section four describes *Speech Act Theory (SAT)* with a focus on Weigand's (2010) *Minimal Action Game (MAG)*, the model adopted in order to organize and categorise the present data.

### 5.1. Communication Accommodation Theory

Also known as *Speech Accommodation Theory*, *Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)* is a social cognitive approach developed by Giles in the 1970s. This theory accounts for the basic assumption that whenever and wherever people interact, their speech is influenced by extralinguistic factors surrounding the interaction. These factors include setting, the context of interaction, age and so forth. Farzadnia and Giles (2015: 18) point out that “as an interface between linguistics, communication, and social psychology, *CAT* is a framework for understanding the interpersonal and intergroup dynamics of speakers (and communicators) adjusting their language and nonverbal patterns to each other's”. Likewise, Giles and Gasiorek (2012) argue that adjusting for others is a fundamental part of successful interaction. In this line, interaction can be understood as the process through which interactants adjust and accommodate to and with each other in order to make their speech and that of others meaningful.

The focus of *CAT* is thus on explaining the motives and constraints behind the speech shift that occurs in human interaction (Giles & Johnson 1987; Giles, Coupland and Nikolas 1991; Giles and al. 1991; Giles and Coupland 1991; Shippey 1997). This shift in speech is always connected with individuals' beliefs, attitudes and experience of the communicators. Farzadnia and Giles (1995) add that the mere goal of *CAT* is to "highlight individuals' beliefs and motives underlying their communicative behaviour in the immediate situation, either orientated convergently toward or divergently away from others present". The back and forth in interaction amongst individuals can have several causes including positive and/or negative appreciation of one another, linguistic (in)security, expressions of solidarity, power display and so forth. *CAT* thus appears to be a very useful framework within which to analyse socio-psychological as well as sociolinguistic phenomena that occur as people interact.

Following Giles (2015), *CAT* was designed to explain how and why people reduce and magnify communicative differences among themselves as well as the social consequences of so doing. These consequences include CS in interaction.

In its early years two opposing but complementary concepts were at the heart of *CAT*: *Convergence* and *Divergence*, both of which were considered major strategies of communication within the *CAT* mainstream. As such, *CAT* has also been known as a productive approach to explaining some of the cognitive reasons (Cf. Subsection 5.1.4.) for CS. As said before (Cf. chapter 2), previous studies (Gumperz 1982a; Auer 1984b, 1995, 1998; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 2006; Giles 2009) on CS have shown that CS is a strategy whereby individuals emphasize the social difference between themselves and their interlocutors. Switching back and forth can then be inclusive (or convergent), and/or exclusive (divergent), depending upon multiple motives and motivations of the speakers as well as sociolinguistic factors informing the context of the interaction (Cf. chapter 2).

### **5.1.1. Convergence**

The term convergence has come to be used to refer to a

strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of wide range of linguistic/prosodic/nonverbal features including speech rate, pause phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, and so on (Giles & Coupland 1991: 35).

One of the main characteristics of mankind seems to be that individuals usually seek inclusion rather than exclusion. In other words, in any communication setting, people try to adjust themselves because they want to gain approval, increase communicative efficiency, and maintain positive face with their interlocutors (Runciman 1998; Vătămănescu 2010). Convergence seems a highly productive communicative strategy in that it entails expressing effective feelings in the course of the interaction where both the speaker and the listener render their communication mutually intelligible and integrative. It is arguable that convergence is a mere expression of the desire for social integration. Beebe and Giles state that

people will attempt to converge linguistically toward the speech patterns believed to be characteristic of their recipients when they (a) desire their social approval and the perceived costs of so acting are proportionally lower than the rewards anticipated; and/or (b) desire a high level of communicational efficiency, and (c) social norms are not perceived to dictate alternative speech strategies (1984: 8).

### **5.1.2. Divergence**

Unlike convergence, divergence is defined as a strategy whereby individuals alter their speech (or communication more generally) to move away and distance themselves from their conversational partners' communicative habits (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979, Bourhis 1979; Coupland and Nikolas 1991; Giles and al. 1991; Giles and Coupland 1991). An example of divergence can be found in Giles et al. (2016a). The authors describe a frame interaction between an English speaker and a Welsh one, in which the former exhibits a

negative opinion of the Welsh language. Following the authors, when the English speakers described Welsh as a dying language with a dismal future, Welsh participants overwhelmingly broadened their Welsh accents, and some even introduced Welsh vocabulary and phrases in their responses, thereby emphasizing their Welsh identity and distancing themselves from their English interviewers (2016: 4). While convergence is a strategy for expressing the type of solidarity amongst people, divergence rather sets boundaries and distances. The broad use of the term “divergence” is thus equated with the exclusion of outgroup members and reinforces dissimilarities between interlocutors (Beebe and Giles 1984; Giles 2009; Giles et al. 2016a, 2016b; Dragojevic 2016).

The difference between convergence and divergence can be summarised in Thomas’ (1995: 128) terms as the author argues that factors that trigger social distance (e.g. status, social class) are the opposite of factors that trigger solidarity among interlocutors (e.g. degree of intimacy, group membership). The author argues that social distance is a composite of psychologically real factors (status, age, sex and so on) which together determine the overall degree of respectfulness within a given speech situation.

### **5.1.3. Overaccommodation**

Over years of criticism and refinement within the framework of *CAT*, another major communicative strategy has been advanced recently, namely, *over accommodation*. Overaccommodation is a strategy whereby the speakers overdo efforts in regulating, modifying or responding to others (Vătămănescu 2010). Three components portray the overaccommodation strategy, namely sensory, dependency, and outgroup overaccommodation.

Firstly, differences in terms of ability can make it difficult for individuals to interact. To this end, one speaker has to overadjust his/her discourse to make the interaction possible. This is

termed *sensory overaccommodation*. A notable example could be observed in most conversations (or interactions) encompassing teachers and students in second-language acquisition classrooms. In fact, teachers, who usually appear to dominate the language used in the classroom, have to overaccommodate their discourse in order to reduce the observable difference between them and their students.

Secondly, social differences can also trigger overaccommodation. This happens when a speaker talks to another whom he or she considers to be of lower social status. This strategy is called *dependency overaccommodation*.

Finally, the last component of the overaccommodation strategy is an *outgroup overaccommodation*. This occurs when speakers of one group put their interlocutors of another group in a cultural group without acknowledging or taking into account individual cultural uniqueness (Vătămănescu 2010; Giles 2009). It is worth mentioning that the uniqueness of every culture, as well as their specific values, are usually boundaries between people from different backgrounds while communicating in intercultural communication settings (Vătămănescu 2010; Giles et al. 2016b).

#### **5.1.4. Motives underlying CAT**

Studies in *CAT* mainstream have reportedly categorised the motives of speech accommodation into two different types including affective and cognitive (Giles & Coupland 1991; Giles et al 2016a, 2016b).

##### *(1) Affective versus cognitive motives*

This subsection describes affective and cognitive factors influencing speech accommodation.

- *Affective motives*

Communicative behaviours are managerial in that the manner in which interlocutors perceive the speech and behaviour of another has a core role in how they evaluate a conversation. Interpersonal communication can stand for both the referential and social (or relational) information (Beebe and Giles 1984; Vătămănescu 2010, Giles et al. 2016a). The more similar attitudes and beliefs, the more attracted speakers will be to other interactants in the conversation. Accommodation thus varies in both its degree of appropriateness and the norms that guide speech. Interactants constantly change their communicative behaviour according to who their interlocutors are and what social status they occupy.

Social (and personal) identity, self-consciousness as well as rules governing any given society play a major role in the way people interact. A notable example would be a conversation between two speakers from different social classes in which one participant is of a lower status level and the other of a high social class. It could be argued that the person of a lower social status is likely to accommodate to the person of a higher social class due to his/her desire to become part of the other person's group (Beebe and Giles 1984). The main goal of *CAT* is thus to explain how speakers, by using language in interaction, attempt to manage and regulate social distance and to signal their attitudes to each other and their respective social group (Giles et al. 2016a:8). Affective motives are considered to account for approval seeking by speakers involved in communication.

- *Cognitive motives*

The desire to ease comprehension and increase communicative efficiency can also motivate speech accommodation (Giles et al. 2016a, 2016b). Convergence to someone else's accent, register, dialect, language, may be key to promoting communicative effectiveness, face-saving, and so on. However, in the context where knowledge is differently shared, as in native and

non-native communication, cognitive motivation may be a valuable way to avoid misunderstanding between interactants.

It is worth pointing out that these two groups of motives – affective and cognitive – basically rely upon different factors underlying the context of communication, including interpersonal history, sociocultural norms and values, experiences, and the current and past state of relevant intergroup relations. As stated in chapter 3, both the linguistic history of the Congo-Brazzaville as well as the current linguistic configuration and the asymmetry in terms of education rate may be essential for constant communication accommodation amongst Congolese people.

### **5.1.5. Applying *CAT***

A number of studies have found *CAT* a productive approach to explain sociolinguistic and socio-psychological aspects of communication in multiple fields (Shippey 1997; Giles 2009; Vătămănescu 2010; Rahimian 2013; Farzadnia and Giles 2015; Dragojevic 2016; Giles et al. 2016a, 2016b). For instance, it has been applied to medical communication with a mere focus on doctor-patient exchanges. Farzadnia and Giles (2015) report that the theory is a productive approach to note patients' and providers' communication behaviour, to account for underlying motives and motivations, and to attend to the sociolinguistic strategies guiding their behaviour. Applying *CAT* to medical communication has thus shed light on the darker side of patient-provider interaction. In her study on the role of communication accommodation in the patient recall of physicians' treatment recommendation, Shippey argues that

during the entire patient-provider interaction, the doctor often asks short questions, to the point questions. However, when the doctor is explaining his or her treatment advice, including medication, lifestyle changes, etc., this takes a certain sentence length to accomplish (1997: 85).



Furthermore, by examining doctors' vocabulary complexity during the interaction and treatment, Shippey goes on to conclude that the vocabulary does not invariably get more complex in the discussion of the treatment information (ibid).

Likewise, it has been applied to second-language acquisition whereby *CAT* is seen as a very useful tool to tackle the process through which L1 speakers may accommodate their L2 speaker peers in a different way from that adopted in accommodating their L1 speaker peers (Rahimian 2013). Beebe and Giles (1984: 21) point out that "in native and non-native speaker interaction, the status of the native-speaking interlocutor is a variable affecting second-language performance; the nativeness of the language used provides linguistic status".

Finally, *CAT* has also been applied to computer-mediated communication via a couple of studies. In her studies on the social and cultural patterns in the context of global interaction Vătămănescu (2010) looks into the importance of accommodation in intercultural contexts. According to her, computer-mediated communication is perhaps the only field in which fewer accommodation studies have been carried out. However, this weakness in terms of studies applying *CAT* to online studies does not hide the fact that, regardless of the nature of the interaction (off- or online), it is safe to say that similarities and dissimilarities – e.g. convergence and divergence – in interaction exist in all conversation. In fact, speech behaviour in a conversation is determined by how interactants perceive and evaluate others in the course of an interaction (McLaughlin 1987; Vătămănescu 2010). As in offline interaction, speakers adjust, cooperate, negotiate or even accommodate each other's speech during their interactions online.

## **5.2. Markedness theory**

The *Markedness Model* is a socio-psychologically based approach that attempts to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners (or writers and readers) use to judge any

linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs (Myers-Scotton 1998a, 1998b, 1999c, 2006).

According to Myers-Scotton, *Markedness* is

an explanation accounting for speakers' socio-psychological motivations when engaged. It incorporates themes from a variety of disciplines, from the sociology of language (the allocation paradigm) to the pragmatics (implicatures and intentional meaning) to social anthropology (transactions/negotiations) to linguistic anthropology (communicative competence) (1993a: 75).

Two concepts are fundamental within the markedness mainstream, namely marked and unmarked choices. The former is the unexpected choice people bring to the interaction in certain circumstances. The latter is the expected choice made by speakers in conformity with norms governing the context of the interaction. Interestingly, Auer (2009) provides a good example from Luxembourg where *Lëtzebuergesch*<sup>22</sup> is an unmarked choice. This author explains that although almost all Luxembourgers speak *Lëtzebuergesch* as their first language and are also fluent in French, CS between these varieties is rare. Using *Lëtzebuergesch* is the unmarked way of signalling one's belonging to the non-immigrant part of Luxembourg society, and French is used in public and in many institutions; the alternating use of these languages within one conversational exchange, or even one sentence, would be marked, however. In contrast, CS is the unmarked way of speaking among many second- and third-generation Turkish-German bilinguals, and speaking monolingual Turkish would be marked for many of them.

Myers-Scotton (2006) indicates that using the concept of *Markedness* implies that code choice is viewed as a system of opposition. Such oppositions are partly understood as indexing right-and-obligations sets between participants in each interaction type. Within the markedness

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<sup>22</sup> *Lëtzebuergesch* or Luxembourgish is a Germanic language spoken in Luxembourg, which is a landlocked country in Western Europe. According to data, more than 400 people speak *Lëtzebuergesch* <http://www.omniglot.com/writing/luxembourgish.htm>. Retrieved on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

mainstream unmarked choice, as opposed to marked choice, is crucial. According to this author, unmarked choices are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction (participant, topic, setting and so on). In other words, the unmarked choice refers to some way of communicating that is less likely to cause a social ripple (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993b, 1997c, 2002).

*Markedness* is thus a productive way to gain insight into CS in the interaction involving Congolese people where, as described in chapter 4, French is a potential unmarked code when it comes to written interaction. Theoretically, French is expectedly viewed as an unmarked choice since it is, within the Congolese Facebook community, the only language dedicated to written discourse, especially on Facebook, where the interactions are mostly written-based. Any other language used instead of French appears as a marked choice given the highly official status of French in the country. The marked choices, on the other hand, are those that are unexpected, given the right and obligation set that is in effect (Myers-Scotton 2006). The use of Kituba and/or Lingala in Facebook communication, for instance, is a perfect example of marked choices.

Furthermore, the *Markedness Model* relies on the negotiation of principles and the maxims informing these principles. In other words, the model is pragmatic-based, considering the speakers' language choice as a negotiation of the rights and obligations (RO henceforth) set underlying the context of the interaction. Thomas (1995) considers RO to be the dimensions needed in order to explain any situation in which a speech act involving a major imposition is performed with a minimal degree of indirectness.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) argues that speaking one's ethnic language in the same interaction types indexes a different RO set, one in which the speaker's rights and obligations are based on ethnic solidarity, and perhaps specifically, on the socio-culture values and accomplishments

of that ethnic group. The author points out that principles underlying all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of such speaker motives (ibid).

*Markedness Model* thus accounts for the idea that code choice (or CS) can be both indexical and symbolic in a couple of different ways giving various social attributes governing any given linguistic community. Both indexicality and CS symbolic side are the subject of change because they are dynamic. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 86) provides an example of English in Nairobi, where the author reports that “speaking English fluently in Nairobi may be indexical of any of a set of attributes, including most prominently ‘plus high educational level/ socio-economic status’, ‘plus authority’, ‘plus formality’, and ‘plus official’”.

### **5.2.1. Basic principles and social motives for CS**

For Myers-Scotton (2006), the *Markedness Model* is a theoretical approach through which researchers intend to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. It appears that any code choice made by speakers is not random. In choosing a code they evaluate, first and foremost, the costs and rewards of their action, and rights and obligations on the other. In other words, they assess the *Markedness* of their potential choice determined in accordance with social forces and attributes at work in any given community

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), the *Markedness Model* rests on five fundamental maxims: (1) the unmarked-choice maxim, (2) the marked-choice maxim, (3) the exploratory-choice maxim, (4) the virtuosity maxim, and (5) the deference maxim.

*The unmarked-choice maxim* considers CS to be either sequential or just unmarked in certain circumstances. On the one hand, sequential CS is the result of a change in the situational factors during an interaction. Unmarked CS, on the other hand, occurs when the situational factors

remain the same and depends on speakers' attitudes to themselves and the social attributes that index their interaction. Myers-Scotton (1993a) explains that this maxim is what directs a speaker to make their code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when they wish to establish or affirm that RO. Myers-Scotton (ibid) indicates certain conditions that the author believes necessary for unmarked CS to occur. Firstly, the *bilingual condition*, which means the speakers must be bilingual peers as they interact. The second condition implies that speakers wish to symbolize the dual membership that only CS calls up in the informal interaction involving only intergroup members. The third condition requires that the speakers be relatively proficient in the two (or more) languages involved in the interaction. The fourth condition considers unmarked CS to be more associated with familiarity in the use of languages together than it is with high proficiency or with any social-identity factors, such as education or age. However, it is worth mentioning that these criteria (or conditions) are dynamic and relative depending on the data set the *Markedness Model* applies. Some can be practical in some communities (or social groups) but not in others.

*The marked-choice maxim* stipulates that speakers sometimes make marked choices in order to establish a new RO set for the exchange. In this respect people make marked code choices, which is not an unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction, when they wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange (Myers-Scotton 1993a). Speakers do not always follow or respect the societal norms as they get into interaction. They can, therefore, make use of a marked code choice either to negotiate against an unmarked RO set or to set out a new RO set.

As such, marked CS usually occurs when a speaker wishes to negotiate an RO set other than the prior and regular unmarked ones. A marked choice can be motivated by the desire to achieve one of the following goals: increasing the social distance via authority, expressing anger or annoyance, promoting an ethnically-based exclusion or aesthetic effect.

*The exploratory choice* is a type of CS that occurs when speakers are not sure enough of the expected or optimal communicative intention. Speakers search for a right code that will help achieve their social goals. Myers-Scotton (1993a:142) describes this situation as “when an unmarked choice is not clear, [people] use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of the RO set which [they] favour”.

To illustrate this Myers-Scotton (1993a) refers to Heller’s example taken from francophone Canada in the 1970s, when the legislation was passed mandating that French replace English in a certain context. The conversation occurred in a Quebec hospital where the unmarked RO set was uncertain. Participants had constantly to switch back and forth between English and French.

*CS as a strategy of neutrality.* In certain communicative contexts people may make use of CS that is neither an unmarked nor a marked choice, but a neutral code. Here CS can be viewed as a strategy of neutrality. Thus, CS as a strategy of neutrality occurs if the speakers, by avoiding committing themselves to a single RO set, recognise that the use of each of the two languages has its value in terms of costs and rewards by using two (or more) languages in a single conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993a).

*CS as a deferential strategy* can be a means by which speakers show willingness to carry out the wishes of others. Deference CS occurs when people switch to a code that expresses some type of respect to others. Myers-Scotton (1993:148) observes that “while deference is often indicated by using honorific titles or indirect request, a major form of showing deference is to accommodate oneself to an addressee’s code.”

*The virtuosity maxim of CS.* As in *CAT*, a lack of linguistic ability in an unmarked language can make use of whatever language is available and necessary for accommodating others’ speech. Myers-Scotton (1993:148) argues that “when speakers themselves have to switch

languages on account of their own lack of ability in the unmarked choice, it is interesting that they often overtly recognize the unmarked choice by apologising for their need to speak something else”.

*Markedness Model* has faced much criticism since it was developed. It turned out, according to some scholars, that the model falls short of providing an overall account of multilingual talk, and consequently it is unable adequately to describe speakers’ perception of their behaviour (Auer 1998; Blommaert & Meeuwis 1998; Woolard 2004). For example, instead of considering some pre-existing normative attributes underlying the community, Auer interprets CS utterances in terms of discourse-related, participant-related and preference-related functions of CS. The particularities of the interaction are what push speakers to codeswitch since such particularities are crucial to allowing speakers to organise the conversation.

While Auer (1998) considers the social meaning of CS to result somehow in the interactional organisation of the exchange, Myers-Scotton (2006), by contrast, views CS as a speaker-based enthusiasm resulting from social motives. As such, within the *Markedness Model*, CS is regarded as a rational choice focusing on the individual speaker rather than the *situation* in the sense of an externally given determinant of language choice.

### **5.2.2. Communication Accommodation Theory and Markedness Model applied as one model**

*CAT* and the *Markedness Model* have multiple similarities. As mentioned earlier, they are both socio-psychologically-based approaches attempting to consider a communication from a socio-psychological standpoint. They both aim at explaining subsequent outcomes of linguistic production in any given interaction. These outcomes include convergence, divergence and, eventually, CS. These consequences are almost always cognitive and affective. Both models can be applied at once to explain the use of one language interaction as well as multilingual

communication. Interestingly, CS as a marked or an unmarked choice is usually expressed as a means to claiming identity and/or setting social boundaries between people. In some communication settings speakers can make use of an unmarked choice to claim membership in any given group. In this case the unmarked choice can be viewed as convergence in interaction. Still, if people make use of a marked choice when the unmarked choice is expected, this might be due to their desire to leave other people out of the communication exchange. This is simply divergence.

Although they are similar to some extent, there are differences between the *CAT* and the *Markedness Model*. As Myers-Scotton (2006) points out, the accommodation model is primarily concerned with converging and/or diverging from the listener or a large audience. By contrast, the *Markedness Model* is more centred on the notion that the speakers make choices in the light of their own goals. This does not mean that in choosing a language within markedness mainstream speakers fully ignore their listeners. Listeners are always part of the conversation. *Markedness Model* tries to establish a principled procedure that both speakers and listeners use to judge any linguistic choice that they make or hear as more or less marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. *Markedness Model* initially focuses on social motives for language shift (Myers-Scotton 2006). The main point is that within the *CAT* mainstream speakers and listeners are equally considered. Myers-Scotton (1993: 141) observes that the “theory of code choice, the *Markedness Model*, is more speaker-orientated than audience-orientated, in contrast to speech accommodation and politeness theory”. Interlocutors converge or diverge because the language or style they choose is active at times. By contrast, within the markedness mainstream the language choice people make is much more based upon the purposes and goals they are willing to achieve. In so doing, they bring their listeners in the communicative process. All in all, such difference between *CAT* and *Markedness* is slight since what counts most within both mainstreams is social factors surrounding the interaction. More



importantly, CS, understood as the use of more than one language in one single sentence or discourse, as shown throughout this study, can be better explained from both *CAT* and markedness standpoints.

### **5.3.Minimal Action Games**

*Minimal Action Games* are a set of actions fulfilled by speakers in the process of competence in performance, which in turn may be described as a system of linguistic integrated abilities and knowledge enabling speakers (or Facebook users) accurately to make use of language in specific situations. The theory of *Minimal Action Games* was developed by Weigand in the 2010s in an effort to set up a new taxonomy of speech acts which addresses communication from a different perspective from Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1975) taxonomies. In applying this taxonomy side by side with *CAT* and *Markedness Model*, Facebook interaction as a whole is regarded as a set of written speech acts purposely performed by users. As such, every *Facebook update* is taken as a speech act performed by users, and Facebook communication in its entirety is a dialogically organised interaction. This entails that *Facebook updates* appear as communicative actions, and *comments* stand for reactions to those initiative actions.

Speech Acts have long been described as communicative activities achieved in relation to the speaker's intention and the hearer's interpretation in a certain situation under certain social conventions (Allwood 1977). Theories of Speech Acts usually deal with pragmatic meanings generated by speakers' utterances (Searle 1969, 1975, 2002), as well as the effects of these utterances on the hearer's part (Weigand 2010). In other words, Most Speech Act frameworks examine those types of things speakers do in uttering sentences, and to a great degree the way the hearer reacts or execute the speaker's intention.

Many authors have proposed several classifications for Speech Acts, all of which take off from Austin's (1962) seminars and lectures at Harvard University. Austin is usually regarded as the

pioneer in developing a fresh-start theory of speech acts and laying down the three influential components of an utterance: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts, on which most authors have subsequently based their models (Searle 1969, 1975; Yoshitake 2004; Weigand 2010). A locutionary act is an actual utterance; an illocutionary act is the force behind the utterance; and a perlocutionary act is the effect of an utterance on the listener's.

To start with, Searle (1969) bases his taxonomy on five types of speech act considered as utterances speakers perform: representative, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative. In Searle's terms *representative* utterances involve acts that commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. In other words, representative acts state what the speaker believes to be the case. *Directive* speech acts are described by Searle as acts that speakers use to get the hearer to do something. Directives include requests, commands or orders to the hearer. *Commissives* are those types of act which commit the speaker to some future course of action. Commissives include, for example, utterances that represent promises, threats, offers, refusals and pledges. *Expressives* are those types of act which express a psychological state. Expressives include utterances such as thanks, apologies, welcomes and congratulations. Finally, *declaratives* are speech acts whose utterance effects immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs, and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions. Declaratives include utterances such as excommunicate, declare, christen.

Searle's taxonomy has faced challenges since his ideas did not set up a common ground for all. Many authors (Allwood 1977; Dijk 1981; Yoshitake 2004; Weigand 2010; Maíz-Arévalo 2017b), relying mostly on the dialogical nature of communication, regard this classification as too speaker-centred. In other words, Searle's taxonomy fails in being heavily focused on the illocutionary force of an utterance while paying relatively little attention to the reaction on the hearer's part

Yoschitake (2004), for example, critically argues that Speech Act Theory fails in not considering that meaning of acts in any interaction is conceptualized. As such, employing the speaker-centred model downgrades the dialogical nature of communication, listener's meaning and multiplicity of interpretations.

Likewise, while addressing the failure of Searle's description, Weigand (2010) argues Searle's taxonomy describes acts based on their actions performed as they are uttered while ignoring the reaction on the hearer's part; the reactive speech act. She explains that a single speech act represents a dialogically orientated component of the minimal game of action and reaction. Similarly, Yoschitake (ibid) indicates that the illocutionary act is identified only *a posteriori*, according to the meaning of the perlocutionary act in each participant.

Searle's perception of speech acts is regarded as too monologic, mostly applying to illocutionary acts only, perlocutionary acts being disregarded. However, Weigand's perception is rather based on a dialogic perspective. It focuses on how the speaker's and hearer's parts equally intervene in the process of producing and understanding an utterance. The dialogic perspective thus accounts for both illocutionary and perlocutionary acts.

As will be explained later, Weigand, whose taxonomy consists of four basic types of speech act, namely *declarative*, *explorative*, *directive* and *representative*, points out that Searle's taxonomy is loosely based on two lines of argument: on the one hand, expressions versus functions; on the other hand, infinite versus finite acts.

In light of the first line of argument, Weigand argues against the claim that a simple expression – uttering verb, sentence or event categories of modality – can determine a whole speech act since this expression counts only for a semantic analysis of an utterance. She regards verbal expression and speech act as two distinct objects, with verbal expressions being an integrated

component of the utterance; and speech acts being defined at the functional level by their purpose.

With respect to the second line of argument, Weigand (2010) indicates that, unlike Searle, who suggests that there is a rather limited number of basic things we [people] do with language, it is interlocutors who perform speech acts in action games according to their competence-in-performance. In other words, speech acts should not be described as either finite or infinite acts; rather their description should be based on their functional criteria. These stand for the purpose of an utterance in performance. Just like Yoschitake's, Weigand's argument regards speakers' and hearers' meanings as two integrated components of an act that must equally count when interpreting an utterance.

In an attempt to offer a better understanding of speech acts, Weigand proposes a *minimal game action model* as an alternative theory, defined by the purpose put forth by the initiative speech act, which may be either accepted or rejected by the hearer. Her dialogic taxonomy – or minimal action game – is based on two fundamental principles, namely the *action principle* and *dialogic principle proper*.

The action principle, on the one hand, considers human beings' interaction to be made up of actions. In fact, within the minimal game, the concept of *action* is fundamental. Weigand distinguishes three actions performed by human beings on a regular basis. Each action is defined by specifying the purposes and the means. These actions are mental, practical, and dialogic actions. Firstly, according to the author, the mental action is constituted by mental motives – such as making a decision and carrying it out – owing to mental means or by virtue of the mind. For instance, a father of a high school student wants his son to study law at university while the son is fond of technologies. In such a context, the father must make a decision whether to allow the son to study what he wants once at university. Unlike mental action, practical action aims to achieve physical results by physical means. For example, if a

person feels some need to eat a pizza, he has to take a practical action to go out and buy himself/herself a pizza. Finally, the dialogic action is based on negotiating meaning and understanding by means of speech act sequences in an interaction. Within Weigand's mainstream, any communicative act promotes implicitly or explicitly a reaction from the listener. As will be explained later, this reaction can be framed as a  $\pm$ confirmation,  $\pm$ response,  $\pm$ consent, and  $\pm$ acceptance. For instance, if A utters the following sentence "Did you like the gift I sent you for your birthday? B may reply by "Yes, I did" or "No, I didn't". Either of B's responses may or may not prompt another dialogical action from either A or B.

Also known as a verbal action, the dialogic action can be realized in virtue of speech, discourse, gestures, and so on. As such, both the intention of a speaker as well as the hearer's reaction are essential components in building up a collective dialogical meaning.

The dialogic principle proper, on the other hand, assumes that any dialogue should be regarded as a sequence of actions and reactions, and every communication act performed by speakers is dialogically related either to some preceding or subsequent acts. As Weigand (2010: 80) points out, the dialogic principle is a premise that human beings are social beings. Dialogue involves taking a position, and needs a reaction by the interlocutor, either carried out in the mind or explicitly expressed.

These two principles make up action and reaction as two dependently substantial components of dialogue. According to Weigand (ibid), an action is an initiative act that makes up a dialogic claim, and the reactive act fulfils this very claim. In other words, the term *action* here refers to the illocutionary force of the speaker utterance; whereas *reaction* involves the perlocutionary effects on the hearer's part. These effects may, in turn, result in some reactive acts. Therefore, the dialogue is thus, according to Weigand (2010: 80), constituted by the interactive purpose of coming to an understanding, which is based on the sequence of action and reaction.

Taken in the context of the present thesis, these two principles describe accurately how Facebook communication is made up. In fact, whoever publicly posts an *update* could clearly be regarded as performing a communication act, which may or not end up promoting a series of reactions from fellow users. In addition, one ultimate motive behind posting on a Facebook wall is the desire to share personal thoughts or information with fellow users (Maíz-Arévalo 2015, 2017a). Such enthusiasm can, in other words, be regarded as an initiative act, which constitutes the first half of a Facebook dialogue. Once the *update* becomes public any fellow user having access to it may react by every means possible – leaving comments, likes, etc. Hence these reactive acts indeed represent the second half of a dialogue. In other words, both *Facebook updates* and *comments* seemingly entail the two main constituents of a dialogue, namely action and reaction.

As already said, Weigand’s taxonomy consists of four basic types of speech act, namely declarative, explorative, directive and representative.

- *Declaratives* are the types of speech act whereby the speaker makes and fulfils the claim to create a world, and so the world is created by means of the declarative utterance. The type of reactive act expected from the hearer can be a confirmation. As will be explained and demonstrated in chapter 7 some declaratives have legal basis, while others used in everyday interactions, such as example 10, are considered politeness-driven communicative strategy.

Example (10).

A: Thank you “Danke”

B: Cheers. /You’re welcome “Bitte”

(Weigand 2010: 146)

- *Exploratives* serve to fulfil one of the human being’s basic needs, the need to be informed or to get the information necessary for action. According to Weigand

(2010:147), “human beings are innately curious beings, they search for an ultimate explanation and want to know what happened in the past [even the present and future]”. The reactive act to an explorative speech act can be a positive or negative response *comment*.

Example (11).

A: what did you do yesterday?

B: – We went climbing

(Weigand 2010: 148)

- *Directives* aim, according to Weigand (ibid: 149-153), to change the world. They are defined by a claim to volition and – in contrast to exploratives – aim at a future action or behaviour by the interlocutor. The corresponding reaction expected from the interlocutor is consent, which can be positive or negative. Weigand (ibid: 160) further argues that directive action games are defined by a claim to volition which is directed to a future practical action or change of behaviour by the interlocutor. They therefore aim at a reactive speech act of consent. Directive speech acts include the claim of an order, request and plea.

Example (12).

A: come and see me tomorrow!

B: I am sorry, I already have an appointment.

(Weigand 2010: 149)

According to Weigand exploratives have something in common with directives: the claim of volition. She (2010:147) argues that “they are however fundamentally different with respect to where the claim to volition is directed. Exploratives are directed at knowledge, [whereas] directives refer to practical actions by the interlocutors”.

- *Representatives* are based on a claim to truth and aim at acceptance. In other words, representative speech acts express the world; they are based on the mental state of belief. The type of communicative reaction expected from the hearer is an acceptance which may not be exclusively positive but can be ranged from complete to partial and non-acceptance.

Example (13).

A: The South is there.

B: you're right. I agree with you.

You're wrong. I can't agree.

No, you're mistaken

(Weigand 2010: 153)

Weigand sums up her speech act taxonomy by pointing out that exploratives and declaratives may be considered to be supportive actions for representatives and directives. The author (2010:154) explains that “exploratives provide the knowledge needed to represent the world, whereas declaratives create the intersubjective guarantee needed for joint action”.

As mentioned earlier, Weigand's taxonomy happens to be a complete match with the present thesis, considering the type of data at hand, which includes *updates* and *comments*. More importantly, this taxonomy will be of valuable interest to examine the correlation between CS as it occurs in an *update* in comparison with cases of CS in *comments*. Therefore, *Facebook comments*, as a communicative reaction to *Facebook updates*, can be explained better within the mainstream of *Minimal Action Games* or a dialogic taxonomy in terms of two fundamental units of Facebook dialogue.

Finally, as pointed out by Weigand, in contrast to Searle's taxonomy, speech act verbs are expressions of individual languages; analysing speech act verbs results in lexical structures of



individual language. Thus, with a dataset involving several languages – as will be seen in chapter 7 – Weigand’ taxonomy will be applied throughout this thesis.

#### **5.4.Chapter summary**

This chapter has focused on portraying the three theoretical models used to analyse the data. Firstly, *CAT* was described by pointing out its basic principles as well as its fundamental premises. In addition, the motives behind speech accommodation were highlighted. Secondly, the *Markedness Model* was described with a focus on marked and unmarked choices. Thirdly, the issue regarding the relevance of jointly applying both models to the present study was pointed out. Finally, the debate on Speech Act Theories was highlighted with a final choice for Weigand’s *Minimal Action Games* as the most suitable one for the purposes of the present research.

## CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH METHOD

### 6.0. Chapter overview

For the sake of clarity this chapter has been divided into four sections. Firstly, *Netnography*<sup>23</sup> will be described, providing both its advantages and drawbacks. Secondly, the reasons for choosing Facebook over other CMC forms will be explained. Thirdly, the steps followed in research design will be stated, the sample and data-gathering procedure being the main foci of this section. Fourthly, the issues regarding ethical issues in CMC research, as well as problems encountered while gathering data, will be tackled in the fourth section. Finally, the characteristics of the data will be presented in the last section.

### 6.1. Introduction to the netnographic method

Following Kozinets *Netnography* is

the name given to a specific set of related data collection, analysis, ethical and representational research practices, where a significant amount of the data collected, and participant-observational research conducted originates in and manifests through the data shared freely on the Internet, including mobile applications (2015a: 79).

He argues that *Netnography* is a means of obtaining a cultural understanding of human experience from online social interaction and content and representing them as a form of research (2015: 18). *Netnography* is a suitable means by which online data can be collected and interpreted, as opposed to traditional ethnography that has always dealt with face-to-face interactions (Kozinets 200a, 2010a, 2012, 2017).

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<sup>23</sup> It seems reasonable to highlight what Netnography accounts for as opposed to computer-mediated communication. Many studies using Netnography seem to avoid employing the term CMC in their research so do studies using CMC. For example, Kozinets (2015a) tends to consider Netnography both a research method as well as a fieldwork while Herring (2010, 2013) seems to be focused on CMC only more than Netnography. In my opinion and throughout this study, Netnography is exclusively used as a research method that enables to gather data for CMC research.

To set out the differences between traditional ethnography and current *Netnography*, Kozinets proposes six fundamental conceptual constructions including *alteration*, *access*, *archiving*, *analysis*, *ethics*, and *colonization* (2015a:72). Firstly, *alteration* relates to the basic fact that using technological media implies obeying certain specific conditions. These conditions are usually strict, typical, and vary from one medium to another. For example, there are formatting requirements to respect in order to create a Facebook page; a twitter post must fall within 280-character tweet limits, and so on. *Alteration* also stands for several choices that a technological medium can offer in the process of carrying out a communication exchange. For example, on Facebook users can text, share photos, talk on videophone, post updates and comments, like, and so on. Secondly, *access* entails not only that almost all social networking sites and social media offer open membership but, more importantly, they provide informational guides to help everyone to gain access. Thirdly, *archiving* in *Netnography* encompasses the record of keeping and archiving functionality of social networking sites. Online social interactions are basically archived and may last longer (if not forever) than in-person social interactions. In other words, online social interactions often leave both memories and a permanent trace (Villi & Matikainen 2016). Fourthly, at the analysis level, *Netnography* is also different from in-person ethnography in that it deals with wealth of information (or mass data) that need a considerable ability to mine, scrape, capture, automatically code and monitor (ibid). This is by far what makes *Netnography* a unique method capable of dealing with an enormous range of diversified cultural material and information. Fifthly, netnographic data remain a source of long-time debate as regards their nature (Maíz-Arévalo 2013, 2015; Villi & Matikainen 2016). There is some belief that any materials left online are public. As such, they can be used without asking for any consent from owners. However, there is a counter argument that considers online materials to be fundamentally private, and copyright protected. Therefore, researchers have to give credit to the copyright holders by eventually asking them for consent as far as the copyright

law is concerned (Villi & Matikainen 2016). Finally, *colonisation* stands for the way computer-mediated communication has impacted on social interaction. Kozinets argues that

large corporate and organisational interests have intensely colonised online interaction, and this has changed and continues to change the nature of social interaction, and even society, in a way not seen with earlier forms of in-person social interaction (2015a: 75).

*Netnography* also owes its particularity to two most important issues. On the one hand, there is an axiology that accounts for the nature and value of materials produced by human beings online. Such materials promote new ethical perspectives of interpretation and analysis of their intrinsic value. Following this, the mere purpose of *Netnography* is to explore, reveal and understand human realities and the social world as they change in a coevolutionary process with *technoculture*<sup>24</sup>. On the other hand, *Netnography* is a central source of data which usually consist of the artefactual and communicative realities of online exchanges (Kozinets 2002b, 2015a, 2015b).

As the use of social media has come to be commonplace and simple with billions of individuals daily joining networks every day, netnographic research is thus more and more needed. Furthermore, Kozinets argues that actual netnographic data themselves can be rich or very thin, protected or given freely. They can be produced by a person or group or co-produced with the machine, software agents and so on. It can be more like reading the diary of an individual. Finally, they can be polished like a corporately created production, or raw and crude, full of obscenities and spelling errors (Kozinets 2015a, 2015b).

*Netnography* is increasingly used in many studies via fieldwork. Most of these studies have revealed not one single *Netnography* but several different types of it (Kozinets 2002a, 2002b, 2010a, 2015a, 2017). Kozinets distinguishes four types of *Netnography* based on the role of

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<sup>24</sup> *Technoculture* is the term used by Kozinets (2015) to describe the kind of culture brought up by social media.

netnographers while conducting online research. These types are *symbolic netnography*, *digital netnography*, *auto-netnography*, and *humanist netnography* (2015a: 246). Firstly, *symbolic netnography* is a human-based research method which explains online values, cultures, groups and social rituals. The role played by researchers in the process of data collection and analysis is thus crucial as the most part of the research is carried out manually. This is exactly the method applied throughout the present study as will be further explained in the next paragraph. Secondly, *digital netnography* is a computer-assisted research method. In *digital netnography* data are collected and analysed by means of a substantial participation of digital tools. Thirdly, *auto-netnography* is a research method that consists of using researchers' own private online discourse as an object of analysis. Fourthly, *humanist netnography* regards online culture as a human production; as such it needs a particular analysis from a netnographer (Kozinets 2015a, 2017).

The present thesis, however, particularly applies *symbolic netnography* both in the data collection process and the analysis. In fact, *symbolic netnography* is a complete match of the purpose and focus of the current investigation as the study aims to explain culturally related behaviour – e.g. CS. In addition, and as will be explained in subsection 6.4.1, the study as a whole is a human-based research work as the data collection and analysis were all carried out by means of considerable participation of the researcher.

Furthermore, following Ferreira's (2015) proposal, in order to be considered an exemplary case study method should facilitate the study of the new area of social life, provide an understanding of the aspects of social life that are difficult to access through the traditional method; and deal with ethical, or response issues raised by traditional approaches (2015a:14). *Netnography* could be argued to be the only method that can provide a very deep insight into online social interaction. This characteristic makes it an exclusive as well as a suitable method of conducting

both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data collected for the purposes of the current thesis.

### **6.1.1. Advantages of *Netnography***

As already said, *Netnography* is a participant-observational method based on online interaction. It enables to obtain a cultural understanding of human online social interaction and content and to represent them as a form of research (Kozinets 2015: 18). It also provides researchers with access to groups of people who may otherwise be difficult to reach out to (Kozinets 2002a, 2002b, 2017).

*Netnography* has been found useful when dealing with the online behaviour of product consumers in marketing setting (Kozinets 2002b, 2010a, 2015b); useful to conducting research which aims to examine CMC effects in language teaching and/or learning (Vasquez and Kulavuz-onal 2013); and finally, valuable to further analysis of such things as disembodiment, synchronous/asynchronous, turn-taking, degree of privacy online as opposed to its face-to-face counterpart (Mkono 2012; Maíz-Arévalo 2013, 2015).

### **6.1.2. The limits of *Netnography***

Like any other method, *Netnography* has faced a lot of controversy since first introduced by Kozinets. Firstly, most research conducted online usually allows no contact between researcher and participants. In communities like the one under current study, where politics is always a dangerous business<sup>25</sup>, asking for participants' information on such a topic or revealing the

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<sup>25</sup> Congo-Brazzaville might be one of the most politically fragile countries in the world. At least two major civil wars have turbulently dominated its history since 1960, the year the country gained independence; one in 1993 and the other in 1997. These disasters have been the results of politicians' disagreement and misunderstanding. With a population of about 4.5 million in 2016 (<https://www.populationdata.net/pays/congo/>), these man-made catastrophes have resulted in thousands of deaths as well as societal, ethnic discrimination across the country. Political conflicts have caused the division of the country, pitting northerners against southerners.

purpose of the study – like the present one while collecting data – can be highly suspicious and may bias results.

Secondly, the longstanding problem of participants' consent clearly remains unsolved (Villi & Matikainen 2016). It seems that face-to-face contact between an ethnographer and participants guarantees a safe environment for many participants and to provide the researcher, in most cases, with both consent and support (Kozinets 2017). Thirdly, netnographers have no access to the nonverbal behaviour of participants, albeit some research has found that online users have developed alternative ways of expressing nonverbal communication (Maíz-Arévalo 2013). Fourthly, the authenticity of some websites remains a challenge to netnographers, knowing that certain websites can be manipulated for specific purposes. Finally, the fact that many online users act anonymously makes it very challenging for the researcher to, for example, categorise participants according to age, sex, social class and so on. Most of the time these users are hidden behind their profiles, which can be fake. As such, netnographers are usually required to act with a great deal of precaution.

## **6.2. Why Facebook?**

As mentioned before, the current study intends to analyse CS on Facebook in order to find out different languages involved as well as the pragmatic functions behind this phenomenon. Despite being the most popular social networking site in Congo, Facebook was chosen among other social networking sites (e.g. WhatsApp, messenger, Twitter, etc.) for five main reasons.

Firstly, like compliments and jocular mockery, which are seen to be essentially phatic (Maíz-Arévalo 2013, 2015), CS can be considered basically phatic as well, because it is a verbal strategy by which multilingual speakers change a linguistic code(s) within the same speech event as a sign of cultural solidarity or distance, and as an act of culture identity (Gumperz 1982b; Konidaris 2004). Although the transaction of information is increasingly carried out via

Facebook, it is mostly used as a tool to keep in touch with acquaintances. As such, CS is also likely to appear on Facebook.

Secondly, the fact that Facebook can be both highly public and highly private makes it much easier to carry out netnographic research on CS as opposed to other networking platforms such as WhatsApp whose communication seems to be much more private. On the other hand, most interactions on Facebook remain textual<sup>26</sup> (or at least text-like interactions). As such, CS can be easily identified.

Thirdly, from my personal experience living abroad, Facebook has served as a substantial means by which information from homeland has been delivered on a daily basis in a very short time span. Moreover, with millions of people sharing news regularly and instantly, Facebook appears to be a social networking site in which multilingual speakers can publicly codeswitch. In the case of Congo, Facebook seems to be the only platform on which Congolese people residing in very different locations around the world can come together synchronously or asynchronously to deal with issues concerning the nation.

Fourthly, unlike classic means used for transmitting information (e.g. TV and radio), Facebook is a valuable and faster means, capable of reaching a considerable number of people once logged on. Moreover, with its now widely used function allowing people to *go live* Facebook seems to be an excellent tool for transmitting information. Therefore, the social medium is a valuable platform on which to conduct research on political issues.

Finally, as already mentioned, despite all the attempts to investigate different phenomena around Facebook, there is still a lack of research on the use of the social media by multilingual users. More work is needed on analysis of the extent to which Facebook influences language

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<sup>26</sup> “Even if Facebook is essentially multimodal (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) and images and audio-visuals form part and parcel of social-networking routines, most interactions still remain textual. This considerably helps the process of data gathering, which becomes less demanding than in face-to-face research, where time-consuming transcription is a must” (Maíz-Arévalo 2015: 293).



use in a multilingual context. In fact, attention paid to CS on Facebook has been sparse, and unfortunately, no investigation has been conducted on this topic in Congo-Brazzaville, as far as it is known.

### **6.3. Research design**

Qualitative along with quantitative analyses were jointly carried out with the purpose of providing a complete analytical description of the data. The matching process of both approaches fits one of the recommendations made by previous researchers (Zentella 1981, 1990; Bowler 2010; Mkono 2012; Kozinets 2015). Kozinets (2015) stipulates that in *Netnography* as in all sciences the method should relate to the type of data and analysis capable of answering the research question investigated. Bowler (2010: 1270) synthesizes that “*Netnography* is an excellent resource for the seasoned qualitative researcher and a useful entry point for the newcomer to qualitative research”.

#### **6.3.1. Participants’ background**

As mentioned earlier, Facebook is a wide-open social networking site on which diverse topics can be discussed. In an effort to choose a topic that could not only generate CS as such but, most importantly, be of exclusive interest to Congolese people, national politics appeared to be the perfect match as will be further explained in the upcoming paragraph. This topic thus becomes the mere parameter that delimits the research.

The reasons for this decision are manifold. Firstly, from a political standpoint, the second and last term of the Congo president was coming to an end in August 2016. On the other hand, the country’s constitution, adopted in 2002, which was in force until 2015, stipulated amongst many other restrictions two fundamental requirements; (i) the Nation’s President shall not go beyond two terms of office, and (ii) no general election candidates shall be older than 72. These two restrictions prevented the President-in-office from running again. Consequently, the

decision was made as to call for a referendum to decide whether the former constitution must be amended. Debate<sup>27</sup> went wild all over the country and beyond. On October 25, 2015, the referendum was held. The “Yes” vote won, and a new constitution was then adopted.

Quite fortunately for the present research, soon after the new constitution was adopted and promulgated, the same sitting President announced once again on the national television the general election to be held on March 20, 2016. Such political events were worth shedding light on from both linguistic and CMC standpoints.

Secondly, in the current world, where almost every country is facing political crisis, it seems hard to meet many people from one country deeply involved in another country’s political issues; except for international media. Therefore, there was a very practical reason to believe that most people interested in Facebook spontaneous exchanges on Congolese political issues would be Congolese. For this reason, their online behaviour was worth investigating.

Finally, even though Facebook is popular in Congo, it remains the possession of people who are capable of speaking, reading and writing French (see section 4.3.1). The use of Facebook (or almost every social networking site) is basically connected to that language. It was expected that most (if not all) Facebook users in Congo-Brazzaville might be educated people. This guaranteed that the data gathered for the present study come from the Congolese Facebook community involving educated participants. Furthermore, as already explained, French is the only official language, used in both spoken and written communication. Therefore, French is expected to be used on Facebook as the unmarked choice.

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<sup>27</sup> There were two groups of people holding two viewpoints. One group supported the adoption of a new constitution that would allow the outgoing president to run again (the “Yes group”). The second group was against, and for the maintenance of the former one (the “No group”).

### 6.3.2. Data-gathering procedure

The data collection process was based on *symbolic netnography*, meaning that the researcher's role in the process was highly important. The study was entirely carried out manually. As already explained, the data used for the current thesis were gathered during a period of 10 months, from October 2015 to July 2016. This period was entirely characterised by such political events as the referendum (in October 2015), the general presidential elections (in March 2016), the appointment of the Prime Minister, as well as the implementation of the new administration (in April 2016) and the arrest of the former candidate (JONSON<sup>28</sup>) for the March-2016 election, accused of attempting a *coup d'état* against the former and newly elected president. This last event took place in July 2016. Many people were then interested in such political events. Thus, they found Facebook to be a free space in which to express their opinions on these issues.

In order to avoid any bias, I was constantly connected to Facebook, to closely observe the ongoing interactions. As soon as I logged on, I collected the newest *updates* as they appeared on personal newsfeeds<sup>29</sup>. *Facebook updates*, as well as the subsequent *comments*, were then gathered. The process of data collection was relatively simple and easy as I followed step by step the netnographic mainstream and its application in Maíz-Arévalo (2015)<sup>30</sup> study on jocular mockery in computer-mediated communication. Every *Facebook update* was copy-pasted in a .doc file. A total of 262 *Facebook updates* featuring 9,330 *comments* were randomly compiled. The only restriction was that any *Facebook update* could be gathered as long as its focus was on the national political events mentioned above. As far as the corpus is concerned, the dataset renders 265,147 words.

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<sup>28</sup> All the names of famous individuals have been substituted for pseudonyms.

<sup>29</sup> I used both my personal laptop and iPhone to collect the data.

<sup>30</sup> In her study on jocular mockery in computer-mediated communication the author also used her personal computer to gather data.

The Congolese Facebook community is as vast as its members are diversely located. It regroups people residing inside and outside the country. At first glance this diversity makes it a little hard to gather a representative sample of data to analyse. Therefore, the decision was made to select the six most popular Facebook pages, which are well-known and widely visited. Therefore, *Brazzanews*, *Brazzaporisinfos*, *ZianaTV*, *Brazzavilleinfos242*, *DispoInvestigation*, *Sadio-Kante Morel*<sup>31</sup> were selected. Table 1 provides detailed information on each of these pages.

**Table 2. Description of Facebook pages (October 2015)**

	Likes	Followers
<b>1. Brazzanews</b>	161,878	261,325
<b>2. Brazzaporisinfos</b>	12,000	3,366
<b>3. Brazzavilleinfos 242</b>	12,831	12,781
<b>4. Diaspo investigation</b>	27,073	27,041
<b>5. ZianaTV</b>	12,639	12,661
<b>6. Sadio Morel-Kante</b>	6,000	9,115

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<sup>31</sup> It is worth noting that while certain Facebook page administrators, especially those hereby chosen, are genuinely reporters by their academic and professional background (e.g. the administrators of *Brazzaporisinfos*, *Sadio Morel-Kante*) others have just improvised and made names for themselves.

The Facebook pages selected were all held and administered by Congolese citizens who have become famous for the materials they share on Facebook. These pages have thus become references to anyone searching for information from the homeland. They are famous across the country as well. Thousands of people consult these pages every day. However, most of the data were collected from Brazzanews Facebook page, the most popular one, with the highest number of people liking it, and Followers.

#### **6.4.Ethics concerning computer-mediated research**

The nature of online data (public or private) as well as participants' consent, are main concerns of CMC research (Villi & Matikainen 2016). Online social interactions are sometimes viewed as if they took place in either a public or private space. Walther (2002, quoted in Kozinets 2015: 138) reports “that people who post material on a publicly available communication system on the Internet should understand that it is public, not private or confidential”. However, Kozinets (2015: 139) advises that the netnographer has choices when it comes to ethics procedure, but there are certain requirements that are well established, such as informed consent and risks versus benefits. Even though most online researchers consider messages posted online to be public acts, gaining the consent of participants is usually the best-reported advice and the safest practice within the netnographical tradition.

In the present study this advice was carefully followed, taking into account both risks and benefits. When the data began to be collected, the online system administrators previously mentioned were met in Paris in October 2015, as their Facebook pages were increasingly gaining credit in terms of popularity. However, only one of the five agreed to meeting in person<sup>32</sup>. In fact, none of that could cause any inconvenience to the study. The protocol was

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<sup>32</sup> It is important to point out that Congolese national politics is such that usual supporters of political parties in power go into hiding; so do supporters of the opposition parties. I could just meet the administrator of BrazzaParisinfos page physically and have a 30-minutes Skype conversation with the administrator of the Facebook page ZianaTv. Both were kind enough with their entire consent and support, though we signed no documents.

followed as planned and data collection continued. This was in line with the protocol used in Maíz-Arévalo (2015: 295): “(...) gathering data without informing participants so as not to prejudice their behaviour”. However, in January 2017, once all the data had been collected, all the page administrators were contacted by phone. Likewise, hundreds of people who left their *comments* were informed of the investigation via the researcher’s own personal Facebook page. Fortunately, none of them expressed any disagreement. They even expressed their support.

Preceding problems also prevented the researcher from revealing his identity<sup>33</sup> while the data collection was in process. The presence of the researcher was thus not disclosed to participants. It appeared that exposure to the participants was highly risky for the researcher for two major reasons. Firstly, in a country such as Congo-Brazzaville politics is a serious issue. Searching for information regarding politics throughout the period when the current data were collected could have generated a lot of suspicion. Multiple subjective intentions could have been formulated as to which side the researcher supported: the “Yes” or the “No” group involved in the political debate.

Finally, the languages Congolese people speak usually say much about their origins (see chapter 4). Politics and languages are strongly connected in the nation. Most political ideologies are based on the linguistic division of the country. Exposing the nature as well as the purpose of the study could have influenced the way people interacted online. In other words, this could certainly have drawn the researcher away from observing naturally occurring data.

As indicated before, this research was limited to *Facebook updates* posted by website administrators and the *comments* that immediately followed the *updates*. The political issue was the mere parameter considered. On the other hand, participants were diversely located,

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<sup>33</sup> The researcher never participated in any Facebook exchange whatsoever in the effort to avoid the participant's observer paradox. Even though Kituba, Lingala, and other local languages are used, a lot of stereotypes still remain concerning them. Even though people use these languages, they are not willing to be identified as their speakers.

though social variables (e.g. age, gender, social occupation) are beyond the scope of the present study.

#### **6.4.1. CMC problems encountered**

Even though the data collection process was easily carried out, certain challenges were met both beforehand and afterward. Most beforehand challenges were mainly methodological as they were essentially related to netnographic ethics (see section 3.3.2.). On the other hand, with no computer-specialized tool available to carry out data collection easily, and organize *updates* and *comments*, the current study was a fully pen-and-paper research. All participants' photographs (pictures accompanying their profiles), names as well as likes and emojis (Cf. section 6.5) were removed; excerpts to appear in the analysis were all translated from the original language into English (Cf. Disclaimer), and all names of public figures were anonymized. Nevertheless, photographs posted contextually to describe an event were carefully considered and kept in the dataset.

Thus, with an overall corpus of more than 265,147 words, performing a pen-and-paper task in identifying, classifying and organising the data was just a wave of fatigue, time-consuming and hard work.

In addition, it is important to note that the translation of the excerpts to appear throughout the thesis was another major challenge that the researcher faced since some *updates* and *comments*, as they were originally posted on the Facebook pages aforementioned, failed to follow fundamental language rules such as grammatical rules (e.g. subject-verb agreement), punctuation rules (e.g. period, commas, semicolons). This failure along with the fact that other excerpts were multilingual made it rather difficult for the researcher to figure out the exact meaning of an *update* and/or a *comment*. The research has, therefore, to provide the translation which most closely seemed to describe the illocutionary force of the utterance. Finally, it is

also important to mention that the researcher was fortunate enough to be able to contact native speakers<sup>34</sup> whenever an *update* and/or *comment* was written in some ethnic languages (that the researcher has no good skill at) for the sake of an accurate meaning.

### 6.5.Characteristics of data

The type of data analysed in this study is of text-like Facebook interaction. However, there were texts digitally written inside certain images describing the context of the post. This combination of text and image was considered in the corpus, and as such referred to as *commented-picture updates/or comments*. Nevertheless, only texts were extracted and illustrated whenever the combination of both image and text made reference to a public figure.

Before moving on to the analysis proper, several steps were followed in the description of the corpus. Firstly, after the collection of the data, it was decided to clear up the data by carefully deleting such things as emoji, long-length videos, etc; which were beyond the scope of the study as they seem to open an avenue for future research, more focused on multimodal elements (Maíz-Arévalo 2017a, 2017b). Furthermore, the reason *likes* and *emojis* were all removed from the dataset is twofold. In fact, one major drawback of both *likes* and *emojis* is that they are almost universal in that all Facebook interaction makes use of them regardless of the linguistic backgrounds of users. However, it is still obvious that some *emojis* are basically typical from one online community to another, but when they appear on Facebook it is almost impossible to notice the linguistic background of the users – i.e. whether they are writing in English, French, Spanish, and so on – because *likes* and *emojis* are certainly becoming increasingly global. Most Facebook users, regardless of their cultural and linguistic background, are able to interpret some *like sign* under their post as a positive or negative reaction, but it seems as if no Facebook user could indicate for certain the use of *likes or emojis* as if expressing any particular

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<sup>34</sup> The researcher also contacted Phd students (e.g. Ondele Frydh, a native speaker of Mboshi and Phd student at Marien Ngouabi university) as well as professors and investigators at Marien Ngouabi university.



users' linguistic backgrounds. As a result, features typical of Facebook such as *likes* and *emojis* are useless in a study that aims to investigate the overt use of more than one language in Facebook interaction. Moreover, if *likes or emojis* had been considered, there would have appeared some discrepancy in categorising them among other *comments* since all *comments* found in the dataset were classified as if belonging to French/English, French/Kituba, French/Lingala, and French/ethnic languages (Figure 4). Thus, *likes or emojis* did not meet a relevant and pertinent typology that could match the purpose of the present study.

The second step consisted in numbering all *Facebook comments* according to the *Facebook updates* that generated them. Thirdly, every single CS instance was manually identified. Fourthly, *updates* and *comments* were divided into two groups: those with CS instances grouped in the category named *Cases-Of-CS in Facebook update or comment* and those with no CS at all grouped in the category called *No-Cases-Of-CS in Facebook updates or comments*. As shown in table 3, 52 *Cases-Of-CS in Facebook updates* featuring 2,372 comments versus 210 *No-Cases-Of-CS in Facebook updates* featuring 6,958 comments were identified.

**Table 3: Updates and their related comments**

	Instances of CS	Number of comments
Case-Of-CS	52	2,372
No-case-of-CS	210	6,952

The fifth step was to classify both *updates* and *comments* according to the different languages involved. They were grouped as featuring French/English, French/Kituba, French/Lingala, and French/ethnic languages (Laari, Mboshi, Beembe, Téké, and so on).

Finally, for the sake of clarity the translation of the excerpts appearing in the data description, analysis and discussion is presented as follows. Firstly, the original *update* is always followed by a translation (in brackets) from the original language into English. Secondly, the translation of every *comment* following up an *update* is provided in brackets after each of the *comments*. Thirdly, U refers to the users and the number they occupy in the intervention. For example, when a user intervenes in the fourth place in an exchange, s/he will be referred to as U4. Fourthly, all cases of CS found in both *updates* and *comments* appear in bold. Finally, all the excerpts are left in their original typography (e.g. font, exclamation marks, and so on).

### **6.5.1. Unit of analysis adopted for the classification of the speech acts**

After advancing the basic principles of the *Minimal Action Games* in chapter 5, it is important to describe the unit of analysis chosen for the analysis. In fact, the data were hereby classified, taking a whole piece of discourse as a unit of analysis. Multiple reasons back up that consideration. Firstly, a political debate is a contention in arguments through which a politician negotiates adherence of the large public to his/her ideology. During the election trial the target public is exclusively the national electorate which has ultimate power. This electorate is usually expected to make a substantial decision as they are set to vote. The nation serving officials, as well as opposition leaders, are usually expected to deliver messages and directions that intend not to impose, but to persuade people. This explains, to some degree, the reason why representative acts are overperformed (also see table 7) compared with other speech acts as seen in the following excerpt 1.

(1) Excerpt 1. (Reference number in the dataset (260))

Notre numéro 10 national, MICHAEL et le FROCAD-IDC sont plus déterminés que jamais. "La dictature s'enlise un peu plus chaque jour dans son borbier...le pouvoir dictatorial est à l'agonie... Les congolais souffrent de plus à cause d'un clan qui tente de se maintenir coûte que coûte au pouvoir.

[MICHAEL and FROCAD-IDC are even more determined. MICHAEL just states that the suffering of the Congolese people is caused by a clan trying to remain in power at all costs. But, this dictatorship is getting bogged down a little more every day and the dictatorial power is without doubt coming to an end]

Secondly, the *Facebook updates* found in the dataset are of different lengths. Some appear as one-single-word *updates*; others appear as one-sentence or clause *updates*; others again are even lengthier and include multiple-line *updates*. In order to avoid any discrepancy in the classification, an utterance as a whole is meaningful for the analysis, as in the following excerpt 2.

(2) Excerpt 2. (Reference in the dataset (261))

URGENT << *Mbutu Mbutu* >>*Takou* JOHN a envoyé des émissaires en Biélorussie pour chercher à emprunter de l'argent.

[URGENT: “How low will these people go”. JOHN just sent emissaries to Belarus to borrow money]

Thirdly, in a communication involving multiple languages, structurally and systematically different (Cf. chapter 4), a single word or sentence may convey a rather different meaning from one language to another. The meaning of any word is usually language-related. The only way to make a universal taxonomy is to regard the meaning of every *Facebook update* as contextually-related utterances. To balance the typology, the reasonable approach was to regard every *Facebook update* as a whole, as a unit of classification.

## **6.6.Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed the issues of the methodology followed in the data collection process. *Netnography* was described pointing out its advantages, as well as disadvantages. The reasons why Facebook was chosen over other CMC forms were elucidated. Participants' backgrounds as well as the data-gathering procedure were portrayed in the research design section. A closer look into ethics regarding *Netnography* has permitted the identification of

problems encountered while collecting data. Finally, the data were classified and organised before moving on to their description and analysis.

## CHAPTER 7: DATA DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

### 7.0. Chapter overview

This chapter describes and analyses the data. It is divided into two main sections. Section one presents the data description. Section two focuses on the analysis of the data described in section one.

### 7.1. Data Description

This section is devoted to the description of data. It is divided into four subsections. Firstly, issues regarding the main components of the dataset, namely *update* and *comment*, are addressed in subsection one. Then, the distribution of languages in both *updates* and *comments* are described in subsection two. Subsection three focuses on characterising the findings by contrasting *Cases-Of-CS* with *No-Cases-Of-CS* in both *updates* and *comments*. Finally, the description of the data based on Weigand's speech act taxonomy are presented in subsection four.

#### 7.1.1. Describing *updates* and *comments*

This subsection focuses on describing the terms *update* and *comment*. On the one hand, the term *update* is described by pointing out the different categories of *updates* found in the dataset. On the other hand, the term *comment* is explained and contrasted with *update*.

##### 7.1.1.1. Updates

An *update* is all new information posted publicly on the timeline of a Facebook user. An *update* can be fully public when the user considers their posts to be available to all their Friends and Followers. It can also be partly public when the user allows only a few Friends access to their post (Maíz-Arévalo 2015; Lee & Zuercher 2017; Herring & Dainas 2017). Maíz-Arévalo (2015:300) describes *Facebook updates* as “serving to display new personal information users consider relevant enough to be shared with their Facebook community”.

Bearing in mind the multimodal characteristic of information on Facebook, these *updates* can be of different categories, namely visual – such as simple pictures, photographs or pieces of video recordings explaining something; audio – such as sounds recorded, transmitted or reproduced; textual – such as text displayed on users’ walls – or a combination of the above (Yus 2011; Herring et al. 2013; Maíz-Arévalo 2013, 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Lee & Zuercher 2017; Herring & Dainas 2017).

The *updates* extracted for the present study were of two categories. On the one hand, as will be described forward, there were *updates* entirely written and posted in a textual form. This category is hereby referred to as *text update*. On the other hand, there were *updates* posted as a combination of both text and image. These multimodal *updates* are hereby referred to as *commented-picture updates*. However, as pointed out earlier and in an effort to protect privacy, all pictures were removed from the dataset as they, in most cases, made references to particular individuals. Therefore, only texts were extracted from this combination of texts and pictures. Moreover, the study of CS as presented in this thesis focuses first and foremost on written discourse.

- *Text updates*

A *text update* is a Facebook post entirely displayed on a user’s timeline in a full form of a text. In the present corpus, a total of 105 *text updates* (see Figure 2 below) were posted as texts expressing users’ opinions, concerns, feelings, and positions on the political issue underway in the Congo-Brazzaville. In excerpt 3, for example, the *update* is entirely a text displayed by a user describing the progress of the street protest underway led by people against any attempt to modify the then valid constitution.

(3) Excerpt 3. (Reference number in the dataset (10)).

Les nouvelles fraîches de Brazzaville : Triste lundi à Brazzaville, hier soir le ministre de l’intérieur a lu à la télévision *Foufou* RTC que toute manifestation était

interdite à Brazzaville et ailleurs jusqu'au 24 octobre 2015, date du référendum. Curieusement, ce matin, la garde républicaine à côté de la police et de la gendarmerie ont bouclé ensemble, je dis bien ensemble, l'entrée de Baongo et de Diata. Et cherchent à mater les populations de ces arrondissements du sud ...

[Fresh news from Brazzaville. Sad Monday. Yesterday, homeland Minister appeared on the national radio and TV network and said that demonstrations were prohibited in Brazzaville as well as in the rest of the country until October 24<sup>th</sup>, the referendum date. This morning the police along with other national law enforcement agencies have shut down the exits of Baongo and Diata. They have orders to prevent any march from these Southern neighbourhood]

### Comments

U1. Franchement, tu vibres dans le néant ! C'est bien toi et tes amis qui avaient dit que *Tata JOHN ka tuma kwa*, puisque PETER est celui que vous avez voulu enterrer même vivant. je suis en train de me demander si vraiment vous êtes...

[ Seriously, it's sad that you're saying this today. It was not you the one who said that we should let JOHN remain the President? You said so because you believed that PETER would have buried you all alive. I wonder whether you're...]

U2. Le Congo n'est pas une république bannaniere. La force publique ne vas pas caressée ceux qui oseront troubler la paix. Au lieu d'éteindre le feu...Vous rajouter de l'huile sur le feu. ....

[Congo-Brazzaville is not a fake republic. Law enforcements will not take it easy to people who would dare disturb peace. Rather than extinguish the fire you're there putting oil on it]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

The length of each *text update* found in the corpus was highly variable, ranging from one line to multiple-line-text *updates*.

- *Commented-picture updates*

*Commented-picture update* stands for every *Facebook update* found in the dataset, which entails an image accompanied by a small or lengthy text message describing the content of the *picture*. This type of post accounted for 157 *updates* found in the dataset. However, as

explained earlier, only the describing comments accompanying an image were extracted in the illustrations as can be observed in excerpt 4 below.

(4) Excerpt 4. (Reference number in the dataset (16)).

JOHN met en place un commando pour abattre ses anciens protégés. Instructions fermes de JOHN à un commando pour abattre ses anciens protégés KANE, JERRY et TOM. Il dit avoir pardonné à ROBERT mais pas à ceux-là. La tension monte d'un cran.

[JOHN has set up a commando to kill these former marines, namely KANE, JERRY, and TOM. He said he pardoned ROBERT but not these other people. Tension is rising high]

#### **Comments**

U1. fausse information

[Fake news]

U2. Je suis contre JOHN mais là. Ils n'ont même pas la tête de congolais

[I'm an anti-JOHN but as I see it these people are acting as un-Congolese]

U3. Stp arrête aussi avec certaines calomnies. Ces gars sont d'Afrique de l'Ouest et non du Congo-Brazza. Fais ton boulot, oui nous voulons qu'il partes (sic) mais arrêtons d'employer les mêmes armes que lui pour le faire partir sinon nous ne vaudrons pas mieux.

[Please, stop with this calumnious senseless news. These people are from Ouest Africa. They are not from Congo-Brazzaville. Do your job. It's true that we want him gone. However, do not use guns to remove this guy. If you do so we will not serve as example]

U4. Nous on a pas besoin de ça mais nous voulons la paix. je vous demande de prié pour notre Congo.

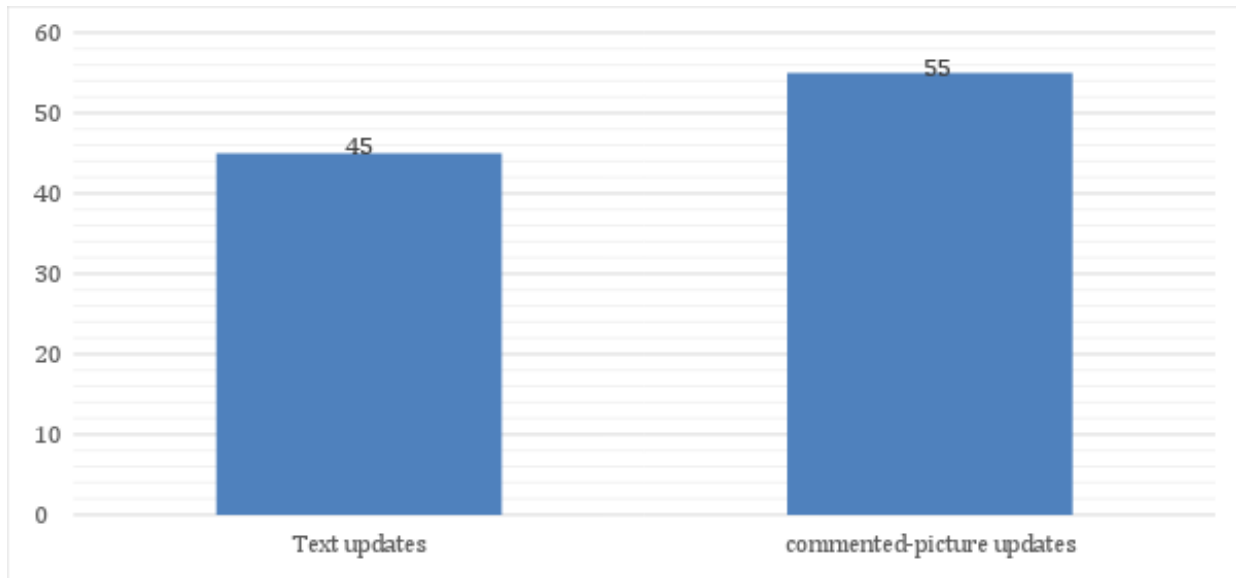
[we don't want war. All we want is peace. I'm asking you to pray for Congo]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

The percentages of both types of *updates* (*text updates* and *commented-picture updates*) are provided in Figure 2 below.



**Figure 2: Text updates versus commented-picture updates**



As can be observed in Figure 2, *commented-picture updates* outnumber *text updates* in the dataset. More *updates* were posted as a group consisting of a text describing an image. This might be due to the fact that images accompanying a text seem to have an undeniable power if one wants a message to gain credit. In other words, the visual seems to promote trust in the process of delivering information since pictures may serve as concrete proof of the abstract information. This goes in line with the argument made by Yus (2011) while describing virtual identity in *cyber media* – a term coined in reference to chat rooms, email, messenger, webpages, social networking sites, etc. This author argues that “(...) the evolution of the discursive properties of *cyber-media* has made visual resources of identity more prominent and important (as in photologs), together with multimodal combinations of text, sound and pictures” (Yus 2011:40).

#### **7.1.1.2. Comments**

The term *comment* can be described as any reaction of a Facebook user to an *update*. A *comment* includes a simple click on the *like* button, *reactions*, *gifs*, and so on, which users make or type in order to express their opinion or feelings on a public *update* posted by a Friend or a

Follower within the same Facebook community. *Comments* found in the dataset differ from *updates* in, at least, two important ways. Firstly, whereas *updates* tend to be much longer, *comments* are often shorter. For example, the *update* in excerpt 3 presented earlier is as follows.

“Les nouvelles fraîches de Brazzaville : Triste lundi à Brazzaville, hier soir le ministre de l'intérieur a lu à la télévision *Foufou RTC* que toute manifestation était interdite à Brazzaville et ailleurs jusqu'au 24 octobre 2015, date du référendum. Curieusement, ce matin, la garde républicaine à côté de la police et de la gendarmerie ont bouclé ensemble, je dis bien ensemble, l'entrée de Bacongo et de Diata. Et cherchent à mater les populations de ces arrondissements du sud ...

”

[Fresh news from Brazzaville. Sad Monday. Yesterday, homeland Minister appeared on the national radio and TV network and said that demonstrations were prohibited in Brazzaville as well as in the rest of the country until October 24<sup>th</sup>, the referendum date. This morning the police along with other national law enforcement agencies have shut down the exits of Bacongo and Diata. They have orders to prevent any march from these Southern neighbourhoods]

As can be observed, this excerpt is longer than the subsequent comments following it up. For example, the *comment* made by U2 is as follows:

U2. Le Congo n'est pas une république bannaniere. La force publique ne vas pas caressée ceux qui oseront troubler la paix. Au lieu d'éteindre le feu...Vous rajouter de l'huile sur le feu. ....

[Congo-Brazzaville is not a fake republic. Law enforcements will not take it easy to people who would dare disturb peace. Rather than extinguish the fire you're there putting oil on it]

Secondly, in contrast to *updates*, the number of *comments* to an *update* can be unpredictable as it seems to be more related to the number of Facebook Friends and Followers the user has, as well as how important the message publicly posted is. In the dataset, for example, some *updates* (see excerpts 3 & 4 above and excerpt 5 below) were just followed up by some couple of *comments* whereas other *updates* generated dozens of *comments*.

Thirdly, time may also be considered another factor differentiating *updates* from *comments* since the time a Facebook user posts an *update* is always precedent to the time other users leave *comments*. However, the time a *Facebook comment* is posted seems to be far from impacting the number of *comments* under an *update* when Facebook users are located in different time zones<sup>35</sup>. As already mentioned in chapter 6, the Congolese Facebook community under investigation entails individuals residing within the national borders as well as those living overseas. Following this, time can be different depending on the location (or zone) the user is in. It may, for example, appear that a Facebook user residing in Brazzaville posts an *update* at 10 p.m. (local time) while the same time happens to be 2 p.m. in Chicago, 5 p.m. in Toronto, 5 a.m. (of the next day) in Beijing, to name just few time zones.

However, there is some similarity between *comments* and *updates* found in the dataset of the present study. As with *updates*, it was found *text comments* as well as *commented pictures* posted as a response or an expression of feeling (see excerpt 3 above U1, U2, and excerpt 4 below U1, U2, U3, etc). However, as explained earlier, only *text comments* were extracted as can be seen in all the excerpts throughout this thesis.

(5) Excerpt 5. (Reference in the dataset (112)).

Tout le monde dit #JOHNFIT (Picture removed)

[Everybody says enough is enough]

#### **Comments**

U1. la music est juste improviser

[This is an improvisation of music.]

U2. Put1 ils ont fait un montage avec un ancien clip de EDGAR aaaah les batards

*lol*

[This a fan-edited clip of EDGAR bastard LOL]

U3. EDGAR le respect de la democracy cest une lutte contre la dictatur

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<sup>35</sup> <https://www.timeanddate.com/worldclock/> Retrieved on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2018

[Showing respect to democracy means fighting against dictatorship]

U4. ce à qui ce clip et à qui s'adresse t'il???

[To whom is this message addressed?]

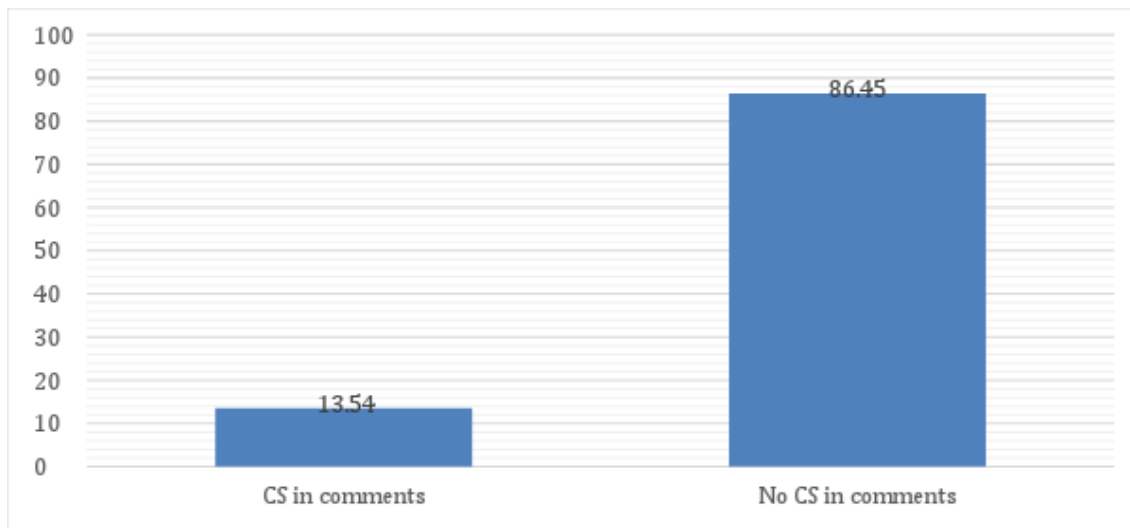
U5. Top merci Brazza News

[Thanks a lot, Brazza news]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

As said before, in chapter 6, the system of classification adopted to categorise the comments (Figure 3 below) found in the dataset includes two groups, namely *CS in Comments* and *no CS in Comments*. The first group entails all more-than-one-language *comments*, and as such these *comments* are also called *multilingual comments*. The second group consists of all comments made up of one single language.

**Figure 3: *CS in comments* versus *no CS in comments***



### 7.1.2. Languages involved in cases of CS

Apart from French, the unmarked language, other languages are also used both on the Facebook *updates* and *comments* making up Congolese Facebook interaction as will be observed forward. Thus, Facebook communication among Congolese users is seen as a multilingual exchange.

Excerpt 6 below, for example, is a multilingual *update* combining the unmarked language French and the marked language Kituba.

(6) Excerpt 6. (Reference number in the dataset (110)).

Échos de la campagne :11/03/16

[#DOLISIE](#). En direct de Dolisie.

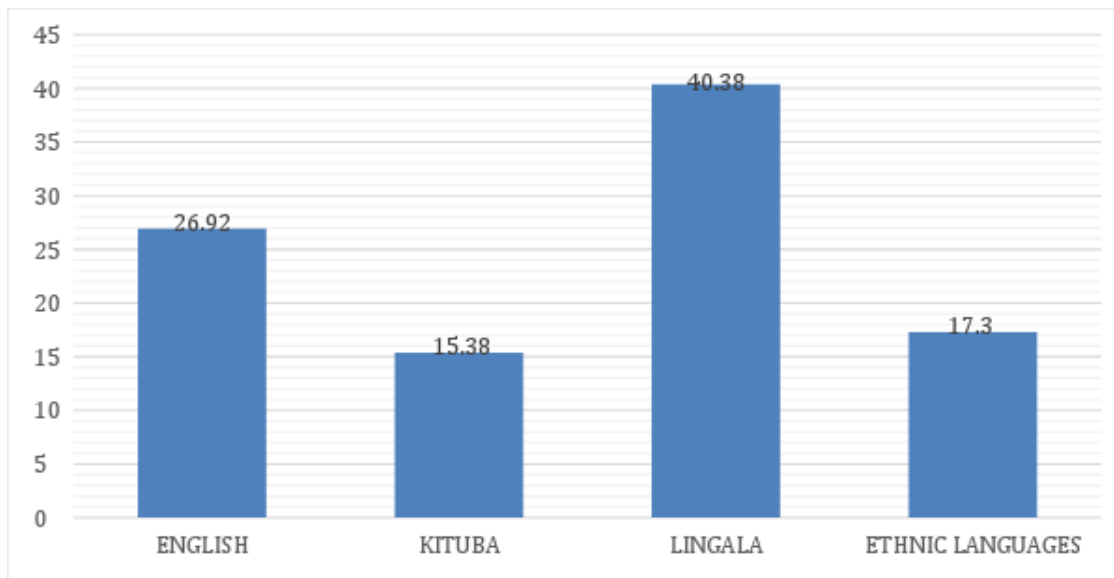
Le cortège de notre Moïse << JONSON>> est toujours bloqué, la population de Dolisie est en liesse, ne veut pas lâcher le General du peuple ... Dolisie en feu, Dolisie *ke ya Kunienga, Tiya na Dol-City*

[Live from Dolisie. The escort of our Moses < <JONSON> is still blocked. The population of Dolisie is rejoicing. They do not want to let the People's General go. Dolisie is on fire]

#### 7.1.2.1. Distribution of languages in *updates*

The distribution of languages occurring in *updates* involves English, Kituba, Lingala, and ethnic languages such as Mboshi and Laari.

**Figure 4:** *Languages present in Facebook updates*



As shown in Figure 4 above the occurrences of English account for 26.92%. In other words, more than a quarter of instances of language alternation found in the dataset involved the

English language. As already explained in chapter 4, English is not part of the Congolese linguistic configuration in offline communication. Historically, Congo-Brazzaville is a French-speaking country. The presence of the English language in the data seems unusual and could point to a new trend in the use of languages by Congolese people – this will be further examined in the analysis section. As a global language English may be fairly and slowly penetrating this French-speaking country.

Figure 4 also shows that Kituba accounts for 15.38% of *updates*. However, the occurrences of Kituba are lower when compared to English, which has no prior social or institutional standing in Congo-Brazzaville.

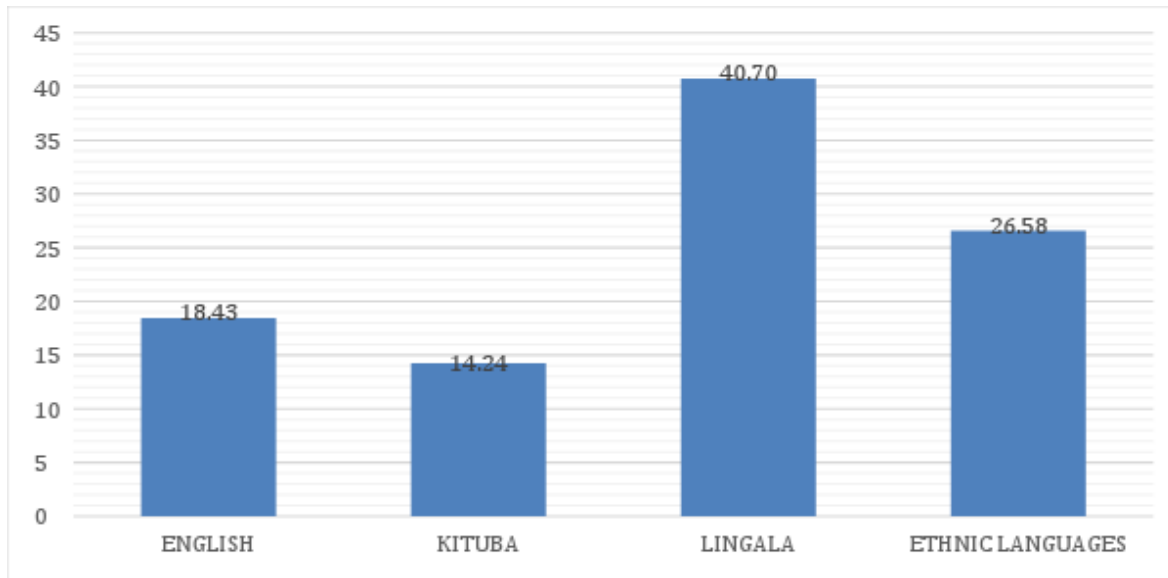
Lingala, with 40.38%, is the most frequently used language. As a co-lingua franca, Lingala may certainly have transcended its offline social usage and status into Facebook communication. In addition, the percentages of Lingala are over twice as high as those of Kituba with which they both operate as co-lingua francas in offline communication (see chapter 4).

As shown in Figure 4 above, the occurrences of ethnic languages account for 17.3%, which means they are the third choice after English. Ethnic languages are in-group languages whose use is limited to that ethnic group (e.g. Laari and Mboshi). However, their use on Facebook is even higher than that of Kituba. Notably, while most Congolese people are likely to learn or speak both Kituba and Lingala as a result of urbanization, since both are mostly used in cities, ethnic languages are stigmatized in that they are usually considered languages spoken in the countryside (see chapter 4).

#### **7.1.2.2. Distribution of languages in *comments***

As shown in the percentages presented in Figure 4 above and Figure 5 below, the difference between language distribution in *updates* and *comments* is very slight.

**Figure 5: Languages involved in Facebook comments**



As can be observed, Lingala is used in a very similar way both in the *updates* and *comments* (40.38% in Figure 4 and 40.70% in Figure 5).

Whereas in Figure 4 the English language is the second most frequently used language after Lingala, in *comments* (Figure 5) it is the third, after the ethnic languages. In other words, English occurs more often in *updates* than in *comments*. In the coming sections of analysis, plausible reasons for this preference will be explored.

Ethnic languages are the only category of languages that shows a large difference in both *updates* and *comments*. 17.3% of the *updates* were written in ethnic languages while 26.58 % of *comments* appeared in ethnic languages. In addition, whereas these languages are the third choice in Figure 4 they are second after Lingala in Figure 5. As with other languages, and as will be explored in the analysis section, ethnic languages may be slowly and certainly attracting Congolese people in such way that their use on Facebook is even higher than that of Kituba and English.

### 7.1.3. Describing *Case-Of-CS* versus *No-Case-CS* in updates

Having set up the two main components of Facebook communication, *update* and *comment*, which characterise the type of data under analysis, the identification of CS was made possible by opposing *Case-Of-CS* in updates to those in comments. On the one hand, Facebook *updates* are divided into *Case-Of-CS* in updates and *No-Case-Of-CS* in updates (see table 4 below). On the other hand, within each category, in turn, subsequent *comments* are divided into groups of *CS* and *no CS* in comments.

**Table 4:** *Case-Of-CS* versus *No-Case-Of-CS* in updates

	Number of tokens	Ratio (%)
Case-of-CS in update	52	19.84%
No-case-CS in updates	210	80.15%
TOTAL	262	100%

As can be seen in table 4, the category of *Case-Of-CS* in updates accounts for 52 Facebook updates of the overall dataset, whereas the category of *No-Case-Of-CS* in updates makes up 210 out of 262. In other words, 19.84% of updates contained cases of CS in updates, meaning



that, apart from French, other languages are used side-by-side in Facebook communication by Congolese people.

It is worth bearing in mind, as said earlier, that the term *Case-Of-CS* throughout the present study, refers to any genuine *update* or *comment* that appears to be posted in two or more languages and to serve a specific communicative purpose. Such *Case-Of-CS* (e.g. the update in excerpt 3 ((...) à la télévision **Foufou** RTC (...) [TV network]) can be framed in terms of single words, sentences, clauses or group words mixed up by means of lexical items from an unmarked and a marked language or from two or more marked languages. In excerpt 7 below, for example, the *update* is a case of CS in that it is written in more than one language.

(7) Excerpt 7. (Reference number in the dataset (89)).

Le **LIKOFI** de fin d'année de JIM à JOHN sur RFI était tout simplement magnifique. Pour JIM, JOHN est le seul congolais pourvoyeur de guerre et d'instabilité. Qui dit mieux?

[The JIM's end-of-the-year shot at JOHN on RFI was just beautiful. In JIM's terms, JOHN is the only person behind civil war and instability in Congo. Who thinks otherwise?]

*No-Case-Of-CS*, on the other hand, describes every *update* completely written in the unmarked language, French. *No-Case-Of-CS* is called, in other words, monolingual utterances as opposed to multilingual utterances. Excerpt 8 below both *update* and *comments* are written in the unmarked language, French, only.

(8) Excerpt 8. (Reference number in the dataset (5)).

Chers Compatriotes, l'heure est grave puisque nous devons nous mobiliser comme un seul Homme. Arrêtons de parler du nord, sud-est et ouest car le Congo est un et indivisible. L'histoire du Congo nous a montré, que le tyran lorsqu'il cible sa victime, il ne cherche pas savoir de quel département est sa proie.

[My fellow Congolese. Let's just come together as one. Stop speaking in terms of north, south, east, and west. Congo is the country for all of us. Congo is one and

indivisible. It has been demonstrated from our history that opposing people against each other is the main strategy these guys usually opt for as they lead the country.]

### **Comments**

U1. Mensonge le peuple congolais n'est pas représenté par des immigrants sans avenir ok ! Le peuple congolais qui réside au Congo reconnaît le travail du Président de la République du Congo.

[Lie. The Congolese people cannot be represented by those immigrants without any future. The Congolese people who reside in Congo are aware of the work done by the president of the Republic of Congo.]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

#### ***7.1.3.1. Case-Of-CS in updates: CS in comments versus no CS in comments***

Once all the *updates* had been classified into two types, i.e. *Case-Of-CS in updates* and *No-Case-Of-CS in updates*, each category was in turn subcategorised into *CS in comments* versus *no CS in comments*. In so doing the aim was to determine whether there was any link between *CS in updates* and *CS in comments*; in other words, whether *CS in updates* might help to trigger *CS in comments* or not.

**Table 5: Case-of-CS in updates: CS in comments versus no CS in comments**

Case-of-CS in updates		Number of tokens	Ratio (%)
52	CS in comments	348	14.67%
	No CS in comments	2,024	85.32%
	TOTAL	2,372	100%

As can be seen in table 5, 14.67% of the *comments* following up the category of *Cases-Of-CS* in *updates* were multilingual cases. The remaining 85.32% of *comments* were one-language – e.g. French. This shows to some extent that the link between cases of CS in *updates* and *comments* is subtle, at least in terms of *comments* generated, since the number of CS in *comments* is smaller than *no CS* in *comments* (see excerpt 9 below).

(9) Excerpt 9. (Reference in the dataset (71))

*Bato oyo bayaka* gouvernement *makolo ngulu lokola Hello lelo bakoma ba* milliardaires dixit MULLER, dorénavant avant de nommer quelqu'un il doit déclarer son patrimoine ils ya trop de vautours et des pilleurs.

[MULLER said that some people, who entered the government shoeless, have now become billionaires. As for now on, it should be ideal people release their assets before entering the government; there are too many vultures and looters]

### Comments

U1. *koseka té* je veux savoir il ya combien de ministre au congo avant *bakota* gouvernement *bazalaka naba VX naba Prado ou ba Range Rover*

[Do not laugh, I just want to know how many Ministers, who before entering the government, were able to possess cars like VX, Prado or Range Rover]

U1. Diaf de fois tu as raison il ya trop des rapaces dans la politique congolaise ... **nakosi???**

[Diaf, You're sometimes right. There are too many politicians who use public money for their own purposes. Am I right ?]

U1. Question pour un champion " il ya combien de ministre au congo avant bakota gouvernement *bazalaka na Range rover ba VX etc....Verité polélé polél*

[Question to everyone. How many of these Ministers who before entering the government were able to possess cars like VX, Prado or Range Rover.]

U2. *Hahahahahahahahahahahahaha* U1 *nga nazo kenda ba* campagnes présidentielles dans quelques jours, **n'a leki kaka** kiekiekiekiekiekieiki *kiekiekiekiekiekieiki masta nazo tia yo motuka* n'a Facebook *ekoti mavula*.

[Hahahahahahahahahahaha U1, I'm going back home soon for the presidential campaign. Just passing by. hahahahaha. My friend I will send you a car through Facebook. It's just entered city]

U3. *ba yoka* lettre a mr le president *bako teyama*.

[May they learn from this letter to the president]

U1. Il est à moitié mort, sauvez-lui quand même, il a arrêté de fumer le chanvre... :)

[He is half dead. Please save him anyway. Has he stopped smoking hemp]

U2. Mon très cher christel Louboula Foundoux, Diaf est irrécupérable *lol*

[My dearest U2, let him suffer].

U1. je comprends, faut laisser le crocodile de Diaf sous l'eau, sinon.. *Kiékiékié* Mais un western même 10000fcfa pour qu'il achète le ticket du metro ;) *boulot dodo...*

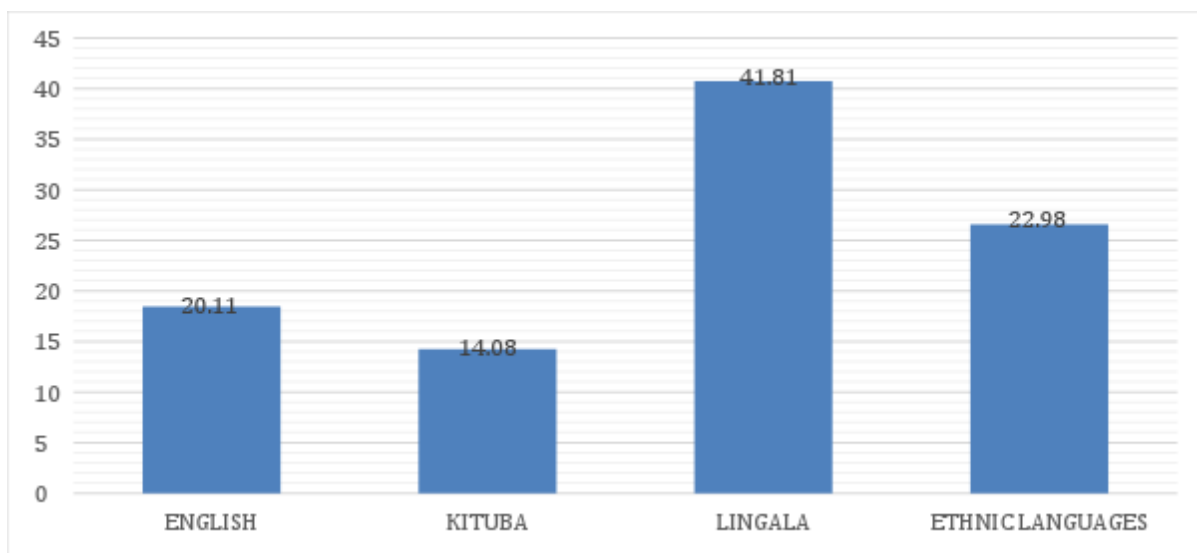
[I understand. Leave that crocodile sink under water, otherwise. LOL, you should send him some money to pay for Metro pass]

(see Appendix for full example)

#### 7.1.3.1.1. Distribution of *comments* according to languages within the *Cases-of-CS in update* category.

Within the category of *Case-Of-CS in updates* the languages were classified in order to determine whether there was any link between the languages of the *comments* and those of *updates* as an indication of communication accommodation (Figure 6 below).

**Figure 6: Distribution of *comments* according to languages within the *Cases-of-CS in update* category**



As can be seen in Figure 6, all four linguistic groups, namely English, Kituba, Lingala and ethnic languages, occur in the comment threads following up multilingual *Facebook updates*. The occurrences of these languages are as follows. Lingala, with 41.81%, is the most frequently used. Ethnic languages, with 22.98%, are the second most frequently used languages. English, which accounts for 20.11%, occurs less frequently than the ethnic languages. Finally, the

occurrences of Kituba account for 14.8%, which make this language the least used in the *comments* under multilingual *updates*.

English is the third most frequently used language after ethnic languages, which are the second most frequently used group. However, in order to understand further implications of this distribution and provide an accurate interpretation of Figure 3, it proved necessary to compare these findings with the language distribution in followed-up Facebook *comments* within the *No-Case-Of-CS* category.

#### ***7.1.3.2.No-Case-of-CS in updates: CS in comments versus no CS in comments***

*No-Case-of-CS* is a term used throughout this thesis to describe every monolingual *update* found in the dataset (e.g. excerpt 10 below). However, *Facebook comments* in this category include one-language and multilingual responses. Table 6 below shows that 13.16% were cases of CS in *comments*, against 86.83% of no CS in *comments*.

**Table 6: No-Case-of-CS in updates: CS in comments versus no CS in comments**

No-Cases-of-CS in updates		Number of tokens	Ratio (%)
210	Cs in comments	916	13.16%
	No CS in comments	6,042	86.83%
	TOTAL	6,958	100%

As shown in table 6, the one-language *updates* also generated CS in their following-up-comment threads. In other words, language alternation in *comments* manifests differently in both *comments* and *updates*. Both multilingual and monolingual *updates* can generate both monolingual and/or multilingual comments. Excerpt 10, for instance, is a one-language French-based *update* followed up by multilingual *comments*.

(10) Excerpt 10. (Reference number in the dataset (88)).

ATTAQUES SUR ATTAQUES, POUR QUELLES MISSIONS ET QUELS  
OBJETIFS.

QUI PEUT ÊTRE DERRIÈRE TOUT ÇA ? ET POURQUOI ? Chers tous, après  
plusieurs menaces de la part des proches de JIM je vous informe que s'il m'arrive

quelque chose, je les prendrai pour premiers responsables. Pour ne pas avoir été d'accord avec leurs méthodes en juin dernier lors de la visite de JIM ici, je n'ai pas cessé d'être objet de menaces de leur part. ...

[ATTACK AFTER ATTACK: WHAT FOR? WHO IS BEHIND THIS? Dear all, after multiple threats from JIM's aids, let me inform you that if anything wrong happens to me, I will take them for the very first responsible. The fact that I disagreed with their ways of doing things when JIM was in tour here (Paris) past June, I have been subject to attempt in different ways]

### Comments

U7. Tu me l'apprends mon frère. Confrontation des idées oui, mais pas en ce cas d'espèce. Ici il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que de la polémique inutile et de surcroît de caniveau. **Bye frerot**

[You just informed me of this my brothers. I agree with you upon sharing ideas, but as far as this is concerned we are not talking about controversy. Good-by Brother.]

U1. J'espère qu'un jour tu verras plus clair. Sache que U2 est un poison. Heureusement que sa carrière dans la diaspora est finie. Enfin, sache qu'il ne s'agit pas de vaine polémique. Il s'agit du combat d'idées sur le devenir de notre pays...

[I hope one day you will understand. Just to let you know that U2 acts like a fish. It seems like her career is coming to an end. Finally, just keep in mind that it's not a matter of controversies; instead, we are confronting ideas for the best interest and future of our country]

U1. Comme par hasard ne combat plus le tyran. Ce quoi cette histoire avec JIM. Est-ce que c'est encore une affaire de **nguri** ou quoi Alain pourquoi tu ne veux pas venir ici hein

[U2 is surprisingly no longer fighting the tyrant. What is that story with JIM about? Is that another corruption affair? Alain why don't you come over]

U8. **Kiekiekiekie** ah oui .mais vs connais déjà .15 ans de vie encore **eteya bino kiekiekie**

[LOL, Yes, you already know me. 15 more years to go. May this serve as a Lesson hahahaha.]

U9. ai-je pas affirmé que, nous avons l'opposition la bête de l'Afrique sinon, du monde ?

[Didn't I state that we have the best political opposition in Africa or in the world?]



U3. *Prière au Kwebali*, prière aux miens qui m'ont précédé à l'orient éternel. Vous qui vivez au travers de mes croyances. Vous qui avez bercé mon enfance de par vos récits, vous qui croyez comme moi, à notre vérité orale...

[Let our prayers go out to my ancestors. You're still alive in my beliefs. You rocked my childhood and you filled it with your stories. Your beliefs are just like mines. To Our oral truth.].

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

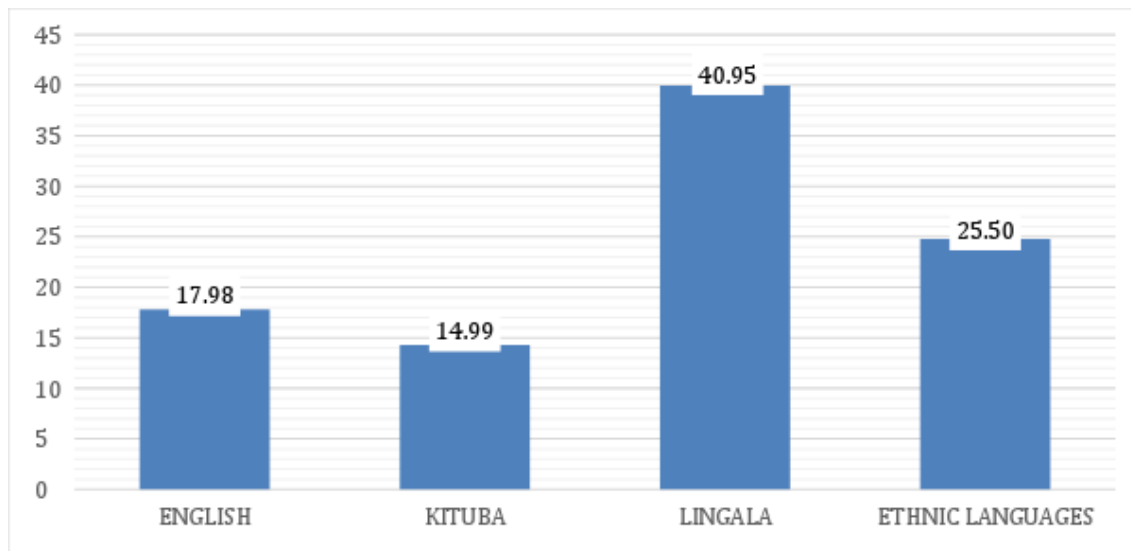
Table 6 also indicates that 14.67% of *comments* under the category of *Case-Of-CS in updates* turned out to be instances of language alternation, as opposed to 13.16% of *comments* under the category of *No-Case-Of-CS in updates*.

It is to be noted that cases of CS were generated by both categories, *Case-Of-CS in update* versus *No-Case-Of-CS in update*. Therefore, the results in tables 5 and 6 show the similarity in terms of their occurrences (14.67% & 13.16%). A plausible explanation might be, as Lori (2005) points out, CS is a multilingual practice that is used not only as a conversational tool but also as a way of establishing, maintaining and delineating ethnic boundaries and identities. In this respect, CS can be understood as a motive-driven communicative strategy. Switching back and forth between languages may then be a sign of inclusion, and/or exclusion among Facebook Congolese users. These motives will then be further determined in the analysis section.

#### **7.1.3.2.1. Distribution according to languages involved in *comments* within *No-case-of-CS in update* category**

As said before, *No-Case-Of-CS Facebook updates* generated both one-language and multiple-language *comments*. As was the case in Figure 6, all four groups of languages found in the first followed-up *Facebook comments* were present under *Case-Of-CS* category. These groups included English, Kituba, Lingala and ethnic languages.

**Figure 7: Distribution according to languages involved in *comments* within *No-case-of-CS in update* category**



As can be observed, Lingala, with 40.95%, remains the most frequently used language. The occurrences of ethnic languages account for 25.50%, which make them the second most frequently used languages. The occurrences of English (17.98%) make it the third most frequently used language. Kituba, with 14.99%, is the least frequently used language.

#### **7.1.4. Describing *updates* according to speech acts performed**

Before moving further, it is worth bearing in mind, as explained earlier in chapter 6, that a whole piece of discourse was considered throughout this thesis as the unit of analysis in the system of classification of all utterances. Every update as a whole, regardless of their length, is thus categorised based on the general intent and purpose it stands for.

To evaluate the effect of speech acts and observe their impact on Facebook communication among Congolese, the dataset was described according to Weigand's (2010) speech act taxonomy. According to this author's notion of minimal action games, every speech act is regarded as an initiating act which ends up prompting a response on the recipient's part. This dialogic process consisting of action and reaction allows us to consider every single *Facebook*

*update* found in the dataset as potential actions. In this respect, these Facebook initiating utterances are classified based on the four speech acts that make up the taxonomy – i.e. declarative, explorative, directive, and representative.

**Table 7: Speech acts taxonomy classification of the *updates* found in the dataset**

Declaratives	Exploratives	Directives	Representatives
8	159	26	69

Table 7 shows that 8 *updates* out of 262 were declarative speech acts performed by Facebook users. The following excerpt 11 is an example of declarative speech act. By uttering this *update*, one could argue that the user seems to comply with traditional customs and routines characterised by expressing and sending out New Year wishes.

(11) Excerpt 11. (Reference in the dataset (66)).

***Bonana*** à Tous

[Happy New Year everyone]

An expression of New Year wishes in excerpt 11 can be seen as a traditional routine, which may be taken as a conventionalized utterance socially expected as civilized behaviour. New Year wishes may thus be understood as a yearly societal requirement expected at the end and the start of a new year. The main purpose of the *update* may thus be the creation of social rapport by means of politeness conventions (Maíz-Arévalo 2017a). The expected reactive speech act from this *update* can also be a conventionalized utterance for politeness reasons such as *Thank you*. Maíz-Arévalo (2017a:15), for example, argues that “thanking is probably one of the declaratives more clearly formulaic and closely related to what is ordinarily understood as *being polite*”.

As shown in table 7, explorative utterances are the most frequently used of all types of speech act (159 *updates* out of 262). Excerpt 12 below is a one-language explorative act aiming to give an update about the activities of a political association (AJRMP). The expected reactions to this explorative act may be (positive or negative) responses from fellow users.

(12) Excerpt 12. (Reference number in the dataset (78)).

Communiqué" Rentré & reprise des activités du Bureau exécutif national de l'AJRMP ce jour 03 Janvier 2016 à Tours. Ordre du jour.

[News: "Back and resumption of the activities of the National Executive Office of the AJRMP this day 03 January 2016 in Tours (France). Agenda]

Table 7 also shows that directive acts are the third most frequently performed after representatives (69 *updates*). Excerpt 13 is a directive *update* posted in order to give supporters a direction on the action to follow as the presidential election is underway. The post may be seen as a directive initiative action that can result in positive or negative consent on somebody else's part. The corresponding reaction to this utterance would be a speech act of consent.

(13) Excerpt 13. (Reference number in the dataset (155)).

PROCUREZ-VOUS LE FILM DOCUMENTAIRE REVOLUTIONNAIRE(S) VIA DIASPO INVESTIGATION. - "Une boîte de pandore" selon LA SEMAINE AFRICAINE ...

[GO BUY THE FILM DOCUMENTARY OF REVOLUTION AT *DIASPO-INVESTIGATION*. It's called A Pandora's Box by the weekly newspaper *LA SEMAINE AFRICAINE*]

Representatives are based on a claim to truth and aim at acceptance (Weigand 2010). Most reactive actions to representative utterances usually prompt positive or negative acceptance on the hearer's part. Representatives in the context of politics can be framed in terms of criticisms to how the country is being led. Excerpt 14 below is a pre-presidential *Facebook update* posted as a description of the current state of the country, especially the city of Brazzaville.

(14) Excerpt 14. (Reference number in the dataset (2)).

Tout congolais a des parents dans les quatre coins du Congo ! donc ne vous inquiétez pas, parce que on est mieux informé que les résidents de Paris. Et je puis vous dire qu'à l'heure qu'il est le calme et la retenue est observée partout. Appelez vos parents comme moi et vous en saurais un plus

[Everyone has got parents and relatives in all the four sides of the country. Please don't worry because we are better informed than those residing in Paris. I can tell you. As for the time being, calm is observed throughout the country. For further information just call your parents]

The corresponding reaction to this utterance may be an act of acceptance.

### **7.1.5. Summary**

This section has focused on the description of the data. The two main components of the data – namely *update* and *comment* – were addressed and contrasted in subsection one. The different languages used by Congolese Facebook users were described in subsection two. Subsection three focused on distinguishing two main categories of *updates*, namely *Case-Of-CS in updates* and *No-Case-Of-CS in updates*, each of which was in turn subcategorised into *CS in comments* versus *no CS in comments*. Finally, subsection four described *updates* according to speech acts performed.

## 7.2. Data analysis

This section is focused on the analysis of the data described in the previous section. It is divided into two subsections. Firstly, the analysis of the speech acts performed on Facebook is presented in subsection one. Secondly, an examination of the correlation between CS on *updates* as opposed to *comments* is made in subsection two.

### 7.2.1. Analysing speech acts in Facebook communication

This subsection examines the speech acts performed by Congolese users in Facebook interactions. As already pointed out (see table 7, chapter 5), four types of speech acts were found in the dataset, namely *declarative*, *explorative*, *directive*, and *representative*, all of which fall within the *Minimal Action Game Theory* (Weigand 2010). In other words, and based on their generally prominent purpose and intent, every *update* is considered to achieve one of the following communicative purposes. Firstly, the underlying intent of *declarative* utterances is the desire to make an implicit or explicit statement, which can be confirmed or not. Secondly, the intending *explorative* act is the need to inform or be informed through an explorative action. Thirdly, the aim of *directive* act is to seek for the consent of the listener. Finally, *representative* act stands for the desire to make a claim to the truth.

#### 7.2.1. Declaratives

As mentioned before (see chapter 5), *declaratives* are speech acts whose utterance effects immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs, and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions. *Declaratives* were the least frequently used of all speech acts found in the dataset (see table 7). The low frequency of *declarative* speech acts may be due to two plausible reasons.

On the one hand, as said earlier in chapter 5, *declaratives* are first and foremost assimilated to institutional games as their functions mostly have a legal basis. Power tends to be one of the

substantial conditions needed for any *declarative* to meet success. A successfully declarative utterance is generally, in its basis, made by an individual having a specific authority such as in the context of baptising, christening, and so on.

On the other hand, *declaratives* may also be a politeness-driven communicative strategy as their use in everyday interaction is also considered a process by the end of which a speaker fulfils or accomplishes the requirement of courtesy (Weigand 2010). Weigand terms politeness-driven declaratives *conventionalised utterances* (see excerpt 11 above) in that, according to this author, these acts create what is expected as civilised behaviour (2010:147).

However, power, authority and politeness are unlikely to stand effective on Facebook as opposed to face-to-face communication. Firstly, the knowledge Facebook users have of each other – especially when they do not hold prior offline relationships – may appear limited as most of them happen to be hidden behind their respective profiles (Zhao et al. 2008). The lack of good knowledge of other users may rend respect and power less effective on Facebook. Secondly, unlike offline interaction, Facebook communication seems to break social boundaries between users. On Facebook, users are referred to as Friends and/or Followers. Being Friends or Followers makes the interaction rather casual even though these users may come from different social classes in offline life.

A reactive action to any declarative utterance cannot be problematized or negotiated; it always stands effectively as long as the previously appropriate conditions are observed and respected. The prominent intent of the *update* of excerpt 15 below, for example, may be seen as if this Facebook user is communicating knowledge of the disastrous situation facing the country – Congo-Brazzaville. The truth of this utterance may not be certain. Such a declaration can be confirmed or questioned according to the judgment of fellow users. For example, some users may establish the truth of this *update* if they believe the utterance presents the real situation of the country.

(15) Excerpt 15. (Reference in the dataset (21)).

[Voilà une autre idiote qui pense que les congolais vont acheter son livre ...depuis quand A-t-elle appris a ecrire des bouquins ? Vous voulez tout acheter avec l'argent des contribuables congolais meme jusqu'a l'intelligence des autres pour vous faire passer pour des intello! Honte a toi mme **VINCE o bala Leki na yo po na kombo !** Un imbecile Coe VINCE JOHN hiiiiiii!]

[There's another idiot who thinks the Congolese people would even buy her book. When did she become a writer? These people would use all taxpayers' money to buy even other people's intelligence. I feel sorry for Mrs. VINCE. What was the reason you got married to your own little sister? Is it because of her name? This stupid idiot of VINCE JOHN hiiiiii!]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

With respect to language alternation in this *update*, the excerpt is made up of two languages, namely the unmarked language, French and the marked Lingala. These two languages are strategically used to fulfil two communicative goals. While French is used to describe and explore the situation, this Facebook user makes use of Lingala in order to emotionally make negative remarks and criticisms.

***VINCE o bala Leki na yo po na kombo***

[What was the reason you got married to your own little sister? Is it because of her name?]

From excerpt 15 it may be observed the interplay between two languages fulfilling two different communicative functions. In other words, the use of either language in this interaction corresponds to a speaker's desire to carry out some specific communicative goals. Such goals, achieved by the speaker, define not just the interaction, but more importantly, the sociolinguistic context and environment this speaker lives in. It can thus be argued that this Facebook user is a self-conscious multilingual speaker engaging in communicative exchange within a sociolinguistic context dominated by the use of more than one single language. This goes in line with the argument made by Jaworska (2014). This author argues that "language



users (...) deploy whatever linguistic and semiotic resources they have at their disposal to fulfil their communicative needs” (Jaworska 2014: 3).

Multilingualism, in this excerpt, can be regarded as both a key and an obstacle. Seemingly, only other Facebook users who are multilingual, at least in both French and Lingala, may fully understand the message conveyed. On the other hand, this *update* stands as a barrier to Facebook users unable to understand the full meaning of this utterance because they cannot speak Lingala.

Bearing in mind that every speech act performed is an initiating communicative act that aims to prompt a response on the hearer’s part, *comments* following up excerpt 15 are ultimately considered to be reactions. Analysing these *comments* means providing an explanation of the dialogic organisation of the interaction between the users.

The first *comment* made by the first user (as shown below) is a declarative act used to express emotion. The aim may be seen as if the user is congratulating the writer on accomplishing such a remarkable achievement, as well as to offer support, assistance and future-orientated remarks through words of encouragement and practical advice.

*U1. So proud of you mom and so glad to be your daughter. LOVE you and thanks GOD for what he did and what I'll continue to do. Hope you Will have inspiration to write another book: just like you always say: IN THE NAME OF JESUS. LOVE you and would like to be with you at the moment. CONTINUE ainsî [that way] my sister!!! and I'll be a VERTUEUSE [virtuous] Woman LIKE YOU my IDOL!!!!*

The *comment* is an example of multilingual response as it is originally written in the marked language, English, and the unmarked language, French. The use of English might be related to the desire to send out encouragement and affirm personal identity as an individual having some knowledge of the English language. This explanation is due to the fact that the *comment* is, for its major part, written in English.

In addition, the use of English by U1 differs from the languages previously used in the *update*. This creates some divergence between the initiative *update* and this reactive response.

However, after this English/French *comment*, the follow-up *comments* made by U2, U3, U4, and U6 turn out to appear in languages other than English as seen below.

U2. je ne pense pas que tu a eu la même éducation qu'elle.

[I don't think you have the upbringing she has]

U3. Ça depend de quel education tu parles si c'est pour les opportunités eh bien son pere un voleur, et le mien à travailler à la sueur ...c'est pour ça qu'elle est descendue si bas...

[It depends on the type of education you are referring to. If it's because of opportunities, then his dad is a thief. That may be the reason he has fallen miserably]

U4. Hooooooo

U5. **JOHNTOUFI** et ses rejettons Dehors!

[JOHN is a shit. Him and his Followers out]

U6. Ton problème parce que c est la femme de VINCE?

[You just took it personally because she is VINCE's wife]

U2, U3, U4, and U6 above not just question the intelligence of the now-called writer, they overtly criticise the entire regime. These users seem to consider this regime to be a total disaster constantly promoting anti-values in the service of the nation. Specifically, U5 expresses an insult not to the writer but to the sitting President, the Head of the entire system, whom this user appears to blame for being the main source of such a human disaster. The language used by U5 is the marked language, Kituba – U5. **JOHNTOUFI** [JOHN is a Shit], which, once again as in the previous English *comment*, was not part of the languages used in the *update*.

Quite similarly the *comment* made by U7 hilariously describes an astonishing mindset – *So funny, a writer OMG I'm dead*. This Facebook user cannot believe her/his eyes as she/he writes. This may be seen as an ironic way of showing disapproval and doubt implying that it is

absurd to keep the country following this disastrous path in which the merit no longer exists. Furthermore, the *comment* turns out to be originally written in English, which is the main language used by U1 in the very first *comment*. Still, there is a discrepancy between the languages appearing in the *Facebook update* and those appearing in *comments*. Furthermore, the use of English can be regarded, to some degree, as a strategy of neutrality described in chapter 5 since this language tends to index, at least in excerpt 15, neither the unmarked language, French, nor the marked language, Lingala, initially used in the *update*. In other words, the linguistic choice made by U1 and U7 is thus neutral as the language used does not match neither of the languages (French and Lingala) used in the *update*. As said earlier in chapter 5, the strategy of neutrality can, however, be described as underlined by certain extralinguistic factors; and as such it may have been used in these *comments* to fulfil cognitive purposes such as adding an extra value to the congratulation statement, or to publicly make fun as in U7.

### **7.2.2. Exploratives**

As was previously shown in table 7, explorative speech acts were the most frequently uttered of all the four types of speech found in the corpus. At their intrinsic level, explorative speech acts make claim to volition, which relates to knowledge about the world (Weigand 2010). In other words, users who performs an explorative utterance might want to learn about the world surrounding them.

However, knowledge in the context of politics, especially in the period of elections, might basically be framed following, at least, two distinguishing lines characterising national political forces. On the one hand, arguments released by the political opposition are usually full of criticism to the sitting and supposedly outgoing administration. On the other hand, the sitting administration, whose goal is usually to seek a way to maintain their power, may usually be protective and conservative of that power. The argumentation here may, for example, be a

contention that a second chance may be an important opportunity in order for the sitting administration to achieve their agenda.

The choice of the next president thus happens ultimately to be crucial since the future president may be expected to be able to promote a free and fair society where the rights and obligations of all the citizens are guaranteed. Explorative speech acts being of fundamental importance for communication, the claims to volition made by every political side may end up promoting positive or negative reactions on the part of the citizenship.

Excerpt 16 below is a monolingual explorative utterance which generates multilingual *comments*. The user describes negative *comments* made by one opposition leader criticising other opposition leaders who attended the political convention some days before the presidential election. The goal of the convention was collectively to adopt a mutual strategy to guarantee the chance of success.

(16) Excerpt 16. (Reference number in the dataset (56)).

JIM a dit que la convention de l'opposition est un amusement, c'est donc son UPRN constitué de 10 personnes qui est sérieux. .. Pourquoi cette confusion ? D'une part le collectif des perreux demande le boycott sans stratégies, et d'autre part l'IDC/frocad veut participer sous certaines conditions de transparence pour activer une réelle mobilisation ... A vrai dire on demande au peuple de choisir entre la peste et le choléra .. Le peuple attend les résultats de la convention pour trancher. Mais nous demandons a JIM et ses amis de ne pas diviser l'opposition, si il continue d'insulter le frocad / IDC sur Rfi, nous allons le chasser de l'opposition.

[JIM claimed that the ongoing opposition convention led by other opposition leaders is a joke. He believes that his political party UPRN of 10 members only is more serious. Why so much confusion? On the one hand, the opposition platform which his party is a member of wants to boycott the upcoming presidential race; IDC/frocad, on the other hand, is willing to participate under certain conditions of transparency. We only demand the people to make a good choice from these two directions. While the same people are still impatient of the conclusions coming from the convention, we warn JIM and his associates not to disturb the whole political

opposition. If he keeps insulting Frocad/IDC on RFI, then we will have no choice than to suspend him.]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

Excerpt 16 may be seen as aiming to inform the general public about what the Facebook user considers to be a case of confusion within the opposition ahead of the election. A convention does not seem to be a level-headed option shared by all the opposition leaders and their respective political parties. Consequently, any decision emerging from the convention would not be regarded as entailing the whole opposition. This *update*, thus, draws on the backdrop that the unity of the political opposition might fundamentally be important to take part in the election race.

However, this initiative explorative utterance generated multiple reactive acts from fellow Facebook users, as can be observed below. This tends to confirm to some extent Weigand's (2010) argument that no uttered-speech act ever goes unnoticed: it always prompts a reactive act on the hearer's part.

U2. BrazzaNews, entre nous et sois serieux, est que nous avons une opposition, **ou un moziki** des revenchards, parceque limogés des postes Ministerielles par JOHN  
[BrazzaNews, do you seriously think we have a political opposition? That's just a group of desperate people who after losing their jobs as Ministers want to take revenge]

Seemingly, this reactive utterance starts as an explorative act as the user is trying to question the integrity of people acting as opposition leaders. The *comment* may be interpreted as if the user lacked trust in these people. More importantly, in criticising what she/he does not seem to consider as political opposition, this user shifts language, going from the unmarked language, French, to the unmarked ethnic language, Doondo. The use of – *moziki* [a group of desperate people] – may have been motivated by a communicative need to find the best descriptive adjective to amplify the characterisation of this dishonoured group of people.

U2 may have thought that describing the Congolese opposition using French is not sufficient enough to deliver a real meaning of who these people really are. U2 opts for a diverging strategy which she/he believes would make her/his message more unmarked and amplified. However, the use of this ethnic language is unusual if one considers that not all Congolese people are supposed to understand both the abstract and literal meanings of the term – i.e. *moziki* [a group of desperate people]. This way of communicating can be seen as a culturally-related indication of how multilingual speakers use the linguistic resources at their disposal to freely expose their thoughts and beliefs.

The *comment* made by U4 below describes how amused this user feels with respect to the use of *moziki* by U2 above.

U4. U2 u m'a tué kiakiakiakia carément Moziki *kiakiakiakia*

[You just killed me as you said, desperate people]

U4, who clearly seems to have understood well the Doondo term *moziki* as she/he reproduces the exact term, is to be motivated by the desire to reiterate and quote a fellow user. Language alternation in this *comment* may be seen as a repetition for emphatic purposes. As mentioned earlier in chapter 3, both reiteration and quotation have reportedly been identified as some of the multiple communicative functions of language alternation (Gumperz 1982a; Flyman-Mattsson & Burenhult (1999), and Gulzar (2010).

U6. Brazza news ne dépend de personnes tu m'entend ..Personne ne finance brazza news ,voilà pourquoi nous avons la liberté de penser. . Toi c'est JIM qui te nourrit, voila pourquoi tu le defends aveuglément ..*Zoba*. Tu peux meme manger son kaka ..

[This News page is self-funded. No one sponsors it. That's why we are fearless to say everything we want to. The reason you're (U5) acting that way is because you depend on this leader that you blindly support. You're stupid. Make sure you also eat his shit.]

U6 makes this *comment* as a reactive representative utterance to the remark made by U5. U6 might be the administrator of the Facebook page this *update* was posted on as she/he happens to be defending the credibility of the page. However, the use of the marked language, Kituba e.g. **Zoba** [you're stupid] appears as a communicative strategy used as a way of exhibiting fury by overtly insulting U5. As with U2, U6 also opts for a harsh adjective as a perfect strategy to describe the stupidity of another user.

U39. C'est la strategie du vieux cobra d'oyo divisé pour mieux reigné et on doit reconnaitre qu'il est plutot champion à ce jeux, pour moi je me dis que JIM est gravement malade c'est pas de sa faute il souffre de la **NGIRICIOSE** (il a été **nguirisé** pas etonnant).

[That's the strategy of that elderly man from Oyo consisting of dividing his opponents so that he can expand his power. Make no mistake he is a champion at that game. As far as I'm concerned JIM is seriously sick; but it's not his fault, that's just the effect of corruption. He's just been corrupted, not surprisingly.]

This *comment* made by U39 may be seen as a case of representative speech act performed as a claim to truth. The truth here may depend on the way this user regards the situation of the country. Unlike the *update* itself that describes JIM as the one responsible for the alleged confusion, this *comment* pinpoints the sitting president as mainly responsible for the chaos. As for the case of CS, it may be regarded as a culturally-related way of using a language. In fact, the Kituba terms **nguirisation** [noun – corruption] and **nguiriser** [verb – to corrupt] or **nguirisé** [past participle and adjective – corrupted], meaning corruption, to corrupt, and corrupted, respectively, may be seen as cases of blend words formed as a result of a combination of two words from two different languages, namely French and Kituba. These three terms are created based on the Kituba stem **nguir** to which different French suffixes (e.g. **-ser**, **-sé**, **-sation**) are added. The terms are well known within the political environment in Congo-Brazzaville. Once again language alternation happens to be an adjective taken from the marked language, Kituba – **nguirise** [corrupted] – to cite the reason for the supposed confusion within the opposition.

U2. *Ebebeli bango eh eh eh*, opposition *nani bomoni te, bo komona* ce que le chat avait vu dans la rue mbochis. *oyo ekoya ella*

[Things have got bad between them. you haven't seen yet. you will witness what a cat witnessed down the street mboshi. Don't care if there will be any retribution.]

U2, who previously made a *comment* switching into an ethnic language, Doondo, has posted a new expressive *comment* involving French and Lingala. The *comment* may be seen as an irony about the disorganisation and desperation facing the opposition leaders who appear far from reaching a substantial agreement ahead of the election. CS in this *comment* can be regarded as a strategy of making fun of opponents. The use of the marked language, Lingala, may be seen as an indication of how easily a local language can effectively play such a role of making fun.

However, it is essential to note that all local languages play such a substantial role in describing (U2, U4), insulting (U6) and characterising (U39) rather than exploring or informing. In addition, all languages making up language alternation under excerpt 16 (Doondo, Kituba, Lingala) happen to be different from the language primarily used in the main post. This divergence may, in fact, be taken as an example of communication accommodation, which seems to be a fruitful communicative strategy among these Facebook users.

Excerpt 17 below is another monolingual explorative *update* under which accommodation is observed as a common interactional means of expressing feelings, ideas, and intentions.

(17) Excerpt 17. (Reference number in the dataset (124)), as said before, is a post-presidential election *update*. The *update* is a one-picture one-language *update* posted in reference to the newly nominee female Minister.

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

This excerpt may be seen as an explorative utterance posted by a user in order to show off and inform the public at large of the new of position of this user. The very first case of CS is brought up by U7 to congratulate the new Minister.

U7. **Kitokolilooooooooo la benjamine SARAH respect.....**



[The Beautiful youngest SARAH. Respect.....]

U7 makes use of the marked language, Kituba, to express how proud he/she feels about the person newly appointed. The Kituba adjective, **Kitokolilooooooooo** [beautiful] may have been used in this case with the intention to emphasise support to the Minister since the typographic variation of this *comment* – characterised by lengthening the final vowel – may certainly be seen as an indication of the pride U2 intends to express. It is essential to note that previous studies on humour have revealed that typographic variation (e.g. capitalisation, emojis, letter repetition, etc.) is indeed the linguistic encoding of humour used on CMC as a way to boost group solidarity and rapport (Maíz-Arévalo 2015, 2017a).

#### U4. **Inbox**

U4, who apparently expects a private message, makes use of the word *inbox*. *Inbox* is probably one of common words used here as a result of the influence of English in computer-mediated communication.

#### U31. *Kisalu me banda*

[Time to work]

This *comment* made by U31 turns out to be fully written in the marked language, Kituba. U31 makes a representative utterance claiming that it is time for work. In terms of the dialogic relationship between this *comment* and those preceding, it appears unclear what the exact message U31 intends to convey. Nevertheless, *time to work* may literally be understood as a way of saying good-bye from the ongoing conversation. By posting this *comment*, U31 may probably have been on the point of leaving the conversation.

However, the use of Kituba suggests, to some extent, that this user might be aware that all the users posting *comments* can understand a message written in this language.

#### U50. *mwane dimbu, maronde!*

[The daddy's girl!]

The *comment* is made in the marked ethnic language, Mboshi. It seems as if both U50 and the Minister both share the knowledge of this language since the use of this ethnic language seems unusual as it is an ethnic language which may only be understood by people who share it as their mother tongue. In this light, this instance may be seen as an indication of how Facebook users build up solidarity within a small group that shares the same ethnic language while distancing themselves from the standardised languages.

**U57. Botossi mama mokondzi**

[Our prayers and respects to you, madam Minister]

This utterance is used as a genuine declarative response to the new position acquired by someone. As a declarative utterance, this *comment* may end up promoting a positive reaction on the newly appointed Minister, such as *Thank you*. As said earlier, declarative utterance also aim at the creation of social rapport by means of politeness reason. The user is sending out his congratulations and prayers to a newly appointed Minister. However, in congratulating this user he/she opts for Lingala to get her/his message across. This may be implicitly understood as if the user considers both the Minister and other Facebook users in the thread able to speak or, at least understand a message in Lingala.

**U63. Ma ramboua ya voussena ba na ou**

[Glory be the name of God]

As with U50, U63 seems to be aware that the ongoing Facebook interaction involves speakers of Mboshi since she/he also made a *comment* in Mboshi a sign of a membership claim. Thus, language alternation, especially in this *comment*, may be indexing both as a way of creating a sense of belonging and a preference in the use of language.

**U64. Mingui ba leki de opposant à courtisan ah congolais kiekiekiek**

[Many people have gone from opposition to becoming courtiers. hahahaha]

This reactive utterance may be seen as a representative speech act as the user makes a claim on the attitude of the so-called national opposition which he/she apparently regards as group traitors. The utterance starts in the marked language, Lingala, to indicate the number of people suspected of treason – *Mingui ba leki* [many people have gone...]. It may be understood that the user's impression of the new Minister is negative.

U67. Mes sincères licitations pour notre très chère madame la ministre D D.la jeunesse congolaise compte sur vous. Tu le mérite.

[My sincere congratulations to our dear Minister Martin SARAH. la Congolese youth count on you. You deserve it.]

U76. Là !! les Deux Ds sont lancés, qui peut contester encore : même pas toi. **Big Kiss** madame la Ministre.

[Here! the two Ds are launched, who can argue against this fact any longer? not even you. Big Kiss Minister.]

U67 is persuaded that the choice of this new Minister, whose name happens to begin with letter D, as does the name of the former and then newly elect-president, makes harmony. The two of them are expected to work together in matters concerning leading the country forward. Surprisingly enough, U67 switches language into the marked language, English, to send out a *big kiss* to the new Minister as an expression of love.

U110. **Obosso obosso!**

[Let's go]

This *comment* is written as a representative utterance made to motivate the newly appointed Minister. The user intends to show support to and confidence in the Minister. The language used in this case of CS is an ethnic language, Mboshi. This language, spoken in the northern part of the country (see Figure 1 and 2), is seemingly shared by both the user and the Minister. In this respect the use of such a language could explain how all the languages used on Facebook are important in serving their communicative purposes and expressing identities. In this

*comment*, joy and happiness led to encouraging and motivating the new Minister ahead of the tasks awaiting her.

### 7.2.3. Directives

*Directives* are speech acts that aim to seek for the consent of the interlocutor. Describing the difference between directives and explorative, Weigand (2010: 147) argues that “whereas after a *directive* a speech act of consent is expected, the expected reaction after an *explorative* is a response”. In fact, the topic of politics is an issue that rests on the consent of people, especially in democratic societies where the number or majority usually plays a key role. The consent of voters is vitally required and constitutes a substantial force of change. Performing directive utterances before or after an election (referendum or presidential) may be understandable, considering the influence of politics not only on the citizens’ lives but on the country and its future as a whole. On the other hand, the relationship between politicians and voters may certainly be seen as based on a mutual cooperation. For instance, to attract the mass of people while rallying, one way may be by requesting for their consent based on the commitment that the future of the nation relies on their helpfulness and kindness to make a rational choice.

For example, excerpt 18 below intends to give supporters a direction on the action to follow as the presidential election is underway. This directive initiative action can result in positive or negative consent on other people’s part.

(18) Excerpt 18. (Reference number in the dataset (57)). Tous au siège de Total ce vendredi 15 janvier de 13h à 18h00. Allons dire à cette multinationale du crime organisé au #Congo Brazzaville notre désapprobation ...

[On Friday 14 January at 13h everyone at Total headquarters to express our disapproval to that multinational supporting all the crimes being committed in Congo-Brazzaville]

(See Appendix for the full excerpt)

This directive act could be approved or not. It is thus essential to examine the reactive actions following up this *update*.

U8. Que vous ne le voulez ou pas, JOHN sera toujours Président. ***Makélélé ya pamba.***

[Like it or not, JOHN will always be president. Stop making unnecessary noise]

Seemingly, U8 does not approve or support the directive message previously posted in the *update*, which she/he appears to regard as just a sort of senseless noise with no effect whatsoever. The shift here can be regarded as making a jocular move mitigating a potential face threatening act. As the user describes the noise – ***Makélélé ya pamba*** [stop making unnecessary noise], she/he switches to the marked language, Kituba. Perhaps the user believes that her/ his message would be more powerful if it appears to be in a language other than French. Not to mention that the *update* itself is a monolingual post as it appears in the unmarked language, French, alone.

U7. ***Lol*** ..... demande d'ami rejeté .... pas la peine d'insister .....

[LOL... friendship request rejected... no need to insist]

U7 is addressing U8 whom she/he describes as a blind supporter of the sitting president. U7 seems to have also rejected U8's Facebook request as U7 clearly claims that if a friendship request is rejected there is no need to insist. Rather than expressing anger or frustration at what she/he had read on U8's *comment*, she/he puts it into a laugh; and starts his *comment* with the English laughter expression, LOL.

U8. ***Lol***, pourquoi tu rejette ça?

[LOL why do reject it?]

U8 seems to be unhappy by the action of U7. She/he makes an explorative reaction questioning why U7 had rejected her/his request of friendship. However, pleased or not, U8 also starts her/his *comment* with the same English laughter Lol.

### U1. *Lol*

As the conversation develops U1 posts the same English laughter *LOL*. The back and forth in this conversation is communicatively meaningful as it tends to show the evolution of an organised dialogue. As explained earlier in chapter 5, the dialogical nature of communication is a substantial component of Weigand's framework.

U9. Attention le **YEZAIÖSE**, est une maladie répandue chez certains congolais. Le **YEZAI** est une bactérie très virulente qui attaque les neurones ... !! Cette bactérie prolifère dans des organisation comme le PCT

[Attention, STUPIDITY is now a common disease among Congolese people. STUPID is a highly virulent bacterium that attacks neurons...! This bacterium proliferates in the Organisation like the PCT]

This representative utterance made by U9 while describing PCT may be dialogically creative. On the one hand, instead of continuing the conversation in a laughable way, as U7 and U8 did, U9 opts for describing this political organisation as a group of dummies. On the other hand, CS in this example may be described as a strategy of creativity because the word used in switching is a rhetorically linguistic creation based of the languages available. The researcher investigated whether the words *Yezaiöse* and *Yezai* exist in the lexicon of any language but found nothing. The only word found in Kituba lexicon is *Yeza*, [dummy]. As a result, this case of CS was considered as a Kituba-based linguistic creation.

U9. Tous ceux qui prêchent pour les élections de JOHN sont des **YEZA !!**

[All those who are willing to participate in this election are dummies]

Once again, this new *comment* makes it clear that U9 was referring to Kituba when U9 posted their previous *comments*. Here, she/he uses the Kituba *Yeza* [dummy] as an insult to all willing to participate in the election. Clearly, taking part in the forthcoming presidential election does not seem to be a good option for this user. By referring to others as dummies this user expresses her/his optimism as to the fact that there seems to be no chance of coming up victorious. Language alternation in this context can be seen as achieving two distinct communicative



U12. Et toi qui n'est pas *Yeza* tu proposes une marche ou une ville morte ? Pour obtenir quel résultat ? Donc, pour toi le Congo doit s'arrêter ? J'attends toujours ta solution miracle cher monsieur. C'est facile de critiquer et insulter.

[Do you think you're not stupid at all, what would like to do? a march or a dead city? To come up with what results? As far as you say, you want the Country to stop? I'm still waiting for your miraculous solution, Sir. It's always easy to criticise and insult]

The response of U12 to U9 may be seen as lightly aggressive and critical. She/he regards U9 as only being rude towards fellow users. U9 has suggested no alternative with respect to whether to participate in the upcoming presidential election. U12 uses the same Kituba adjective *Yeza* [dummy] in order to report and quote the exact word previously used by U9. This seems to prove that U13 also understands the meanings of all words previously used by U9 in her/his previous *comments*.

Except 19 below is another directive utterance as its prominent communicative purpose appears to be the need to remind the people of their duty and responsibility to react after one of the former presidential candidates was facing judiciary charges.

(19) Excerpt 19. (Reference number in the dataset (131)).

URGENT...URGENT...URGENT. Affaire : La liberté du Général JONSON. Aucun gouvernement au monde peut accélérer l'arrestation de son compatriote qui ne veut reconnaître la tricherie électorale. Nous demandons au peuple Congolais du nord au sud de l'est à l'ouest de demander la liberté immédiate du général JONSON. Nous sommes libres de bien exercer nos droits en commençant par la ville morte.

[URGENT... URGENT... URGENT. Case: The freedom of General JONSON is threatened. No Government in the world should place under arrest a fellow citizen for not recognising countenancing electoral fraud. We demand people from all over the country to fight for the immediate release of general JONSON. Everyone including JONSON is free to exercise their rights by any necessary means]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

### **Comments**



U9. Tu planifies des plans pour éliminer l'autre même *ata oza youma mais JOHN ako raté yé TÉ* mon frère *tika* histoire *YA élections toza kouna TÉ* qui est encore incarcérés dans l'opposition ....NJIM multiplie des déclarations avec MICHEAL *baza WAPI...*

[You're planning on an attempt on other people, including JOHN. Stop talking about the elections any longer. Who else has been arrested on the opposition side? JIM along with MICHEAL who talk all the time. Where are they now?]

This *comment* is an explorative reactive utterance, but what seems typical might be the fact that U9 appears to question a fellow user on their political strategy as she/he seems to suspect an assassination is being orchestrated. Language alternation in this *comment* takes a seemingly unusual meaning since several short utterances from both French and Lingala are jointly used in the same *comment*. The user starts the *comment* in the unmarked language, French, and then shifts to Lingala. This switching implicitly implies, in other words, that U9 might be to some extent fluent in both languages as she/he smoothly uses them in the utterance.

U8. *Kiekiekiekiekiekiekue* ! mon frère les congolais ne peuvent pas réagir pour une accusation reconnue par le général

[hahahahahahahahaha. My brother you cannot expect any reaction from the Congolese people on the allegations that were already confirmed by the General himself]

U8 may have found all the preceding *comments* ridiculous and laughable as she/he starts her/his *comment* with an onomatopoeic laughter – *Kiekiekiekiekiekieku* [hahahahahahahahaha]. As said before, this typed onomatopoeic feature might depend on and be well known to the Congolese online community only, and as such, this *comment* can be seen as an indication of what Crystal (2001) coined *electronic revolution*. In fact, electronic revolution not only implies that the way people used language online has become different from its offline counterpart, but more importantly the structural features of languages used online may be described as typical from one online community to another since they reflect the needs and desires of the users (Crystal 2001; Herring 2010; Herring et al. 2013).

U9. U5. mon frère *okomi neti Ba* très fâché calme toi *mela MAYI Eza EYOMA YA JOHN Na JONSON bisso TÉ SOKI* au raté moninga *Na koudelipé moninga ako zoguissa yo Na fara fara....Nani akanissa* un jour *EKO koma boyé.....*

[U5. My friend, you have to calm down, don't get so involved in this matter between JOHN and JONSON. If you live by the sword you will die by the sword. Who knew we would get to this point one day?]

This is a French/Lingala *Facebook comment* made by U9 addressing U5. It aims at advising another user who seems to be very concerned about a harmful situation ahead. CS in this context appears as a productive communicative strategy used to warn and formulate an advisory remark.

U5. U17 *Osi omona boxe na ya ba* marteau? *ata ba bondjo yango?* JOHN moins *likambo mokié* il fo le congo *movimba ekotela yé*, JOHN a toujours raison

[Have you ever seen a boxing match involving slash hammers? Small as any situation may be, JOHN is always backed up by the entire country. He is always innocent.]

This user (U5), who clearly seems to have understood the French/Lingala *comment* made by U9, attempts to adjust her/his speech by using Lingala in performing an explorative utterance.

U5. Votre dialogue à vous-même *lool bosala to mona pé* ...tic tac ..tic..tac

[That dialogue will have yourselves as participants. try it and we will see the result]

U5's reaction to the idea of political dialogue builds up some uncertainty since she/he tries to challenge pro-dialogue fellow citizens. The *comment* involves three languages, the unmarked language, French, and two marked languages, English and Lingala. The English word is ironically used as a jocular comment while the Lingala words issue a challenge *bosala to mona pé* [try it and we will see the result]

U4. *Ya kala WANA tic, tac, jekoma bouton ya elamba TO lata mpe yango lol!*

[That's an old-fashion one. Sounds like some old clothes that we once wore. LOL]

U5. *Boko mona*

[You will see what you have never witnessed before]

To accommodate her/his speech U4 makes use of the two marked languages previously used by U5. The *comment* happens to be some criticism ironically made to the previous *comment* by U5. Language shift here appears as an indicator of addressee specification. U4 is probably aware that U5 can speak or understand both Lingala and English since the two languages were formerly used by U5. Furthermore, in an attempt to keep the conversation developing, U5 posted a new *comment* in Lingala assuring U4 that she/he will surely see what they are preparing.

#### **7.2.4. Representatives**

*Representatives* are based on a claim to truth and aim at acceptance (Weigand 2010). Most reactive actions to representative utterances usually prompt positive or negative acceptance on the hearer's part. *Representatives* in the context of politics can be framed in terms of criticisms of how the country is being led. Depending on the side a politician and their supporters are, these criticisms can be positive or not. For example, the criticisms can be negatively made by the opposition with the main goal of persuading people that the country is misled by the serving administration. Opposition leaders can describe themselves as good people keen to redress wrongs and open the country to a better future.

(20) Excerpt 20. (Reference number in the dataset (55)). Brazza après la pluie du 7 janvier 2016. JOHN tue les congolais avec des armes à feu mais il les tue aussi à petit feu en mettant les congolais dans ce genre de conditions de vie.

[Brazzaville after a huge January-7-2016 rain. JOHN not only puts the Congolese people to death with guns, but he also kills them slowly by offering them poor living conditions]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

Weigand (2010:162) argues that “human beings express their claims to truth not in order to produce absolute truths which need no reaction at all, but in order to achieve a commonly accepted view of the world”. Excerpt 20 may best illustrate Weigand's views as the claim to truth made in this post would depend on the perspective from which one looks at. It may be assumed that by uttering this post, the user tries to alert the public about the necessity to make

a rationale choice as the election approaches. People should make a choice that would avoid the country being disarrayed yet again.

The reaction of U10 below to the *update* tends to suggest that this user agrees to some extent with the representation of the country made in the *update*. The Facebook user, who posted the *update*, claims that people may be put to death through the use of guns as well as by making them live under miserable social conditions. U10 implores, however, Godfather, whom she/he considers to be the one punishing the country. Furthermore, U10 entreats the believers to pray so that God may free the Congolese people.

U10. *Eza mbotama ya Nkolo* Dieu frappe le pays trop de méchanceté et la cruauté. Chrétiens du Congo répétez-vous et priez que l'Eternel nous délivre de sa colère et que sa miséricorde sur Nous

[That's how God punishes the Congolese people who cross him. Christians of Congo pray God delivers us from his anger. May God have mercy on us.]

This Facebook user starts with a *comment* in the marked language, Lingala – *Eza mbotama ya nkolo* [That's Christ birth]. It seems as if she/he believes that the tough time the country is going through is nothing more than retribution for their sins (or disorganisation). Hence the remedy could not come from man-made actions but from God. The switch of language in this *comment* describes Christ birth as part of the solution to the puzzle. Language alternation may be seen as an act of calling for the assistance of some superior being by invoking Christ's birth.

Excerpt 21 below may be seen as another case of representative utterance in that the user calls for the responsibility of the Congolese judiciary system which apparently has failed to examine one case of corruption caused by a former Minister.

(21) Excerpt 21. (Reference number in the dataset (151)).

Q'attend Ngak pour ouvrir une enquête contre SEAN pour tentatived'assassinat ?

La sœur d'SEAN et son mari s'expriment sur une affaire de 400 Millions de Frs CFA que SEAN aurait détourné, il y a trois ans.

[What is the Prosecutor of the Republic waiting for to open an investigation against SEAN over an assassination attempt? SEAN's sister and her husband spoke out over 400 million francs CFA that SEAN stole three years ago.]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

### Comments

U6. Brazza news, *ngué ké ngolo ku lutila* Pierre ngolo!!...*kiekiekieke... muyibi heeee!!!*

[Brazzanews, you're even stronger than Pierre ngolo, LOL., Thief]

This representative utterance is entirely written in the marked language, Kituba. U6 recognises the hard work of the user who posted this *update* as she/he disclosed information that had been hidden for a long time because of the failure of the judiciary system. However, U6 might have found Kituba a perfect language to deliver her/his congratulations to the first user who posted the news. In terms of speech accommodation, this *comment* seems to have been posted as an adjustment to the language used in the preceding *comment*. It may also have been posted with the intention to distance from the language of the *update*.

U7. *Moyibiéééééééé euuuhhh! Ayibi niniéééé!! Ayibi* 400 millions! SEAN...  
SEAN niniééé:::

[You're a thief, you stole 400 Million SEAN what's up?]

Unlike the previous *comment*, U7 resorts to a reactive utterance aimed at emphasising the message in the *updates* but shifts to Lingala which appears to be neither the basic language of the *update* nor that used in the previous *comments*. U7 wants to adjust themselves neither to the *update* language nor to the basic language of the previous *comments*. The language used thus turns out to be the marked language, Kituba. This can be assimilated to a case of divergence.

U13. *Mouyibi*

[Thief]

U13 has little to say. She/he just posts this descriptive qualification of the thief. Unlike U7, U13 once again shifts away from the basic language of the *update* and the language of the *comment* posted by U7 (e.g. Lingala). U13, however, shifts toward adjusting their speech to the language used by U 6.

U14. *Boyebaniéééééé eh* ba famille

[ You have revealed yourselves]

U14 targets the entire family of the criminal rather than just focusing on the former Minister. U14 does so by loudly claiming that they have revealed themselves – *Boyebaniéééééé eh* ba famille [You have revealed yourselves]. Lingala is thus used literally to criticise the entire family for being so dishonest.

As has been described, it seems reasonable to argue that Facebook interaction among Congolese users, as seen throughout the excerpts here presented, matches the dialogical nature of communication described within the *Minimal Game Model*. Facebook communication here is a real set of actions fulfilled by users in the process of competence in performance. This process is observed through linguistic abilities enabling Facebook users accurately to make use of languages in specific situations. As analysed, every *update* posted is thus a communicative act purposefully performed. Every *comment* implies a reactive action. Such a reactive action may, in turn, become a new initiating utterance purposefully performed.

Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 5, the three main forces of speech acts, namely locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary (described in chapter 5), are effectively observed throughout these Facebook exchanges. Firstly, all *updates* and/or *comments* here posted are acts *per se*. Secondly, the forces behind these *updates* and/or *comments* are what was referred to as *declarative*, *explorative*, *directive*, and *representative*. Finally, the effects of these

utterances on the fellow users resulted in reactive actions. The analysis of the excerpts above has gone along with the argument that both *update* and *comments* are meaningful components of the interaction. A Facebook user who posts an *update* and another who posts a *comment* both equally intervene in the process of producing and understanding an utterance.

Finally, multiple pragmatic functions have been identified throughout the analysis of the data. It has, for example, been suggested that language alternation can serve as an expression of anger, criticism, mockery, and so on. It has also been demonstrated that CS is sometimes used by the users as indexing both a way of creating a sense of belonging and a preference in the use of language.

## 7.2.2. Examining correlation between CS in *updates* and *comments*

It was previously suggested in tables 5 and 6 that both *Case-of-CS* and *No-Case-of-CS* generated both CS and no CS in *comments*. This implies that the occurrences of language alternation in *comments* seem to be independent of that in *updates*. In other words, multilingual *Facebook updates* do not necessarily trigger language alternation in the threads of *comments* (see table 5). Neither do monolingual *Facebook updates* necessarily generate CS in *comments* (see table 6). Even languages used while posting *updates* do not necessarily determine languages in a *comment*. Thus, this subsection focuses on the examination of the way CS is framed in *updates* as opposed to *comments*. The purpose is to determine the extent to which *Facebook updates* correlate to CS in their follow-up *comments*.

### 7.2.2.1. Examples of *Case-of-CS* in *updates* that trigger CS in the *comments*

It was argued in 7.1.3.1. that the link between CS in update and CS in *comments* is subtle. Table 5 suggests that the occurrences of multilingual *comments* under multilingual *updates* were 14.67%, which means that the remaining 85.32% of comments were written in one language – e.g. French. In other words, language alternation in *updates* may or may not lead to CS in the follow-up *comments*. To illustrate the cases of CS in *update* that trigger CS in *comments*, excerpt 22 below is a two-language *update* under which *comments* are mixed.

(22) Excerpt 22. (Reference number in the dataset (7))

Les congolais sur les champs Élysée pour dire Non au référendum. **ETEYA BINO.**

[Congolese people took to the Champs-Elysees in Paris to protest the referendum.

May this serve as a lesson]

U1. (photo)

[JOHN, step down]

U2. **NO ya monene**

[We say BIG NO to the referendum]



U3. Je le disais, JERRY s'est largement trompé en s'alliant à, Balanchard Oba et Okombi. Les deux deniers sont restés chez eux bras croisés sans pour autant pousser leurs militants dans la rue, une attitude raisonnable et responsable. Mais, JERRY roulé dans la farine n'a rien compris. A lui de comprendre que la politique est un jeu d'intérêt ; ETEYA *YE*

[I said JERRY made a big mistake in allying himself with TOM and KANE. Whilst these latter stayed at home idly without any intent to push their supporters in the street, JERRY, who did not understand it, let his supporters out. This is a reasonable and responsible attitude. JERRY has to understand by now that Politics is all about interest. MAY THIS SERVE AS A LESSON.]

U4. Enfin du réalisme

[At least, some realism]

This *update* on its own contains CS mixing French and Lingala. *Eteya bino* is a compound Lingala noun made up of the verb *Eteya* [teach or learn] and *bino* [you]. Literally, it means *may this serve as a lesson*. However, taken in this context, the expression can be seen as a way of creating a common slogan to express support to people who are protesting against the referendum.

The same *update*, however, yields two other cases of CS (U2 and U3). These *comments* are both written in Lingala, the same language used in the *update*. This could be a case of convergence through which the users commenting on the post intend to adjust their discourse to what was earlier displayed in the *update*.

U3 even repeats the exact Lingala slang from the *update*, apparently, with the intention to strengthen and reiterate support to the movement. This typical type of accommodation shows to some extent that (a) while posting the *update*, the user seems to be aware of addressing other Facebook users, supposing them to speak Lingala, and therefore able to understand the message she/he delivered; (b) both U2 and U3 may be potential speakers of Lingala. The use of Lingala in *comments* matches its use in the *update*. In other words, U2 and U3 express the intention that they seemingly share the linguistic knowledge of the user who posted the message. The

knowledge here may come from sharing the homeland. Both languages used in excerpt 22 above are indeed important beyond the literal message conveyed. They tend to unite users in that they embed an expression of solidarity.

Furthermore, regarding the cases of CS present in the *comments* following the *update*, they seem to be informative and a warning. In fact, the *comment* posted by U2 intends to make a point that a referendum is not what Congolese people need; therefore, an attempt to insist on it may be harmful and dangerous. It can lead to disastrous political consequences. On the other hand, when saying *Etay biyo* [may this serve as a lesson], U3 joins the ongoing protest movement. However, she/he implicitly emphasizes a warning that the referendum may be troubling and could end up as another step back in the democratic process in the country. In this respect CS, as it is framed in this excerpt, describes a public engagement in the national matter. In alternating languages these users intend to amplify and upgrade the meaning of the refusal to participate in the referendum. The marked language, Lingala, may thus have served as a suitable medium through which the amplification could be well framed and displayed.

Excerpt 23 below is another example of a multilingual *update* which prompted both monolingual and multilingual *comments*.

(23) Excerpt 23. (Reference number in the dataset (17)).

*NZALA! NSATOU! NSONI! KIADI MINGUI! MAWA!* Le roue de la fortune par nguirisation tourne à plein régime. Pourtant 98% des congolais *say NOOO. Ku pesa yi mboua; the dog says NO.* Les jours sont comptés pour le dictateur.

[Suffering ! It's a shame and a disgrace. So sad! The wheel of fortune turns at full speed through corruption. However, 98% of the Congolese people are still against this regime. From now moving forward, they can keep on corrupting people, but they will never succeed again. The days to come will be dark for the dictator]

#### **Comments**

**U1.** Pluie jour de l'indépendance, pluie jour de la clôture des jeux africains pluie jour du meeting du pct, on dirait que la dame la pluie ne les aime pas.

[It rained on the Independence Day, it rained on the closing day of African games, it is raining at the moment on this PCT's rally day. Should say that even rain is against them]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

An examination of this excerpt offers some valuable insights. Firstly, the *update* itself is made up of four languages. On the one hand, there is Lingala, which is used twice, at the beginning – **NZALA** [Hunger], and at the end of the *update* – **MAWA** [Shame]. On the other hand, there is Kituba, which is used as a reiteration of what was typed in Lingala **Nzala** [Hunger] and **KIADI MINGUI** [Shame]. English is used twice; *say NOO and say NOO*. French, the unmarked language, is also used alongside.

The three marked languages used here – Lingala, Kituba and English – are considered marked choices because their use seems unusual in this post. On the one hand, it was previously explained that, English was not part of the Congolese offline linguistic configuration. On the other hand, mixing these languages all together in the same utterance is communicatively creative not only because it brings different linguistic systems closer, but more importantly, it tends to draw a new linguistic configuration among Congolese people.

Furthermore, both Lingala words – **NZALA** [Hunger] and **MAWA** [Shame] seem to express some discomfort caused by the behaviour of a fellow citizen. Whereas the Kituba words are used as a reiteration of what was both said beforehand and after in Lingala. The English verb *say* may have been used in two different contexts with quite the same intention to indicate disapprobation of the referendum.

However, while the use of Lingala and Kituba in this post could be due to affective reasons – the intention to use the two widespread local languages as an indication of membership in the Congolese community – English may have been used for cognitive reasons as both a global lingua franca and a potential indication of the desire to display possible English knowledge.

This English knowledge may point to the fact that the use of English words in this post is not structurally random. In fact, an analogy can be drawn between the English items used within the *update* and their corresponding meanings in other languages used within the same *update*. In other words, a closer examination of the occurrences of English words within this *update* may reveal that every English item used occurs meaningfully in the right structural context where other corresponding items from other languages would be suitable as well. For example, when the user wrote “Pourtant 98% des Congolais **SAY NOOO**”; the use of **SAY NOOO** can be seen as an analogy to the French expression **DIRE NOO** or even the Lingala expression **ALOBITE**. All these expressions mean exactly the same thing – *say no* – in all these the languages.

Nevertheless, in the light of the *Markedness Model*, language alternations in this *update* fall within the marked-choice maxim since the user here may be renegotiating a new right and obligation set, which would allow all these four languages to be regarded as necessary tools, regardless of the users’ linguistic backgrounds. Thus, the Facebook user who posted this *update* seems to be acting against the societal norms that consider French to be the only language of written interactions.

Secondly, the organisation of *comments* under this *update* is worth examining in depth as it offers valuable insights. On the one hand, 41 *comments* were generated, which means 41 Facebook users may have thought that the post was worth commenting. Surprisingly, instead of causing some misunderstandings because of the collective use of four languages, it seems that all the users involved in the interaction understood the whole *update* well. In fact, it is undeniable that pictures accompanying the post played a vital role. They both show an individual wearing two T-shirts with opposing meanings – i.e. Yes and No T-shirts. However, the link between the languages in the *updates* and the languages used in *comments* is obvious. On the one hand, these four languages, Kituba, Lingala, English, and French, are used side by side in both *update* and *comment*. On the other hand, 11 *comments* out of 41 appear to be cases

of CS, including French/Kituba, French/English, French/Lingala and so on. In other words, this multilingual update has effectively generated multiple multilingual *comments* with almost the same languages.

Finally, as for the pragmatic functions of CS, they are manifold. U13's *comment*, for example, gives both advice and a warning to the so-called defector as U13 wisely informs this defector in advance of a possible danger or other unpleasant situations that may occur as the result of betrayal.

U13. *Lokoso eko boma yo*, manger 3 fois par jour ne signifie pas manger dans 3 maisons différentes, tu mange chez l'oncle, tu mange chez la tante et enfin chez la copine...poison *ezo zela yoo...kaka boyee to loba to loba teeeh* !!!!!

[Uncontrolled greed for money is as dangerous as gluttony. The desire to have food three times a day doesn't mean having that food in three different households, eating at uncle's house, aunt's house, and girlfriend's house. Poisoned food may be waiting for you somewhere !!!!!]

In addition, the *comment* made by U22 may appear rather insulting as she/he expresses her/his disappointment in the action taken by a fellow citizen.

U22. *Mawa po nayé Tiadi samu na yandi*. Homme de peu de valeur et de crédibilité morale ce *SMITH dia tounfi*

[Shame on him. Feel sorry for this young man of low value and little reliability. He is such an ass licker of the man]

This *comment* is written in Lingala and French to describe the apparently inappropriate behaviour of a fellow citizen who went from one political side to another. U22 starts a *comment* in Lingala to express distress caused by the consciousness of what she/he seems to regard as foolish behaviour. Language alternation here may impute disgrace for an act of betrayal. The user further describes the defector as a man of little value and credibility before finally switching into Laari dismissing him as a *dia tounfi* [ass licker].

One could argue that this dismissal framed here as an explicit insult may be an indication of the fact that U22 might be a native speaker of this ethnic language since insulting someone seems to be an expressive communicative act that tends to be more cathartic once expressed in a mother tongue. In other words, using swear words in a language which is not someone's L1 may be perceived as less strong. This argument tends to go in line with the fact that, as described in chapter 4 (see Figure 1), most Congolese people generally have ethnic languages as their L1 (Ndamba 2000, 2008, 2011; Nkouka 2001; Talani Nanitelamio 2010).

However, the complexity of the Congolese Facebook community renders it rather difficult to determine, for certain, whether an insult is effectively an L1-orientated communicative expression since the participants in this community reside in various locations. In chapter 6, for example, it was said that the administrators of the Facebook pages the data were collected from resided in France. On the one hand, as pointed out earlier in chapter 4, recent studies carried out in Brazzaville city have conclusively reported that Lingala and Kituba are increasingly becoming L1 for Brazzaville-born teens (Calvet 1994; Nkouka 2001; Ndamba 2000; Kounghat 2013). Following this, it does not seem easy to interpret an insult among Congolese Facebook users in terms of the difference between L1 and L2.

Moreover, the use of Laari, Kituba, Lingala and English in the same *update* raises important points. Firstly, it would be fair to argue that a minimal knowledge – the awareness or familiarity gained by experience of how and when to use a given language – may be a substantial component in the process of creating meaning while codeswitching in the interaction. As such, most Facebook users, who switch languages in the interaction here, may possess, at least, minimal knowledge of the languages they use. Such skills enable them collectively to renegotiate the right and obligation set that was supposed to govern the interaction. French alone is thus seen as insufficient to fulfil all the communicative purposes intended.

Secondly, the interaction in excerpt 23 may be described as culture-related since these multilingual Facebook users freely use every language at their disposal. In fact, the use of Laari, for example, may be seen as an illustration that the users' culture and linguistic expression may indeed be embedded. Whoever uses Laari here appears to express a prior offline linguistic identity as speaker of this language. Regardless of whether the fellow Facebook users understand, every language is indeed usable.

Thirdly, in excerpt 23 the use of the same languages both in the *update* and follow-up *comments* may be an indication, to some extent, of the fact that the users are communicatively in a process of adapting and even negotiating their interaction by using whatever languages are necessary to meet their communicative needs. Such process falls within the mainstream of *Communication Accommodation Theory* (Giles & Johnson 1987; Farzadnia and Giles 1995; Shippey 1997; Gasiorek 2012; Farzadnia and Giles 2015). The use of any language in the *comment* may be described as either a sign of divergence from or convergence towards the language formerly posted in the *update*.

Finally, with respect to *Markedness Theory*, most cases of language alternation found in excerpt 23 show how deep multilingualism unites members of this Facebook community. Facebook interaction might be a reflection of their offline communicative behaviour since it appears to be another ground on which such multilingualism is set to operate. In addition, while some languages – Kituba, Lingala and ethnic languages – symbolise membership, and reflect actual offline reality, others – e.g. English – may be seen as indexing both globalization and a quest to renegotiate some new communicative rules based on the languages available.

In excerpt 24 below the *update* is also a more-than-one-language *update* under which both monolingual and multilingual *comments* are observed.

(24) Excerpt 24. (Reference in the dataset (137)).

En direct de la Mairie centrale de Brazzaville, votre humble serviteur bien installé dès son arrivée, pour la session ordinaire du Comité directeur de la dynamique citoyenne *PO NA EKOLO- SAMU NA BWALA*, qui débutera dans 1h, sous le haut patronage de son Coordonnateur général, LUTHER, représentant le président Hugues, empêché.

[Live from Central Mayor of Brazzaville, your humble servant has already arrived to take part in a regular session of the Executive Committee of the dynamic of the citizen. For the love of the country. The session will start within an hour and is going to be led by the general coordinator, LUTHER, representing the president RICHARDS, prevented.]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

This excerpt consists of 24 cases of CS. The *update* is an initially multilingual utterance, involving three languages, French, Kituba and Lingala. The expression *po na ekolo* [for the love of the country] is important as it describes a political party whose ideology is based on the vision of saving the country from the supposedly current drift. Posting the message in French with a slogan in both nationally widespread languages, Lingala and Kituba, shows the patriotism this party intends to convey. In addition, using Kituba and Lingala means putting the focus and objectives of the party on people's interests.

The first shift of language is observed not in the first *comment*, but in the second *comment* (U2). The *comment* combines the unmarked language, French and the marked language, English.

U2. Mon très cher U1, Diaf est irrécupérable *lol*

[My dearest U2, Diaf is irrecoverable LOL]

This *comment* expresses some sense of irony as the user employs a laughter LOL after having made remarks of a fellow citizen.

Except 25 below also describes how the languages used in *Facebook update* do not necessary promote the languages in which the users post a *comment*.



(25) Excerpt 25. (Reference number in the dataset (142)). URGENT BRAZZAVILLE. Un dispositif de l'armée empêche l'opposition républicaine de tenir la conférence de presse de ce vendredi. Des hommes fortement armés empêchent les journalistes et les membres de l'opposition et sympathisants d'accéder dans la salle. **#FreeJONSON**.

[URGENT BRAZZAVILLE. An army arsenal prevents the Republican opposition from holding a press conference this Friday. Heavily armed men prevent journalists and members of the opposition and supporters from accessing the room. #FreeJONSON.]

### Comments

U1. Vraiment jusqu'à quand on va Continuer à vivre ainsi, je le savais...et c pas encore fini, ils vont faire les coincés par voies et moyens... à l'opposition de sortir le grand jeu...Mr 8% lui est tellement sûr de lui qu'il fait tout à sa guise et en plus ...

[Really? How much longer are we going to continue living this way? I knew that it was not finished yet. They will make them pay by ways and means. The opposition should review their strategy. Mr 8% is very confident that he has whatever at his disposal...]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

This excerpt prompted 54 *comments*. As in excerpt 24, excerpt 25 is a multilingual Facebook *update* featuring French and English. The *update* as a whole is an utterance posted as breaking news. It aims to inform the public of what is about to happen to the opposition. One of the former presidential candidates is about to be arrested. The shift to English – *#freeJONSON* – may be seen as a way of creating a social movement that could be strong enough to resist the army oppression or prevent the arrest. However, the expression *#freeJONSON* can also be regarded as an alert to the public at large. The fact that the *update* is written in English may be seen as an indication of the fact the alert may be directed to people other than those living within the national borders who might not necessarily speak or understand English. Further examination of the English expression may reveal some valuable insights.

Firstly, as mentioned earlier, JONSON was a candidate ahead of the presidential election. The fact that he was facing charges may have appeared as a threat to the entire political opposition. The opposition might have seen these charges as an attempt by the sitting administration to shut down all voices. The opposition leaders, who were still free from judiciary charges, may have been concerned about both the fate of their colleague and their own safety and fate. The only way to prevent this oppression may have been by the power of their supporters once out in the street or by securing the intervention of international institutions. This message could have been written in one of the local languages if the public targeted was local citizens. The possibly true meaning of the use of English may be a deliberate desire to use an apparently common and worldwide slogan as a means to target outside intervention as will be explained below.

Secondly, one could assert that this *update* appeared as a way of exposing the sitting administration to the outside world, as if freedom of speech were not guaranteed in Congo; Citizens live under oppression and dictatorship. Given this, English – as a global language – best fits the issue of an alert to, for example, NGOs fighting for freedom of speech all over the world.

As regards the *comments* subsequent to the *updates*, four *comments* out of these 38 are multilingual. These four multilingual *comments* feature different languages which visibly happen to diverge from the language in the *Facebook update*.

The first multilingual *comment* was introduced by U28.

U28. Peuple du congo *to fungula misso*, ne sotions pas surpris, ça devrait arrive que 'armee allait empeche'c'est tres clair et le fameux plan " b " soyons serieux **wa ba wuna...we na messo**.

[Let's keep our eyes open, do not be surprised, it may happen the army stop plan b; Let's trust the army while keeping our eyes open.]

This *comment* involves three languages, French, Lingala and an ethnic language (i.e. Laari). The *comment* appears as a direction given to the Congolese people whose eyes were apparently closed until then. The user warns their fellow Congolese how important it would be if everyone supported the opposition leaders as they direct a legitimate fight not just for freedom of the former candidate, but for the progress of the nation in general. This *comment* seems to convey a rather patriotic meaning through the exclusive use of local languages. By using Lingala – *to fungula misso* [let's keep our eyes open] – the user might seek to gain the attention of most Congolese who speak the language. The motive behind the use of this ethnic language – *wa ba wuna ... we na messo* [no one can lie to anyone who has eyes to see or one cannot deceive one who has open eyes] – may not be easily disclosed. On the one hand, Laari is an ethnic language mostly spoken in the areas surrounding Brazzaville City (see chapter 4, section 4.1.). On the other hand, it seems fair to argue that few users are capable of understanding the language and the message written in it because of its less known social status. However, the contextual meaning in the use of this language can be understood as if this user was calling for the awareness of fellow citizens. She/he seems to want the fellow citizens to see themselves as exposed to something harmful. The sitting regime is aggressive in the means it employs to restrain the liberty of protesters.

The second multilingual *comment* was posted by U36. It features the unmarked language, French and the marked language, Kituba.

U36. Le développement passe par les routes *kiekiekie* depuis que tu fais tes routes tu as développé Quoi ? *kiadi* le développement passe par la démocratie dis le lui. Dans la démocratie il y'a la transparencele respect des loisla liberté d'expressionla bonne...

[Do you think building road infrastructures means developing a nation? Hahahaha. Ever since you started these policies what have you improved so far? Sad. Development is connected with democracy. Let him know that. A democratic country allows transparency and freedom of speech...]

In this *comment* the user describes the development of the country, probably trying to point out that the only way to achieve progress and prosperity is by taking into account the ebb and flow of democracy. In other words, for this user infrastructures such as roads are insufficient to serve as a real basis for development. With respect to language alternation, while the use of laughter – *kiekiekie* [hahahaha] – may be seen as an expression of irony, by shifting into Kituba – *Kiadi* [what a sham] – U36 may be expressing their disappointment.

The third bilingual *comment* is an English/French CS case. It was introduced by user 43.

U43. Je savais déjà que ça devrait arriver. **What a pity country!**

[I knew this was going to happen. What a pity country]

By switching languages, U43 may, to some extent, have tried to recall her/his forethought – *je savais déjà que ça devrait arriver* [I knew this would happen]. The recall of the forethought here may also be described as an expression of regret over the undesirable situation. In this respect, the shift to English – *What a pity country* – may thus be seen as an explicit expression of disappointment.

The last case of CS in this *Facebook update* is introduced as a *comment* by U53. It all comes up in English – *no comment*. The *comment* may be on its own very clear since the user prefers to adopt a neutral position to taking part in the ongoing interaction even though by posting this *comment* she/he is already taking part as a Facebook user. However, a closer look at the *comment* may raise more questions than answers as to whether the user by posting this *comment* goes along with what others have said or just wants to oppose.

Most cases of CS following up this *Facebook update* may be seen as an indication of how alarming and deplorable the political situation in Congo is, and that it merits serious attention. The languages used besides French, the unmarked choice, include English, Lingala, Kituba and Laari. Lingala and Laari are both used in the first *comments* to raise awareness that, as the country's fate is being decided, citizens have a great responsibility to take if they want to secure

change. In both the second and the third *comments* both Kituba and English express sadness and disappointment as the nation seems not to be taking a rightful democratic direction.

### 7.2.2.2. Examples of *No-Case-of-CS* in *update* that trigger CS in the *comments*

Having examined the correlation between multilingual *updates* and their follow-up *comments*, it was also reasonable to determine the correlation of language alternation between monolingual *updates* and their follow-up *comments*. As was previously suggested in table 6, one-language *updates* also generated CS in their following-up-comment threads. For example, excerpt 26 is a monolingual *Facebook update* which generated bilingual *comments*.

(26) Excerpt 26. (Reference in the dataset (3))

Dans les quartiers nord de Brazzaville. Quand je vous dis que ce type un diable.

[In the northern neighbourhoods of Brazzaville. I usually tell you this guy is a devil]

#### **Comments**

U1. C'est de la communication calmez vous

[Calm down, it is just communication]

U2. me c pas vrai ya U1

[That is not true my elderly brother/sister (addresses U1)]

U3. Ok, c compris. C'est pour éveillez les gens qui ne se bouge pas

[Okay, Understood. That is how to mobilise those who don't move]

U4. ok ta raison me cmn Brazzaville

[Okay, you're right; so how are things going in Brazzaville?]

U5. Kel communication

[What kind of communication?]

U6. De Brazzaville sa marche cmn maintenant

[How does it work in Brazzaville?]

U7. *Kiekieke basted* la main dans le sac ma chère

[hahahaha. Caught shoplifting my darling]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

As can be observed, the two cases of language alternation occurring in the *comments* appear in Kituba – i.e. U2. *me c pas vrai ya U1* [That's not true my elderly brother U1] and English – i.e. *Kiekiekie bastard la main dans le sac ma chere* [hahahaha. A bastard caught shoplifting my darling]. This may stand as an indication of the independence of *updates* and *comments* with regard to the language alternation.

However, looking closely at the meanings conveyed in the two cases of CS appearing in the thread of *comments*, it appears that U2, by shifting to Kituba through the use of *ya* [elderly brother/sister], attempts to deliver a respectful message to U1, whom she/he might know personally. The alternation of language, in this case, may be seen as related to the desire to signal respect by employing an honorific word *ya* [elderly brother/sister].

Regarding the second case of CS, it appears as if U7 is trying to make fun of the content of the *update* as her/his *comment* begins with laughter – *kiekiekie* [hahahah].

Excerpt 27 below is another one-language update which generated both monolingual and multilingual *comments*. The *update* describes a demonstration underway in Brazzaville city.

(27) Excerpt 27. (Reference number in the dataset (6)).

Congo-Brazza : Situation tendue, internet mobile et signal RFI coupés

[Congo-Brazza. Intense situation, shutdown of the Internet mobile and RFI signal]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

Excerpt 27 prompted 91 *comments* out of which 29 were cases of CS. The first more-than-one-language *comment* was introduced by U4 as an expression of support to the demonstration. The *comment* is a Lingala/French post.

U4. Qu'ils viennent coupé aussi le signale à kin du n'importe quoi j'en invite les congolais d'en face de n'ai pas baissez les bras à kin nous sommes de coeur avec vous pour preuve *botinda a.t.c na bish ngobila po tochargelé bino ba pneuds na ba nzeté.*

[I'm waiting for them to shutdown signals here in Kin (Kinshasa) as well. I invite you the Congolese people. Do not give up. Here from Kin we all stand with you. If you need proof, just send us a boat of ATC company to the beach Ngobila (Port) so we can send you back tyres and woods.]

U4 starts the *comment* in French to send out message of encouragement to the protesters. However, she/he switches to Lingala in the last sentence of the utterance to amplify their support and expresses their willingness to offer help in case the protesters need it.

Another multilingual *comment* was made by U10. The user, who might also be supportive of the demonstration, sends out an encouraging message to the protesters.

U10. Du courage ls brazzavilloi ***bobengana ye***

[Have courage the people of Brazzaville city. Make him go]

As for U4, U10 adjusts her/his *comments* to that of U4 by the use of both Lingala and French. The *comment* is also an expression of encouragement to the protesters.

U12 below posts a *comment* in Lingala and French. The message is also an expression of giving protesters support, confidence and hope. However, U12 starts the *comment* in Lingala in order apparently to fortify and amplify the words of encouragement to protesters.

U12. ***Bolebate akokima tjr toza sima na bino toboyi*** bâ président a vie

[Never give up. He will step down. We are behind you. We don't need a president for life anymore]

The language used by U4, U10 and U12 are both the unmarked language, French and the marked language, Lingala. The common use of Lingala to offer encouragement may, on the one hand, be understood not only as an indication of a conversational adjustment of speech between these users, but more importantly, as if these Facebook users may share the same linguistic knowledge that enables them to understand each other's *comment*. On the other hand, the use of the marked language, Lingala in these *comments* may also be seen as an indication of political engagement motivated by the desire and hope to bring about change. In fact, while U4 expresses words of support and their willingness to help protesters by any means possible,

both U10 and U12 reiterate those words of encouragement and confidence as if the ongoing demonstration may be an effective way for change to take place.

However, the *comment* posted by U59 under the same *update*, as can be observed below, is entirely written in the unmarked language, English.

*U59. All that because they don't want to step down i don't know what's going on with africans leaders seriously they're crazy.*

U59, who seems to have been concerned about the attitude of African leaders, posts an English *comment* in which she/he utters an insult to these leaders who seem to have some habits of not peacefully passing on power. Unlike U4, U10 and U12 who sent out encouragements to the protesters in Brazzaville, U59 appears to put the blame upon all African leaders. The use of English might be connected to the desire to characterise the political disarray not just as a typical country-related issue, but as a common fact observed in other African countries as well.

Excerpt 28 below is a monolingual *update* entirely written in the unmarked language, French. As for excerpts 26 and 27, this excerpt prompted both one-language and multilingual *comments*.

(28) Excerpt 28. (Reference number in the dataset (14))

#BRAZZAVILLE

Victoire au peuple, la pluie s'invite à la libération du Congo.

[#BRAZZAVILLE. victory for the people. Rain is participating in the liberation of Congo]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

This *update* generated 11 *comments* out of which 6 were cases of CS. This is another example of the autonomy of language alternation in the Facebook interaction involving Congolese users. The first multilingual *comment* under this *update* was introduced by U2. The *comment* is an English/French message apparently written with the intention to ironically make jokes of the other political side.



U2. Mais où sont passés les médicaments des féticheurs de la majorité ? *Lol*.

[But where are the drugs prescribed by which doctors of the majority fetishists.  
LOL]

The use of LOL may be seen as if the user is simply appealing to one of the commonly Internet-based expressions with the intention to make jokes at the other political side. However, joke telling, as has been demonstrated in the literature, can be seen as a “positive politeness strategy and an invitation to demonstrate membership and solidarity” (Maíz-Arévalo 2017a: 592).

Likewise, the *comment* made by U4 below is a two-language utterance featuring French and Lingala.

U4. Meme la nature n'est pas avec eux, *eza mawa mingui*

[Even mother nature has abandoned them. This is too Sad]

U4 might have shifted to Lingala – *eza mawa botika* [this is too sad] with the intention to express displeasure caused by the non-fulfilment of hope and expectations.

U7 below also made a two-language *comment* featuring Lingala and French.

U7. *NZAMBE A SAMBELAKA TEHHH, A KO SAMBELA NANI?* a suivre!!!!

[GOD NEVER PRAYS, WHO WOULD HE PRAY FOR? To be continued !!!!]

This switching appears as a proverb – well-known among Lingala speakers – meaning that there are limits in everything human beings can do. In other word, God – as the creator and ruler of the universe and source of all moral authority – is the ultimate being who has power and force over human fortunes.

Excerpt 29 below is a further example of one-language *update* under which both monolingual and multilingual *comments* are observed.

(29) Excerpt 29. (Reference number in the dataset (18))

Pression psychologique sur mineur à Brazzaville. Le pouvoir a exigé aux enseignants de toutes les écoles de Brazzaville de conduire leurs élèves au mini meeting du PCT (venir en civil). Une solide prime est réservée à tout enseignant qui

drainera le plus d'enfants. Mme CHLOE s'est déplacée personnellement à l'école Dom Helder Camara afin d'exiger à la direction de veiller à ce que cette recommandation soit scrupuleusement respectée.

[Mind game on minors in Brazzaville. The sitting administration just ordered all teachers of all schools in Brazzaville to take their students to the PCT rally (come without uniform). Teachers who bring most students will get a reward. Mrs CHLOE went to Dom Helder Camara school to make sure the order is scrupulously executed by the direction of that institution]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

This monolingual *update* generated 42 *comments* out of which 5 were more-than-one-language *comments*. These 5 multilingual *comments* appear in different languages. For example, the *comment* posted by U17 below is made of French and Kituba as shown below.

U17. les parents n'ont qu'à interdire les enfants d'aller à l'école le jour-j. On verra si claudia et kiki viendront les chercher chez eux...**VRAI BUZOBA**

[Parents should prevent their children from going to school that day and we will see whether CHLOE and kiki will go to take them at home. TRUE FOOLISHNESS]

U17 starts the *comment* in French as she/he alerts parents not to allow their children to go to school on the scheduled day of the PCT's rally. The Kituba expression **VRAI BUZOBA** [TRUE FOOLISHNESS] may have been used here as a catchphrase to describe some behaviour that shows a lack of good judgement.

U41. **Essili...**

[It's the end... It's over...]

Another multilingual *comment* was introduced by U41. The *comment* is written in the marked language, Lingala. The communicative intention of this utterance may be the desire to create a political movement to fight against anti-values such as corruption. This interpretation seems to go along with the fact that the *update* made mention of some sort of reward reserved for teachers who would bring the most students to the rally. Therefore, **Essili** [it's the end... it's over...] could be seen as a way of emphasising that the time of corruption is over.

### 7.2.2.3. CS in *updates* and no CS in *comments*

It is reasonable to argue that multilingual *updates* do not always trigger CS in *comments*. More-than-one-language *updates* can also be followed up by one-language *comments* only. To illustrate this, excerpt 30 below is a more-than-one-language *updates* initially posted as a combination of Lingala and French.

(30) Excerpt 30. (Reference number in the dataset (81)).

***Ba combatants ya nzala*** bandes des collabos. Le seul loisir au Congo c'est faire l'amour dans des hôtels "le sports en chambre "

[Such hungry activists acting as groups of collaborators. The only entertainment in Congo is “sex in hotel rooms”.]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

The switching in excerpt 30 is a critical analysis of the abnormal behaviour of some fellow citizens who seem no longer to play the role they used to. These fellow citizens have moved to another political side they used to blame for the disarray of the economy of the country.

The Facebook user who posted this *update* may thus have made use of the marked language, Lingala, with the intention to indicate such disreputable conduct. In other words, Lingala – as local language – may have been seen by this Facebook user as a perfect tool to denounce this disloyal behaviour of the fellow citizens. As such, language alternation may be seen as a strategy by which a Facebook user expresses disappointment and disapproval.

Excerpt 31 is another three-language *update* under which *comments* were all monolingual. The *update* features Laari, English and French.

(31) Excerpt 31. (Reference in the dataset (39)).

***MBONGUI SHOW A SUIVRE*** : Invité : Les combattants de Paris c'est la diaspora de la honte... Diaspora : à quoi ça sert de dérouler vos intelligences sur les réseaux sociaux uniquement ?...

[TALK SHOW TO BE CONTINUED: Guest: Paris activists are shameful...  
Diaspora: what impact have your intelligences got when you display them on social  
media only...]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

This excerpt prompted 9 *comments* out of which none was more-than-one language. All the *comments* were entirely written in the unmarked language, French.

However, the cases of CS in the *update* are worth examining in depth. On the one hand, the Laari word **MBONGUI** means a space or platform of dialogue and exchange symbolized by a tree under which the whole village meets to deal with and share their opinions about their affairs and particular situations. On the other hand, the English word **SHOW** can be described as a (TV, Radio, Facebook, etc) programme on which guests participate in discussions about a particular topic or may be interviewed about.

As can be seen, both expressions appear to have slightly the same meaning in both languages. A **SHOW** can be described as **MBONGUI** in Laari and vice versa. In other words, these words might have been used in this post as an analogy. The Facebook user who posted this *update* may have some knowledge of the meaning of the two words in both languages.

On the other hand, **MBONGUI** and **SHOW** can be seen as examples of loan translation – previously described in chapter 2 – in that they appear as an adaptation by one language of a word literally translated with a corresponding meaning in another language (see chapter 2).

Furthermore, excerpt 32 below is a combination of French and English. The switch appears in the final position of the utterance with a hashtag.

(32) Excerpt 32. (Reference in the dataset (148))

**BrazzaNews** Maître Tric, avocat de notre Général JONSON annonce le renforcement de la désobéissance civile qui se fera avec les partenaires sociaux et les syndicats. Il définit les conditions du dialogue dont nous exigeons tous la tenue en terrain neutre, en Suisse. **#FreeJONSON**.

[BrazzaNews. Attorney Tric, the advocate for General JONSON announces the strengthening of civil disobedience that will be done with the social partners and the unions. He defines the conditions of the dialogue which we all require to be held in neutral place such as Switzerland. #freeJONSON]

(See Appendix for full excerpt)

The use of a hashtag may suggest that the intention of the Facebook user who posted the *update* may have been the desire to accommodate to some of the most common and worldwide slogans, *free*. In fact, while the term *free* may be seen as a common expression, its use among Congolese Facebook – who may or may not speak English – may also be seen as a way of desperately seek for relief from other countries. Within the *update* for example, it can be observed that, the user, who posted excerpt 30 above, poses some preconditions under which a political dialogue would be possible between all the political forces of the country. This user picked Switzerland as a perfect place for a dialogue to take place.

However, this *update* prompted no more-than-one-language *comment*, though the post was written in more than one language. All the 9 *comments* under this excerpt were written in the unmarked language, French. This may also be seen as another illustration of the autonomy of the occurrence of CS in *updates* as opposed to that in *comment*.

#### **7.2.2.4. Chapter summary**

This subsection has examined the extent to which language alternation in *Facebook updates* correlates to CS in their corresponding *comments*. The excerpts analysed have suggested that CS in *update* does not necessarily affect CS in *comments*. Both monolingual and multilingual *updates* can trigger either monolingual or multilingual *comments*.

CS may be a communicative means whereby users express their genuine feelings and emotions concerning national affairs and the future of the country, regardless of whether all users understand all these languages. As analysed, these feelings have been identified as annoyance, disappointment, irony, sadness, etc.

At least five languages have been identified in both *updates* and *comments* analysed. These languages include the unmarked language, French and the marked languages, Lingala, English, Kituba, and Laari. The use of these five languages may be seen as an indication that language is more than a simple communicative tool. Each of these languages plays a specific role within this community.

## CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS

### 8.0. Chapter overview

This chapter intends to achieve two main goals. Firstly, the contributions of the study will be pointed out by drawing conclusions based on the findings analysed in the preceding chapter (chapter 7). Secondly, the limitations of the present thesis will be laid out and future research will be suggested in the final section.

### 8.1. Contributions of this dissertation

The aim of the study was twofold. On the one hand, the study aimed to examine socio-psychological, sociolinguistic as well as interactional motives of CS. The second aim of the study was, on the other hand, to evaluate the different languages involved in Congolese Facebook discourse. To achieve these aims, four main research questions were, thus, posed at the outset of the study so as to provide a better understanding of the communicative behaviour of Congolese users as they switch languages on Facebook.

Regarding the first research question, “do Congolese Facebook users codeswitch while interacting on Facebook?”, the results show that Congolese Facebook interactions mix languages. CS is a real communicative strategy in interactions among Congolese people on Facebook. For example, 52 out of 262 *updates* happened to be cases of CS (see table 4). In addition, 14.67% of *comments* following these 52 *updates* were cases of CS as well (see table 5). Furthermore, 13.16% of *comments* following the remaining 210 *updates* also included instances of CS (see table 6). These rates of CS may be seen as an important fact as CS occurs in communication entailing a Facebook community in which some of the languages are hardly ever used in written form, such as most ethnic languages, and in which Kituba and Lingala have a written form but very few speakers may be aware of a standard written form and basically use them in spoken communication. As argued at the outset, language alternation is

a common communicative practice mostly observed in spoken-based interaction since only one language – French – is constitutionally recognised in Congo-Brazzaville to serve as a main communicative means in written-based communication.

In addition, and as indicated in both tables 5 and 6, CS is a common multilingual practice that is used not only as a conversational tool, but also, as a way of establishing, maintaining and delineating ethnic boundaries and identities. Switching back and forth between languages may certainly be seen as a sign of inclusion, and/or exclusion among Facebook Congolese users, depending upon multiple motives and motivations of the speakers (Lori 2005).

However, the occurrences of CS on Facebook, as has been suggested throughout the analysis, do not ultimately point to the argument that the interaction on Facebook is entirely multilingual since *No-Case-Of-CS* in *Facebook updates* accounts for 210 occurrences (80.15%). This may be taken as an indication of the fact that Facebook communication among Congolese users is still a dominantly monolingual exchange. Most interactions are steadily carried out in the unmarked language, French. A plausible explanation may be twofold: on the one hand, not only are Facebook interactions still mostly written-based, but more importantly, international languages (e.g. English, French, Spanish, etc.) are still dominant in online interactions (Huang 2009; Golbarg 2009; Androutsopoulos 2011; Eldin 2014; Halim and Maros 2014; Bukhari et al. 2015; Lee & Zuercher 2017). On the other hand, French, as mentioned earlier, remains the only language constitutionally regarded as the main means of written communication. Thus, it seems easier to carry out a mostly written-based interaction in French rather than in any other language.

With respect to the second research question, “why do Congolese Facebook users codeswitch on this social networking site? In other words, what are the pragmatic functions of CS?”, the findings indicate that language alternation can be understood as a shift in the process of communication connected to individuals’ belief, attitudes and experience, expressed on



Facebook. As suggested throughout the analysis, most of the communicative purposes or pragmatic functions include expressing anger, criticism, making fun of others by using adjectives from the marked languages, reiterating, emphasizing, indexing a way of creating a sense of belonging, and so on. In this respect, it could be argued that the choice of language in Facebook interaction is ultimately committed to satisfying users' specific needs and desires. This goes in line with Weigand's argument that

the driving force of human action and behaviour results from human beings' nature as intentional goal-directed beings. It is their needs and desires, purposes and interests as social individuals which cause them to act and provide the key to their behaviour (2010:62).

The manifestation of CS on Facebook may be seen as a reflection of the degree of multilingualism characterising and governing the linguistic configuration of the community. As explained earlier (chapter 4), Congolese people do not only speak a lingua franca as their second language, they also have some knowledge of other languages as a result of attending school or sharing the same neighbourhood. In this context, the use of language in Facebook communication may somewhat be regarded as a transmission of offline communicative behaviour onto Facebook. In this regard, the findings tend to test positive the first hypothesis advanced at the outset – that the Congolese linguistic background plays a core role in shaping interactions on Facebook.

CS can be described as a two-way-communicative strategy since it may lead to misunderstandings between speakers sharing different linguistic backgrounds. CS also leads to mutual understanding between speakers of the same linguistic background. In this regard, CS may be described as a linguistic manifestation falling within what Gumperz (1982a) calls *we code* and *they code*. As two speakers get involved in the language alteration process their act is first and foremost motivated against the backdrop which shows their linguistic experience and knowledge of one another. Speakers of one language may shift languages in the course of

interaction because they are aware that their interlocutors will or will not understand the meaning and/or the message intended. In fact, the phenomenon of switching languages in the course of the interaction is, assumingly, a strategy whereby interlocutors, who share a similar or different linguistic past, can inclusively or exclusively make use of a language as a marker of solidarity and/or distance enhancement. This goes in line with Crystal's (2001: 166) argument that "in multilingual groups, the other CS will be an important index of identity. Maintaining the identity of the group is the important thing, especially as there is no other sort of identity to rely upon, given that anonymity is the norm". In the same line, Hok-Shing Chan (2009: 182) also argues that CS is "a resource that bilinguals tactfully utilize to achieve various communicative effects, to index social roles and identities, and/or to manage ongoing talk".

Facebook may, in addition, be understood in terms of a safe platform on which freedom of speech and actions may be well guaranteed. The findings have suggested – in some excerpts and *comments* (e.g. excerpts 1, 5, 9, etc) – the aggressiveness in the use of language as Facebook users overtly utter emotions, criticisms and insults. These users may certainly have behaved differently if the interaction turned out to be in a traditional offline context where respect and dignity are more likely to be expected. Zhao et al. for example, argue

in localized face-to-face interactions, identity is constructed under a unique set of constraints. The presence of the corporal body in social encounters prevents people from claiming identities that are inconsistent with the visible part of their physical characteristics (e.g., sex, race, and looks), and the shared knowledge of each other's social background and personality attributes renders it difficult for an individual to pretend to be what he or she is not (2008: 1817).

The free use of languages such as English, French, Kituba, Lingala, and ethnic languages in political discussion may be seen as an indication of how powerfully influential Facebook can be. Facebook may serve as a platform on which any language can survive and expand their traditional offline roles. The findings have shown that politics is such an open-ended topic that

may be dealt with by means of local languages (e.g. Kituba, Lingala and ethnic languages) as well as foreign languages (e.g. English).

With regard to the *Minimal Action Games*, it is fair to argue that any utterance is a goal-orientated speech act, and no illocutionary force could exist *per se* without its perlocutionary counterpart effect. Every speech act is complete as long as both forces – illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect – are considered indispensable parts of the utterance. The analysis of the speech acts performed on Facebook has indicated that both *Facebook updates* – seen as initiative actions (or illocutionary forces) – and *comments* – seen as reactive actions (or perlocutionary effects) – are important components of a complete dialogical speech act. In other words, *updates* and *comments* equally intervene in the process of producing and understanding an utterance because they are purposefully uttered.

The results of the present study have also demonstrated that speech acts are flexible communicative utterances. A single explorative utterance, for example, may generate a representative reactive utterance, which in turn may prompt one or multiple answers as well. A reactive utterance to an initiative action may not obey traditionally established rules. For example, *declaratives* do not necessarily end up generating a confirmation; *exploratives* do not necessarily end up prompting responses; *directives* do not necessarily end up by consent; and *representatives* do not necessarily aim at acceptance. The multiple Facebook comment threads analysed demonstrated that one initiative representative may end up generating another representative (see excerpt 15) which may in turn lead to another speech act. This goes in line with the dialogic character of the *Minimal Action Games* defined by the purpose put forth by the initiative speech act (Weigand 2010). Weigand (2010:80) synthesises that “the single speech act represents a dialogically orientated component of the minimal game of action and reaction”. As explained in chapter 5, this fact seems to go beyond the simple illocutionary utterance made by the speaker, and usually considered as a full speech act in Searle’s terms

(Yoschitake 2004; Maíz-Arévalo 2017b). Maíz-Arévalo (2017b: 6) also recognises that “(...) speech acts do not happen in isolation (...) but as parts of discourse where both interlocutors initiate and react to what is respectively uttered”.

The specific functions of CS found in the analysis fall within those already identified in previous studies. In fact, language alternation serves as a communicative means opted for by Congolese users with the intention to quote, forward, insult, question, mock, joke; express feelings such as annoyance, astonishment, happiness and so on. All these functions have been pointed out in the literature (Auer 1984a, 1998; Hinrichs 2006; Goldberg 2009; Androutsopoulos 2012, 2013; Parveen & Aslam 2013; Inuwa et al. 2014; Khadim 2014 Bukhari et al. 2015).

Regarding the third research question, “what is the correlation between CS in *Facebook updates* and CS in *Facebook comments*?”, the results show that convergence and divergence are both communicative strategies Facebook users tend to opt for when posting *comments*. It has been shown throughout the analysis that the shifting in *updates* bears no correlation with the languages in which Facebook users post *comments*. Thus, interaction between Congolese Facebook users is certainly a process through which interactants adjust to and distance from each other in order to make their speech and that of others communicatively meaningful (Giles 1991).

The first case of CS kicking off the *comment* thread under an *update* does not ultimately prompt other *comments* in the same language (see excerpts 15, 16, 18). The analysis has demonstrated that any language can be used while writing the first *comment* following an *update*. However, within the comment threads, some *comments* appeared as an adjustment to the previous ones, since they happen to be written in the same language, whereas others appeared different as they are, in some cases, written in different languages.

Self-consciousness, the awareness of the self as both an individual and a member of the Facebook community (Zhao et al. 2008; Weigand 2010; Maíz-Arévalo 2017a), seems to be a basic motive behind the choice of language in certain cases, as in excerpts 16, U2 and excerpts 18, U8. A Facebook user who chooses one language over the other is certainly conscious of the fact that her/his message needs to be read and understood by the fellow users in order to gain credit.

Thus, languages are used in an attempt to negotiate or renegotiate some new rights and obligations based on both the context of the interaction and the languages available. This new set of rights and obligations, created as a result of a collective use of French, English, Kituba, Lingala, and ethnic languages, may be seen as both indexical and symbolic. As said earlier (see chapter 2) *right* and *obligation* are both entities that render communicative exchanges fluid and effective. *Right* refers to the most appropriate language for a particular situation and the need to be used accordingly. *Obligation* refers to the condition of being morally bound to speak the right language in the right situation. In fact, the presence of the English languages on Facebook in this study may, for example, be seen as an indication of the fact that English is still the language of the Internet, not only among English-speaking Internet users but also among non-English speaking ones (Androutsopoulos 2006; 2013; Danet & Herring 2007; 2010; Herring et al. 2013; Maíz-Arévalo 2015, Bukhari et al. 2015; Herring & Dainas 2017). In the case of non-English speaking Internet users, as has been indicated in the present study, the English language is used in collaboration with local languages. In other words, linguistic and cultural diversity is thus observed in Facebook interaction among Congolese users. The presence of the ethnic languages, on the other hand, serve as symbol or indication of belonging and sharing the same homeland. This goes in line with Myers-Scotton's argument that

speaking one's ethnic language in the same interaction types indexes a different RO set, one in which the speaker's rights and obligations are based on ethnic solidarity,

and perhaps specifically, on the socio-culture values and accomplishments of that ethnic group (1993a: 86).

The findings have suggested that CS is an independent language choice made by Congolese Facebook users regardless of whether an *update* is monolingual or multilingual. CS might, nevertheless, be a communicative strategy that truly falls between the fundamental components of communication accommodation, namely convergence and divergence as mentioned earlier. The desire to reduce and/or magnify communicative differences between themselves and their interlocutors based on extralinguistic factors (attitudes, beliefs, ideology, and so on) has been suggested to be among the reasons Congolese Facebook users employ CS as a means to accommodate to each other. In this regard, the second hypothesis (see chapter 1) is refuted, i.e. CS cases in *Facebook comments* amongst Congolese people would depend upon CS in *Facebook updates* under which they appear. Thus, rather than depending upon CS in *Facebook updates*, the findings have indicated that language alternation within *comments* is an independent and common communicative practice which can occur under either monolingual or multilingual *Facebook updates*.

With respect to the fourth research question, “how many languages are involved in CS on Congolese Facebook communication?”, an evaluation of languages involved in the dataset revealed at least four groups of languages, including the unmarked French, the marked languages English, Lingala and Kituba, and several ethnic languages (e.g. Mboshi, Doondo, Laari, and so on).

Figures 6 and 7 suggested that more *comments* were written in Lingala than in any other language. This seems to indicate that Lingala has a considerable implication in Congolese Facebook communication. On the other hand, Kituba, which operates as a co-national widespread language with Lingala, turned out to be the least frequently used language in both Figures 6 and 7. This contrast between both languages may be seen as important as to open up

an avenue for future research in order to determine the reasons for this discrepancy. One would have expected that Kituba and Lingala could be used in a similar way on Facebook since they both split the country into two areas where either plays a substantial role as a lingua franca.

In addition, the occurrences of the languages involved in the instances of language alternation were found to be variable. Firstly, apart from French, Lingala turned out to be the most frequently used language both in *Facebook updates* and comment threads. Secondly, the English language was the second most frequently used in the *updates*, and the third most frequently used in the comment threads. Thirdly, ethnic languages were the third most frequently used in the *updates* and second most frequently used in the comment threads. Finally, the least frequently used was Kituba both in *updates* and *comments*.

The presence of the English language is worth discussing in depth as Congo-Brazzaville is a non-English-speaking country. The English language is increasingly noticeable on Facebook (see Figures 4 and 5). This fact may be seen as an illustration that the English influence in CMC, especially on Facebook, is certainly irrefutable. However, as has been suggested in the analysis, some cases of language alternation were purposefully uttered with the intention to express humour and irony, whereas others, used as slogans, conveyed some sort of political and social engagements. Furthermore, it is important to point out that most English words or expressions analysed appeared as most common and worldwide slogans such as *LOL*, *Free*, and so on. As explained earlier, one could argue that the use of these well-known expressions is another indication of the dominance of English in CMC since their use among Congolese Facebook users may be seen as an appeal to their common values and fame. However, beyond these explicit communicative functions, there might be some implicit message conveyed in using English on Facebook. *Facebook updates* and *comments* may be written in English by Congolese people not only to address their fellow citizens, who might or might not have limited skills in the language, but with the intention of reaching other linguistic communities beyond

national borders. For example, the *comment* made by U59 under excerpt 27, which was entirely written in English, described the political disarray not just as a typical country-related issue, but as a common fact observed in other African countries as well.

As said earlier, one could argue that *politics* might be one of the most sensitive topics in many countries (if not all) around the world. In every country undergoing a political crisis, citizens may desperately be in need of a relief. This relief may come from the inside (i.e. through a political dialogue among citizens) or from the outside intervention of international institutions such as AU, UN, UE, NGOs, which may have a certain amount of power to influence some decisions by condemning or sanctioning some people or political parties over others. Thus, it may be undeniable that in order to reach these international institutions, where English is the main language of international diplomacy, some minimal abilities of this language might be a key requirement. This somewhat goes in line with Crystal's prediction (2001:220) that "the future is also very much dependent on the levels of English-speaking ability in individual countries, and the likelihood of further growth at those levels". In this regard, it may be important to assume that any Facebook user, who posts an English *comment* on Facebook, is supposed to have, at least, some knowledge of this language, even when they tend to appeal to commonly-used-English expressions. Such skills are certainly essential to enable them accurately to use English words and expressions in contextually appropriate situations as has been indicated throughout the analysis.

Ethnic languages are usually regarded as third-rated means of communication (see chapter 4). Their use in offline communication is usually connected with either an expression of linguistic identity for their respective speakers or an expression of solidarity among members belonging to the same linguistic community (Calvet 1994; Nkouka 2001; Ndamba 2000, 2011). Considering the fact that these languages are disparately spread throughout the country, ethnic languages on Facebook are one of the most marked aspects of the results of this study. On the



one hand, it seems fair to argue that no user could admit being able to speak or understand all these languages. On the other hand, considering the pejorative connotations (see chapter 4) usually attached to their offline use, the presence of ethnic languages on Facebook is certainly unexpected.

Furthermore, ethnic languages are the only category of languages that shows some differences in both *updates* and *comments* (17.3% in Figure 5 versus 26.58 % in Figure 7). These rates may lead to argue that ethnic languages tend considerably to attract Congolese in such way as their occurrences on Facebook are even more frequent than those of Kituba and English (Figures 4 and 5).

Moreover, it is essential to point out, as mentioned earlier, that not only do ethnic languages have no complete written system, but they are barely used outside family and in-group encounters (Calvet 1994; Ndamba 2000, 2011; Apondza-Gombe 2010; Koungat 2013). In this respect, ethnic languages are often used as an indicator of solidarity expressed between speakers sharing the same linguistic background in traditionally spoken interactions. The use of these languages on Facebook has been suggested to go beyond a simple indication of solidarity since, throughout the analysis, these languages are used to utter emotions such as insults, anger, and so on.

Language is certainly one of the basic indicators of one's identity (Wenger 1998; McWhorter 2016). Any languages an individual can speak may determine to a large extent their culture and history. Most Congolese people, for example, were known as speakers of French along with local languages. The findings have suggested, however, that English is slowly beginning to become part of the Congolese (Facebook) linguistic configuration. On the other hand, the long-time neglected ethnic languages are overtly used on Facebook, as present findings suggest. Thus, it seems reasonable to argue that the advance of Facebook may increasingly be

reconfiguring linguistic practices and identity among Congolese people through the joint use of local languages along with English.

Congolese Facebook users may dismiss the use of ethnic languages in public face-to-face interaction. Such dismissal may certainly be disappearing as the use of Facebook gradually increases. Linguistic stereotypes with respect to the use ethnic languages could certainly be vanishing in Facebook communication. In other words, as pointed out earlier, ethnic languages seem to have found in Facebook a fertile ground for their survival.

To sum up, the findings of this study are consistent with what has previously been reported in studies undertaken by Siebenhaar (2006) and Androutsopoulos (2006). On the one hand, Siebenhaar (ibid: 21) was among other CMC pioneers in suggesting, while presenting the findings on the distribution of Swiss-German dialects and standard German in Swiss-German IRC rooms, that CMC influences language, not only its vocabulary but also the choice of the variety used, which is independent of the use of English. On the other hand, Androutsopoulos (2013: 428) indicates that English dominated the Internet landscape of the 1990s in terms both of the native language of estimated users and the language of available websites, but more recent years have witnessed a rapid increase in linguistic diversity, with the majority of users and websites today using a language other than English. In the particular case of this study, the findings have suggested that French is not the only language used in CMC among Congolese people (especially on Facebook); multiple other languages are extensively used side by side. This collective use of languages may lead to assume that CMC among Congolese users is a multilingual exchange. This fact is consistent with Alothman & Alhakbani's (2012: 29) assertion that "an investigation into CMC among multilingual users of the Internet demonstrates that it constitutes an increasingly multilingual communicative environment".

The findings also confirm to some extent what has been suggested in the literature as to the ways in which the Internet may contribute to the maintenance of endangered and minority

languages by providing a space for their documentation and literacy promotion (Crystal 2001, 2007; Androutsopoulos 2006, 2013). As such, Congolese ethnic languages, which have long been struggling for survival against discrimination, stereotypes and, more importantly, the lack of institutional management, and the overwhelming increase of French and the two locally-widespread lingua francas, might have found in the Internet (Facebook, in the present case) a free public space for their maintenance. This may be seen as a turning point in language choice where long-denigrated languages become an essential part of spontaneously produced communicative activities. The Internet, which is the medium of computer-mediated communication as Crystal argues, offers

minority and endangered languages a new opportunity for progress, in two respects; 1) it aids documentation because digital techniques allow the easy recording of ethnological material [...], and (2) it aids language revitalisation, by enabling speakers separated by distance to maintain virtual contact through email, chat and message [...] (2005:3).

As argued in the introductory chapter, the study of language alternation on Facebook is important as it enables elucidation of basic principles and patterns of language use which operate as both a visible reflection of face-to-face communication and a new Congolese linguistic configuration. In this thesis, light has been shed on some of those principles and patterns in Facebook communication involving Congolese users. In fact, both linguistic and cultural features informing the backgrounds of Facebook users in a community have been thoroughly examined and discussed.

In addition to the scientific contributions, the present study has some valuable implications for national language policy and cultural awareness. The findings are of substantial importance in the ever-changing national language policy which has long prioritized only a few languages, namely French, Kituba and Lingala, while neglecting dozens of others. The use of all these languages on Facebook may be seen as an indication that every language is of valuable

importance in the political discourse in Congo. On the other hand, the findings of the study may also be seen as a visible illustration of the fact that languages are valuable tools in shaping the cultural awareness of their speakers. This awareness is here manifested through the interest Congolese Facebook users devote not only to the national widespread lingua francas, but more importantly, to their ethnic languages. Facebook may thus be seen as a public space on which Congolese people freely build upon their cultural specificities as indicators of culture and language awareness restoration.

Finally, the present study has certainly contributed to addressing the issue related to the need of much evidence from cultures and languages other than English on CMC. As pointed out earlier, Herring (2010) along with Thurlow & Puff (2013) insist on the need of more evidence from other languages and cultures. In this regard, the present study may be seen as a partial response to this quest as it provides evidence of CS among Congolese Facebook users (see also Androutsopoulos 2009).

## **8.2.Limitations and future research**

Although the aims of the study were amply achieved through the analysis of the data, the findings raised further unanswered questions that might prompt future investigations. It is hoped that the study has provided a departure point for any researchers interested in investigating any aspects of computer-mediated communication in general, and Facebook in particular among Congolese people.

This study has entirely focused on CS as the subject of analysis, leaving out other connected linguistic aspects. A complete and full understanding of language and culture in a deeply diversified environment such as Congo-Brazzaville may not certainly be fully achieved just by analysing language alternation from a socio-psychological standpoint alone. Future research

could, for example, take a further and deep look into the exact morpho-syntactic patterns CS instances display, considering the principles of the matrix language-frame model.

The findings of the present study are also topic-related. They are entirely based on the political issue alone. Findings from a series of related topics remain in the darkness. For example, a topic-based-comparative investigation involving politics, on the one hand, and any other topics such as sport or health could provide valuable insights. In addition, Facebook is not the only social networking site now in use among the Congolese people. In fact, studies from related social networking sites such as Twitter would be very encouraging.

The lack of face-to-face contact between the researcher and Facebook users probably hid many further motives behind the use of language on Facebook. It would be interesting for future investigations to find a way to collect both online and offline data from the exact same participants by interviewing them. Future research also could investigate both offline and Facebook behaviours, relating the online to the traditional face-to-face findings.

Finally, future investigations focused on the use of English in offline communication among Congolese people will certainly provide interesting insights. It would be very valuable to assess the use of the English language and proficiency of the Facebook users offline in the effort to see whether the offline findings match the online counterpart. Likewise, a study of competence in performance focusing on ethnic languages could yield some important insights into the link between the characteristics of the language used in speech as opposed to written interaction.

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## APPENDIX

1. Notre numéro 10 national, Zidane Charles MICHEAL et le FROCAD-IDC sont plus déterminés que jamais. "La dictature s'enlise un peu plus chaque jour dans son borbier...le pouvoir dictatorial est à l'agonie... Les congolais souffrent de plus à cause d'un clan qui tente de se maintenir coûte que coûte au pouvoir.

### Comments

U1. Clément Mierassa est le plus grand opposant au Congo. Depuis qu'il avait quitté le gouvernement de transition en 2001, il est resté opposant jusqu'aujourd'hui malgré la misère. N'oublions pas qu'il est retraité et que ne pense qu'à sa petite pension. MICHAEL aussi est un grand leader, tout comme les autres( Okombi, Kolelas, Munari,Mokoko) avec eux, il faut être confiant. Les restes font semblant d'être opposant, ils font la politique du ventre

U2. Vous avez certainement oublié [#PaulinMakaya](#)

U3. Svp enlevez Kolelas de la liste des opposants. Tout comme son père c'est un vendu ki n'a aucune intégrité politique. C'est à cause d'eux que nous sommes ici dans cette situation.

U4. Ne donne pas la faute à un opposant au Congo. Ils sont encerclés, torturés, surveillés. Ils n'ont pas d'armes ou quoi et ne jouissent que de leur voix ou courage pour sauver le peuple. Kolelas a été le premier ministre dans l'histoire du Congo à dire non à JOHN( changement de constitution), dis moi qui l'a fait auparavant en tant que membre du gouvernement?? C'est pas un Dieu pour changer le pays en une seconde. Si tu es opposante soit calme MICHAEL le dit le changement est en route.

U5. " Sous le soleil il y a un temps pour tout" ce sont les écrits de. Ecclésiaste - Salomon Les congolais aura un temps pour se taire, un temps pour parler, un temps pour secoaliser, un temps pour sortir des ententes illicites, ... Il n' y a que les imbé...[See more](#)

U6. Il n'y a pas d'opposition au Congo. Pas parce qu'il manque des leaders, mais quelque part aussi parce qu'il manque l'opposition très farouche et visible du peuple, ainsi que le soutien total de ces derniers aux leaders de l'opposition.

U7. Quelqu'un peut me dire, sans fanatisme, qu'est-ce qui empêche Mr 8% de coffrer MICHAEL? Parce que ça sent le foutage de gueule maintenant. On dirait le jeu du chat et de la souris, et nous on a pas envie de jouer. Un JOHN qui a le feu vert de l'Elysée,...[See more](#)

U8. Sky Momo: il me semble que je dois cesser de te lire. Car à chaque fois que je le fais, je finis par éclabousser le rire. Mdr. Tu es grave. JOHN arrête des tituleurs, tous les autres qu'il considère sur le banc de touche, il les laisse jongler librement le ballonU9. Sky Momo: il me semble que je dois cesser de te lire. Car à chaque fois que je le fais, je finis par éclabousser le rire. Mdr. Tu es grave. JOHN arrête des tituleurs, tous les autres qu'il considère sur le banc de touche, il les laisse jongler librement le ballon. C est mon analyse!!!

U10. En tout cas mon frère pour éclater de rire il n'y a pas meilleur endroit que Brazzanews

U11. Deux idiot qui ne comprennent rien qui rira bien rira le dernier

U9. Christophe Colombe Mougolo Euh comment te dire poliment que je t'emmerde? Ah oui,voilà : Je T'Emmerde, idiot toi même. Tiens, voilà ma bite, alors apprécie mon gland. Constipé va.

U12. Mon fr Sky Momo: tu n'as pas besoin de le répondre pas l'insulte. Tu aurais simplement pu comprendre que notre ami a un sérieux problème d'éducation. Nous n'avons pas été éduqué de



cette façon. Christophe : merci pour tes insultes pour le simple fait que nous avons émis nos opinions. C'est quand même triste!!!

U13. Mouk Claudi cousin j'ai eu une journée chargée, on vient tous sur Brazzane dans l'espoir d'avoir un peu de réconfort sur la situation de notre pays, donc quand ce fils de je ne sais qui m'insulte juste parce qu'on rigole, ça me rend extrémiste .

U14. vous continuez toujours dans la bêtise ya pas plus grand que mokoko c'est tout le reste se sont les petits du président pensés à votre avenir vous suivez la politique et vous insultez les autres pour des gens qui ne vous connaissent pas mdr

U15. vous me faites rire tous les enfants des opposants sont nos amis je vous conseille de rester tranquille oublié ce qui s'est passé pensés à votre avenir svp tous leurs enfants se portent bien à méditer

U16. Pauvre hypocrite.

U17. Car il y a maintenant trop de victimes, souffrances, perte de temps. il nous a déjà pris presque un demi-siècle de vie.....il faut vite le virer on en a marre !!!!!

U18. Zizou ,balobi yo ndè mossusu té...une chose est vraie les gars ,ns ne souffrons pas mais par contre eux ils souffrent grave car ils ne font que réfléchir jour et nuit comment faire...pendant ce temps la population est relax chez elle entraînant d'attendre paisiblement leur chute.

U19. On envoyait Oko ngakala et Mabiala en France afin de justifier l'arrestation du Général Mokoko dans leur malette avec quelques preuves. Ne sachant pas que le monde entier le sait pertinemment que ce régime a toujours dirigé dans le mensonge. Mokoko a voulu faire un coup d'état. bâ kongo ba bomi ngouabi bâ koyo ba bomi Anga bato ya likouala ba bomi katali auxence ikonga le traumatise du premier ballon d'or congolais Moukila sahal auxence ikonga cardinal massamba débat les ndundi nganga kanza et beaucoup d'autres . C'est toujours lui qu'on dérange dans son sommeil et dans son rêve il brigue le pouvoir. Franchement trop malin ce régime pour nous enfariné.

U20. Je suis très flatté ! car en fin pour une première fois chers congolais gravée bien ceci dans vos cœurs la glorieuse lutte pour la liberté que nous avons déjà pour moi conquise est là car maintenant il est indispensable pour mettre fin à la dictature qui nous permet ni de manger à notre faim ni de nous vêtir décentement merci

U21. bravo notre mayestro! pour ce miral! nous sommes de cœur avec vous!! est nous comptons sur vous! vive la voire!!!

U22. Tu es une bête qui se bat pour lui, pour vous c'est une affaire personnelle quand tu bosses avec mr le président tu n'as pas su qu'il est mauvais aujourd'hui si tu es un homme riche c'est grâce à lui. Parce que tu as été remplacé que tu as fait de ça un pb perso et papy vous êtes les mêmes.

U23. Va dormir tu n'a rien à dire on a trop lut ce genre de réactions bête va te faire mtre .MICHAEL oye soutien::p imbécile

U24. Chrisvy Ngassa, Garde tes idioties pour toi, croise tes bras et va attendre tranquillement votre chute. On a déjà trop entendu ce disque rayé.

U25. Boko souffrir avec votre opposition à la con!

U26. Les menteurs vous tous vous avez travaillé avec le gouvernement, quand on vous avait nommé il fallait refuser?

U27. N'importe quoi frocad idc et les autres faux opposants, vous faites assassiner les populations congolaises en faisant croire à cette pauvre population que vous êtes des opposants, alors que



vous travailler pour le compte de Mr 8%. Tout cela vous le faite juste pour satisfaire vos intérêt personnel au détriment du peuple congolais. Continue à tromper le peuple, car ce même peuple vous demanderons des comptes un jour. Vanité de vanité.

U28. Oui, ilsfont la politique du ventre qui  
Ne penses qu'à eux. Des sangsues Des traîtres .

U29. que sainte Marthe vous soutienne ds ce combat  
.pour butter JOHN et son clan et toute sa milice or d'état de nuire.

U30. nous voulons que la caumunuate internationale et l'union africaine puissent agir le plus tôt possible,car les congolais meurent tous les jours par des balles.nous sommes comme des poissons qui cherchent de l'eau profond pour bien vivre.là nous sommes a l'abrit de toute chose.

U31. Un discours cocagne, avec un protocole de commentaires folkloriques. Les gars, il vaut mieux se taire

U32. Que du mensonge pour vous. Après avoir tromber les congolais, quel argument avancez vous?

U33. Où sont passé les hommes à l'instar de Abraham Lincoln, Martin luter King, Nelson Madela, Patrice Lumumba, je peux citer Mokoko, Anatole Limbongo, Okombi Salissa, MICHAEL, clément Miérassa, Claudine Mounari, Andy Mbemba, paulin Makaya, JERRY, la liste n'est pas exhaustive, qui ont accepté de prendre position en plein conflit ?????

U34. Bande d idiot!!! MICHAEL est n a même pas de numéro,que Dites vous des prisonniers comme J3m et paulin makaya? N importe quoi,il ne sont pas déterminer,à moins qu on me dises que etre déterminer c est ne rien faire de bon

U35. Ne soyons pas aveugle,pour l'instant l'opposition devrait se faucaliser sur la liberation de ses lideurs,comme jm3 et paulin makaya.mais ou est l'unanimité.

U36. nous allons faire notre alternance démocratique sans 8% le gluten le plus allergique d'afrique , oyé oyé soutient

U37. Nous, peuple éclairé, te soutenons ;soit fort et courageux, mr MICHAEL.

U38. MICHAEL MOI PAS CONFIANCE C est de la foutaise.

U39. Prof nous sommes de tout Coeur avec vous.  
Que Dieu benisse le Congo.

U40. Les chiens aboient mais la caravane passe

U41. Ah bon ,espérons que ça vienne vite

U42. Jusqu'à la fin vive jm3 et vive le Congo

U43. Merci président,nous sommes de coeur avec toi

U44. On ira jusqu'au bout je la fois.

U45. Il pèse pas le zairois la

U46. Vivre le la république vive le peuple

U47. Vraiment Nous sommes avec vous et nous allons vaincre

U48. ns vs soutenons restez sereins et plus vs etes unis, ça ns rassure. ok? Merci

U49. TOUS DERRIERE LE FROCAD-IDC, SEUL ET UNIQUE SOCLE DE LA LUTTE DU PEUPLE CONGOLAIS (92%) CONTRE LA DICTATURE FEROCHE ET IMMORALE DU REGIME TYRANNIQUE FAMILIAL CLANIQUE ET MAFIEUX DE MR. 8%!

U50. merci MICHAEL ensemble nous vaincrons

U51. Bon courage que Dieu vous protège

U52. Nous continue  
la lut vive le Congo

U53. Ah le vieux ZAC,courage

U54. voila un hoe qui ne parle pas sous la couverture, et qui ne prophetise rien car au congo, quelque part dans ma maison est nee un vieux prophete qui avait predit que l' election presidentielle vole par mr JOHN appartenait maintenant au passee, donc il fallait se prepare pour aller aux legislatives mais un gtrand merci pour mr MICHAEL qui pense qu 'un voleur n'a pas sa place dans la democratie congolaise donc le combat continu , je prefere reve avec un mr qui refuse d' accompagne un voleur dans son mauvais chemin, que d' epaule mon pere ou le derigeant de mon parti qui veux ou a deja fait la volonte du diable mr MICHAEL des gens fort, ferme, cathorique coe vous ont disparus dans notre parti, ils restent des lezards, les rescargots et surtout des cameleons qui changent des positions a tout moment sous pretexte qu' ils sont devenus des visoonaires et peuvent predire l' avenir, voila mr MICHAEL les gens qui veulent nous diriger demain j' y crois mais avec vous meme si tu n' ai pas de notre parti sincerement je vous fait confiance, svp ne faite pas coe notre dirigeant qui nous a trahuit et j' ai des pincements et la tristesse quand je regarde avec quelle vitesse ces cameleons courent pour la prendre la viande ou les insectes jette par mr JOHN pour les capture facilement courageux qu' ils sont, ils veulent nous faire croire qu' ils sont opposant, de quelle oppositoin parlent ils celle du ventre l' opposition veritable incarne par des patriotes coe vous et bien d' autre qui pensent avant tout congo et le reste viendra avec la volonte de Dieu, vraiment grand merci pour votre courage nous peuple te laisserons jamais vive mon pays, vive les vrais congolais, vive la democratie congolaise debarrasse des vautours, serpents, escargots, cameleons qui ne pensent qu' a leur ventre vive le pays sans ses demons merci encore mr MICHAEL la lutte continue , la victoire est entree nos mains Dieu va faire je suis convaincus

U55. PROF. MICHAEL! OBOSOOOOO!

U56. Non seulement le pouvoir vacille mais il n'a plus d'argent public suffisant pour corrompre.  
Le pays est gere comme une epicerie:  
- Le fils charge de vendre Le petrole.  
- Le noeuveu la realisation des travaux publics.  
- La fille photographe de la presidnce.  
Etc....

U57. Le gendre la morgue de Brazzaville 80 corps par jour. Avec monsieur MICHAEL, mettons les dehors

U58. Très très très fort personne d autre  
On attend la réaction des amis demain à 10h 30

U59. Oui un grand ne fuit JAMAIS, il confronte la Situation et ils souffre avec son peuple. Je crois à MICHAEL, JONSON, PAULIN MAKAYA, Mais désolé je ne crois plus à OKOMBI ( Il nous a fuit) ...C'est normal, c'est le fils direct et adopté de JOHN, Donc il ne p...[See more](#)

U60. L'union Africaine fait pression! C'est nimporte quoi, comment vous pouvez croire que des gas tel que: KAGAME, BONGO, KABILA, DEBY, OBIANGUE NG et bien d'autres puissent mettre la pression sur JOHN, ce sont tous des dictateurs et des voyous et ne me disent pas que se MICHAEL n'est pas au courant de tous sa! Epuis quant il parle de combat il fait allusion à quoi exactement? Combat sur facebook c'est sa? Des nouvelles conneries venant de la part de ces idiots de politiciens.

U61. Fier d'être de te suivre MICHAEL, car tu démontres, par ta détermination, que le Congo a encore de vraies valeurs, rares, mais fiables. Et bientôt sera inscrit en grandes lettres sur un monument : " A MICHAEL, le peuple reconnaissant ! ". Merci pour ton encouragement à poursuivre notre combat contre mr. 8%, le voleur des biens et le violeur des lois de la République.

U62. Nous ne baisserons pas les bras, JOHN qui a ruiné toutes les générations entières et qui commence vendre meme les terres congolaises pour sa survie et celle de son clan...non nous ne lachons pas prise Qu'il dise exactement où a-t-il caché les 14000milliards de FCFA et le trésor des générations futures? Pourquoi s'acharne-t-il sur les opposants favorables à l'alternance démocratique au Congo? Si en 32 ans il n'a rien fait et qu'est ce qu'il va faire en 5 ans de mandat? Il n'a pu transformer le pays comme les malaisiens, les azerbadjians, les Qatariens sans citer les chinois qui en 1980 étaient au meme niveau économique que le Congo. Non, nous ne voulons plus les slogans inutiles. Nous voulons des dirigeants qui vont construire le pays comme Kagamé en peu de temps il transforme le Rwanda, les villes du Rwanda ne sont plus des villes accessoires comme les nôtres

U63. quel zidane

U64. Ingeta allonseulement

U65. Tokosss

U66. Merci notre corso national

U67. bon courage seul la lutte libère

U68. du bon travail papa MICHAEL

U69. jusq'au bout ingueta

U70. Numéro zéro

U71. On a tout compris

U72. J'y. crois.

U73. N'importe koi au Congo quand on perd une fonction on devient opposant

U74. ça va duré encore combien de temps hein

U75. ça va duré encore combien de temps heik

U76. Ça durera le temps que tu mettras à attendre que ça doit les autres qui construisent et toi tu observes.

U77. ma chere ne te crois pas plus activiste ou engagé que les autres

U78. Vrai bakallla...

U79. prof du courage

2. URGENT << Mbutu Mbutu >> Denis Takou JOHN a envoyé des émissaires en Biélorussie pour chercher à emprunter de l'argent.

### Comments

U1. En Biélorussie? Pour acheter des armes ou emprunter de l'argent? Mdr ! Eux-mêmes dépendent de la Russie. Enfin...entre dictateurs ils se comprendront certainement.

U2. 8% ne veut donc pas dialoguer,mais plutot se preparer pour une guerre.Il veut donc tromper notre vigilance.On verra!!

U3. la guerre avk qui moi je n'ai pas d'arme juste ma bouche et mon ventre

U4. Non brazzaneux ils ne sont pas partis pour l'argent mais sans doute pour acheter des armes ,helico,ou avions de chasse car a l'époque j'étais encore étudiant en debut 97 a Minsk la capitale on avait croisé un émissaire envoyé par l'ex président lissouba qui était venu acheter des hélicoptères ...ce sont les fameux akoulas ( requins) les hélicoptères de lissouba. Je me rappelle très bien le monsieur nous avait laissé un billet de 100\$ et klks mois après c'était la guerre au Congo .si on savait??? La Biélorussie est gouvernée par un grand dictateur le dernier d'Europe au pouvoir depuis plus de 30 ans Loukachenko lui il vend tout mm si des armes nucléaires . c un pays pauvre ils ne peuvent pas nous prêter de l'argent donc....

U5. Oooooohhhh pitié Seigneur ! Bientôt le Congo devra de l'argent à tous les pays du monde. Après avoir hypothéquer toutes les cargaisons et toutes les recettes pétrolières futures, puis les droits de douanes du port de Pointe-Noire sur plusieurs années, bientôt il ne lui restera plus qu'à mettre en gage nos 342 000 km2 de terres. Comment feront les générations futures pour rembourser toutes ces dettes. A ce rythme là, dans quelques années, tout le Congo sera saisi par les créanciers Chinois et autres comme on saisi la maison d'un homme trop endetté et incapable de rembourser... et tous les Congolais seront expulsés du Congo.

U6. Pas question !! Car le peuple Congolais ne serait pas responsable des de ce que fait 8% et sa gang de Barbares... Le peuple ne l'a pas ÉLU, et il à voler la victoire des Congolais... Ce démon payera ses dettes avec son Nom ;; et non au Nom des Congolais 😊😊

U7. Jusqu'ou veut il aller pour garder le pouvoir vole au peuple?Ca fait pitie de voir mon pays tomber aussi bas.

U8. mdr carrément expulsés comme des locataires?

U9. Jean Karell Bakanga Ngoma Oui mon Cher ! C'est presque déjà ce qui se passe avec le pétrole qui ne nous appartient presque plus, autant que le bois etc etc

U10. N'importe quoi! La dictature PCT a inexorablement amorcé sa descente aux enfers. Le peuple congolais attend impatiemment son heure de gloire. Dieu est juste! Attendons l'écho de l'avenir.

U11. Ya rien c'est l'homme qui a peur. Il est en panne de munitions et mercenaires. Dans tous les la mangue est mure mais le cueilleur lui a peur de bousculer l'arbre pour que le fruit tombe. D'ici la le vent va faire son travail.

U12. Ne vous inquietez pas trop les gars, le pouvoir de Mr 8% est illegitime tout le monde en sait. Malheur a ces creanciers la, ils poursuivrons JOHN a la CPI ou a sa derniere demeure pour reclammer leur argent.

U13. Mais en attendant,si ce sont des armes qu'il va payer,c'est pour massacrer le peuple avant de partir,8% est un kamikaze.

U14. Il va vraiment chercher auprès de n'importe qui quoi. 🤔🤔🤔 Bientôt il ira en Corée du Nord ou en Serbie. Des endroits où les gens n'ont rien à foutre du devenir du Congo ou de l'Afrique en général. #triste

U15. C'est ce qu'il recherche justement.

U16. Que le bon Dieu tout puissant délivre notre cher Congo de tous ces malfaiteurs qui le ruine à grand feu.

U17. mais a ce rythme JOHN va aller chercher l'argent au Groenland chez les esquimaux, mbutu mbutu

U18. Boff !! Ils rentreront bredouilles comme d'habitude... Je ne vois pas qui en ce moment va risqués de prêtés des Milliards de dollars à un gouvernement non reconnu sur la place international ?? 😞 😞 😞

U19. il ira bientôt devoir aussi en RDC...laba on va nous traquer avec les fimbos des bakadjas...en fait Mr 8% c lui ###ToTo ###

U20. Dans son propre domaine de technicité, ses maîtres Français qui l'ont poussé aux meurtres et à la dictatures pour la conservation du pouvoir, ont dit de lui qu'il est "INAPTE AU COMMANDEMENT". C'est plus qu'une injure pour tout ceux de technicité milit...

U21. Un fou demande une aide a un fou la dernière dictature d'europe peut il avoir des liquidité lui qui vit sous perfusion russe

U22. A ce rythme, il va les envoyer même a Alep en Syrie ou en Afghanistan.

U23. ah le gluten 8% , efface toi sur notre chemin qui mène vers l'alternance démocratique , t'es trop allergique euheuh

U24. Il aura du Sable, que l'argent.

U25. A cette allure, il ira emprunter en Grèce

U26. Mais où ce trouve le pasteur ntoumi?

U27. mais où sont les yan que la chine lui a prêté ?

U28. jusqu'à quand qu'il va continué à s'endetté ?

U29. Jusqu'à ce que plus personne ne nous prête de l'argent

U30. Hein!Jusqu'a Minsk ata vous même...lol

U31. Le tourisme de la honte, des dirigeants SER, tourisme ya zala. Après la Bielorussie wapikote diaka? Makambo ekomi buro.

U32. La Bielorussie est un pays pauvre.Elle doit sa survie à l'agriculture.La descente en enfer a commencé.Cher frère,Mr 8% veut en finir vite .A nous de pousser la porte.Sa fin est proche .Il ne dort plus sans penser à l'argent .Encore un peu de drogue. Allez le congo .

U33. pfffff quels icompetent on vs efface la dette vs avez des excdent en budget et vs realisez l exploit de vs endetter de plus belle!?? mme strauss khan n'y pt rien. . lorsqu'ona un ministre qui s'apl kidongo?

U34. Bientôt il risquera de vendre le Pool pour avoir un peu d'argent ! SOUCIS NGUESSO : Premier Prix MONDIAL des présidents les plus IDIOTS de toutes les planètes, avec les Super

félicitations du jury, mention spéciale, inscription au tableau d'honneur unique et nomination à l'unanimité au titre du plus grand CANCRE de l'UNIVERS de TOUS LES TEMPS.

U35. Ah lala c'est vraiment chaud brazza news

U36. popopopo na kamwe le kongo est devenu PPte pays pauvre toujours endette

U37. JOHN tika bizaleli ya ma be

U38. Gerer OYO ce n'est pas la même chose que gérer le congo entier.les difficultés commencent .Le pire n'est pas encore arrivée.Je pense que c'est le moment de partir car après,aucun pays ne pourra l'accepter .IL FAUT QUITTER LE BATEAU AVANT QUE LE BATEAU TE QUITTE.

3. les nouvelles fraîches de Brazzaville : Triste lundi à Brazzaville, hier soir le ministre de l'intérieur a lu à la télévision FOUFOU RTC que toute manifestation était interdite à Brazzaville et ailleurs jusqu'au 24 octobre 2015, date du référendum. Curieusement, ce matin, la garde républicaine à côté de la police et de la gendarmerie ont bouclé ensemble, je dis bien ensemble, l'entrée de Bacongo et de Diata. Et cherchent à mater les populations de ces arrondissements du sud ...

### Comments

U1. Cece Pypol, Franchement, tu vibres dans le néant! C'est bien toi et tes amis qui avaient dit que Tata JOHN ka tuma kwa, puisque Pascal Lissouba est celui que vous avez voulu enterrer même vivant. je suis en train de me demander si vraiment vous êtes...[See More](#)

U2. Le Congo n'est pas une république bannaniere. La force publique ne vas pas caressée ceux qui oseront troubler la paix. Au lieu d'éteindre le feu...Vous rajouter de l'huile sur le feu. ...

U3. Monsieur N'guéso a USURPÉ ce fauteuil par le moyen de la guerre civile,chassant le président démocratiquement élu,preuve que le vrai BARBARE,VOYOU de tous les CONGOLAIS s'appelle N'guéso. Le CONGO n'est pas une république bananière,tout CONGOLAIS doi...

U4. Les rassemblements sont interdites dans les milieux publics bien défini par le ministre de l'intérieur, par contre les marches devraient ce tenir mais sans troublé l'ordre public, malheureusement Bancongo a choisi cassé pillé et brulé les pneus

U4. Sinon présentement tous va bien sur tout l'étendu du territoire

U5. La république du CONGO n'a pas de ministres,notre pays a,à sa tête une bande de VOYOUS volontaires à défier les CONGOLAIS. Ils ont été nommés par un SQUATTEUR USURPATEUR du pouvoir,monsieur N'guéso(17/100) avait été exclu de la scène politique CONGOLA...[See More](#)

U6. [Christy Lecko](#)

U5. De toutes les façons ,cette POURRITURE de FALSIFICATION rédigée par une COLLECTION D'INCOMPETENTS AVÈRES ne sera jamais acceptée à BAC CITY,même avec les armes ou les blindes,ce poison ne passera jamais. Il n'y a aucun ABRUTI à BACONGO,les 17/100 des derniers ABRUTIS CONGOLAIS se trouvent ailleurs.

U7. Pourquoi l'interdiction?? Oui parceque comme toujours, lorsque les gens sont laisse's de manifester democratiquement, ils confondent les marches pacifiques avec les marches violentes...

surtout, il y'a des mercenaires qui veulent a' tout prix mettre le feu au Congo. ALLEZ VOTER NON, au lieu de vous exhauser dans la rue avec ces bruits unitiles....

U8. Quand on autorise aux uns le droit de manifester et,autres de n'en point faire qui de surcroit sont assaillis par des hommes en treillis aidés dans les airs par un hélico de guerre,on appelle cela le deux poids deux mesures. Ce sont de telles manies qui poussent mêmes les esprits les doux à la rebellion.

4. JOHN met en place un commando pour abattre ses anciens protégés. Instructions fermes de JOHN à un commando pour abattre ses anciens protégés KANE, JERRY et TOM. Il dit avoir pardonné à Ntsourou mais pas à ceux là. La tension monte d'un Principio del formulario.

Comments

U1. fausse information

U2. Je suis contre saïssou mais la. Ils n'ont même pas la tête de congolais

U3. Stp arrête aussi avec certaines calomnies.Ces gars sont d'Afrique de l'Ouest et non du Congo-Brazza.Fais ton boulot,oui nous voulons qu'il partes mais arrêtons d'employer les mêmes armes que lui pour le faire partir sinon nous ne vaudrons pas mieu.Non ...[See More](#)

U4. nous on a pas besoin de ça mais nous voulons la paix. je vous demande de prié pour notre Congo

U5. Mais arrêtez de vous enflammer là le mec a parlé de commando et non de l'armée congolaise. Un commando peut être constitué avec de mercenaires étrangers et JOHN l'avait déjà fait en 97 pour revenir au pouvoir. Après dans le cas présent ce n'est qu'une illustration.

U6. je suis d'accord avec toi Purushottama Mpanzou. ces gens là ne sont pas des congolais a moins qu'il les aient fait venir

U7. Raison pour laquelle, il faut donner des instructions a toute la populations de se promener chacun avec sa camera ou son cellulaire, afin de filmer et d'envoyer les images vidéos de toute violence policière aux médias internationaux. Un militaire qui sait qu'il est sous l'oeil des centaines de cameras, n'aura pas le courage de commettre son assassinat.

U8. U7. c est des mythos qu il arrête un peu avec leurs fausses infos franchement ce n est pas des têtes des congolais arrêter de mythone

U9. ils n'ont rien de congolais militaires , voyez bien les faces. nous avons besoin des infos certes mais surtout les vrais.merci

U10. Vous êtes les mêmes à affirmer que okombi JERRY roule pour le pouvoir en place et maintenant le même pouvoir veut l assassiner. On finira par se demander si vous mêmes n êtes pas un produit du pouvoir

U11. Je pense que les publications doivent se faire en kituba ou en lingala même des grandes personnes ne coprennent rien de ce que c est une illustration et et ça devient l objet des disputes comme d habitude on perd le temps pour des bêtises lorsqu on poste certaines photos c est juste pour accompagner un message congolais que faites vous de votre niveau d instruction même les choses élémentaires , pffffffffffff !

U2. Merci à vous de comprendre qu'on veut du concret svp



U12. Leur vie est menacé, je crains vraiment que la situation du Congo ressemble à celle du Burundi oh! Dieu sauve mon pays et les autres pays confrontés à ce genre de situation

U13. Ce sont des génocidaires, des candidatures à la CPI .. tant pis pour eux..

U14. C'est incroyable ! Pourquoi pense t il que ce pays et le peuple qui y vit lui appartient ? Comment peut il être con à ce point de penser qu'il dispose de 4 millions de vie pour en faire ce qu'il veut? On peut être fou et malade mais pas con et bête à ce point. A 72 ans ! qu'est ce qu'ils sont fous ces JOHN!

U15. Si il est sur de lui pour quoi il veut éliminer les opposants

U16. Vous donnez des fausses informations au gens vous vous attendez a quoi? Les congolais n'ont pas ces tetes

U17. Feu de pail.....la seule chose qui est lie a ces commando,n est autre que l arme.les congolais savent tirer pour a l arme aussi.juste un rappel

U18. Viens mobilisé ici au pays et sache que la plupart des congolais ne sont pas connecté sur internet !

U19. Franchement j'en ai marre de ce pays et de ce genre de page d'information, on est libre de prendre sa position coté politique ,une page sert de relais entre l'information et les internautes a quoi bon faire des publications mensongères



U20. nous voulons tous qu'il part mais infome ns sur des choses reels.parce que ceux qui sont sur cette photo sont de l'afrique de l'ouest.j'ai cette image dans mon pc depuis 2014

U21. Le beure prouve que ce sont pas les images vrai tu es menteur

U22. L'intimidation au premier degrés.. Ca ne passera pas.. au contraire la peur à changer de camps.

U23. vraiment il nous informe mais de fois il énerve trop de surplus dans certaines informations

U24. encore un montage d plus

U25. Si la face de zenga mambu ressemble à ces millitaires donc se sont les congolais de chez nous

U26. C'est entre eux! lorsqu'ils nous tue, personne n'intervient, alors réglé sa entre vous, nous aussi on regarde. vous êtes des homm

U27. Il est fou ce président du Congo. Il doit être arrêté et traduit en justice

U28. il ya bcp des bandits ds la ville actuellement (centrafricains les mercenaires blancs etc...)

U29. cette fois si cés Luis même qui sera abattue comme un chien entre les mains du peoples!!!

U30. Il n'est pas Dieu pour avoir le controle du destin des autres, celui qui tue par l'épée périra par l'épée, sa fin est si proche.

U18. Manques des arguments



U31. Je veux qu'il tue okombi que okombi tonton JOHN

U32. il doit commence par ce enfants

U33. Ndoki zenga référendum n'a ko



U34. il ne faut bouger les gens zenga manbu

U35. on veu la paix svp

U36. Une guerre avertit ne tue aucun soldat dixit Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz, le commandant en chef

U37. mrd 1 comndo etrngé

U38. zoba

U19. mdr des ougandais qui sont sur la photo

U39. Nn nn pas sa rien ke la paix au congo!!!!

U18. Ça c'est même pas des congolais

40. Le congo veut la paix.

5. Tout le monde dit #JOHNFIT

### **Comments**

U1. Le clip c Roga la music est juste improviser

U2. Put1 ils ont fait un montage avec un ancien clip de Roga roga aaaah les batards lol

U3. Roga roga le respect de la democracy cest une lutte contre la dictatur

U4. ce à qui ce clip et à qui s'adresse t'il???

U5. Top merci brazzà News

U6. Un chef d'oeuvre, est ce bien Roga Roga ?

U7. roga roga a changé il est democrate maintenant !n y a que les imbeciles qui ne changent pas tu vois roga il faut etre avec le peuple on ne sait jamais!

U8. Ce pas Ce chien de Roga

U9. ROGA fait juste semblant de chanter ça suffit

U10. Ca m'etonnerait que ce soit Roga

U11. Vraiment j ai failli tombé de ma chaise. ça allait être une traîtrise de loin par rapport à juda.

U12. PTDRRRR EXCELLENT!JOHNFIT JOHNfiotte longwa!

U13. Aaah yayeee venez getter un coup d'oeil par ici hein Beny-Lin's King Mom-beau Mavy Zidane Yeye Loveyou Choux Du Coeur Chou Bebe Gout Chrysny Marina "

U14. Ah ca mrd ya meya

U15. Il faut laisser ces musicien qui on ne connait pas leur position

U16. C'est Roga ca?

U17. Sassufit

U18. Ah Roga roga, il sait rattraper kie kie kie

U19. akiee cest arriver la bas mon frere ?

U20. Roga c rattrape...il na jamais été avec ns(people)sauf maintenant...souvenez-vous"jean François ndenguét nn coupable..."

6. Échos de la campagne :11/03/16  
#DOLISIE  
En direct de Dolisie  
Le cortège de notre Moïse << JONSON>> est toujours bloqué , la population de Dolisie est en liesse , ne veut pas lâcher le General du peuple .. Dolisie en feu , Dolisie ke ya Kunienga , Tiya na Dol-City

### Comments

U1. l'engouement des populations du sud à l'endroit du libérateur Mokoko nous montre bien que le Congo n'a jamais été un pays tribal!!! Cette fois-ci personne n'utilisera le tribalisme comme créneau pour nous offrir des pouvoirs de 32 ans. Vive JONSON, vive l'unité nationale, vive le CongoCG!

U2. Cette fois-ci on connaît déjà le vrai vainqueur de l'élection présidentielle avant même le scrutin. Et ce vainqueur est J3M pour notre plus grand bien.

U3. pour que notre pays soit très bien il faut que J3M qui a répondu au pleure du peuple congolais et congolaise soit élu voilà le leaders qui doit être élu dès le 1er tour les images ont parlé sans tricherie le Congo connaît déjà son nouveau président du 20mars prochain.

U4. le vieux ebola migraine sur migraine ces jours si il ne dors que sous anti-depresseur tellement il a trouille de perdre allons seulement

U5. Vous avez raison. Parce que ya Jean marie c'est lui le futur président du Congo Brazzaville.

U5. Celui le futur président du Congo Brazzaville , ya pas match mes frères et sœurs

U6. Le slogan du peuple est clair: JOHN, veuillez libérer le palais présidentiel afin que le général du peuple, "Moïse" J3M, l'envoyé de Dieu, remplace pour remettre le pays sur le bon chemin. Ça fait longtemps que vous nous avez égaré. Le peuple à décidé de rebrousser chemin et de recommencer au point de l'indépendance. Écoutons le peuple. Dieu est dans le peuple. J3M est le choix du peuple.

U7. Les Congolais ont leur choix alors,pour le reste qu'il dégage(#JOHNFIT)

U8. frère de dolisie svp à pointe noire on l'attend nous aussi on veut voir nôtre vrai président

U9. LE COBRA EST ENCERCLÉ

U10. à dieu JOHN el pct.

U11.



U12. Cmt il passe nuit a dol

7. Le LIKOFI de fin d'année de JIM a JOHN sur RFI était tout simplement magnifique. Pour JIM, JOHN est le seul congolais pourvoyeur de guerre et d'instabilité. Qui dit mieux?

[The JIM's end of the year shot to JOHN on RFI was simply beautiful. In JIM's terms JOHN is the only person behind civil war and instability in Congo. Who thinks otherwise?]

### Comments

U1. Kiekiekiekie lui aussi il etait guerieu pendant la guerre 96 kiekiekie entre le rêve et la réalité

U1. LOL. He was himself a warrior during the 96 Civil War. LOL between dream and reality.

U2. tu travailles pour JOHN donc arrêté de divertir les congolais faux opposant

U2. You're working for JOHN, just do not distract the congolese people. Fake opponent.

U3. La vie dure des disgraciés du régime ! Que ne feraient-ils pas pour se faire racheter et retrouver les grâces de leur chef !?

U3. The hard life of the outcasts of the regime. What wouldn't they do to sell themselves again and get the confidence of their leader?

U4. M.M. JIM, Okombi, Mierassa, Oko, et Mme Munari ont compris la situation dans laquelle le pays se trouve. "UN VENT DE FOLIE A TOUCHE UNE PARTIE DES CONGOLAIS" dicit Mme Munari. Il n'y a que les imbéciles qui ne changent pas d'idées.

U4. M. M. JIM, Okombi, Mierassa, Oko, and Madam Munari have understood what situation the contry is in. Munari once said: "A wind of madness has just touched a major part of the congolese people". Only stupid people cannot change their mind.

U5. tous des comédiens

U5. They are all comedians

U6. Ce n'est pas un scoop... Il faut dire autre chose..

U6. He is not a scoop. Say something else.

U7. Paroles, paroles, paroles et blabla... Les opposants ne cessent de nous répéter ce que nous savons déjà. Qu'ils trouvent le moyen de mobiliser largement et véritablement les congolais sur les enjeux maje..

U7. Speech, speech, speech, these opponents have never been tired of telling us what we already know. They better find good means to widely mobilise the congolese peole on major issues.

U8. eh bien! Soutenant ceux qui peuvent avoir une vision rationnelle pr notre congo, evitons de diaboliser ceux qui peuvent etre l'espoir de demain, formulons plutot a leur attention des critiques constructives car il y'a encore de l'espoir pr que le congo se renouvele dns sn ensmble. soyons humain svp...merci

[Alright, it's time to back up leaders who dispose a good vision for the country. We wouldn't put everyone in the same box; instead we would make up constructive criticisms to attract their attention because there is always some hope to a new Congo. Please act as human being, thanks.]

U9. rendez-vous le 5 janvier 2016, ce sera chaud !!!!!!!

[ Let meet on janaury, 05 2016. it will be more that hot]

U10. Oui, il a raison. Il lui a fallu dire aussi que JOHN met les jeunes dans la rue pour détruire les biens publics et d'autrui, de piller les magasins et de faire tuer les innocents. Il n'a cherché d'autres arguments, on sait qu'il est, mille fois plus JOHN. Demander a lui, que signifie son slogan " wayon wayon". Et quelle traitement et place qu'il va réserver aux ethnies différentes a la sienne

[Yes, he is right. he should have also said that JOHN is inciting young people to the street in order to vandalize, to loot stores and kill the innocent people. he should have said something else as we know him he is 1 thousand times worse than JOHN. Ask him what this slogan means "wayon wayon". And finally, what treatment will he allow people of the ethnic languages other than his]

U11. Le passé c'est passé Sadio Morel-kante. Vous avez peut-être oublié mais pas nous. Donc avec votre désordre et vos histoires de fou, allez les éparpiller ailleurs. le combat de JIM et ses amis de l'opposition, ça ne vous regarde pas. Les souvenirs, pas la peine de les republier. Vous manipulez les naifs et les égarés, mais pas nous. C'est clair!

[let leave the past behing us. You may have forgotten it but not us. That said, you should go away with your desorganised and madness stories. The fight led by JIM along with his colleagues is not your problem whatsoever. What happened in the past is senseless. You're manipulating naive and perplexed people but not us. It's clear ]

U7 Monsieur Kié, il me semble que Sadio Morel-kante a publié sur sa page, ce qui est son droit le plus absolu. C'est donc vous, qui en venant réagir sur sa page, semblez vous éparpiller. Avec tout le respect que je vous dois.

[Mr. Kie, it seems that Sadio Morel-Kante posted this information on her personal Facebook Wall, which is her absolute right. That's to say that you're the one who is lost because you're leaving comments on her posts. With all due respect].

U8tu as fait la publication de trop contre moi. Tu as fourni la raison de ta haine. Tu sais, chaque semaine à partir d'aujourd'hui Je ferai une publication contre JIM et je verrai ce que tu pourras contre moi.

[Cyr Nesto Kie, you have crossed the line. you have risen hatred against me. Let me inform you that from now on I will post a cons JIM post every day with the purpose to see what you are going to do about it.]

**U11.** Vous êtes vraiment minable! Vous croyez que vous êtes en mesure de le mettre en difficulté, N'importe quoi! Appeler ses hommes, chercher à manger avec lui, faire des photos, et lui demander de l'argent pour s'acheter un ordi et autre. Mais omiséki nzoto yo mwasi ya soki nani oyo vraiment. Yokaka ata soni vraiment.

[ You look so shabby. Do you think you can be a threat to JIM. You're dillusional. you used to get in contact with people surrounding him in the effort to take pictures, and ask them for finances

that would help you buy a computer and else. You are making fun of yourself, you must feel sorry about yourself]

U14. Il,est déjà en difficulté.

[ He is already in a bad posture.]

U14 Vas y Sadio Morel-kante puisque tu en es capable. Terminé avec Dzon.

[ Go ahead Sadio Morel-Kante, you have waht it takes to put JIM in a bad posture]

U13. Un politicien rancunier. Il m'a deja agressé physiquement parce que pour lui je dois absolument dire oui a tout ce que JIM fait. Il vient de me donner la preuve de son extrême bassesse et voilà qui tout tel monde saura pourquoi mathias est en perte de vitesse. CEST justement à cause des gens comme lui.

[ Such a A vindictive politician. He once attacked me physically because all he needs is t osee me saying all good things for JIM. He just proved that low he can go. People will now know the reason Mathias is losing speed and going off track.]

U12. tu sais . Je suis capable de le faire. Mais ici la logique voudrai que tu ramène Cyr Nestor Kié a la raison. Depuis le temps qu'il ne rate pas d'occasions de pondre des inepties sur moi. Aujourd'hui jammvays décidé de ne pas lui répondre mais avec son attaque De trop dont je ferai poste, il ne me donne pas le choix.

[Josephine Ng you know, I have what it takes to do so. However, the wise thing to would be to convince Cy Nestor Kie. It goes back longa ge since he's been layin nonesense on me. I ever decided not to respond him but with this more attack on me I have no choice.]

U11. Là vraiment oza vrai moyibi yo. Le jour où tu as agressé un frère dans une réunion publique à flunch beaubourg, je n'étais pas là. c'est le doyen EFL Eugene-Fernand Loubelo qui vous a séparé. Le reste je vous ai vu, une fois dans la foule au loin, lors...

[ Her again you are proving how deshonest you're. That day you ever physically attacked one brother of mine during a meetin at Flunch beauburg, I was not there. It was Eugen-Fernand Loubelo who separated both of you. I say you both in the crowd.]

U7. Il serait souhaitable de ne pas mêler JIM à cette querelle. Je ne vois pas en quoi vos problèmes lui concernent.

[ I would appreciate that you not use the name of JIM in your heatred discussion, I don't see how he is involved in the problema entailing both of you.]

U11. Oueh inepties, moyibi. Tu viens de faire des histoires au journaliste méritant Morgan Palmer et je me suis levé. C'est pas parce que tu ne sais pas écrire le français que tu crois que les gens sensés ne lisent pas ce que nous écrivons? J'ai toujours dit que le jour viendra, où nous aurons le pouvoir du peuple. Nous qui voulons des pratiques vertueuses. Et les minables et agents doubles souffriront. La loi les punira!

[What nonsense are you talking about, thief. You the one who started messing with the reporter Morgan Palmer, that's why I stood you up. Do you think that because you lack a full French skill that people are not reading what we're writing? I always say there will be a day that we will get in power. We always expect vertuous practices, then these losers with suffer the power of the law.]

U11. Mon frère Jean Valere la femme là a la poisse. Nombreux à Paris ici ont déjà fait les frais de l'avoir approchée. C'est elle qui vient publier un souvenir, croyant que parce que nous ne sommes pas des voleurs ou des manipulateurs que nous sommes des na...

[My friend Jean Valere, this woman has got bad luck. Most people in Paris have paid the Price for approaching her. She is the one who just brouth up this post, thinking that we are naifs for being no cautious to cheaters and manipulators.]

U11. Monoko, kaka monoko. Etales les biscuits, to mona?

[Talk, talk, spread your biscuits and we will see.]

U12. Toi ou lui, ou est la différence, et tu osé dire alors qu'il m'a porté mains devant toute la salle présente que c'est moi qui l'ai agressé? Ne t'en fait pas j'appell JIM et je lui dirai que je ne suis pas lié à un contrat de benie oui oui...

[ Where is the difference between you and him. He was the one who put his hands on me, I didn't attack him. Don't worry I will pone JIM and let him know that I'm not tied to any contract.

U11. Liboma na nzoto na nga té!

[You must be mad]

U12. Na Ki gniguissa yo. Nzela. JIM à kolela.

U12. I'll put fire on the way and Dzon will feel it.

U12. Jean Valere Moutou Cyr Nestor Kié à intervenu et m'a menacé pour une publication que j'ai faite en juin contre JIM, et ici donc tu comprends qu'il est facile de penser que dzon dresse ces neveux oisifs contre moi, ça fait 6 mois que ce Nestor pond des inepties contre moi à cause de dzon. Il verra donc de quel bois je me chauffe.

[ Jean Valere Moutou Cyr Nestor Kie got involved and threatened me having posted a consDzon information past juin. Now it easy to understand why Dzon nephews are upset with me ever since. It's been like 6 months that this Nestor pullo ut nonsense againt me on behalf of Dzon. I will prove them wrong because I will not back down]

U11. on dit Cyr Nestor Kié est intervenu et non a intervenu. Pour le reste que je sois oisif et agressif, franchement, makaya ya mobéso éza mabé!

[Say U11 got involved not has involved. Being aggressive is not the kind of the personne I'm. you must be smoking or something]

U12. Merci de m'avoir corrigé. Mais pour le reste, je ne lâcherai rien. Mais rien. Et mais je m'en vais te dire que quand tu m'a livré la dernier dose de likaya, tu es parti sans me rendre la monaie des 200€ que je t'avais remit. Pourquoi, Cyr Nestor Kié? Apparemment tu as plus fumer que tout le monde ce jour là.

[Thank you for correcting me. However, i will never back down. I would let you know that the last dose of cigarette I got from you. You've gone without giving me back the change of 200euros I had given to you, why U11. Apperently you smoked more than anybody else that day.]

U12. Tu passe ton avoir vouloir voir que j'ai agressé tel ou tel. Morgan Palmer tu te mêle même de lui et de moi sans savoir en privé qu'elle complicité nous liés. Tu inverse la donne, a chaque fois que quelqu'un attaque tu dis que je l'ai attaqué. Quand..

[You still think that I physically aggressed Morgan Palmer. You are getting involved in issues regarding both of us without knowing what links we have. You're reversive. Everytime someone makes an attack on me you reverse that I'm the one who did it.

U12. Regarde comment Morgan Palmer et moi on s'éclate dans Paris. Donc bouge de la Cyr Nestor Kié.

U12. Just look at how Morgan Palmer and I are having good time in Paris. Leave us alone.

[MAMAN SADIO YO DE]

[Madam Sabio you're the best]

U11. On t'a tabassé à Brazzaville toujours avec ce genre de choses! Et ce jour là le bois avec lequel tu te chauffes, c'était quoi? On avait vu quoi

[ You were horrifically aggressed in Brazzaville because of these stupid stuff. Why didn't you stand up your aggressors that day. What did we see?]

**U13.** Vous Cyr Nestor Kié tabassé les femmes c'est sa la démocratie attend nous aussi nous allons t'es frapper kinchodo ya mama na yo

[You U11, do you think physically aggressing women is part of the democracy. Wait we will do the same to your mam soon]

U13. Cyr Nestor Kié TU ose corriger qui le français c'est toi ki la fabriquer si tu es pédé de JOHN c'est problème mais ne vient pas corriger les gens ici pédé

[ U11, you dare correct other French mistakes, are the person who made up this language? You're gay sleeping with JOHN. That's your business but don't you dare come correct people here, gay.]

U11. Nga na bima na libolo ya mama na ngai oyo oza ko finga na ko bombana. Peut-être yo obima na mosomba na yébi té. Yo oza forcément na ba amis oyo ba yébi élongui oyo oza ko bomba. On verra.

[ I came out from my mother vagina that she is insulting, I will hurt you. Maybe you came from anus, who knows. You may have Friends who know that face of your you're hiding.]

U13 Cyr Nestor Kié monoko solo

[ U11 Your mouth smells bad.]

U11. Montres-toi un peu qu'on voit toi ta bouche, Tu n'es pas ressortissant de la poussière dans les cheveux au point de cacher ton visage? Mort de rires!

[ show yourself so people can see your mouth. You didn't come out from the dust preventing you from showing your face. LOL.]

U13. Cyr Nestor Kié OUI ONT VERRA KINCHODO YA MAMA NA YO OYOKI ASSASSIN BO ZALI KO TA BOLI FILS DE PUTE

[ U11, yes we will see your mother vagina. Criminal on loose. Fils de pute. ]

U13. Cyr Nestor Kié VOUS NE RESPECTER MEME PAS LES CONGOLAIS VOUS VOULEZ QUAND VOUS RESPECT BONGO OYA LISOUSOU POTO TO ZALI KO Zéla bino awa

[U11, you have no respect whatsoever for the congolese people and you need to be respected. Come back here overseas we are waiting for you.]

U11. Nzélé wana osokolaka té, aza na type té pona vrai solo ébimaka wana. Yo obombani pona ba mona yo té, moto odamaka yé! Mort de rires!

[ You don't used to wash your vagina that why it semlls so bad. You're hiding to not be seen. LOL]

U11. Mort de rires! je suis en France mon pauvre type anonyme qui se cache! Zwa renseignement ya bien soki té nzélé ya solo ako ya kotia yo na erreur. Mort de rires!

[LOL, I'm in France right now you a poor hidden person. Just check it if not go wash it.]

**U13. U11** je suis très en colère contre vous toi ton sale gouvernement vous faites boire les congolais de l'eau souillé la bas à brazzaville ok donc kanga monoko solo ok

[U11, I'm very angry with you and other people in this government. you're making congolese people drink dirty wáter in Brazzaville. Just chut the hell up.]

U13. U11 OMONI KOMBO NA GAI TE TU VEUX KOI ENCORE BONGO OYA LISOUSOU  
Paris

[U11. didn't you see my name? What else do you need, just come here in France.]

U11. renseignes-toi mon pauvre ignorant. Je ne suis pas au pouvoir. Je cherche à l'avoir pour que les congolais ignorants comme vous soyez pas frustrés, en colère. Que les gens fassent ce qu'ils savent faire et vivent de leur travail. ta haine inutile contre moi, c'est ton problème!

[Check it out you ignorant. I'm not in power. I want to conquer it so ignorant people like you do not get upset, and angr anymore. I want people t olive by what they are capable of and by their work. It's all your business if you have heatred against me.

U13. inguéta to ko tia yo mutakala

[We will leave naked]

U11. Mort de rires!

[U11. LOL]

U13. pourquoi insulte tu les gens

[Why are you so insulting?]

U11. Du coup, on en arrive à la véritable raison de la publication de ce souvenir. Publies les biscuits sur lui et tika bi saléla. Publies seulement to mona! Infiltrée, lingala ayébi koloba té, kokoma pé té, lifara pé ayébi ko koma té, osalaka bato kaka makièlèlè! mort de rires! J'ai une perruque pour toi et du rouge à lèvres! C'est ton cadeau de noël!

[Just like that, I understand the reason behind this post. Post whatever you want. Just post. Traitor. You cannot even speak nor write Lingala. Neither French can you write. All you know is just talk. LOL. I have a wig and some lipstick fro you. That's your christmas gift.]

8. Chers Compatriotes, l'heure est grave puisque nous devons nous mobiliser comme un seul Homme. Arrêtons de parler du nord ,sud,est et ouest car le Congo est un et indivisible. L'histoire du Congo nous a montré, que le tyran lorsqu'il cible sa victime, il ne cherche pas savoir de quel département est sa proie.

## Comments



U1. Mensonge le peuple congolais n'est pas représenté par des immigrés sans avenir ok! Le peuple congolais qui réside au Congo reconnaît le travail du Président de la République du Congo.

U2. Vous faites semblant d'ignorer que JOHN aujourd'hui totalise plus de 32 ans de pouvoir. Un Etat c'est la continuité. Hier, il a pleuré sa fille devant la face du monde et aujourd'hui il continue encore de tuer les enfants des autres. Mais au Congo, il n'y a pas que JOHN. Je pense que ce monsieur est égocentrique car il n'a même créé des conditions d'une bonne et meilleure succession parmi les membres du PCT.

U2. Vous m'excusez puisque je vous trouve moins responsable mais plutôt fanatique. Nina Nouane

U3. U1., immigrés sans avenir? Dites-moi quel est celui des Congolais? Avez-vous connu Brazzaville en 60? Regardez cette même ville aujourd'hui. Une vraie merde. Combien travaillent dans votre paradis? Combien sont propriétaires de chez eux? Ont... See More

U3. U1 fait parti des gens qui profitent du pouvoir de JOHN.

U4. Effectivement, Congo Vérité. Elle a tout eu sans effort simplement parce qu'elle était mbochi et vient ici faire l'apologie d'un tueur, d'un imbécile, d'un voleur et de l'arbitraire. Il y a des gens dont je me demande s'ils ont un cerveau ou simplement un portefeuille à la place du cœur

U1. J'imagine que la vie n'est pas si facile à l'étranger, pour réussir on travaille dur et lorsqu'on étudie on ne compte que sur sa préparation. Les maisons ne sont pas distribuées, ni le travail donné par complaisance. Pourquoi quand il s'agit de notre pr... See More

U3. Bien dit Armand Boueya

U5. Est-elle facile au Congo? Les maisons y sont-elles gratuites? Combien de places dans les écoles et les facultés? Combien d'emplois? U1, cela fait 50 ans que je vis en France. Je suis rentré au Congo avec ma femme. Je suis reparti car c'est d...

9. *Bato oyo bayaka* gouvernement *makolo ngulu lokola Hello lelo bakoma ba* milliardaires dixit L, dorénavant avant de nommer quelqu'un il doit déclarer son patrimoine ils y a trop de vautours et des pilleurs .

[Some people who ever entered the government barefeet, have now become billionaire, said Leon Just Ibombo. now before appointing someone he must declare his assets; there are too many vultures and looters]

### Comments

U1. *koseka té* je veux savoir il ya combien de ministre au congo avant *bakota* gouvernement bazalaka naba VX naba Prado ou ba Range Rover

[Do not laugh, I just want to know how many Ministers who before enter the government had been able to possess cars like VX, Prado or Range Rover]

U1. Diaf Kweta de fois tu as raison il ya trop des rapaces dans la politique congolaise .... Evrard Nangho nakosi???

[You're, there are too many politicians who use public money for their own purposes. Am I right?]

U1. Question pour un champion " il ya combien de ministre au congo avant bakota gouvernement *bazalaka na* Range rover *ba* VX etc..... *Vérité polélé polé*

[Question for everyone, to how many Ministers who before enter the government had been able to possess cars like VX, Prado or Range Rover. ]

U2. **Hahahahahahahahahahahahaha** Aristide Mobebissi **nga nazo kenda ba** campagnes présidentielles dans quelques jours , n'a leki kaka kiekiekiekiekiekieki **kiekiekiekiekiekieki masta nazo tia yo motuka** n'a Facebook **ekoti mavula**

[Haaaa U1, I'm going back home soon for the presidential compain.]

U3. **ba yoka** lettre a mr le president **bako teyam**

[May they learn from this letter to the president]

U1. Il est a moitié mort, sauvez lui quand même, il a arrêté de fumer le chanvre.. :)

[He is half dead. Please save him anyway. Has he stopped smoking hemp]

U2. Mon très cher christel Louboula Foundoux, Diaf est irrécupérable **lol**

[My dearest U2, let him suffer].

U1. je comprends, faut laisser le crocodile de Diaf sous l'eau, sinon.. **kiékiékié** Mais un western même 10000fcfa pour qu'il achète le ticket du metro ;) **boulot dodo..**

[I understand. Leave that crocodile under water, otherwise. LOL, You should send him some money to pay for Metro pass]

#### 10. ATTAQUES SUR ATTAQUES, POUR QUELLES MISSIONS ET QUELS OBJETIFS.

QUI PEUT ÊTRE DERRIERE TOUT ÇA? ET POURQUOI? Chers tous, après plusieurs menaces de la part des proches de JIM, je vous informe que s'il m'arrive quelque chose, je les prendrai pour premiers responsables. Pour ne pas avoir été d'accord avec leurs méthodes en juin dernier lors de la visite de JIM ici, je n'ai pas cessé d'être objet de menaces de leur part. ...

[attempt after attempt: what for? Who is behind this?]

[Dear all, after multiple threats from people closet o JIM, let me inform you that if anything wrong happens to me on my way, I will take them for the very first responsible. Because I disagreed with their

ways of doing things when JIM was in tour here (Paris) past June, I have been subject to attempt in

different ways]

#### Comments

U1. moi je la croyais déjà aux USA. Alain Makaya, peux-tu me confirmer si notre amie est toujours ?

[I thought He was living in the US. Would you confirm to me if Sadio Morel-Kante is in Paris?]

U2. Alain Makaya ne te répondra pas.

[I don't understand you Alain Makaya]

U3. U2. Tu déclare la guerre je te l'offre.

[Sadio if you want to fight I'm going to offer you the opportunity.]

U2. es tu cité ici?

[Did I mention your name here U3?]

U4. Sadio partout où tu passe tu te fais tabasser c est au fait quoi ton blem?

[Sadio wherever you go you have the bad luck to get hit, what is your problem anyway?]

U5. j'ai horreur des homme qui s'attaque ou menace des femmes

[I don't stand men you violently threat men.]

U6. C'est grave pour un responsable cme vous, voila que le Congo est detruit totalement.

[You are facing a serious mental issue, this is the reason the situation in Congo is going from bad to ]

U2.

**A TOUS CEUX QUI NE M'AIMENT PAS :  
SACHEZ QU'EN 2016,  
JE NE FERAI RIEN POUR CHANGER ÇA !**

[For whom don't like me, let's me remind you that I will make no effort to change myself in 2016]

U3. U2 Tu t'es permise de citer mon nom ppur des histoires sur JIM. De quel droit. Maintenant que tu es la. Je suis prête qui à faire couler le navire. On y va.

[ U2 who gave you the right to freely mention my name in the stuff regarding JIM. Now that you put me in I'm ready.]

U2. Y a t il du mal à te prendre à témoin? Josephine Ngonk.

[ What's wrong if I consider you as a witness U8.]

U1. Oh oh Josephine Ngonk, je ne vois pas où Sadio Morel-kante t'a nommé. Mais que se passe-t-il ? Sadio Morel-kante nous avait dit qu'elle était déjà aux States. Alain Makaya ne veut pas me répondre là-dessus et voici la #Josephine qui veut en découdre avec la pestiférée de Paris. Je n'y comprends plus rien.

[Oh U7 I don't see anywhere your name was mentioned by U2. What's going on anyway? U2 told us she was in the US, but Alain Makaya doen't want to respond me on that matter. Now that Josephine wants to end U2 career, I don't understand anything.]

U2. Mon arsenal est la depuis le champs de la guerre des 3 jours...

[My whole arsenal is set for three days action ]

U1. Sadio Morel-kante, moi je t'aime bien. Mais il faut otika bizaléli ya mabé. D'abord, il faut commencer par débloquent comme Alain Akouala a fait.

[U2, I like you but you have to dropa ll your bad behavior. The first thing to do would be unlocked your Friends on Facebook just like Alain Akouala.]

U2. Patrick Gnoka des usa ou sur mars, on peut intervenir grâce aux ntic. Merci

[Whreever you are, from the US to Mars, you can now get involved in any ongoing discussion.]

U2. Je vous fascine tous....

[I fascinate you all]

U1. il faut débloquent. Je ne peux plus voir tes pubs si tu me bloques. Arrêtes de faire ta petite fille là. Moi sans rire, tu me fais assez de peine car j'ai toujours été habitué à m'en prendre aux gars. Toi & moi on se connaît et chez moi c'est sacré

[U2 you have to unlocked me, I can no longer see your post if you keep me unlocked. Stop acting like a child. I feel sorry for me knowing that I used to argue against men on your behalf. You know that you know each other well]

U2. Ça y est. C'est reparti. En lisant les uns et les autres, j'ai cru avoir affaire avec mes bambins . Je ne réalise toujours pas que ce soit des pères et des mères de famille qui se livrent à un tel pugilas enfantin sur la toile . Tant de menaces,

[There we are, after reading all your comments, I thought I was having an affair with toddlers. I don't understand that you're fathers and mothers engaged in a such childish pugilas on Facebook. Such threats]

U3. Princesse Téké, je repart consulter mes ailleuils . Je reviens.

[As a teke princess I'm going to consult my ancestors and then come back.]

U1. U7. je suis désolé, t'es un mbaki. Le Congo est un pays très très dangereux et la politique congolaise est donc aussi très très dangereuse. Désolé nous ne sommes pas dans le facebook des bisounours

[I'm sorry, you're a thug. Congo is a very dangerous country, especially doing politics in Congo. Sorry we are not in the care bears Facebook.]

U7. Je n'ai insulté personne à ce que je sache. Moi, je ne me livrerai pas à ce jeu là, désolé , je ne trouve aucun plaisir à polémiquer inutilement. C est pas mon dada. Je ne me connais pas d ennemis. Je n'ai que des amis. Je ne suis pas là pour distribu..

[ As far as I'm concerned, I have insulted noone. I will never engage myself in such stupid games. That's not what I stand for nor I don't want to make enemies. I only have Friends and I'm not here to district myself or anybody else.]

U1. Oh oui camarade toi tu vis sans doute dans un pays paisible où les gens vivent heureux et tu préfères pépère ton rôle délateur à la confrontation des idées. Sache que cette Sadio Morel-kante est une personne très très dangereuse car tous ceux qui bosse...

[My friend you might be living in a descent and peaceful country and you're play such a role of confrontin ideas. Let's me let you know that U2 is a very dangerous person since everyone who ever worked with...]

U7. Moî, délateur ? Tu me l'apprends mon frere . Confrontation des idées oui, mais pas en ce cas d'espèce. Ici il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que de la polémique inutile et de surcroît de caniveau. Bye frerot

[Me as informer, you just infromed of that. Confronting ideas yes but as far as this is concerned we are not talking about controversy. Good by brother.]

U1. J'espère qu'un jour tu verras plus clair. Sache que Sadio Morel-kante est un poison. Heureusement que sa carrière dans la diaspora est finie. Enfin, sache qu'il ne s'agit pas de vaine polémique. Il s'agit du combat d'idées sur le devenir de notre pays..

[I hope one day you will understand it. just know that U2 acts like a fish. Lucky her career in the diaspora is over. Finally, just keep in mind that it's not a matter of controversies; instead, we are confronting ideas for the best interest and the future of our country. ]

U1. Sadio Morel-kante comme par hasard ne combat plus le tyran. Ce quoi cette histoire avec JIM. Est-ce que c'est encore une affaire de nguiri ou quoi ? Alain Makaya pourquoi tu ne veux pas venir ici hein

[U2 just like by chance is no longer fighting the tyrant. What is that story with JIM? Is that another corruption affair? Alain Makaya why don't you come over?]

U8. Kiekiekie ah oui .mais vs connais deja .15 ans de vie encore eteya bino kiekiekie

[ LOL, Yes , you already know me. 15 years of living. Learn from that.]

U9 ai-je pas affirmé que, nous avons l'opposition la bête de l'Afrique sinon, du monde ?

[Didn't I state that we have the most opposition in Africa on in the world?]

U3. Prière au Kwebali , prière aux miens qui m'ont précédé à l'orient éternel. Vous qui vivez au travers de mes croyances. Vous qui avez bercé mon enfance de par vos récits, vous qui croyez comme moi, à notre vérité orale..

[Let prayers go out to my people died who live through my beliefs, who rocked my childhood through your stories, who believe in the same way as I do. To our oral truth...]

U10. Vraiment Pathétique vous attaquez a une dame qui exerce son droit si elle publie ou est donc le probleme c'est bien son droit n'est ce pas? Aulieu de vous attaquez au problemes qui detruisent le Congo .....Comme c'est lâche .

[You're pathetic, how low are you to attack to a lady exercising her right to post whatever he wants? What's wrong with you? She is has got the all right, hasn't she? You should be more concern about those problems that are destroying Congo. What a pity.]

U10. U2 informe nous .

[U2 just keep un up-to-date]

U10. vive le congo!!!

[ Longo live Congo.]

U2. Hollllllllllla, je ne défends pas un homme. Je me bats pour tenter de sortir le Congo des mains de JOHN. Continuez vos élucubrations. Mais faites tout pour me rattraper là bas. .... devant.

[I don't defend men. My fight is to save Congo from JOHN's hands. Keep on ranting. You better catch me up there... ahead.]

U11.amen!!!

U12. Beaucoup comprennent que Sadio Morel-kante n'a pas un vrai combat. Mais juste la haine qu'elle est était chassé du Congo. Quand en incite à la haine et à la guère c'est plus une liberté d'expression.

[ Most people now know that U2 has no real goal in this fight just the hatred that she was deported from Congo. When you incite people to the hatred that's no longer the freedom speech.]

U13. Vive un nouveau Congo libre après JOHN en 2016

U14. je crois que le jour où le dictateur s'en ira, je me mettrai nu avec deux(2) bouteilles de Ngock planqué dans ma tête, même si je n'en prend pas mais ce jour là sera exceptionnel ça sera plus que le 1er jour de la nouvelle année et ce jour remplacera le jour de l'indépendance du Congo.

[I think that day where JOHN will leave office, I will stay naked with two bottles of Ngock by me; even though I don't drink beer, that day will be an exception. It will be like a New Year celebration day or the independence day.]

U15. On se croirait dans les couloirs du marché de Poto Poto ou Moundou, face à une dispute entre étagère, sans hauteur intellectuelle. On a l'impression d'assister chaque semaine à un sketch avec des victimes ciblées, Makaya, Donald....

[This is a very low level of discussion; every week we have a new attack on innocent people.]

U16. U2, On l'aime ou on ne l'aime pas, est souvent proche de la vérité. En dépit de ses méthodes, de fois contestables, elle fait encore partie de la race des rares incorruptibles et le Congo en a besoin. Je reste persuadé que celui qui n'a rien à se reprocher n'a rien à craindre. Si Dzion est clean, alors, que ses lieutenants nous collent la paix.

[U2 whether you like her or not she is always where the truth is. Besides her methods of doing which are sometimes questionable, she is still one of the very few incorruptible people that the country needs right now. I am still convinced that you don't have to worry about anything unless you see yourself somehow guilty. If JIM is Green then we have to free from those so-called lieutenant.]

U16. Serge Ngouakamabe ne mets pas ta main au feu, elle brûlerait lol

[U31 don't grill yourself, she will grill herself.]

U16. Pour une cause juste, j'suis prêt à sacrifier une main, Il m'en restera une autre Olivier Tieniba Morabaré lol

[To do the right thing I'm set to get my hand grilled, it will leave the other. LOL.]

U12. Incorruptible du Congo ? ??? Elle de quel village ? ?? Sadio Morel-kante a côtoyé tout les hommes du pouvoir et c'est quand en la rejette qu'il se révolte. Okombi, Munari, Kolela, MICHAEL... bref j'ajouterai Sadio Morel-kante sont les mécontents du pouvoir après avoir eu quelques jouissances du pouvoir.

[Incorruptible in Congo? Which countryside is she from? U2 has for long been in contact with all these people who serving this government; only once she was let down that she decided to fight back. broadly speaking, Okombi, Munari, Kolela, MICHAEL, and now U2 are now fighting against the regime they ever served and had fun.]

U16. Si vous avez les preuves qu'elle a travaillé avec le pouvoir en place, présentez les ! Comparez Sadio Morel-kante aux Ex- collaborateurs directs du PR est un pain dont je m'en priverais volontiers. Accuser sans indices est le commun des réseaux sociaux..

[If you have any evidence in your disposal that she ever worked for this regime, bring it up. I would not compare U2 to other close contacts of PR. Accusing people with no evidence is a common practice on social media]

U12. Il y a des preuves en photos avec tout les collaborateurs

[There are evidence of her connection, there are pictures of her with these guys.]

U12. En plus les congolais ne la reconnaissent pas étant congolais papa malien et maman sénégalaise je pense qu'elle devrait d'abord chercher ces origines. Si en avait un Diallo ministre par le président JOHN personnes ne devait comprendre qu'il été née au Congo. Mais plutôt en aurait dit que JOHN donne le pouvoir au étrangers. Sadio Morel-Kante est une étrangère qu'elle laisse les congolais gérer leurs problèmes

[Congolese don't see her as a true citizen; her father is from mali and her man from Senegal, I think she should first take a look back into where she comes from. If there was a minister named Diallo, noone would understand that he is Congolese-born citizen. Instead, there would be a rumor flying that JOHN was giving the power to foreigners. As a foreigner, U2 would step down and leave congolese-borns deal with their own problem.]

U12. C'est elle même qui le dit.

Cela s'est passé devant plusieurs dizaines de personnes, des voisins, et parmi eux ceux qui ont signalé que je suis étrangère (je suis une congolaise né de père malien et de mère sénégalaise et pourtant tout le monde sait que je suis congolaise).

---

[Everything comes from her mind. "This happaned in front of dozen of people including gests , and othe people who think I'm a foreigner. I'm Congolese-born with a dad from mali and mam from Senegal. Everyone knows that I Congolese]

U16. Pitié ! Sarkozy, Manuel Vals et bien d'autres sont des preuves vivantes que vous écrivez pour écrire. Il y' a 2 types de congolais: ceux de pure souche et ceux d'adoption et/ou jouissant du droit du sol. Pour le reste, je vous laisse à votre intelligence.

[What a pity, Sarkozy, Manuel Vals and othors are living proof you're just writing to destruct people. There are two types of Congolese, those you are the origin and those who are just born and have protected by the law. It's up to you to understand it.]

U12. C'est bien beau de prendre l'exemple des autres quand c'est dans vos avantages. ... si c'était un membre du gouvernement congolais sa devrait être un autre discours ici. Mais bon comme c'est Sadio Morel-kante l'incendiaire là il n'y a pas de soucis. Vive la démocratie

[It's alwasy nice to take examples from overseas when there are in your favor. If it was a member of this government, it would be a different speech from you. However, because it just concerns U2 there seems to be no problema. That's what democracy isa ll about.]

U17. JERRY et munari avait participé au dialogue de diata pendant qu'ils etaient ministre . Donc c est ne sont pas des mecontents comme tu le dit .

[ JERRY et Munari once participated in the the political dialogue held in Diata district while they were still miniters. They cannot be taken as people who lost it.]

U18. Kieeee kieeeeeerrreerer

[ LOL]



U19. Si JIM n'est pas crédible en a le plein droit de le prouvé arrêté de menacés une dame qui dit rien que la vérité ah ah ah ah ah comme la vérité peut blessé

[If JIM is not credible we have the all right to ask him to stop threatning this lady who is telling just the truth.]

U18. Ah sa

[That's]

U20. Il a pas l'étoffe pour est président et même pas Premier ministre

[ He doesn't deserve to be a President nor a Prime minister.]

U21. Pathétique!

C'est qui la prochaine cible?  
Prenez un peu d'épaisseur et allez à l'essentiel.

[Pathetic, who is the next target? Leave out nonsense and go to the most important points.]

#### 11. Bonana à Tous

##### Comments

U1. Mokolo lopango ou chef de chantier????? Bien habillé grand je valide

U2. merci pa justin. te souviens-tu encore de ki t appelait ainsi ?

U3. Bonne année ça c'est la sapologi kitoko y'a trop

U4. je valide mon prof, de francais. serieux a se point

U4. Papa dasco, tjrs swagga

U5. Ce jour là. Tu etais non seulement propre mais aussi élégant

U6. Mon grd frère tjr frais

U2. Oui de Louband ma femme que je cherche partout

U7. j'ai déjà comprie a ce point mr Das doucement svp, votre élève blanchard nicolini

U8. Tu finis avec nous professeurs, que t'avons-noous fait ?

#### 12. Communiqué" Rentré & reprise des activités du Bureau exécutif national de l'AJRMP ce jour 03 Janvier 2016 à Tours. Ordre du jour :

##### Comments

U1. [#jesuisAJRMP](#)

U2. Yes

U1. Travaillons d'abord

U2. Sa ne peut s'arrêter cde [Leslie Obomadoki](#) , 20 mars 2016 [#uncoupKo](#)

U1. bango tembe trop



U2. Alors bako zua ba AVC ya tt genre kiekiekiekiekie

U3. L'équipe aux complets vous êtes magnifiques mes gars

U2. Merci U3. tes gars sont prêt pour les nouveaux défis 2016, allons y ensemble

U4. Trop propagande AJRMP c'est l'ujsc bis il me semble il faut vous démarquer des autres svp.

U2. U4. pas de propagande mais juste le travail et l'implication à fond, nous ne sommes pas ce que tu cite  
Mais plutôt une structure de jeunesse porteuse d'espoir , aspirant à une émergence et développement durable de notre pays  
#partenaireexclusive de cette émergence

U4. Vos propositions en matière d'emploi des jeunes, je veux juste deux exemples Junior Okabe Otoro

U2. Hummm bongo ba yiba kiekiekiekiekie le moment où l'endroit opportun Aristide Mobebissi awa te

U4. Omoni na kangi yo Kié Kié Kié Kié pourquoi il n'y a pas de député jeune ou préfet jeune ?

U2. Eza n'a ngo pe vrai ebele rassure toi Aristide Mobebissi car ce ne sont pas seulement les miennes ces propositions en cette matière, mais ceux de nombreux jeunes congolais et congolaise #QUISONTAJRMP

U4. Vous avez combien d'adhérents ?

U2. C'est cela AJRMP mon cher U4. , réflexion et propositions d'ensemble chers frère, de tt orizon , député jeunes ? Ou préfet jeune,? Déjà pour toi jeune qu'elle âge par exemple, parceque avoir moins de 50 ans et député c'est pas vieux hein

U2. Maintenant, si tu veux voir le jeunesse de la trentaine d'années voilà la nouvelle loi fondamentale nous on donne l'occasion, à nous de nous conformé à cela et prendre le toro par les corne Aristide Mobebissi

U4. Ne joue pas avec les mots je suis concrèt et constant je veux te voir toi à l'assemblée nationale pas vieillards qui sont là-bas. U2.

U2. Bien sûre que oui et je t'en remercie pour ton encouragements j'y serais si tu m'apporte tout soutien et ton expertise audiovisuel lol, et cela est valable pour tout autre Junior Okabe Otoroaussi

U2. Nous sommes on terme de membre adhérent à ce jours à prêt de 250 sinon plus , répartis dans toute la France, Brazzaville et pointe noire, et sa ne cesse d'augmenter pour info Aristide Mobebissi

U4. Moi j'aime pas les honneurs et les postes je suis bien dans mon monde mais toi tu as de l'avenir mais tes mentors ne doivent pas te chiffonné.

U4. U2. moi je détecte les talents, Evrard Nangho Diaf, Karanda, Bruno Mouélé wana ba boulot na ngayi.

U2. Bien sûre suis d'avis avec toi frère, mais seul mentor à ce jour U4 sont mon président Stanislas Bonaventure mon vice président Luce Jupiter et les plus de 200 membres que constitue L'AJRMP, donc je ne pense pas qu'il vont me chiffoner cela. ...

U4. Toi et Stanislas je peux vous rendre Ministrable dans six mois Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié je suis un surveillant.

U2. Et pour ce boulot bien sûr je te félicite et tu le sais Aristide Mobebissi yo tia bato d'accord, mais sache seulement autant tu les a détecté, autant ces personnes aussi ton mis sur orbite et autant ceux à venir aussi te mettrons encore de plus belle au sommet Car la est le partage, tu me sala je te sala car sans eux ou nous aussi comment mettra tu d'accord le public #tosolakapebien frère

U4. Oui mais c'est plutôt l'inverse c'est la presse qui met en orbite les politiques Junior Okabe Otoro tu as 200 adhérents moi j'en dix millions nani ako sala moninga Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié

U1. U4. tika polemique

U4. Kendé koloba makambo ya sadio biso toza calme awa Leslie Obomadoki alias hum hum hum.

U2. Hummmm U4. 10 millions de Followers niveau, mais moi j'ai un avantage les 250 je les connais de nom et prénom, et déjà rencontré au moins 180 de chair et os, mais tes 10 millions sont virtual

U4. Oui mais ils existent mon frère c'est pas des extra terrestre

U2. Je sais qu'ils existent U4. plus que moi mm j'en fait parti kiekiekiekiekie

U4. Merci pour ta franchise , on est ensemble on s'en sortira tu verras

U2. Bien sûre j'y crois fortement U4. j'y crois #anouslavenir, merci à toi aussi car je suis tjrs d'accord

U4. Stp mes potes de l'opposition me feront un procès d'intention Junior Okabe Otoro

U2. Kiekiekiekiekie etali bango yo oza nayo vérité polele polele bongo te Aristide Mobebissi

13. PROCUREZ-VOUS LE FILM DOCUMENTAIRE REVOLUTIONNAIRE(S) VIA DIASPO INVESTIGATION. - "Une boîte de pandore" selon LA SEMAINE AFRICAINE ...

### Comments

U1. Donner nous l'adresse pour commandeur le DVD merci

U2. Bonjour, je voudrais le DVD aussi. j habite en Chine. comment faire? Merci de me répondre

14. Tout congolais a des parents dans les quatre coins du Congo! donc ne vous inquiétez pas, parce que on est mieux informé que les résidents de Paris. et je puis vous dire qu'à l'heure qu'il est le calme et la retenue est observée partout. appelez vos parents comme moi et vous en saurais un plus.

### Comments

U1. Et voilà, nous tombons dans le piège du monstre denguess

U2. Je fais un appel solennelle a l'armée de prendre enfin position par rapport a ce qui se passe devant leurs yeux, le peuple a assez souffert, vous êtes le dernier rempart de la démocratie dans

notre pays. Protéger la population et mettez aux arrêts tous ces dirigeants démoniaque, le peuple et la constitution du 20 janvier 2002 vous en donne le droit.

U3. Je pense que le plus sage serait de brûler ces armes...Il ne faut pas que nous transformions la lutte politique en rébellion armée...Le Congo ne doit pas être comme la Syrie. Il est temps que nos leaders IDc Frocad se prononcent sur la situation...Tout brûlé sera déjà une bonne claque à Sassoule !

U4. " COMMENT RECONNAIT T-ON UN JOHNISTE ? D'abord il va se faire passer pour quelqu'un qui est neutre, qui ne soutient aucun homme politique et qui ne veut que la paix au Congo. Il va donc par tous les moyens chercher à décourager tous ceux qui veulent

U5. Oui on tombe dans le piège ne prenez pas les armes une révolution pacifique

U6. C'est toujours l'opresseur, non l'opprimé, qui détermine la forme de la lutte. Si l'opresseur utilise la violence, l'opprimé n'a pas d'autre choix que de répondre par la violence. On va pas accepté de se faire flingué comme des pigeons, JOHN a voulu mettre le pays à feu et à sang il est le seul responsable de tout ce qui va arriver au Congo

U7. avec des armes en mains vous légitime le massacre de la population par ces sans état d'âme de militaire de JOHN!

U8. Et les autres quartiers Diata, Mfilou, Makazou, ils aillent aider ces braves de Makélékélé et Bacity qu'ils fassent aussi tomber l'aéroport. C'est à côté de Mfilou, Moutabala. Vaillant patriotes de la base de Moulondo comme je vous connais, l'ennemi commun c'est JOHN. Il faut le dégager, avant le 25 Octobre.

U9. ça craint , les manifestants pacifiques ne prennent pas des armes

U10. Prendre les armes n'est pas bonne solution je suis vraiment dégoûtée je suis sur télé Congo vraiment cette télé est pour le dictateur on nous montre que les gens font des meetings pour voter oui et ne parle même pas des perturbations que les opposants signalent c'est vraiment aberrant

U11. Pourquoi toujours les quartiers sud ???

U12. ce maintenant ou jamais

U13. tout ce qui passe trop bien les milices de JOHN reculent les armes dans les commissariats...(limite ça sent l'arnaque!!) ils ont laissé des armes dans les commissariats ..alors "confisquées les" ce seront des balles en moins tirées sur nos frères ... ceux qui

U14. que le peuple n'utilise ces armes sinon le diable de JOHN aura la joie de tous nous exterminer par raison que ces des rebelles!

U15. Très bien dit mon frère!

U16. A tata #shao mpachii !

U17. Surtout pas les armes s'il vous plaît!

U18. toujours Baongo et Makelekele ils vont faire quoi avec ses armes et s'ils attaquent les militaires ,ses derniers bien le droit de se défendre ça devient comme la Palestine et Israël

U19. Please les frères pas ça

U9. Nous ne reculeront plus l'heure de la victoire à sonnée JOHN doit nous foutre la paix

U20. La communauté internationale regarde, les vraies révolutions se font les mains nues, pas besoin de prendre les armes "Bikeno, Botika, Beno Bika" JOHN n'a plus de légitimité il va tomber comme un fruit mur, marchons tant qu'il le faut comme au Burkina

U21. On pousse les populations à tenir les armes.

U22. Il faut déposer les armes et occuper LA RUE en manifestant pacifiquement tous les jours jusqu'au recul du régime JOHN. Les manifestations permanentes ou en tout cas réguliers sont plus gênants pour un régime qu'un jour de colère qu'il peut réprimer ...

U23. Svp ne faites pas ça mes parents mes soeurs pensés à ceux qui n'ont pas des armes pour se défendre

U24. Où est la participation des autres opposants dans la capitale?

U3. Ils ne vont pas demander une audience, pour leur remettre les armes, ensuite se faire canarder comme des lapins. Et puis quoi encore?

U25. JACK au tél sur France 24 minimise les affrontements et parle de quelques échauffourées sans trop de gravité.

U26. Je ne sais pas si c'est une bonne chose car ça risque de mettre le feu aux poudres et au final retomber sur des civiles. Une meilleure stratégie aurait été mieux

U27. Et voilà ce que tous cœurs de mères craignaient

U28. Courage à tous combattant de la liberté. Seul la lutte libère.

U29. Erreur quand vous êtes armés vous devenez rebelles. JOHN est encore président jusqu'en 2016. Oba Blanchard, Matthias et les autres vont payer très cher

U30. Retenez votre souffle! Il n'y a pas d'armes utilisées par une frange de la population. Si avec deux trois PmK on peut changer les choses, un simple sergent ou capitaine peut, alors, faire un coup d'Etat. C'est de l'intox; le peuple ne se trompera pas de combat et continuera à protester non armée. Faux, archi-faux, fausse information!!!

U15. Regarde la vidéo de Marcel Makome il confirme que les jeunes ont pris les armes.

U30. Ben, je comprend cet instinct de légitime défense, mais ça ne va pas se généraliser; puisqu'il faut avoir des munitions aussi. S'il s'avère que Sibiti, Madingou, Nkayi, ...sont sous contrôle du peuple, c'est pas avec les armes. Peut-être que me trouvant dans leur position, j'aurais réagi comme eux; mais le mieux serait qu'on se distingue des guerriers de JOHN. Mais de tout cœur cette révolution.

U31. rendez les armes mes frères svp

U3. Que JOHN dépose les armes. Il n'a pas le droit de tirer sur la population

U32. Que tous les combattants de la liberté laissent les armes de côté. À ce jeu là, celui que nous combattons est plus fort que nous. Il faut combattre sur un terrain qui nous facilite la victoire: la lutte pacifique.

U33. Non non tout sauf les armes mes frères

U34. vraiment c'est là où je vois que le Congo n'avait plus d'armée, où est Mokoko? où sont ceux qui disent qu'ils nous protègent, vraiment je suis fier du peuple congolais mais pas des peureux de l'armée qui laissent la police tirée sur nos compatriotes!

U35. Mais les gars JOHN est entrain de tuer le peuple... il ya des morts a PN, Nkayi, Brazzaville... Ns allons tenir jsko 25 Octobre, il n'y aura pas de referendum...

U36. Camarade Congolais seul la lutte libère, l' éternel des armées est avec vous et vous libérera de ce dictateur de JOHN. Patriare or Morte, Vincere Nos

U37. Désobéissance civile dans le calme et non dans la violence. Pour ne pas dire ville morte , je dirais plutôt pays mort jusqu'à son départ

U38. Je suis avec vous mais ne faite surtout pas ça car c'est tout ce que le pouvoir en place attend de vous

U39. Non, ça ne tire plus. Ma mère vient de me dire qu'il y avait un helicoptere qui pulverisait le gaz lacrymogene pour disperser la foule.

U40. ou sont passé les leaders de l opposition? vraiment !

U41. Connexion internet rétablie à Brazzaville

U42. Vous n'avez pas besoin d'armes. Vous faites deja du bon travail sur le terrain. Continuez a jouer sur la pression morale. Hasta la victoria siempre!

U3. Ahh BrazzaNews .tu me stresse vraiment.j'ai mem pas bien composé.je N'arrive mem pas a joindre mes parents et je me pose mille questions vraiment.a ce pays la vraiment ke Dieu intervienne seulement si non

U43. le Congolais aime trop ca! les armes! on a bien dit manifestation pacifique oh lala

U43. pardon faites pas ca ca peut prendre une mauvaise tournure

U44. La police tire sur eux frown emoticon imagines leur conscience

U44. Je ne souhaite pas que cela arrive

U43. ah Nzambé ...

U44. Mieux vaut se protéger que d'être flingué comme un pigeon

U45. Voilà le senario que la bête voulait afin de commettre encore un genocide au nom de la defense. Laissons les armes et continuons d'agir pacifiquement et le microbe partira.

U46. Que la désobéissance et lutte continue passivement.

U47. BrazzaNews, pas avec les armes. Ne jouons pas le jeu du diable que nous combattons. Arrête avec des telles publications qui peuvent nous attirer les foudres de la communauté internationale soutien de laquelle nous est indispensable.

U48. lorsque les policiers et militaires LA tirent il faut les lancer les bouteilles remplies de caca, ca va les infecter!!! ne nous laissons pas faire

U49. SVP Il faut durer et faire durer la mobilisation pour que ce pouvoir illégitime et sanguinaire tombe... Soyez patients et déterminés. Gardez votre sang froid. Ne cédez pas aux demons de la guerre civile. Vous êtes des millions, même avec une bombe atomique, JOHN et sa bande ne saurait vous exterminer. Restez unis et mobilisés ! Plus sa dure, plus l'armée républicaine finira par se joindre à vous et la communauté internationale n'aura plus d'autre choix que de s'incliner devant votre volonté de changement.

U50. Ils ne peuvent pas s'en servir . Ils n'ont pas de munitions (source de baongo) donc coupés de bz je ne pense pas.

- U51. ça part en couille, ils sont drogués ou quoi??? C'est quoi ce putain de bordel
- U52. Le peuple est en colère car il souffre, les forces de l'ordre veulent intimider le peuple pour qu'il renonce à se battre et que cette constitution soit changée, et retour dans la merde, pas d'eau potable, pas d'hôpitaux, pas d'électricité, pas d'avenir..
- U53. Prenez surtout l'hélico, et plus de bazookas, et des FMs
- U54. il ne faut les rendre car ns sommes devant une police et une milice ki viennent pr tuer car cela va s'appeler de l'auto-défense c'est devenu dc une insurrection armée.
- U55. Dites leur de ne surtout pas utiliser les armes.
- U56. Ils n ont plus rien à perdre !!!
- U57. C'est le piège qu'il fallait absolument éviter. Maintenant me dictateur va se faire une raison pour aller encore bcp de morts. Il va faire croire à l'opinion internationale qu'il s'agit des milices armées des opposants.
- U58. Les policiers tirent sur la population et vous leur demandez de ne pas se defendre, vous croyez se prendre une balle ca fait du bien, ca se voit vous n'etes pas dans la rue comme eux! Ils ont essaye de parler a JOHN, maintenant ils prennent les armes point.
- U59. Bravo les gars que Dieu soit avec vous Ingueta
- U60. Beaucoup de nos partisans sont bloqués au pont du Djoué, ils étaient plus de 30.000 il y a encore 2H. L appel de KURTIS a été entendu. Mais malheureusement, des blindés et miliciens du tyran bloquent le pont
- U61. Confisquer oui ,mais ne pas s'en servir !
- U62. Où sont ce qui incite le peuple
- U63. Ils se sont arme? C pas bon ca.
- U64. Seigneur Dieu des armées sois au contrôle □□□
- U3. Faites attention. Je viens d' apprendre qu' il y a des infiltrés parmi nous sur le net. Ils ont pour mission d' affaiblir le combat.
- U65. Une révolution pacifique se fais sans arme prenons conscience mes frères !
- U66. ah sa ce pas bien sa il vont faire revenir les milice encore
- U60. Il faut libérer le pont du djoué !!!
- U67. Révolution Pacifique SVP
- U68. Bac ne tombera jamais, on a trop blaguer avec nous, ni foua touéka foua
- U69. SVP pas d'arme ds cette lutte.
- U70. Dimanche prochain, nous allons leurs montrer que le OUI est pour la paix.
- U71. Non Non Non faut pas prendre les armes il ne cherche que ça ce sanguinaire faut pas rentrer dans son Jeu SVP ils sont où ces leaders de l'opposition manifesté pacifiquement evité la prise d'armes ne faites pas ça!!!!Seule une marche pacifique v pousser se sanguinaire dehors pardon evite les armes

U72. AUTO-DEFENSE.....quand la police ne fait pas son devoir.....IL NOUS REVIENT DE NOUS PROTEGER NOUS-MEME

U73. "Quand le peuple est plus éclairé que le trône, il est bien près d'une révolution." Or aucune révolution politique n'est pacifique il faut pouvoir se défendre le cas échéant, avoir une bonne organisation pour limiter au maximum les morts et blessés le pouvoir du peuple pour le peuple et par le peuple..

U74.



U75. Il n'y a pas de destin forclos. #JOHNfit

U76. Merci les gars

U76. Bravo

U77. INGUETA mes frères, ingueta...que Dieu protège

U78. La c'est bon

U79. c'est ce qu'on redoutait. oh mon dieu!!!

U80. Svp mes chers frères de lutte et de la liberté ! Je vous demande de ne pas utiliser toutes ses armes que vous avez récupéré svp svp, sinon ils vont dire que on a tiré sur le peuple parce-que ils avaient les armes svp.

U3. Ne faite pas ça mes frères pitié pour nos parents

U81. Suis pas d accord... No weapons !!! Please

U82. ah ça

U83. il vx la geure

U84. Oh mon dieu pourquoi ça ...,

U85. Bon boulot mes frero.

U86. ça c'est pas bon

U87. let's kill them.

U88. bravo bravo la situation risque d etre militaire preparons nous

U89. Chancel Vie viens lire ça...qd j t parles d nos parents là hmmm

U90. Non pas ça

U91. Nn pa xa

U92. Qui JE Suis

U93. ah ça

U94. mdr qu'ils ne tirent pas sur les citoyens c'est tout ce qu'on demande

U95. @Len Barlow Bzl-baz, j'ai bien peur qu'ils aient déjà commencé...grgrgrgr

U96. Maina Mahouene

U97. Je suis au Ghana

15. Voila une autre idiote qui pense que les congolais vont acheter son livre ...depuis quand A t'elle appris a ecrire des bouquins ? Vous voulez tout acheter avec l'argent des contribuables congolais meme jusqu'a l'intelligence des autres pour vous faire passer pour des intello! Honte a toi mme VINCE o bala Leki na yo po na kombo ! Un imbecile Coe VINCE hiiiiiii!

[Look at such a stupid lady wrongly thinking that the Congolese people would even buy her book. How long since has she been a writer. These people would use tax payers' money to buy even other people's intelligence. I feel sorry for Mrs VINCE. You got married to your own little sisyer just because of her name. This stupid idiot of VINCE]

Comments:

**U1.** So proud of you mom and so glad to be your daughter . LOVE you and thanks GOD for what he did and what i'll continue to do. Hope you Will have inspiration to write another book:just like you always say :IN THE NAME OF JESUS. LOVE you and would like to be with you at the moment.CONTINUE ainsi [that way] my sister!!!and I'll be a VERTUEUSE Woman LIKE YOU my IDOL!!!!!!

**U2.** je ne pense pas que tu a eu la même éducation que elle

[I don't know. It seems to me that you both have got the same level of education]

**U3.** Ca depend de quel education tu parles si c'est pour les opportunités eh bien son pere un voleur ,et le mien a travailler a la sueur ...c'est pour ca qu'elle est descendu si bas...

[It depends upon the type of education you are referring to. If it's because of opportunities then your dad is a cheater. As far as dad is concerned, he worked his ass hard to succeed. This may be the reason he has fallen down miserably]

**U4.** Hooooooo

**U5.** JOHNTOUFI et ses rejettons Dehors!

[JOHN shit and his followers out]

**U6.** ton problème parce que c est la femme de VINCE?

[You just took it personal because she VINCE's wife.]

**U7.** je comprend ton problème

[Now I understand what bother you]

**U6.** NG JOHNTOUFI

**US7.** So funny, a writer OMG I'm dead

**U8.** Nous avons juste envie que le avance et tout talon est utile même les les écrivin!!!!!!!!!!!!!!aussi



[All we need is to see the progress in . all talents are useful as far as they are used as part of the progress of the country]

16. JIM a dit que la convention de l'opposition est un amusement, c'est donc son UPRN constitué de 10 personnes qui est sérieux. .. Pourquoi cette confusion ? D'une part le collectif des perreux demande le boycott sans stratégies, et d'autre part l'IDC/frocad veut participer sous certaines conditions de transparence pour activer une réelle mobilisation ... A vrai dire on demande au peuple de choisir entre la peste et le choléra ..Le peuple attends les résultats de la convention pour trancher. Mais nous demandons a JIM et ses amis de ne pas diviser l'opposition , si il continue d'insulter le frocad / IDC sur Rfi,nous allons le chasser de l'opposition. .

### Comments

U1. Les questions qui relèvent de l'avenir du pays ne peuvent pas être discuté en une journée ..Es tu normal ? Ne sais tu pas qu'il s'agit de l'avenir du pays. Ceci demande beaucoup de temps et de sagesse ...

U2. BrazzaNews, entre nous et sois serieux, est que nous avons une opposition, ou un moziki des revenchards, parceque limogés des postes ministerielles par JOHN

U3. @ Otsoa.

U4. [#Arsène](#) u m'a tué kiakiakiakia carément Moziki kiakiakiakia

U1. Brazza news appartient au peuple Congolais. .

U5. C'est facile de dire que BrazzaNews appartient au Peuple congolais. Voilà c'est ce genre de pratiques qui sèment le désordre dans l'opinion. C'est comme ça que vous utilisez le Peuple pour vos basses besoins. C'est aussi de cette même manière que l...[See More](#)

U6. Mathias va bien ma chère!

U5. J'espère.

U1. Brazza news ne dépend de personnes tu m'entend ..Personne ne finance brazza news ,voila pourquoi nous avons la liberté de penser. . Toi c'est Dzon qui te nourrit ,voila pourquoi tu le defends aveuglément ..Zoba. tu peux meme manger son kaka ..

U5. Voilà la preuve de votre manque de logique BrazzaNews. Qui vous a parlé de financement, qui a dit que vous recevez quoi que ce soit de quelqu'un ?

Si vous pensez que c'est Mr Dzon qui le nourrit avec ma famille, c'est bien où est le problème. Mais je ne vais encore et toujours dénoncer et montrer vos incohérences.

U8. Congo Libéré Actualité !  
Nous sommes le peuple... rien ne nous arrivera.  
Le bulletin de l'indigné Elvis Karel Kakou qui fait une projection sur l'avenir de JOHN.....[See More](#)

Congo-Brazzaville: An 2016, le premier bulletin de l'espoir.

U9. La mobilisation du peuple pour une élection gagnée d'avance fera le jeu de JOHN qui pourra justifier d'un engouement des congolais à sa démarche d'évolution des institutions. Il ne faut pas faire du JOHN en procédant aux menaces et à l'exclusion de...[See More](#)

U6. La question que l'on pose à Monsieur JIM depuis 2009, quelles sont les actions ou stratégies mises en place pouvant freiner JOHN à son ambition de rester au pouvoir, mon frère rien. Nous avons suivi Mathias Dzon, Kifoussia... depuis 2009, et récemment...[See More](#)

U10. Je retiens cette phrase de brazzaNews; "...pour activer une réelle mobilisation.." Voilà le fond du sujet. Le pouvoir de Brazzaville ayant constaté une très forte abstention (95%) au référendum veut faire mieux à l'élection présidentielle. C'est pour...[See More](#)

U11. Les vrais peureux sont ceux qui veulent aller aux élections pour éviter à la colère de leur bourreau qui pourraient les conduire au mieux en prison. Ils veulent ainsi lui éviter la désertion des urnes du 25 octobre en échange d'une récompense... Sans f...[See More](#)

U13. Est-ce que vous vous souvenez du nombre de fois que M. DZON et cie ont demandé les états généraux de la nation? ont-ils eu lieu? cette stratégie est obsolète, essayons d'autres.

U14. Tout bon démocrate doit réfléchir de son côté et trouver une solution adéquate pour faire partir " Ebola national". Pendant la marche du 20 octobre 2015, Pointe-noire était mobilisée, ainsi que Nkayi, Dolisie, Madingou le Pool et Brazzaville sud où étaient soit-disant les leaders politiques du nord? De nos jours, Paulin Makaya est en prison que dit l'opposition. Nous avons intérêt à murement réfléchir pour triompher sinon, c'est la catastrophe.

U15. Les prises de position de Târa Dzon Mathias n'engagent que lui-même. En filigrane, il ne propose rien. Il veut boycotter les élections pour rebondir à quel moment [#Josephine Ngonk](#). Il faut plutôt continuer à exiger un minimum dans l'organisation des élections avec l'appui des organisations internationales.

U16. BrazzaNews, Dzon et ses collègues du collectif viennent de prouver qu'ils sont plus expérimentés en mettant la pression sur une convention qui n'avait pas lieu d'être. Je pense qu'il sera difficile d'élaborer un communiqué final sans perdre des plumes...[See More](#)

U17. JIM a parfaitement raison, aller à cette élection c'est cautionner le torchon de constitution de Sassou. Vous avez sacrifié inutilement les jeunes pour avouer après ce torchon, c'est méchant. Mais je vous apprend que l'opposition va être battu sévèrement à cette élection.

U18. Tu reconnais maintenant que Sassou a pendu un torchon et fait tuer les Congolais pour ses intérêts égoïstes de maintenir au pouvoir! C'est bien continu comme ça. Mais nous allons participer au processus électoral. Dis à JOHN ya ba Colere ve

U6. Moina Talangai Svp ne répondez pas aux petites gens.

U20. bien dit mn frere clauvick. je soutiens votre point de vu

U5. BrazzaNews

Une convention dont l'objet n'était même pas connu des participants parce certains avaient leurs agendas cachés ne peut pas déboucher sur des avancées. La clôture était annoncée pour 10h. Il est maintenant 11h, la cérémonie a-t-elle commencé ?

U21. Le chasser pour quoi? Laissez-le on est libre d'exprimer ce que l'on pense. Depuis que ces plates formes existent, il sont incapable. De mettre en place de bonne stratégie alors que ces deux entités sont remplies des hauts cadres, intellectuelles et ex-ministres. Enlevé JOHN de cette opposition, c'est lui notre adversaire. Par ailleurs, les ennemies de notre ennemie sont nos amis.

U22. En politique où règne la démocratie, chacun est libre de dire ce qu'il pense, Laissez JIM dire sa pensée, c'est simplement sa pensée...

U23. JIM parle pour lui-même. Il ne représente rien du tout. Qui A-t-il mobilisé lors des dernières manifestations de l'opposition ? Il est à son image :UN PERSONNAGE GROSSIER À L'ÉLOCUTION DIFFICILE . POUBELLE DE L'HISTOIRE .

U22. Est ce que le vieux Mat JIM n'est pas libre? en démocratie chacun est libre de penser et de dire ce qu'il veut.

U24. Je suis tout à fait d'accord que l'opposition participe aux élections a condition qu'il y ait un recensement de la population. Une commission électorale indépendante . Et la biométrie

U25. Laissez Brazzanews tranquille papa. Ne perdons pas le temps sur des banalités. Je me rend maintenant compte que le grand problème c'est pas JOHN mais c'est ces fameuses plate forme qui nous embrouille. Ils ne savent pas exactement ce qu'il veulent et ce qu'il doivent faire. Le peuple congolais est perdu

U26. JIM propose kel strategie? Car tout ce qu'il demande est vrai et c'est le souhait de tout le monde.il compte sur koi pour boycotter les elections? Il est incapable de mobiliser se sont les autres ki meurent au sud. Il faut renouer le cntact avk le peuple en participant aux elections en posant ls conditions. C le seul moyen de reussir le boycotte pendant la campagne. JOHN va tomber dn sn propre piege

U27. vous parlez presque tous de manipulation d'accord qu'est ce que JIM propose d'alternative a la politique de la chaise vide au lieu de passer d' explication en explication

U28. laissez Brazzanews tranquille, c'est le seule ki tente de nous informer. Si le liens ne plaît pas c'est pas grave abonnez au site de telecongo. Au moins telecongo comprend très bien les enjeux de la politique

U28. On a aucun pb avec Brazzanews, nous ce sont ces traîtres qui se prennent pour des opposants ; ils nous précipités à la mort afin que bien après qu'ils repartent aisément se repartager le gâteau avec le vieux. On était pas aux urnes, il a gagné à 95%. ...[See More](#)

U39. c'est la strategie du vieux cobra d'oyo divisé pour mieux réigné et on doit reconnaître qu'il est plutot champion à ce jeux, pour moi je me dis que JIM est gravement malade c'est pas de sa faute il souffre de la NGIRICULOSE(il a été nguirisé pas etonnant)

U28. Voilà, Paulin makaya et certain de nos frères croupissent en prison. Vous me parlez de JIM. Vos 2 plates formes sont inondées de traîtres. Au lieu de chercher à les démasquer pour travailler librement vous perdez votre temps à vouloir écarter une personne qui conteste les propositions qu'il juges favorable à notre dversaire.

U30. Avec JOHN il n'y aura aucune transparence. Parfticiercest valider son coup d'état constitutionnel. Il n'a plus le droit de se représenter, pourquoi voulez vous allez au vote6avec un candidat illégitime. L'opposition se perd et n'est pas à la hauteur de la tâche.

U31. JIM est a mes yeux qu'une caisse a résonance et même s'il n'est pas d'accord avec la convention, faut-il le faire savoir en publique?.

U32. JOHN utilise juste la politique de "Diviser pour mieux régner" et voilà toute une opposition à terre! Vous croyez que nous allons battre JOHN aux urnes dont la machine à tricherie est en marche?

U5. BrazzaNews

Ne comprend rien des enjeux politiques actuels. Il raconte des imbecilités qui n'ont queue ni tête.

U33. Madame je vous comprend parfaitement, mais souvenez vous que en 2002 André milongo avais boycotter l'élection, JIM a fait la même chose en 2009 et le président JOHN a remporter ces deux scrutin sans être inquieter. car ces mauvais choix en fait a ce que nous ayant pas un leader charismatique qui peu nous conduire aujourd'hui a la victoire finale. donc a Mon avis il est temps que l'opposition nous presente un candidat même le pct va tricher, mais le rapport de force sur le terrain va changer les choses pour les élections future. repondez moi svp.

U5. Elmich Slovia. En 2002, c'est le président Bongo qui avait demandé à Milongo de se retirer, son argument était simple. André, JOHN a gagné la guerre, il a des engagements qu'il n'a pas fini d'honorer. Si tu vas à cette élection, votre pays connaîtra à nouveau la guerre. Parce que tu gagneras et Sassou ne voudrait pas reconnaître sa défaite.

En 2009, c'est Sarkozy qui a fait défaut à l'opposition. Après avoir eu l'argent de Sassou lors de sa visite à Brazzaville, Sarkozy a dit à JIM, JIM JOHN a déjà préparé les conditions de sa tricherie pour sa réélection. Il a les armes, l'armée, vous ne pouvez rien. Prépare toi pour 2016.

U5. BrazzaNews

C'est donc séance tenante qu'ils se rendent compte que cette question relevait de l'avenir ? Le fait même de l'avoir annoncée pour deux jours et en arriver aujourd'hui à 5 jours témoigne du manque de sérieux. ...[See More](#)

U5. Dzon a tout à fait raison. Prévue pour deux jours, ladite convention est aujourd'hui à 5 jours. Pour des gens qui retrouvaient régulièrement et savaient ce qu'ils voulaient faire en deux jours, passer à 5 jours, c'est déjà la preuve que ça ne va pas.

U19. Ah nous les Congolais en manque souvent de sagesse. Attendant les conclusions pour évaluer. Tu sais ce que on appelle le brainstorming? La position de Dzon est certes logique mais c'est pas suffisant pour déloger JOHN. En mathématique n'as tu pas app...[See More](#)

U5. Moina Talangai Il est impossible de mobiliser 95% des congolais, c'est statistiquement pas possible.

Mr Dzon n'a pas dit qu'il suffit de dire au Peuple mobilisons nous pour chasser JOHN pour cela soit possible. C'est aussi pour cela qu'il multiplie les réunions d'information pour expliquer et faire en sorte que le message passe dans l'opinion.

U19. Attendons les conclusions de la convention. Moi je vie a brazzaville et mon quotidien c'est la merde a cause de JOHN. Les autres qui sont a la convention sont determine a chasser JOHN alors attendons les conclusions. le reste c'est du blabla

U5. Moina Talangai. Nous suivons tous cette convention.

U34. IL N A PAS FAIT SORTIR MEME UNE MOUCHE DANS LA RUE LORS DES EVENEMENTS DU 20 OCTOBRE ; combien des Ngangoulous sont morts ?

U2. EBEBELI BANGO EH EH EH, OPPOSITION NANI BOMONI TE, BO KOMONA CE QUE LE CHAT AVAIS VU DANS LA RUE MBOCHIS. OYO EKOYA ELLA

U35. Brazza news, donne nous les vraies informations du pays et ce qui se passe reellement à la convention. Ça ne sert pas de taper sur les gens et vous ne taper pas sur des bonnes personnes. Mboulou vient de nommer les gens pour le nettoyage des listes, qu est ce que nous devons faire?

U5. C'est facile de dire que BrazzaNews appartient au Peuple congolais. Voilà c'est ce genre de pratiques qui sèment le désordre dans l'opinion. C'est comme ça que vous utilisez le Peuple pour vos basses besognes. C'est aussi de cette même manière que le pouvoir utilise le Peuple. Quand ça sert vis intérêts ou quand vous n'êtes pas en mesure de justifier vos points de vues absurdes, vous vous cachez derrière le Peuple.

U36. L'opposition congolaise doit devenir plus responsable, car pour l'instant ils ne font que embrouiller certaines personnes dans une comédie qui ne dit pas son nom. Mes frères et sœurs méfions nous des politiciens irresponsables qui font semblant de vouloir de notre bien

U19. Oh les gars un peu de strategie grace a la contestation de Dzon la convention Frocad/Idc est devenu un grand evenement. Tout le monde attend maintenant les conclusions. La preuve la convention a fait tellement d'echo que JOHN a commis une nouvelle ba...[See More](#)

U37. moi je suis totalement d'accord avec Dzon ,l'élection tenu par un dictateur sanguinaire est une élection présidentielle belle et bien gagner davonce ,Abou rigol quand il les opposent discuter pour lui, il est mieux de trouver d'autre solution secrete q...[See More](#)

U38. Ce villageois viens de recevoir une somme de la par de Monsieur JOHN Pour faire tombé ,Dio Ba Lard, Norbat de Paris,Aristide Mobébis, Donald Emparator, Herold Jeune Maire, Sadio Morel, Brazza News, Rostel Bakwa, Bram Mandela, B52, Vadou, et l'ensemble de la Diaspora ils dit voir connaitre les adress de tout un chacun

U39. DZON a quel poids politique dans ce pays

17. June 2016



U1. La benjamine du Gouvernement salue le père de la nation..  
Quelle fierté..

U1. The youngest of the Government welcome the father of the nation...

How proud...

U2. COOL promo!

U3. mes felicitations

U3. Congratulations

U4.



U4. Tokossss

U5. Il est évident toujours apprendre, quelque soit les circonstances et le moment. Je crois que vous ferrez un bon chemin...

[It's important to learn whatever the time and circumstances. I hope you're going to do a good job.]

U6. Restez fixée sur l'objectif, et vous ferez du chemin. Salutations très cordiales

[Just stay focus on the goal and you will be on the good track. Best regards.]

U7. Kitokolilooooooooo la benjamine Destinée Doukaga respect.....

[Beautiful the youngest Destine Doukaga. Respect.]

U3. Kevin cher camara membre je te vois plus sur WhatsApp

[Kevin, Dear member of the party I can see on WhatsApp.]

U8. Mes félicitations

[Congratulations.]

U9. Plus loin ensemble

[Further together.]7

U10. Mes sincères félicitations

[My sincer congratulations.]

U11. Madame la Ministre Destinée Doukaga, je crois en vous. Et je me réjouis de noter que vous avez l'entière confiance du Grand Baobab congolais bien enraciné dans le sol national, Son Excellence le Président de la République JOHN.

[Madam Minister, I believe in you. And I am pleased to note that you have the full confidence of the great Congolese Baobab rooted in national ground. President of the Republic JOHN.]

U12. **Serge Yvon Kokolo Ngoyi** A la tête de toute la jeunesse congolaise, votre tâche est aussi lourde qu' une minute de repi est préjudiciable en face d'une jeunesse au chômage, facile à manipulée par le tout venant faute de connaissances de base sur les questions de démocratie. Je s...

[Leading the Congolese youth department, your task is as heavy as a minute of repi is detrimental in front of a youth unemployment, easy to manipulated by all coming due to lack of basic knowledge on democracy issues.]

I s...

U4. La présidente Destinée Doukaga vraiment jai suivi la descente dans les différente structure trop cool

[President destiny me really followed the descent in the different structure too cool]

U13. Aux âmes bien nées la valeur n'attend point le nombre d'années. Nous jeunes congolais, nous sommes fier de vous avoir comme ministre, nous croyons en vous et nous sommes tous derrière vous.vive la nouvelle République .

[The well-born souls value/opportunity never wait years. We young Congolese, we are proud to have you as Minister, we believe in you and we are all behind vous. vive the new Republic.

U14. Cher madame, d'abord je vous adresse mes honnetes felicitations pour cette promotion dans ce gouvernement que le President a bien voulu. Ensuite , je puis vous dire que la jeunesse congolaise attends beaucoup de vous, que vous puissiez mettre en action ...

[Dear Madam, first I address my congratulations for this promotion honest in this Government that the President has kindly. Then, I can tell you that the Congolese youth have high expectations of you, that you can put into action... ]

U15. Mme la ministre Félicitations

[Congratulations Madam Minister.]

U7. Oui cher camarade Marley obambi, j'avais perdu mon téléphone donc j'ai plus ton numéro mais je chercherai comme y trouver.

[Yes dear comrade Marley o, I had lost my phone so I more your number but I'll look like find.]

U4. Inbox

U4. Félicitation Mme

[Congratulations]

U7. Bonne idée

[Good idea.]

U8. Félicitations excellence Mme le ministre, Destinée Doukaga je suis au garde à vous et très fier de toi

[Excellency the Minister, destiny me congratulations I am the guard you and very proud of you.]

U17. Sa nomination doit être accompagnée des moyens sinon,je me demande,elle aura quelle marche de manœuvre sans moyens.

[Her appointment must be accompanied by the means otherwise, I wonder, will she what flexibility means market.]

U18. Travaillons maintenant

[Let get to work now.]

U19. Mes félicitations Mme la ministre

[Congratulations Madam Minister]

U20. Mes admirations mdme

[My admirations Madam]

U21. Félicitations!

[Congratulations]

U22. Félicitations ma petite!

[Congratulations my little sister]

U23. Toutes mes félicitations Madame la ministre Destinée Doukaga

[All my congratulations Madam Minister]

U24. Félicitations

[Congratulations]

U25. Bravo Destinée Doukaga

[Bravo.]

U26. Son excellence Destinée Doukaga!!!

[His Excellency .....]

U27. Bon vent à toi

[Good wind]

U28. La Benjamine ma très chère Destinée Doukaga.

[The youngest, my dear Destinee Doukaga]

U29. Elle est très intelligente, cette jeune ministre. Je me suis renseigné sur son parcours.

[She is very Smart, this Young Minister. I just did a little background check on her.]

U28. Papa Bonheur a placé la jeunesse entre tes mains madame la ministre. Très fier.

[Dad happiness to place youth in your hands Madam Minister. Very proud.]

U30. Un destin bien dessiné, bravo

[A fate well drawn, well done]

U31. Kisalu me banda

[It's time for work]

U32. Tellement fier de toi !

[So proud.]

U33. notre ministre préféré

[Our preferred.]

U34. Respect à madame la ministre!!!

[Respect to the Minister]

U35. c'est votre destin, son excellence!

U35. c'est votre destin, son excellence!

U36. Félicitations son excellence Destinée Doukaga



[Congratulations]

U37. Bonjour Destinée (Mme la Ministre) !

[Hello Destinee ( Madam Minister)]

U38. félicitations la jeune ministre le temps est arrive pour montre que les jeunes peut faire quelques chose dans ce pays courage.

[Congratulations the young Minister's time arrives for shows that young people can do something in this countries courage.]

U38. félicitation la ministre le temps est au travail.

[Congratulations Minister. Time to work]

U39. Mes Félicitations son excellence leur est arrivée a nous prouvée de quoi vous ete capable

[Congratulations. The time is now to prove us what you're capable of.]

U40. Mme la Ministre.... un coucou du Cameroun.

U41. **Colombe Mandzimbala** FELICITations mon amie,ke Dieu te soutienne et jattend tjrs ton appel 068893964

U42. Felicitation Et bon service

U43. plein du succès dans ta gouvernance!

U44. Félicitation Mme la ministre coe votre prénom le dit , vous étiez destiné a ce poste , prouve les ke vous pouvez beaucoup apporter à cette jeunesse et non les nguiris coe beaucoup pensent

U45. Ahhh .MP n est plus là pour voir.

U45.

U46. Félicitation Destinée Doikaga, notre Ministre à nous les jeunes. Je suis très content pour toi.

[Congratulations destiny Doikaga, our Minister to us young people. I'm very happy for you.]

U47. Je disais Félicitation Destinée Doukaga, notre Ministre. Je suis très fièr pour vous.

[I said congratulations Destinee Doukaga, our Minister. I'm very proud of you.]

U48. Aux âmes bien nées la valeur n'attend point le nombre d'années. Bon vent Madame la Ministre!

[The well-born souls value waiting point for many years. Godspeed Minister!]

U49. Que personne ne meprise ta jeunesse ; mais sois un modele pour les fideles, en parole, en conduite, en charite, en foi, en purete...I Timothee 4:12

[Nobody don't despise your youth; but be a model for the faithful, in Word, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity. I Timothy 4:12]

U50. mwane dimbu, maronde!

U50.

U51. maman aurait ete tres fiere de toi ma petite sr

[Mam would have been proud of you little sister.]

U52. Mme la ministre respect !

[Respect madam]

U53. J ai trop aimé frangine courage , et que Dieu t accompagné hé ehe hé

[ I very much like it. God bless you]

U54. Félicitations ma belle

[Congratulations, my beautiful]

U55. Felicitaton

[Congratulations]

U53. Le travail ne va pas s'arrêter !

[The work will never stop.]

U56. montrez de quoi vous etes capables7

[Show us what you're capable of.]

U57. Botossi mama mokondzi

[Our prayers madam Ministre]

U58. je suis de tout coeur avec vous maman.

[I am wholeheartedly with you MOM.]

U59. C'est le destin de Mme destinée, destiné apprendre en main le destin de la jeunesse destinée

[It is the fate of Ms. destiny, destined learn hand the fate of the intended youth]

U60. mes admiration madame la ministre, le Congo sera surpris de vos capacités! moi personnellement j'ai confiance en vous! de votre rigueurs de travail.

[My admirations Minister, Congo will be surprised at your abilities! me personally I trust in you! of your rigors of work]

U60. je vous jette les fleurs roses! pour votre courage et dévouement dans le travail

U60. I'll throw the pink flowers! for your courage and dedication in the work



U61. Le nom est une nature, il determine ce que vous êtes !Destinée est influencée par la destination: c'est pourquoi une bénédiction est à ta portée ! Félicitations !!! Madame la Ministre.

[The name is a nature, it determined that you are! Destiny is influenced by the destination: that's why a blessing is within your reach!

Congratulations! Minister.]

U62. Toutes mes felicitations ma belle

[All my congratulations my beautiful]

U63. Ma ramboua ya voussena ba na ou

U63.

U64. Mingui ba leki de opposant à courtisan ah congolais kiekiekiekiek

U64.

U65. madame la ministre

[Madam Minister]

U66. mais ta route elle est tracée maman

[but your way it is drawn MOM]

U67. Mes sincères licitations pour notre très chère madame la ministre DOUKAGA DESTINÉE.la jeunesse congolaise compte sur vous . tu le mérite .(Gazza)

[My sincere congratulations to our dear Minister Martin Destinee.la Congolese youth count on you. you deserve it. (Gazza)]

U68. la jeunesse congolaise aux aboi le chômage, la formation qualifiante sont des principaux probleme de la jeunesse congolaise

[the Congolese youth to the big unemployment, skills training are the main problem of Congolese youth]

U69.



U70.Du travail en perspective. Mais j'ai confiance en vous madame la ministre. Travaillez, communiquez et le reste viendra tout seul. Nous vous soutenons, la jeunesse.

[Work in perspective. But I trust you Minister. Work, communicate, and the rest will come alone. We support you, the youth.]

U71. Félicitations à toi De

[Congratulations to you De]

U72. c'est ce qui fallait ma chérie du cœur

[What was my love of the heart]

U73. Destinée une femme battante, que le bon Dieu soit ton seul guide tout au long de ton parcours, car la jeunesse attend ardemment le fruit de ton travail et ensemble nous irons très loin, bon courage ma chérie

[Destiny a swinging woman, let God be your only guide throughout your travels, because youth is eagerly waiting for the fruit of your work and together we will go very far, good luck my dear.]

U74. D'abord mes félicitations, ensuite j'exprime au même temps mes sentiments de toujours apprécier votre travail, vos qualités, mon esprit d'observation a eu raison que vous êtes aujourd'hui ministre. Vous êtes jeune, vous connaissez bien les soucis des jeunes, j'espère que ça ira. Enfin je vous signale que vous êtes soutenus par la jeunesse et je vous souhaite bon vent que le bon Dieu vous accompagne!!

[First of all my congratulations, then at the same time, I express my feelings of always appreciate your work, your qualities, my powers of observation had reason you are today ministre. You young summers, you know well the concerns of young people, I hope that's all. Finally I would point out that you're supported by the youth and I wish you good luck, may the good Lord be with you!]

U75. Félicitations Madame la Ministre !!!!

[Congratulations Madam Minister]

U76. Là!! les Deux Ds sont lancés, qui peut contester encore: même pas toi. Big Kiss madame la Ministre.

[Here! the two Ds are launched, who can argue again: not even you. Big Kiss Minister.]

U77. Félicitations que du bonheur ma chère.

[Congratulations my dear happiness.]

U78. Bonjour et mes félicitations madame la ministre

[Hello and congratulations Madam Minister]

U79. La jeunesse est derrière toi

[Youth is behind you]

U80. Le seigneur permet toute chose pour un but

[The Lord allows any thing for a purpose]

U81. Madame la Ministre, nous prions tous les jours pour que Dieu vous accompagne Lui-même dans vos charges, puisque c'est aussi un Sacerdoce. Moi en premier!

[Minister, we pray every day that God be with you himself in your charges, since it is also a priesthood. Me first!]

U82. Félicitat% car avec vous la jeunesse va changé

[Congratulations because you youth will change]

U83. Congratulations Mme la Ministre, que la main de Dieu soit sur vous.

[Congratulations Madam Minister, that the hand of God be upon you.]

U84. le travail d'abord madame la ministre

[The work first Minister]

U85. Je suis très fier de vous Madame la ministre. Que le bon Dieu vous protège.

[I am very proud of you Minister. May God protect you.]

U86. k la paix doit règné dans vtr relat% car la genésse vs soutien

[Peace must reign in your relationship because Youth supports you]

U87. Plein succès à vous excellence madame la ministre

[Every success to you Excellency Minister]

U88. mes admirations petite seour

[My admirations little sister.]

U89. Mes félicitations Madame la ministre.

[Congratulations Madam Minister.]

U90. Bonjour madame,

[Hello Madam]

U90. Que la sagesse de Dieu vous aide à mieux faire.

[May the wisdom of God help you to do better.]

U91. Bon vent, madame la Ministre, que le Seigneur guide vos pas.

[Godspeed, Minister, that the Lord guide your steps.]

U92. Etape hein! la soeur.....

[Stage right! the sister...]

U92. Un ciel toujours serein pour vous ....

[An always serene sky for you...]

U93. bon vent madame la ministre

[Godspeed, Madam Minister]

U94. Voilà notre Ministre dynamique

[This is our dynamic Minister]

U95. félicitation madame la ministre, le meilleur fruit de Madame Mvounda!

[Minister, the best fruit of Madam Mvounda congratulations!]

U96. felicitacion madame la ministre puisse Dieu vous assister dans votre noble et haute fonction et que vous impulsé un dynamisme nouveau

[Minister congratulations may God you attend in your noble and high function and you spearheaded a new dynamism]

U97. Felicitacion

[Congratulation]

U98. Douk! Je n'arrive plus à te joindre en privé sur ton facebook à tu changé de d'identité ou bien ?

[Douk! I can't reach you privately on your facebook to you changed or identity?]

U99. Félicitation madame la ministre, moi aussi je n'arrive pas a te joindre ni sur ton tel ni sur facebook. ta soeur chérie.

[Congratulations Madam Minister, me too I just can't reach you on your phone or on facebook. your sister honey.]

U110. Lydie Irène Mankou Obosso obosso Oulabou Elyse!

U110.

18. Tous au siège de Total ce vendredi 15 janvier de 13h à 18h00. Allons dire à cette multinationale du crime organisé au #Congo Brazzaville notre désapprobation ..

Comments

ce qui me sidère dans cette comédie mal corégraphiée et orchestrée, c'est que l'on va chercher des laissés pour compte, de véritables démunis pour qui même manger deux fois par jour est un luxe, se soigner au chu une vue de l'esprit, travailler une attente (un rêve) lointaine... Ces gens qui n'ont rien à se mettre sous la dent, trouvent quand même des millions voire le milliard, pour remplir d'argent un énorme sceau. De qui se moque t-on? Voilà à quoi est assujetti le peuple Congolais, à se faire tourner en dérision devant les cameras.

Mpila envoie un sac rempli d'argent à Dolisie, accompagné d'un rigolo de journaliste oisif. Une fois à Loubomo, les autorités réunissent les gens moyennant 2000fcfa la personne, et on vous donne assez d'argent qu'on vous demande d'aller mettre dans le fameux sceau (devant la caméra bien entendu). A la fin on vous tend le micro pour justifier votre geste en disant: "Je le fais parce que sans lui le Congo n'existera plus...".

Notre "débatteur infatigable" ou notre "bâtisseur fatigué" si vous voulez (pour paraphraser mon aîné Blaise. T), doit cesser avec ces pratiques anachroniques, car en le faisant il se moque tout simplement de la misère des Congolais grâce à qui il est là

U2. "Lorsque la constitution est violée, les démocrates ne doivent pas l'accepter", déclarait solennellement JOHN

U1. Lol...il ne s'en souvient plus.

U2. C'étaient des paroles prophétiques qu'il prononçait pour notre génération, car il anticipait cette atmosphère politique confuse et voulait que nous nous comportassions comme des démocrates dignes de ce nom.

U3. ON NE LES VOIT PAS SE LEVER .

U4. Rira bien qui rira le dernier

U5. La bible dit il y a un temps pour tout. Je crois que le temps de s'exprimer est arrivé.

U6. Pauvre Congo!

U7. Les histoires du Congo donne mal à la tête parfois .....

U1. mdrrrr



U9. Le YEZAÏ, est une bactérie dangereuse cultivé dans les laboratoire PCT, elle attaque les neurones et rend YEZA!!

U12. #Tinu tu vis à l'extérieur du pays, qu'est ce que tu connais du pays et des forces en présence. Votre nihilisme est sidérant. La stratégie de bouder les urnes n'a pas marché avec le referendum, il faut penser à autre chose. Les villes mortes ne marchent. Que proposez vous, à part la critique et l'insulte facile?

U9. On t'emmerde!!

U12. J'en caisse, mais je suis plus conséquent pour notre pays que toi. Je crois que avec le temps, il faut faire le ménage dans les rangs de l'opposition, car plusieurs sont adeptes de la pensée unique Nord-coréenne et ne propose.

U12. rien

U9. Vous êtes un YEZA, Vous espérer gagner quelles élections?? JOHN a violé la constitution pour perdre les élections et aller en prison ??? Bande d'idiot !!

U12. Et toi qui n'est pas Yeza tu proposes une marche ou une ville morte? Pour obtenir quelle résultat? Donc, pour toi le Congo doit s'arrêter? J'attends toujours ta solution miracle cher monsieur. C'est facile de critiquer et insulter

19. URGENT...URGENT..URGENT. Affaire : La liberté du Général JONSONAucun gouvernement au monde peut accélérer l'arrestation de son compatriote qui ne veut reconnaître la tricherie électorale . Nous demandons au peuple Congolais du nord au sud de l'est à l'ouest de demander la liberté immédiate du général JONSON . Nous sommes libres de bien exercer nos droits en commençant par la ville morte

### Comments

U1. JONSON est un terroriste putschiste, il fra la prison comme toi Tom Melvin...

U2. Bien dit U5 !

U2. Je suis d'accord avec toi

U3. Il doit répondre a smces accusations.le Congo a une justice

U4. Cher U5., pourquoi vous ne virez pas de votre gibecières certains vendeurs d'illusions et assujettis de premier ordre?

U5. La prison selon le pct n est pas la justice du congo et vous rserrez surpris . Libérer dans l immédiat JONSON , Paulin Makaya et nos compatriotes victimes des arrestations arbitraires et garde comme d habitude votre Ntsourou .

U3. Selon tom melvin, le Congo n'a pas une justice et ses arrestations sont arbitraires.mon frère cherche Jerry pour t'aider Tom.kiekieke

U6. U5. s'il te plaît, Mokoko est en prison pour le dossier de coup d'État et non pour ne pas reconnaître la victoire de JOHN

U7. Mais de quelle coup d'État Celui du référendum ou du 20 mars.

U4. Que dites vous cher U2 de son cas. Arrêté, emprisonné puis relaxé après plusieurs mois sans jugement



U3. Il à été emprisonné pendant combien de moi mon cher. Frère

U4. Je comprends votre légèreté d'esprit et le manque d'honnêteté en soit. Persistez dans acrobaties mensongère. néanmoins, vous serez prisonnier de votre conscience.

U8. Si est seulement si!la conscience pouvait être en prison sur facebook on connait ceux qui sont menteur et prisonnier!

U3. Cher U8., c'est plutôt syver U6 qui a un esprit faible et ne sait quoi dire.ils confondent un coup d'État aux élections.Mawa

U8. Bien dit mon amis U2

U8. Les pili-pili na moutou!tjrs dans la haine et la confusion mon frère [Eric Oko](#)

U9. Tu planifies des plans pour éliminer l'autre même ata oza youma mais JOHN ako raté yé TÉ mon frère [Tom Melvin](#) tika histoire YA élections toza kouna TÉ qui est encore incarcérés dans l'opposition ....Ndzion multiplie des déclarations avec MICHAEL baza WAPI...

U4. Tom melvin, confond les élections a un coup d'État

U10. Il faut appeller chat par chat: nos cousins du nord ne se lèveront jamais pour aller à l'encontre de leur" Dieu"qu'est JOHN.Si déjà pour la désobéissance civile pronée par cette éminente personnalité fut un large succès dans le Sud du pays pour en ê...[See more](#)

U9. Tu sait mon frère chez nous c'est interdit de dépasser les sandres de l'autre voila pourquoi mokoko est abandonner seul face à son destin...

U10. Quelle alternative pronée alors mon cher Pepin Mouagni?

U8. Kiekiekiekiekiekiekiekue!mon frère les congolais ne peuvent pas réagir pour une accusation reconnu par le général

U5. Gardez votre Ntsourou comme d'habitude et liberez nos compatriotes victimes des arrestations arbitraires , Paulin Makaya et JONSON.

U5. U4. Pendes tu vraiment vous êtes le passeport international pour les crimes contre les congolais ?

Penses tu vraiment je vais rester tranquille et laisser vos dirigeants incapables de divertir l'économie depuis plus de 40 ans le congo utilise que son pétrole et la forêt aucune richesse non naturelle et aujourd'hui tu ne veux pas que je denonce ? ...[See more](#)

U9. U5. mon frère okomi neti Ba très fâché calme toi mela MAYI Eza EYOMA YA DSN Na mokoko bisso TÉ SOKI au raté moninga Na koudelipé moninga ako zoguissa yo Na fara fara....Nani akanissa un jour EKO koma boyé.....

U5. U4. Pendes tu vraiment vous êtes le passeport international pour les crimes contre les congolais ?

Penses tu vraiment je vais rester tranquille et laisser vos dirigeants incapables de divertir l'économie depuis plus de 40 ans le congo utilise que son pétrole et la forêt aucune richesse non naturelle et aujourd'hui tu ne veux pas que je denonce ? ...[See more](#)

U4. Donc pour toi c'est Mokoko qui viendra pour diversifié l'économie du Congo ? Mais pendant les 40 ans que tu parle ce Mokoko était là que ce qu'il a fait de ce pays sinon que diviser et faire 90 % d'officier du nord ?

U10. Du haut de Londres qu'espère tu faire? [Tom Melvin](#) on ne soigne pas avec les mots mais les actes

U11. mokoko ces divertiseur le peuple croyai que il etais soutenir par la france

U4. U11. le peuple qui croyais en lui c'était les aveugles et les hommes tribals

U12. mes chers amis ! il vous faut un bon historien pr vous rélater tte l'histoire des coup d'état , emprisonnement et assassinat depuis la nuit du temps au congo brazza ! car s'il faut juger le j3m aprsnt , et à quand les procès pr les autres actes anterieur...[See more](#)

U13. Bonne réflexion.

U12. vrmnt mn frero Bayonne Gracia , certains de nos compatriotes ignorent trop l'histoire du pays , ils se comportent cme les étrangers et xa me fait très mal au coeur ! ils pensent que certains congolais n'ont pas les memes droits que les autres.

U14. quand vous boufez votre argent vous ete seul quand c'est la mort vous voulez nous trempés. nous population du congo nous sommes plus profane on a ouvert nos yeux on comprend le jeu vous aurez personnes dernière vous. compter sur reconaitre les victoires des autres

U15. U4 pourquoi voulez-vous se baigner de force dans la médiocrité ? Est ce que le général de l'armée du salut est poursuivi par la justice Congolaise pour des faits liés au scrutin présidentiel du 20 mars 2016 ? Est ce que Mokoko en allant au cabinet de ces mercenaires Français , était-il parti chercher la paix ? De toute façon il est déjà dans la maison d'arrêt .

U16. Qu' est ce qui vous à dit, qu' il a été arrêté? arretons le fanatisme aveugle quelque soit le pole politique que vous soutenez.

U17. Ce que le vieux DSN fait là c'est de l'abus mtn,s'il a pas peur de mokoko pourquoi il le laisse pas tranquille?? 😊

U16. Jordelin pose la question à Dsn certainement tu auras ta reponse .

U17. Votre réponse n'a pas lieu d'être sans vous manquer de respect.

U16. C' est sans rancune c' est pour vous dire la question qui m' a été posé par vous n' a pas son sens d' être, je ne suis ni parent de DSN j' espere que ça va.

U17. Je vois! Mais laissez moi vous dire que ma question ne vous était pas posée,c'est juste une façon de parler et non pas dans l'attente de réponses. Merci

U5. U4. Tous ceux qui ont dirigé le congo nous ont jamais rendu service et ils ne nous aiment pas comment depuis la decouverte du petrole jusqu' aujourd'hui le Congo depend que de la foret et le petrole ? qu'est ce que nous avons bénéficié d...[See more](#)

U17. Franchement ils ne foutent absolument rien,moi j'ai longtemps supporter son régime mais tt compte fait j'étais dans le faux. Je suis du nord mais vraiment JOHNfit! Sassoule !! comme le disent certains

U5. Pro Pepin Mouagni osi omona boxe na ya ba marteau ? ata ba bondjo yango ? JOHN moins likambo mokié il fo le congo movimba ekotela yé , JOHN A TOUJOURS RAISON .

U4. U5. depuis la découverte du Congo bien sur mais ceux que tu supporte comme opposons a l'IDC-FROCAD là sont épargner y compris Mokoko , il veut nous distraire quand il travaillais avec JOHN , JOHN n'était pas tribal aujourd'hui à la retraite JOHNest devenu tribal . JOHN à fait de lui générale il était un fils d'oyo ? Vous allez tromper les aveugles qui vous suive pas moi .

U17. Qu'il s'en aille,c'est pas comme si y avait que lui homme capable de diriger ce pays .

U4. Qu'il s'en aille oui mais avec toute ça classe politique oui , y compris Mokoko et ceux de l'IDC-FROCAD

U5. Qu'ils partent tous U4. qu'est-ce que tu ne comprends pas ? JOHN c'est tout ce système , toute cette classe politique alors il doit partir .

U4. Donc tu n'es plus pour Mokoko ?

U5. Je suis avec les congolais que JOHN fait vivre l'enfer sur terre .

U18. quand il bouffait la ??? haaa a chacun son tour

U17. Loll c'est ça!! Mais Denis le fait souffrir alors qu'il n'a rien fait de grave.

U18. C'est eux na eux

U17. Ouais c'est vrai

U18. ils nous distraient la journée . la nuit ils volent (ko poubwa) ensemble

U17. Mdr

U5. JOHN a toujours raison , pendant que les autres sont dans les démarches de dialogue non il procède à l'arrestation d'un opposant de poids .Ata vous même comment le monde entier va interpréter cet acte ?

U18. Ql démarche de dialogue quand en les avait appelés à s'écouter ils avaient créé leur république de diata qu'ils aillent dialoguer entre eux à diata

U5. Et ce que le ministre Elvis LUTHER n'est pas une initiative pour le dialogue ?

U4. Notre dialogue pas avec les sourds et les terroristes

U5. Votre dialogue à vous même lool bosala to mona pé ...tic tac ..tic..tac

U4. Ya kala WANA tic , tac , ekoma bouton ya elamba TO lata mpe yango lol !

U5. Boko mona

U4. Nini ya ngo na facebook Tom Melvin?

U5. U4. JOHN est le diable du Congo , qu'il prenne sa retraite et laisse nous les jeunes remettre le pays sur le bon chemin non dans les dettes non , nous créerons de la richesse non naturelle .

U19. NON AU DIALOGUE

U5. Quel dialogue ? Avec qui ?

U5. Grâce à Ntsourou U4. libérez Mokoko avec Paulin Makaya et les autres congolais en prison pour ne pas soutenir JOHN .

U4. Je préfère que Ntsourou soit libre pas Mokoko et Makaya

U5. Tu verras le soulèvement national dans quelques heures .

U4. Nous attendons ça et y aura les contre-soulèvements c'est là où ça va aller au vinaigre .

U5. Avec vos 8% des gens qu'est-ce que vous pouvez faire ? Vous n'arrivez pas à finir KURTIS pensez-vous vraiment que vous pouvez résister à la colère du peuple ?

U4. La ligne rouge étant dite par l'opposition à été franchie plusieurs fois donc . biso TO kufa TO komi ko zela bino bo yaka ko kunda .

U4. La richesse au naturel en France ? Les problèmes du Congo doivent être réglés par les congolais sur terrain donc vos plaintes sur facebook là ne nous regardent pas .

U19. ???????

U20. U4 avez vous un cerveau ?

U4. Non toi qui a le cerveau Vainqueur Reussite

U20. U4. ,ton raisonnement m'enerve car pour ton information JOHN n'a plus beaucoup des jours sur terre que feras tu après?

U4. Oui je connais que JOHN va à ça fin et Mokoko va rester éternel donc mes jours sont aussi conté Vainqueur Reussite.

Bo yaka ko boma . lol !

U5. Lool koboma nani Abel Patrick Mboko? Bino nioso ba congolais

U4. Bo boma nga pona nga moto ya JOHN Tom Melvin

U5. Non jamais pona nini ? ozali congolais pona nini ba boma yo pona JOHN ? yango okomi JOHN oh nini ? moto ba lingaki koboma na 2007 abombi mobomi na yé tiiii na 2016 epuis akangi yé pona a ganer yé

U4. Ah voilà mon frère a suivre . ba ndoki ba sili te lol !

U5. JOHN est le diable du Congo

U4. Et Mokoko plus les leaders de l'IDC-FROCAD

U5. Qu est ce qu ils ont fait du mal ? JOHN utilise les ressources du congo pour ton interet .

U4. Mon frère tu est un intellectuel nous qui avons eu le courage de s'exprimer et s'exposer à la place publique pour le pays nous souhaitons à la venir avoir les bonnes résultats . donc là seul toi est JOHN qui a dirigé seul ce pays et tout ce monde de l'opposition la sont dans l'innocence de la gérance de ce pays ?  
Moto ata olingui JOHN te linga ye pona le Congo . e leka te mpo à za mpe mwana ya moto .

U5. Ils ont toud dirigé le pays qu avec les ressources naturelles sans creation ni la diversification de l economie .pourquoi pense qu il est le seul maitre du Congo ?

U21. Abel Patrick Mboko , si tu savais ... "obarakazoro"

U5. Jean Dominique Okemba, Jean Francois Ndenguét et Victor Mouagni ont sabrer le champagne ce soir. Norbert Dabira est très déçu et inquiet de la situation du Général Mokoko. Philippe Obara sachant que le dossier Mokoko est monté de toute pièce a évité de ...See more

U22. Tom Melvin tu es bon pour l'intox. Ces généraux que tu cites nommément, tu as une conversation avec eux ou c'est le produit de non imagination de champion de l'intox ? bla bla bla !!! ça vous condamneras un jour. Mabiala peu trouver un chef d'accusation pour toi. Tu n'es pas au ciel mon ami.

U5. U22. Penses tu j ai peur de dire la verité , dans quel pays le ministre de la justice trouve des chefs d accusations aux compatriotes congolais ?  
Si dire la verité est une prison alors j aimerais etre en prison de la verité que de vivre en esclavage du système de JOHN .Mabiala n'est pas eternel et le congo n est pas une parcelle privée du pct .

U22. Il est garde des sceaux mon ami !!!! à moins que cette réalité t'échappe

U5. Oui ce n'est pas son rôle d'inculper quelqu'un mon cher chef .

U23. Monsieur Tom pourquoi ne pas rentrer au pays pour venir soutenir ceux qui sont soit disant victimes par la justice de ton pays au lieu d'être l'avocat des causes perdues et de l'intox.

U24. bjr ce mr simon

U25. Vous demandez une ville morte pour un général qui a raté son putsch Ça Non ! U5 le Congo est un état de droit il va être jugé pour ses crimes et s'il est plaidé coupable il fait sa prison! Lui seule Tom Melvin ne faut nous exciter à la bêtise c...[See more](#)

U26. Je ne rentre pas dans ce débat mais je tenais à vous rappeler que la bible déclare qui tuera par l'épée mourra par l'épée alors pendant le règne de Moukoko comme Chef d'état major a-t-il oublié ce qu'il a fait??? Et vous? Quel a été son rôle dans la chute de Pascal PETER? Il paye si son carma <ça n'engage que moi >

20. Brazza après la pluie du 7 janvier 2016. JOHN tue les congolais avec des armes à feu mais il les tue aussi à petit feu en mettant les congolais dans ce genre de conditions de vie.



+5 **Comments**

U1. Tout se passera au pays. Si l'opposition avait de l'audace, elle mettrait en place un gouvernement bis au lieu de tergiverser avec un homme qui se trouve dans l'illégalité. Mr JOHN prépare une nouvelle guerre contre son peuple...[See More](#)

## NOUVELLE ALLIANCE PCT - IDC / FROCAD

U2. Soussou n'est pas un saint oui , mais il faut aussi souligner que le Congo est un peuple de paresseux ,il y a beaucoup d'efforts a faire entre les politiques et la population

U3. On peut se taire lorsqu'on ne peut faire une bonne analyse. Les canalisations il n'y en a presque pas, quand il y en a, elles sont petites. Il faut éduquer la population, qui doit le faire, les politiques. Alors jeter votre dévolu sur les populations v...[See More](#)

U4. Ql peuple?cmt ne pas donner la faute a JOHN qd c lui qui nome les maires,les deputes et les senateurs

U5. selon vous c'est à la population d'assainir la ville en voirie urbaine? je me demande si seulement vs comprenez déjà ce que c'est qu'un programme d'assainissement urbain?,,,c'est normal avec avec un taux de réussite au bac de 10% je vous trouve des circonstances atténuantes à votre ignorance si non inculture,,,

U6. un peuple se respect par le travail et aussi selon l'orientation des dirigeants , voici depuis plus 40 ans , même les besoin primaire le peuple congolais en manque, , l'eau, électricité, wc, santé, nourriture, route , ahhhh

U2. J'ai dit qu'il y a beaucoup d'efforts a fournir entre les politiques et la population,je n'est pas dit que la population devrai jouer le rôle de l'etas

U7. Knt le vote ou pas il va tjrs passe parcke il va mentir en disnt ke on la vote pour 95% ou 98% en disnt ls congolais l'aime tjrs beuhk

U8. Il ya bien des intempéries du au réchauffement climatique partout dans le monde. Le nord de l'Angleterre à été victime d'une série d'inondation. Je suis bien contre la manière de conduire les affaires du président JOHN mais il n'est pas le seul respo...[See More](#)

U9. Laissez ce dernier tranquille. Si vous ne voulez pas de lui! Les élections approchent, ne le votez pas, bien que la tricherie est son fort il aura honte de remplir les urnes quand personne d'entre nous l'aura voté. Bien de chose à vous

U10. Eza mbotama ya Nkolo Dieu frappe le pays trop de méchanceté et la cruauté. Chrétiens du Congo répétez vous et priez que l'Eternel nous délivre de sa colère et que sa miséricorde sur nous

U11. On sait tous que nos villes se retrouvent souvent dans un piteux etat après les grandes pluies, néanmoins il faut arrêter avec la désinformation, en publiant de vieilles images qui datent de plus de 7 ans ! En effet ces images sont celles d'une pluie de Novembre ou Décembre 2008, et non Janvier 2016.

U12. Faut reconnaître que les infrastructures divers ne répondent pas et les pouvoirs publics ont un handicap. Mais même dans les pays les plus modernes quand la nature se déchaîne l homme ne peut rien.

U2. Un taux de réussite au bac de 10% a qui la faute a l'etas? au enseignant? ou au parent?

U13. l'emergence est en marche

U14. putin

U15.**U3.** "Pays en voie de développement"

U16. oh! mon DIEU aie pitié

21. Q'attend Oko Ngakala pour ouvrir une enquête contre SEAN pour tentative d'assassinat?  
La sœur SEAN et son mari s'expriment sur une affaire de 400 millions de Frs CFA que SEAN aurait détourné, il y a trois ans

### Comments

U1. Il faut situer les choses dans leur contexte. Ce n'est pas le Procureur NGAK qui occupait cette fonction au moment des faits. Et celui qui était la, n'a pas intervenu parce qu'il n'en avait pas reçu ordre certainement, et cela se comprend dans l...[See more](#)

U2. La question devrait être posée à Pierre Mabiala et thierry mougwele, c'est comment comment ?

U3. Mdr,

Thierry

mougwele,

Kiekiekie!!!

U4. Convocation a la dgst chez oko vite j ai confiance avec papi JOHN il est Sible alert okiemi

U2. c'est compliqué

U5. Je croyais que cet Okiemy était conscient. la il n'est plus Ministre oh la vie.

U6. Brazza news,ngué ké ngolo ku lutila Pierre ngolo!!!...kiekiekiekie,... muyibi heeee!!!

U7. Moyibiéééééééé euuuuhhh ! Ayibi niniéééééé !! Ayibi 400 millions ! Malvenue Okiémy.... Okimi niniéééééé :::

U8. J'étais au courant de ces faits à cette période là via une source proche des protagonistes, ainsi je confirme.

U9. Pierre Mabiala, là au moins il y a du moulin à moudre. La justice doit s'activer contre SEAN;

U10. Il a creusé sa propre tombe

U11. On entendra tout deciderment..

U2. La boite de pandore est ouverte ?

U12. il a dit quoi ce SEAN

U13. Mouyibi 🤔🤔🤔🤔🤔🤔

U14. Boyebaniéééééééé eh ba famille

22. Les congolais sur les champs Élysée pour dire Non au référendum.  
ETEYA BINO

### Comments

U1.



U2.

**NON**  
**YA MONENE**  
**AU**  
**REFERENDUM**

U3. Je le disais, kolelas s'est largement trompé en s'alliant à , Balanchard Oba et Okombi. Les deux deniers sont restés chez eux bras croisés sans pour autant pousser leurs militants dans la rue, une attitude raisonnable et responsable. Mais, Kolelas roulé dans la farine n'a rien compris. A lui de comprendre que la politique est un jeu d'interet; ETEYA YE

U4. Enfin du réalisme

23. NZALA! [Kituba] NSATOU! NSONI! KIADI MINGUI! MAWA! Le roue de la fortune par nguirisation tourne à plein régime. Pourtant 98% des congolais [Esay NOOO. Ku pesa yi mboua; the dog says NIET. Les jours sont comptés pour le dictateur.

[Suffering! It's a shame and a disgrace. So sad! The road to fortune is running at full speed through corruption. However, 98% of the Congolese people is still against this regime. From now moving forward, they can keep on corrupting people but they will never succeed again. The days to come will be dark for the dictator]

**Comments:**

U1. Pluie jour de l'indépendance, pluie jour de la clôture des jeux africains pluie jour du meeting du pct, on dirait que la dame la pluie ne les aime pas.

[It rained on the Independence Day, it rained on the closing day of African games, it is raining at the moment on this PCT's rally day. Should say that even rain is against them]

U2. Oooh je vs avais dit Dieu est avec nous que JOHN tue aussi la pluie Kiekiekie Kiekiekie la fin de JOHN est arrivée les signes sont la madame la pluie stp n oublis pas d'envoyer les tonnerres #sassoufit SMITH c'est un vrai guignol un leche cul des JOHN

[I said this before; God is with us. Sassou should stop this rain, LOL. His days as a Present are coming to an end. Rain, please, don't forget to lay down big storms. #JOHNfit. SMITH is a true ass licker]

U3. Soyez tous unis pour sauver la RC. Car ils militent pour leurs intérêts égoïstes. Vive le peuple.

[Let's come together and save our country because all they are doing is protecting their personal interests. they have no regards about the development of country. Their ego is so big that they have no intention to put the people's interest before]

U4. Pendant ce temps là, il pleut. ce qu'on assiste là n'est pas un Méga Meeting, Mais une Méga pluie. Même la Nature est contre Eux!!



[What's going on right now? The Mega rally has turned into a giant rain. Even the nature is against them]

**U5.** le ridicule de SMITH

[SMITH is ridiculous]

**U6.** ce garçon est un opportuniste qui change comme un caméléon, la trahison c'est sa bouffe de tout le jour, il a trahi tout ces compagnons de lutte, donc sa ne m'étonne pas de le voir avec ces deux tee-shirts.

[This guy is very opportunist. He behaves like a chameleon which has the ability to change colour all the time. Betrayal is his food. It's not surprising to see him wearing different T-shirts because he betrayed all his fellow activists]

**U7.** Mais je rêve ou quoi, Brazza-news se met aussi à faire la campagne du oui à la constitution ? Les principes élémentaires de la communication vous interdisent de publier sur votre site toute image qui fait l'apologie du satan Nguesso. Vous êtes un site d'opposition restez-y et évitez tout quiproquo

[But, am I dreaming or not? Is Brazzanews endorsing these people wanting to change the constitution? The basic principles of communication don't allow you to post on your Facebook wall pictures of these evils. This site is a pro opposition; so, you should avoid such misunderstandings.]

**U8.** La même personne.  
A vous de juger!!

[Same answer. You better decide]

**U9.** Il a juste fait le contraire de ce qu'E JERRY et MICHEAL ont fait pour des raisons que personne ne connaît vraiment. Mais il va échouer avec son pct. Parti des cons et traîtres de notre pays.

[He just did the opposite of what JERRY and MICHEAL did, though no one really knows the motives. But, he'll fail soon if he continues within that political party, known as the party of the traitors to our country]

**U10.** Honte à toi [ethnic language] ngaya jaloux des vrais congolais tu es vraiment un fils de p.....

Mais va t'acheté les vaches comme ton papa le goût du sang avec l'argent que tu as eu si possible tout près d'Oyo Connard !

[Shame on you, stupid idiot. You're jealous of the true Congolese. Son of bitch. Use that money you got to buy cows like your dad who lives by other people's blood. You should be living in the Oyo area. Asshole]

**U11.** Arrêter de dire de n'importe quoi. Car au Congo ici, il y a pas des opposants. Tout ce que JOHN fait chez eux c'est mauvais donc ce ne sont les adversaires de JOHN et non les opposants. je suis ni de l'opposition et ni pour le changement de constitution.

[Stop telling nonsenses There are no oppositions leaders here in Congo. They are just against everything JOHN does badly; so, they are just political opponents. Personally, I'm neutral]

**U12.** La transhumance politique caractérise ce jeune homme pourtant brillant

[This young man is a political evil]

U13. [Lingala] Lokoso eko boma yo, manger 3 fois par jour ne signifie pas manger dans 3 maisons différentes, tu mange chez l'oncle, tu mange chez la tante et enfin chez la copine...[Lingala] poison ezo zela yoo..kaka boyee to loba to loba teehe heinn, dupent dupent!!!!!!

[The uncontrolled need of money is dangerous as much as gluttony. The desire to have food three times a day doesn't mean having that food in three different households; i.e. eating in uncle's house, aunt's house, and girlfriend's house. Poisoning food may be waiting for you somewhere]

U14. Ne participez pas à ce référendum anticonstitutionnel, j'ai l'impression que les congolais n'ont rien compris jusqu' alors, ces gens vous incitent à voter oui afin qu'ils restent au pouvoir pour enrichir leurs familles et non pas pour servir la république, réveillez vous et ne soyez pas dupe.

[I tell you. Do not get involved in this illegitimate referendum vote. It seems to me that the Congolese people haven't figured it out yet. These people are encouraging you to vote "Yes" so they along with their families remain long in power. They have no intention to serve the Congolese people's interests. Wake up my friend; do not be such a dummy]

U15. Congolais aza na nsoni te, quel retourment à la okemi. Mawa

[Congolese people never get ashamed. What's a volte face. It's shameful really]

U16. Un jeune homme sans position la honte de sa famille

[A young man with no real position, it's a disgrace]

U17. ce un voleur ce tipe la faim [Kituba] satous ya kouzoua

[This guy is a thief dominated by such an ambition to quickly and easily become riche]

U18. La pluie fais moi ca aaah meeting pctiste [Lingala] boko yoka son nzambe a zo linga bino te.

[Let the rain solves the problema. God along with the universe are against this Pct rally. You're having a very bad time]

U19. Voici les résultats d'une sodomisation politique au Congo ! Qu'il faudrait un jour arrêter, l'amour de la facilité, et pourtant je l'aime bien, SMITH !

[Look how corruption is so harmful in Congo. It must stop one day. Lot of people are choosing the easy way to succeed. I actually like this guy, though]

U20. Ses anciens camarades du plateau disent qu'il tomba du berceau juste après sa naissance, donc il n'aurait jamais de position fixe.

[His former peers once said that he fell off the cradle right after his birth, so he will never have a stable position]

U21. Meme mère nature a aussi son mot à dire...[English] lol a un Grand NON. Précisément jours du meeting. Les signes don't lie. L'heure à sonner maintenant ou jamais.]

[Even the nature world has its word on this PCT rally day... LOL big NO. Some signs don't lie. The perfect time to act is now or never]

U22. [Lingala] Mawa po nayé-[Kituba]Tiadi samu na yandi. Homme de peu de valeur et de crédibilité morale ce SMITH dia tounfi

[Shame on him. Feel sorry for this Young man of low value and reliability. He is such an ass licker of the man]

**U23.** Le pauvre. Il est déboussolé

[Poor him. He is just confused]

**U24.** C'est des gens à se méfier, ...chauve-souris ; côté oiseau, côté animal.

[Kind of people not to trust. He behaves like a bat; side bird side animal]

**U25.** [English]The Prince BJ C Benazo n est pas ridicule c est un être abject et répugnant qui a bien sa place là-bas il est indigne de l opposition

[The Prince BJ C Benazo is not just ridiculous. He is a despicable and disgusting human being who has got no place among us]

**U26.** Suis morte de rireeeeeeeee

[Laugh out loud]

**U27.** C'est malheureux pour les congolais ki vote les gens à cause de 1000fr , ij est influencé par l'argent mais si dieu est pour nous ki sera cntre nous !

[It's a pity that there are Congolese voting over 1000fr (1.52 euros). He is influenced by money; however, if God is with us who could be against us]

**U28.** Ne donné pas d'importance a ce zairois ne vous fatigué pas c'est un violeur de goss

[Never give a damn credit to this second-class Congolese people. He is just delusional]

**U29.** [Lingala]Lokosso ya mbongo sans gène comme un sorcier !

[A guy with an unchecked ambition to easily get money like a wizard]

**U30.** et tu mourra povre oui!

[You will die poor]

**U31.** L'hypocrisie !!!! Pfff

[Hypocrisy]

**U32.** Ohh ah la faim c est pas bien

[Hunger is bad]

**U33.** Mdr\_Le mendiant

[Such a beggar: a poor person who lives by asking others for money or food]

**U34.** Zobaaa !

[Stupid idiot]

**U35.** Il l'avait dit !



[He once said: I'm insisting on saying that when some people go undermine the constitution of the country, no democrats should stay voiceless]

**U36.** Lou wou loua Dia trop mawa .....

[Big lie. It's disgraceful]

**U37.** Faute [Kituba] ya nguiiri kiekiekie

[All that's because of corruption]

**U38.** Les mendiants

[The beggars]

**U39.** JOHN est décidé, qui à nous aussi de lui montrer notre détermination à vouloir son départ dans un futur très proche.

[JOHN has decided to stay in power forever. It's now all depends on our determination if we want him to step down very soon]

**U40.** Zoba Zoba

[Stupid idiot]

**U41.** LOL mdr

24. En direct de la Mairie centrale de Brazzaville, votre humble serviteur bien installé dès son arrivée, pour la session ordinaire du Comité directeur de la dynamique citoyenne PO NA EKOLO-SAMU NA BWALA, qui débutera dans 1h, sous le haut patronage de son Coordonnateur général, LUTHER, représentant le président RICHARDS, empêché.

### Comments

U1. SMITH récupérer Diaf, il est a moitié mort, sauvez lui quand même,il a arrêté de fumer le chanvre.. :)

[Get dhan, he's half dead, save him anyway, he stopped smoking hemp.. :]

U2. Mon très cher christel Louboula Foundoux, Diaf est irrécupérable lol

[My dearest Christel Louboula Foundoux, dhan is unrecoverable lol]

U1. je comprends, faut laisser le crocodile de Diaf sous l'eau, sinon.. kiékiékié Mais un western même 10000fcfa pour qu'il achète le ticket du metro ;) boulot dodo..

[I understand, must leave the crocodile of dhan under water, otherwise.. Kiékiékié but a western even 10000FCFA for that buys the ticket from the Metro;) job Dodo.]

U3. Ne t'inquiète pas tu vas entendre parlé de nous au Congo...car nous allons très bientôt prendre le pouvoir !!

[Don't worry you'll hear about us in Congo ... because we will very soon take power!!]

U4. Comme ça tu as fais ton retour dans l'opposition Kevin Joseph Diafouka

[How is it possible you come back on the opposition side.]

U5. Mdrrrrrrr

[U5. LOL]

U6. La Dynamique du peuple. PO NA EKOLO

U6.

U7. SMITH dis moi comment tu avais fais de quitté l'opposition pour te retrouver dans la majorité présidentielle... Parce-que moi aussi je veux un nguiri...donc je veux te rejoindre pour bouffé les million...

[SMITH tell me how you left the opposition to find yourself in the presidential majority ... Because I too want a nguiri ... so I want to join you to eat the million ...]

U8. Et après ???? Ça change quoi au quotidien misérable de 70% de la population congolaise??? Profitez des avantages que vous offre PONA LIBOUMOU tant que ça dure!!! Des associations à la con! N'importe quoi!

U8. And after that? What difference does it make to the miserable daily of 70% of the Congolese population??? Enjoy the benefits that you offer Pona LIBOUMOU as long as it lasts!!! Stupid associations! Anything!

U9. Ares B Vulcain Kiekiekie vous m'avez tué donc c'est l'association#PONALIBOUMOU kiekiekie je suis mort de rire

[You killed me so this is the association # PONALIBOUMOU Kiekiekie I died laughing]

U8. C'est vraiment ça mon frère ! Le pays s'enlise dans un gouffre et eux viennent plébisciter leurs associations à la con! Kiekiekie

[That's really my brother! The country is bogged in a chasm and they come to plebiscite their associations to the con! Kiekiekie]

U10. Tu te dis humble aujourd'hui ? Ah Benazo , tu joue au renard qui espere que le fromage tombe du corbeau

[You say humble today? Ah Beales, you play Fox who hopes that the cheese falls from the Raven]

U2. Ma chère Böphâne, si tu te lances en politique pour espérer te faire plein les poches avec les "nguiri", tu seras déçue. Il faut servir le peuple et non se servir. Nous faisons plus de sacrifice que nous ne gagnons, ahhh si tu savais que mes larmes coulent un soir sur deux pour ce pays...

[My dear Böphâne, if you go into politics to hope to make a lot of pockets with the Nguiri, you will be disappointed. It is necessary to serve the people and not to serve. We make more sacrifice than we win, ahhh if you knew that my tears flow one night on two for this country ...]

U9. Kiekiekie you don't look like someone who can cry loool

U7. Hum arrê moi ton baratin... Si tu voulais servir le peuple tu voulais resté à l'opposition... C'est juste tu ne veux pas partagé ce bonheur avec les autres... Tu connais le proverbe qui dit:le poisson va la ou l'eau coule en abondance...

[Hum stop me your babble ... If you wanted to serve the people you wanted to remain in opposition ... It's just you don't want to share this happiness with others ... You know the proverb that says: The fish goes where the water flows in abundance ...]

U9. Ma petite U7 est ce qui sont a l'opposition veulent servir le peuple ou bien attend aussi leurs tour du Nguiris?

U5. gagaga Ca fait longtemps ta phrase la ( Si tu savais mes larmes coulent une fois sur deux pour ce pays) kiekiekie

U11. oh arrête tes conneries!!!! Tu sers quel peuple???

[Stop it! What people are you serving?]

U12. Diaf est irrecuperable, lol c ton plus beau commentaire de l annee... Merci SMITH

[Dhan is fatal, lol C your most beautiful comment of the year ... Thank you SMITH]

U7. Ya Ares B Vulcain tu avais reçu ton nguiri lol...mais arrêté de nous mentir moi je veux juste faire parti de la majorité...SMITH s'habille maintenant ...bientôt il va roulé dans le voiture de luxe...même Nibrel Chesnet Ghomas Solo est devenu boss depuis qu'il est dans la majorité...

[you had received your Nguiri lol ... but stopped lying to us I just want to be part of the majority ... SMITH Beales is dressing now ... soon he will roll in the luxury car ... even Nibrel chesnet Ghomas Solo has become boss since he is in the majority ...]

U9. Kiekiekie U7 j'etais nguirisé lol

[I've been corrupted]

U13. SMITH, mobali kitoko

[Handsom man]

U14. Voila un ministre qui continue a représenter un maire

[Look at this Minister being sent by a Mayor.]

U2. Il s'agit là, de la dynamique PO NA EKOLO mon cher Stacy. C'est comme les ministres Mougalla, Collinet, etc...qui se soumettent à NGOLO quand il est question des réunions et activités du PCT. Sachons faire la différence.

[This is the dynamic Po na EKOLO my dear Stacy. It's like ministers Bamba, collinet, etc. ... Who submit to Narayankar when it comes to the meetings and activities of the PCT. Know how to make a difference.]

U15. Belle photo

[Beautiful picture]

U16. N'est ce pas vous qui disiez que PONA MACHIN n'était pas une structure inféodé à la famille Nguesso? Pauvre jeunesse !

[Is it not you who said that Pona Machin was not a subservient structure to the Nguesso family? Poor youth!]

U17. qui represente ?

U18. Mes 2 amours

[ My two loves]

U15. Dit moi ton vrai amour la ba stp ...ok soit plus explicite car mon SMITH je ne suis pas pret a le partagé .....si cest lautre ton amours la fo le prendre mais essaye de touché a mon benazo tu va voir je vais te couper en morceau.

[ Tell me your true love ba stp ... ok be more explicit because my SMITH Beales I am not ready to share it. .... if it's the other your loves the fo take it but try to hit my beales you'll see I'll cut you to pieces.]

U4. U17 tu défends ton projet de société

[You defend your company project]

U15. Kiekie kiakia yeuuuuu thrrrrrrrrrrr mdr 😂😂 je suis a terre 😂

U15. Loba kaka U17

[Just say what you have to.]

U15. Loba na paolo assakana na nga te

[Let U4 know that I'm not the one to joke around with]

U4. Ayoki déjà

[Copied]

U15. Na ko bouka ye fille wana la U17.....

U15. Tika grimace

U19. sale vide hein.....

[Empty room]

U19. salle vide, cette milice n'aura jamais la legitimite du peuple.

U38. salle vide, cette milice n'aura jamais la legitimite du peuple.

U18. U17 je suis la première dame de U4 femme de sa vie

[ I am the first lady of Paolo Beales woman of his life]

U15. Que je tattrape ds là rue tu va voir cest com sa vs volez maris des gens ici la on vs connait ton mari ki a biento 97 ans le moundele la il ta kite ou bien tchuuuurr

U18. Ah U17 garde le secret kô! Tu veux que tout le monde sois au courant du moundele de 97ans, après U4 va me quitter je n'aimes pas le songui songui

U15. Twuiiiiiiii il est a moi ..... U4

U18. Tu est une vraie voleuse toi! Je vais te kidnappé dimanche au golf attend

U15. Humm sorciere la pardon fo me laisser trnkil 😂

U15. Mon cheri U4 aujourd'hui tu devras choisir ..... entre moi et Dorcas la Djiedette ....car jen ai marres de tes infidelité ok ....dit moi.... choisi entre elle et moi oyebi bilengui na mekissaka yo ti 😂

U18. Mapatatata bilengui c'est quoi?

U18.

U18. Comme tu as la bouche comme une âne que vais te kidnappé U4 sera mon homme jusqu'aaaaaaa

[As you have your mouth like a donkey that will kidnap you Paolo Beales will be my man until a]

U20. Humm Paolo l'homme du momento

U20. Hmmm Paolo the man of the Momento

U15. U18 ta mort nes plus loin oo

[Your deaf day is for soon]

U18. U17 tu ignore que tu mourra avant moi

[You're ignoring that you will die before me]

U18. U4 viens ici

[Look]

U18.U17 Fais ton choix U4

U18. Make a choice

U21.U18 et 17, ou Dolisie est belle, cessez avec votre tintamarre sur la toile lol

[Or Dolisie is beautiful, stop with your tintamarre on the web lo]

U18. U21. tu est ressuscité?

U22. U4 au lieu de créer des micro entreprises vous êtes là qu'à penser aux associations, partis et autres

[Paolo Beales instead of creating micro companies you're just thinking about associations, parties and other]

U23. « Le Congo se divise en trois catégories de gens: un très petit nombre qui fait se produire les évènements, un groupe un peu plus important qui veille à leur exécution et les regarde s'accomplir, et enfin une vaste majorité qui ne sait jamais ce qui s'est produit en réalité. »

[The Congo is divided into three categories of people: a very small number that makes the events happen, a group a little more important to watch their execution and watch them fulfilled, and finally a vast majority who never know what actually happened."]

U24. Regardez-moi les bobares comment ça

[Look at the Bobares how it]

U25. U4 pourquoi il y a plus de peur du camp des victorieux que des soi-disants perdants ?

[U4 Why is there more fear of the victorious camp than the so-called losers?]

U26. Mon invitation SG lol

[My invitation SG, LOL.]



25. URGENT

BRAZZAVILLE

Un dispositif de l'armée empêche l'opposition républicaine de tenir la conférence de presse de ce vendredi. Des hommes fortement armés empêchent les journalistes et les membres de l'opposition et sympathisants d'accéder dans la salle.  
#FreeMokoko.

### Comments

U1. Vraiment jusqu'à quand on va Continuer à vivre ainsi, je le savais...et c pas encore fini, ils vont faire les coincés par voies et moyens.. à l'opposition de sortir le grand jeu....Mr 8% lui est tellement sûr de lui qu'il fait tout à sa guise et en plus ...

[Really up when we will continue to live like this, I savais...et c not yet finished, they will make them stuck by way and means.. To the opposition to take out the great game .... Mr 8% is so sure of him that he does everything as he pleases and more ...]

U2. Vous faites rien c est normal !!

[It's clear that you're doing nothing at all.]

U3. Le malade c'est 8%

[The mad person is Mr 8%]

U4. Dieu n'est pour rien Dominik Matondo c'est à ns et à ns seul de ce décider soit par des grèves, désobéissances civiques ou autrement en appuyant par exemple le Révérend Pasteur KURTIS

U4. Dieu n'est pour rien Dominik Matondo c'est à ns et à ns seul de ce décider soit par des grèves, désobéissances civiques ou autrement en appuyant par exemple le Révérend Pasteur KURTIS

U5. Ce acte est vraiment la preuve d'une manque d'idées et une volonté de ne rien faire bouger. Le père de la démocratie congolaise étant emprisonné, sa fille démocratie est actuellement hospitalisée et agonisante. Ils sont capables aujourd'hui de nous justifier cette interdiction? C'est vraiment honteux et décevant de voir l'immaturite de cette classe politique qui nous dirige.

[This act is really proof of a lack of ideas and a willingness not to move anything. The father of Congolese democracy being imprisoned, his daughter democracy is currently hospitalized and agonizing.

Are they able to justify this ban today? It is really shameful and disappointing to see the immaturite of this political class that leads us.]

U6. Que Dieu vous vienne tous en aide!

[God help you all!]

U7. Il est facile de porter un jugement et de proposer ce qu il faut faire. Le cas du congo est special et complexe. Annoncer que l 'opposition allait avoir une conférence, c'est normale dans un contexte de barbarie sans précédent.

[It is easy to make a judgement and to propose what to do. The case of Congo is special and complex.

Announcing that the opposition was going to have a conference is normal in a context of unprecedented barbarism.]

U2. Mes freres excusez ce que je vais vous dire Mais ont dirait que cela vous plait de vivre dans l'oppression Vous vous lamentez sur les reseaux sociaux, vous palabrer, vous ecrivez, vous vous revoltez avec des palabres et vous croyez que c'est comme cela que vous allez chasser JOHN vous revez !!! Si vous ne bougez pas, je vous plains pour la suite ..... SVP MOBILISEZ VOUS, REAGISSEZ, et AGISSEZ il en va de votre avenir et des celui de vos enfants a vous de voir !!!

[My brothers excuse what I'm going to tell you, but they say you like to live in oppression you lament the social networks, you babble, you write, you revolt with talk and you believe that this is how you will hunt JOHN you dream!!! If you do not move, I pity you for the rest .... Please mobilize, react, and act on your future and the one of your children to see!]

U2. Ok ont c'est bien compris JOHN nous veut mort alors faisons les morts !!

[OK have it's well understood JOHN wants us dead so let's do the dead]

U8. Vous avez raison Monsieur

[You're right Sr.]

U9. Effectivement, faisons le mort et le pays mourira en consequence.

[Indeed, let us die and the country dies in consequence.]

U10. Celui qui prend le pouvoir par des armées doit sortir par des armées le peuple congolais ne connaît pas qu'est-ce que la démocratie.

[The one who takes the power by army must come out by army the Congolese people do not know that democracy]

U11. Oui-oui ils ont entouré la parcelle où voulais se tenir la réunion, aaaaah le pays là.

[Yes-yes they surrounded the parcel or wanted to hold the meeting, Aaaaah the country.]

U12. La peur a changé de côté, papy s'est rendu compte de son erreur il peut empêcher une conférence, mais il n'empêchera plus le peuple de penser à comment se libérer

[Fear to be changed aside, Grandpa realized his mistake he can prevent a conference, but it will no longer prevent the people from thinking about how to free themselves]

U13. pas besoin d'eau potable pour éteindre un incendie! vraiment l'opposition est trop Pacifique vous devrez comprendre que certaines personnes ne comprennent que le langage de la violence !í ½í,

[No need for drinking water to dye a fire! Really the opposition is too peaceful you will have to understand that some people understand only the language of violence! Í ½ í]

U8. L'opposition est trop couarde

[The opposition is too Coward]

U13. a cette allure ils iront tous en prison a tour de role

[At this stage they will all go to prison in turn]

U14. Cela ne sert à rien de publier en avance de ce qu'ils vont faire puisque c'est ainsi maintenant faites vos réunions d'abord en secret puis venez nous donner le compte rendu après. Nous avons à faire à des imbéciles qui n'ont pas honte

[ It is no use to publish in advance what they will do since it is so now do your meetings first in secret then come to us the minutes after. We have to do to fools who are not ashamed]

U15. "La résistance pacifique a montré ses limites. Il est temps qu'on passe à autre chose. Trop c'est trop... finissons en !! " DIXIT Mr JERRY André.

[The Pacific resistance has shown its limits." It's time for us to move on. Too much is too ... let's finish in!! "Dixit Mr JERRYe.]

U16. passer à autre chose oui mais k fait sa base à lui? tous ces leaders politiques n'ont pas de base dynamiques capables de prendre la rue comme celle de Kolélas alors k ce combat est populaire et le Pool seul ne pourra pas tant k l'hypocrisie des autres envoie les seuls fils du sud mourir, et je plans l'attitude de nos compatriotes du nord.

[Move on to something else yes but K made his base? All these political leaders have no dynamic basis capable of taking the street like that of Kolelas so K this fight is popular and the pool alone will not be able to so k the hypocrisy of others sends the only sons of the South die, and I plan the attitude of our compatriots of the north.]

U17. Je savais

[ I knew]

U18. Ce genre de comportement va pousser des vrais patriotes de se lancer à une rébellion... de toutes les façons c'est la loi du plus fort qui frappe le Congo!

[This kind of behavior will push real patriots to start a rebellion ... in every way it is the law of the fittest that strikes the Congo!]

U19. Je suis pas surpris

[I'm not surprised at all.]

U20. La République bananière

[The Banana Republic]

U21. A ta vous même, on ne pouvait pas accepter la tenue d'une aussi importante réunion de l'opposition ! ! ! JOHN n'est pas bête !

[At your own, we could not accept the holding of such an important meeting of the Opposition! JOHN is not stupid!]

U22. NOUS SOMMES CONDAMNES A VIVRE SOUS LES CHAINES DU ROYAUME D'OYO A JAMAIS.

[We are condemned to live under the chains of the Kingdom of Oyo has ever.]

U23. kiekeiekeiie tu m as tué

[LOL, You just killed me]

U24. Oui, si nous ne décidont réellement pas de nous libérer

[Yes, if we really don't decide to free ourselves]

U25. U24, nonhonhonhon?

U26. L'armée n'existe plus au Congo, c'est plutôt une milice qui est à la solde de la dictature la plus violente de la planète terre. Tous les officiers sont sous les bottes du dictateur et se battent

bec et ongles pour sauver un pouvoir voyou au lieu de penser au peuple. Mais le peuple doit prendre ses responsabilités avec courage.

[The army no longer exists in the Congo, it is rather a militia that is the balance of the most violent dictatorship of planet Earth. All the officers are under the dictator's boots and are fighting tooth and nail to save a rogue power instead of thinking of the people. But the people must take responsibility with courage.]

U23. Pas de salle = Pas de problème. Que l'opposition profite de la saison sèche (pas de pluies) et fasse passer l'essentiel du message en plein air

[No room = no problem. That the opposition takes advantage of the dry season (no rains) and will pass the bulk of the message in the open air]

U27. on doit demander les comptes aux français residant au congo...il n'est plus question de les assister comme ca.. snp.

[We have to ask the accounts to the French residing in the congo...il is no longer a question of assisting them like this.. SNP.]

U28. PEUPLE DU CONGO TO FUNGULA MISSO ,NE SOTONS PAS SURPRI ,CA DEVRAIT ARRIVE QUE 'ARMEE ALLAIT EMPECHE'C'EST TRES CLAIR ET LE FAMEUX PLAN " B " SOYONS SERIEUX WA BA WUNA...WE NA MESSO.

[People of the Congo to Jamie Misso, do not SOTONS surpri, it should happen that ' army was going EMPECHE'C'EST very clear and the famous plan "b " Let's be serious wa ba WUNA ... We didn't mess up.]

U2. Mes freres vous ne comprenez toujours pas dans quel pays vous vivez ou quoi ??? c est triste d etre aussi peu engager dans la victoire de la liberte Tant pis pour vous alors !!

[My brothers you still do not understand in which country you live or what??? It is sad to be as little engaging in the victory of freedom so much worse for you then!!]

U29. J'ai proposé d'improviser des meetings dans les marchés. Ils n'empêcheront pas les gens d'aller au marché et la foule est compact...

[I proposed to improvise meetings in the markets. They will not prevent people from going to the market and the crowd is compact ...]

U30. En regardant la philosophie façonnique, je me demande si vraiment les membres de cette fraternité cherchent l'égalité entre les hommes, ou plutôt la destruction de l'humanité

[Looking at the shaping philosophy, I wonder if the members of this fraternity really seek equality between men, or rather the destruction of the HUMANITÉ'AI proposed to improvise meetings in the markets. They will not prevent people from going to the market and the crowd is compact ...]

U31. ah! comme le Congo c'est un Royaume-Uni de demis takou n'guesso, que faire.

[ As the Congo is a United Kingdom of half Diyaka N'Guesso, what to do.]

U32. "En politique, rien n'arrive par accident. Si quelque chose se produit, vous pouvez parier que cela a été planifié de cette façon."

[In politics, nothing happens by accident. "If something happens, you can bet it was planned that way."]

U9. Vous ne dites absolument rien. Citer ne veut pas dire démonstrer. Incompréhensible. Merci

[You say absolutely nothing. Quoting does not mean to demonster. Incomprehensible. Thank you]

U33. « Quiconque veut ravir la liberté d'une nation doit commencer par lui retirer le droit de s'exprimer librement. » Benjamin Franklin

[Anyone who wants to delight the freedom of a nation must begin by removing the right to speak freely. » Benjamin Franklin]

U34. Pas de désinformation svp. Soyons responsables les amis(es)

[No disinformation please. Let's be responsible friends]

U35. JOHN sors de ce corps

[JOHN out of this body]

U36. le développement passe par les routes kiekiekie depuis que tu fais tes routes tu as développé Quoi? kiadi le développement passe par la démocratie dis le lui .dans la démocratie il y'a la transparencele respect des loisla liberté d'expressionla bonne...

[Development goes through the roads Kiekiekie since you made your roads you developed what? Kirubha development goes through democracy tell him. In democracy there is transparency respect of the Loisl freedom of Expressionla good ...]

U37. Que les leaders se réunissent au domicile de l'un d'entre eux et chacun passera le mot d'ordre à ses partisans via Facebook + bouche à oreille dans les quartiers + distribution de tracts, etc...

[That leaders meet at the home of one of them and everyone will pass the watchword to his Followers via Facebook + word of mouth in the neighborhoods + distribution of leaflets, etc. ...]

U38. JOHN comprend seulement le langage des armes les restes ce du pipo

U38. JOHN comprend seulement le langage des armes les restes ce du pipo

U39. Ils n'ont pas le faire en public.

[They do not have to do so in public.]

U40. Initiative et actions. Trop c'est trop.

[Initiative and actions. Too much is too much.]

U41. C'est minable de la part d'un pouvoir illégal

[It's lousy on the part of an illegal power]

U42. cela devient du grand n'importe quoi ils sont tellement aux abois !

[ It becomes of the great anything they are so desperate!]

U43. Je savais déjà que ça devrait arriver  
What a pity country!

U44. c'est très regrettable; L'ETERNEL ai pitié de nous et sauve notre CONGO.

[It is very regrettable; The Lord has mercy on us and saves our Congo.]

U45. C'est la lâcheté

[It's cowardice]

U46. Ils ont peur tout simplement

[They're just afraid]

U47. Je ne suis pas surpris! et vous ?

[ I'm not surprised! How about you?]


U48. Heuh ! Mais ça veut dire quoi ça

[What does this mean?]

U49. Dictature

100%

[Vivre la nouvelle republique 

U49. Dictatorship 100% live the new Republique 

U50. hier tu les avaient traiter de faux opposants, pour toi seul mokoko est vrai opposant.

[Dichier you were calling them false opponents, for you only McMahon is a true opponent.]

U51. J'en étais persuadé!

[I was convinced!]

U52. qui va nous libere vraiment?

[Who's going to liberate us?]

U53. No comment !

U54. ça c prévisible ça

[This is predictable]

U38. la liberté ne ce donne pas sa s, arrache

[Freedom does not give it out]

26. Dans les quartier nord de Brazzaville. Quand je vous dit que ce type un diable.

### Comments

U1. C'est de la communication calmez vous

U2. me c pas vrai ya bouchi

U3. Ok c compris . C'est pour éveillez les gens qui ne se bouge pas

U4. ok ta raison me cmn Brazzaville

U5. Kel comminication

U6. de Brazzaville sa marche cmn maintenant

U7. Kiekiekie busted la main dans le sac ma chère

27. Congo-Brazza : Situation tendue, internet mobile et signal RFI coupés



## Congo-Brazza : Situation tendue, internet mobile et signal RFI coupés

### **Comments**

U1. C vraiment regrettable pourquoi les pays africain et leurs président n respect jamais leur propre constitution et il.pense qu'il sont le seul capable de dirigé or ils ont tort heureusement notre Dieu est justice il va mettre fin a leur plan diabolique

U2. les deux Congo ne sera pas un bien privée de JOHN et kabila

U3. si ils coupent le signal à nôtre tours ça ne feea qu'empiré la situation

U4. qu'ils viennent coupé aussi le signale à kin du n'importe quoi j'en invite les congolais d'en face de n'ai pas baissez les bras à kin nous sommes de coeur avec vour pour preuve botinda a.t.c na bish ngobila po tochargelé bino ba pneuds na ba nzeté po b...

U5. C'est un signal aux experts en gestion,je veux dire les dirigeants plus intelligents que tout le monde,l'afrique d'aujourd'hui,n'est pas l'afrique de kadhaffi,de Mobutu,... Cet afrique n'est pas ton empire,ton royaume monsieur le president,quitte au pouvoir je t'en prie,ne cherche pas à finir dans une case à la CPI, S.O.S

U6. il fo un gd tsunami dans les 2 rives....on a connu une 2 guerres à brazzaville et la paix a kinshasa...il faut 2 guerres simultanément...et au Congo et à Brazzaville

U6. ce vraiment ridicule. prq coupes 1 signal internet et Rfi?? d apres tout, le monde externe est deja au courant de tout c qui se passe

U7. Et leur ministre de la communication dément!!!

U8. Il est ingustement de dire que notre continent africain nous nous pas encore atteint la maturité comment les autres continent du monde . La maturité vienne quand le peuple eux - mêmes se sentent capable de tout faire et avoir cette souverainété de s'e...[See More](#)

U9. Couper la Rfi et le net,cela ne va jamais arrêter la volonté populaire.

U10. Du courage ls brazzavilloi bobengana ye

U11. les autorités de Brazzaville ont sûrement appris cela de leurs homologues de Kinshasa.

U12. Parce que JOHN n'a pas encore compris que les temps et les mentalités ont changé.

U12. Bolembate akokima tjr toza sima na bino toboyi bâ président a vie

U13. ba voisin ba comprendre

U14. Ba comprendre yaya, mais totika bango te po kala tse... Yoyebi!

U15. bientôt a kinshasa

U16. Ba Brazza vilois bosala makasi bolonga, soki te ah, on ne reçoit pas en Rdc, souvenez vous de.....

U17. chers camarades du congo vrai, soutien total. votre lutte vous liberera à coup sur. rien je dis rien ne peut empecher votre victoire.maintenant je vous reconnais DIGNES HERITIERS DE MARIEN NGOUABI L'INTEGRE.SACHEZ "qu'il n'y a pas de souffrance sans fin".l'heure de votre liberation a sonné.liberez vous des chaines de l'imperialisme et de ses valets locaux maintenant et pour toujours

U18. l'Afrique sera sauver que par les africains eux même

U19. Eeeeeh vraiment! Être président africain c'est être au service du sang.Après tant d'années au pouvoir, il ne veut pas céder la place. C'est malheureux!

U20. c'est un Signal fort pour les Dirigent africain

U21. Courage mes frères on ne de coeur avec vous il doit partir laisser la place aux autres

U22. Etali pe biso na nn ??  
Pcq biso nabango tokabwana deja tshuiiiiiiiip !!!!

U23. Courage a vous peuple congolais!!depuis le Burkina on vous soutient

U24. Claudia JOHN.... Tu es où, bientôt, la fin de règne de ton père et ses potes.....ton père qui est né le 23 novembre 1943 , bientôt, il aura 72 ans  
Voilà , d'un coût comment il change son acte de naissance , en disant qu'il né en 1964.....tout ça ..

U25. il faut chasser les vermines (kabila & JOHN) du sanctuaires (Congos)

U26. A Brazzaville, ce n'est pas le retrait du projet referendaire que nous demandons, mais c'est la DEMISSION DE JOHN que nous exigeons. Comme il y a deja eu mort d'hommes, JOHN doit demissionner MAINTENANT.

U27. JOHNfit il se bien si ya le signale ce fini pour lui et sons clan congo ne ve pas de toi tika biso

U28. Vraiment ces Présidents bonobo criminels,ils ne comprennent encore pas que les choses changent!!

On peut nous aider à les arrêter un à un,les juger en public et les pendre au grand jour pcq ils sont à la base de notre faim et tueries pour leurs pouvoirs égoïstes...

U29. Je me demande pourquoi si quelqu'un a deja eu boku dargent commence a chercher des problemes et n veule pas consommer l'argent ki l'a voler calmement?

U30. Tjrs les mm strategies improductives ces présidents cons!

U31. que Dieu nous assiste nous voulons la paix,eloko nini esilaka te?

U32. D'où es que vous tirez ce système de couper le signal ???

U33. La patrie ou la mort nous vaincrons

U34. Le peuple vaincra!!!

U35. Okopakata mbangu biliaki bino bileki

U35. Ndenge oza wapi yo

U36. Je maudis tous les dictateurs au nom de Jesus christ.

U37. Akokima soki pression eleki courage ..



- U38. eyindaka mabe
- U39. Molimo ya Thomas Luhaka!
- U40. Même si la raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure selon le monde , notre Dieu est vivant il agira et qu'il protège son peuple contre les méchants .
- U41. Bayoka eloko !
- U42. Eyindieeeee
- U43. tour na yo eza tour na yo!
- U44. Boya teeeeeee toboyi bino na kin
- U45. ce n'est que le debut
- U46. C est les signes d une fin !!!
- U47. Adrenaline
- U48. internet coupé! cette scène me rappelle ce qui s'etait passé a kinshasa il y a klk mois.
- U49. Oh Africa!
- U50. JOHN degage
- U51. c'est maintenant ou jamais
- U52. Vieux jaribu JOHN tu na pas honte vraiment ! Degage.
- U53. Abas la ductature en afrique, abas la manipulation .que vive la democrastie ,allez y peuple congolais jusqua la liberation de votre pays,nous sommes de coeur avec vs.
- U54. Toute chose a sa fin. Ne vous en faites pas.
- U55. Ca nous arrive aussi
- U56. la vrais facon de chasser les dictateurs o pouvoir se sa... Ummmm, Sassu!
- U57. Mokili mbanga ntaba,kanambe plus JOHN doivent quitter le pouvoir avant kil disent si nous savions...deux dictateurs,voleurs à soiffer du pouvoir...
- U58. que Allah nous donne la paix au deux Congo car nous somme fatigue de la guerre. Amina
- U59. All that because they don't want to step down i don't know what's going on with africans leaders seriously they're crazy
- U60. eyindieeeee
- U61. C vraimnt triste. ...
- U62. Bâ poussa eyindaka mabe
- U63. le premier reflèxe des dictateurs.
- U64. classic
- U65. Je prie pour mon pays maternelle...que Dieu sauve les innocents..
- U66. Vs etes des idiots
- U67. JOHN doit partir

- U68. je suis de coeur avec vous! allez de l'avant comme au burkinafaso!
- U69. Merci cher President pour toutes les bonnes oeuvres réalisées je pense qu'il est temps de laisser la place à une autre personne qui sera élu par le peuple.
- U70. C regrettable pour leader africains la paix difficilement construite pre a etre sacrificier pour l' interet de quelqu' un...mawa
- U71. Ns congolais de kin,on s'en fiche d vs vos tracas, vs avais vos blm,ns le notre et surtout ns n'oublions jamais c que vs avais fais à nos frère, vs portés le sang de mes frères entre vs mains,en s'en fou d vos leçon d morale.
- U72. courage le peuple
- U73. toko banda ko solola na lokole lokola bakoko!kom sa boko tumba nde ba #nzete!
- U74. Vous les Brazza vilois pas chez ns RDC Dieu mer6
- U75. boniokolaka biso na mbata mokolo esukela bino kuna epai na biso te boya pe na rdc nabiso te bomekate
- U76. Le dialogue initie' par Tshisekedi sous la mediation internationale est la seule voie de la passation pacifique du pouvoir par Kabila en 2016. A defaut, ns risquons de vivre autre chose en 2016( je ne le souhaite pas mais c'est mon pt de vue).
- U77. la vie ou la mort. JOHN dégage
- U78. Dieu merci, je vous confirme vous les congolais de Brazza ,vous allez payer pour tout ce que vous avez faits pour les congolais de kinshasa, Dieu vas vous punir.!!!! Et vous les congolais de kinshasa n'est le recevez pas. Les brazzavillois Ces sont de demont.
- U79. Ns somme derrere vs et on comprend prkw il avait chassé l congolais de kinshasa.
- U80. JOHN a cru que Brazza était son nzete ya minu po asakana nango
- U81. Ba brazzavillois boya te na kin
- U82. akokende bobanga te na leki naye azawa etikali ye
- U83. C horrible et malheureux
- U84. Merci beaucoup pour Brazzaville
- U85. Sassu degage!
- U86. Ces president sont friands de sang.Ils passeront,malheur à eux et leur suiveurs
- U87. Tikitsatiki tsa , time over
- U88. Du courage peuple congolais.ne vous laissez pas faire seule la lutte libère. Dieu vous protège depuis le Burkina Faso
- U89. Ça commence ! Que sa puisse etre un exemple pour la rdc
- U90. les dirigeants africains veulent garder le pouvoir a tout prix, c,est dommage
- U91. Les Petits Rois Del Afrique Ils Finissent Leur Regne Trop Mal ,soit Ala Cpi,soit Il Fuient,soit Ils Meurent Comme Un Chien Tamponé La Nuit Sur Un Boulevard,soit En Exil Est Ce Qu'ils Font Sembla De Ne Pas Connaitre Le Sor De Leurs Predecesseurs Notamen...See More

28. #BRAZZAVILLE

Victoire au peuple , la pluie s'invite à la libération du Congo.

**Comments**

U1. ce sont les signes du temps ki ne trempent personne k ns assistons là à la fin d'un régime oui mm les esprits et la nature s'interposent à la manipulation de Mpila et autres suppôt du diable. JOHNffit.

U2. Mais où sont passés les médicaments des féticheurs de la majorité ? Lol.

U3. Les pctistes manquent de materiel pour connaitre la metéo??mais finalement il y a quoi dans le grand batiment que vous avez construit à téléJOHN?Juste les bureaux pour que les yaka noki noki viennent manger la kola?Et vous voulez changer la constitution.C'est vraiment pathetique ! NON AU CHANGEMENT DE LA CONSTITUTION NON NON NON NON NON NON NON et NON

U4. Meme la nature n'est pas avec eux, eza mawa botika

U5. Après la pluie c'est le beau temps.

U5. j espere k il va pleuvoir toute la journee

U6. Troisième et dernier avertissement !

U7. NZAMBE A SAMBELAKA TEHHH, A KO SAMBELA NANI? a suivre !!!!

U8. C bien l pctiste boko yoka sons

U9. hee teya ye

U10. yi wiri,

U11. Il pleut encore

29. Pression psychologique sur mineur à Brazzaville. Le pouvoir a exigé aux enseignants de toutes les écoles de Brazzaville de conduire leurs élèves au mini meeting du PCT (venir en civil). Une solide prime est réservée à tout enseignant qui drainera le plus d'enfants. Mme Claudia JOHN s'est déplacée personnellement à l'école Dom Helder Camara afin d'exiger à la direction de veiller à ce que cette recommandation soit scrupuleusement respectée

**Comments**

U1. J v1 2 l voire a l ecole la c notre profseur qui ns demande d partir o meeting. Non brazza news t trop fort en infos

U2. Bien que ces profs sont marginalisés , ils continuent quand même a contribuer à leurs propres malheurs...pathétique

U3. Je n'ai jamais vu un régime politique aussi nul que celui de Brazzaville....pourquoi ils s'ajoutent encore des chefs d'accusations? Tous ce que ce régime fait, l'histoire leur candamnera.

U4. Eh kièkiièkiè le référendum rend les gens dinguent dans ce pays

U3. Et pourtant les portes leur sont grandement ouverte. Ah l'homme politique noir un vrai stupide comme il n'y en pas.

U5. Lorsque on n a plus des poules dans son poulailler on fini par élever les oiseaux

U6. Hummm elle a même pas honte cette grosse vache de Claudia JOHN donc sa famille zairoise qu'elle a fait venir ne suffit pas vraiment le Congo devient comme la Corée du Nord #dictature#sassoufit

U7. vous dites du nptkw après tout

U8. Dieu fera des merveilles

U9. C'est un crime contre l'humanité en imposant aux élèves donc aux enfants d'aller à un meeting politique. L'UNICEF devrait interpellier l'autorité politique pour y renoncer.

U10. en veux la paix, juste la paix.

U11. Kiekiekie.... tout xa c'est la peur, quoi que vous fassiez le peuple ne veut plus de vous. faites des meeting sans distribuer les billets de banque

U12. Brazzanews mais ceux là ne sont pas les élèves de cette école dont tu fait allusion ?

U13. Moi je suis à l'école Dom Helder Camara, je ne suis pas au courant...

U14. les billets de 10000 circule dans mon quartier quoi c'est vraiment inquiétant...et c'est la honte

U15. Que dit l'union africaine face ce projet de JOHN? Cette organisation doit aussi réagir .....

U16. la honte un seul mot JOHNfit



U17. les parents n'ont qu'à interdire les enfants d'aller a l'école le jour-j.on verra si claudia et kiki viendront les cherché chez eux...VRAI BUZOBA

U18. Vrai du n'mporte quoi

U19. bzn,parfois du dexoi

U20. JOHN veut faire du congo un 2ème Corée du Nord ce malade mental va bientôt finir comme un chien mort

U21. Ce pouvoir est au abois entraîner les enfants pour faire de la figuration à un meeting politique est pathétique. Ce régime est tellement impopulaire même les animaux leurs disent non #Sassoufit#

U22. C'est honteux de mêler les enfants scolarisés à de tel manifestation, toujours cette corruption!!!!

U23. Ont- ils demandés la permission aux parents de ces élèves ? C'esg comme ça maintenant on viol les lois partout quoi .

U24. A force de vouloir chasser le diable, on le croise même là où il n'est pas. Je ne croyais pas qu'il y avait des congolais aussi idiots pour croire à une telle information. Vous me faites pitié.

U25. Stop la nguessolisation au Congo Brazzaville [#JOHNfit](#)

U26. vous irez au meeting avec les 10% AU BAC

U27. C'est une fausse information car je viens d'appeler deux enseignants évoluant dans cette école. Merci

U28. Aller a un meeting c'est pas obligatoire! allez au diable pct

U29. kekeke ah brazza news

U30. Qlle hante

U31. k3?ls ptit enfnts?

U32. U7., l'union africaine peuvent rien faire c'est son tous les mêmes.

U33. Évidemment, le contraire m'aurait étonné.

U34. Ah Brazzanews tu mens comme tu respire

U34. Du vrai n'importe quoi tiadiiii

U35. PATHÉTIQUE

U36. Ça me rappelle 2002 au lycée Chaminade tiens !

U37. Mon enfant ne va pas s'y rendre quoi c'est le communisme

U38. C tiarifiant!

U39. MDR! Na. Seki

U40. C'est le temps du mono. Ah mon pays.

U41. Essili...

30. ba combatants ya nzala bandes des collabos. Le seul loisir au Congo c'est faire l'amour dans des hôtels "le sport en chambre "

Comments

U1. nakosi ?

U2. Lollllll

U3. Je sais pas je n'ai été qu'une fois au pays donc ché pas

U1. Il n'y a pas de cinéma, il n'y a loisirs [Epiphanie Missamoudtu](#) as peur maintenant ou tu étais nguirisée

U4. Si il ya du cinéma maintenant, dans la salle de la préfecture. Mais bon vous connaissez pas ce nouveau bâtiment. Kiekiekiekiekiekiekei

U1. Un cinéma à la préfecture Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Guel de Guelje connais très bien ce bâtiment mon dernier voyage au Congo remonte 48mois.

U4. Oko pola wana

U4. Nous avons deux mausolées à Brazzaville, marien ngouabi et De brazza lolllll. Pleins d'histoires à raconter. Sans oublier des bungalows à kintelé ou tous les week-ends les brazzavikkois vont au pic nique

U1. Vive l'émérgence d'ici 2025

U2. Ha ha

U5. Tellement vrai et boire de l'alcool. Voilà la vraie réalité du bled avec l'émérgence de papi Mabachi-String.

U2. Mais nianier c'est pas mal hein Aristide Mobebissi tala kaka ba mboka wana

U1. Obomi ngayi nako seka cinéma na la préfecture Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Guel de Guel

U5. Le bled est bourré d'hôtels, de bars et VIP. Ata mwa réfection ya cinéma VOG ou RIO. Rien !

Tout le monde n'est pas obligé d'être consommateur d'alcool ou accro du sexe.

U6. alors vient ouvrir une salle de cinema ma au bled au lieu de dire du n'importe koi ya internet

U5. Ça ne va pas tarder. Et je ne raconte pas n'importe quoi. Déjà ta photo de profil dit tout. Aller salut !!!

U4. Mais Akus Akoualus est ce que le pays force les gens à aller dans ses endroits que vous citez ?

Voici bientôt 2 ans que l'état a mit à la disposition de la population une bibliothèque nationale. La ou aussi c'est à l'état de pousser les gens d'aller lire ou faire des recherches ??? Pfuuuuuuf bino kaka ko finga mais bon salaka pe rien

U5. Ce n'est pas suffisant Guel de Guel surtout pour un pays qui tend soit disant vers son émérgence.

Même en Somalie il y a pas mal de loisirs. Faux arrêter aussi !

U4. Pfuuuuuuf !!! Tu n'as rien dit

U5. J'ai comme même écrit ! Soyons réaliste et non fans.

U4. U5. tu me connais, fan je ne sais pas mais pragmatique et optimiste. Alors qualité ya missala pona mboka ya congo wana... Alors na leli

U6. mais bino moko meme ba lopagou bo soba té siaaaaa

U1. Bino ba nani ? U6.

U4. Hahahahah Aristide Mobebissi olingui polémique kiakiakiakiakiakia kiakiakiakiakiakia

U7. La verite mn frere

U1. Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié Kié

31. BONGUI SHOW A SUIVRE: Invité: Les combattants de Paris c'est la diaspora de la honte... Diaspora: à quoi ça sert de dérouler vos intelligences sur les réseaux sociaux uniquement?...

### Comments

U1. Il raconte quoi lui?  
Il est tjr sur sa balance qui penche vers l'opresseur?

U2. C EST QUI CA ENCORE CELUI LA ?

U3. Il n'est pas mal ce garçon, en tout cas il s'exprime bien. Mieux que certains de nos politiques "aguerris". Il a des positions claires sur les sujets abordés pendant l'interview. Il faut creuser un peu plus. En tout cas, il a raison de dire que notre g...[See More](#)

U4. c qui ce monsieur, il a quel projet, de divertir ou faire son numero

U5. ce mec est avec JOHN!!!

U2. il a cree combien d emplois dans sa vie , s il est avec JOHN dites lui d aller se faire ailleurs .

U2.



U6. M. Derick Mampassi, non je ne suis pas avec JOHN, sinon je l'assumerais. Il y a encore des gens qui pendent librement. Acceptez juste que d'aucuns s'expriment différemment de vous. Je ne revendique cependant pas d'avoir raison sur tout.

U6. depuis quelques temps je t'avait suivis sur drtv pointe noire,mais tes propos n'étaient pas nettes,mr ngouakamabé ou tu es de l'opposition ou du pouvoir car on a trop souffert plus besoin des adeptes de Martin mberi qui n'aime que les gagnants

U7. Sur Drtv, les images existent encore. Si vous estimez que faire la politique c'est uniquement insulter les gens, je n'adhère pas. Je ne me reconnais pas en certains leaders politiques et c'est mon droit. D'ailleurs, je n'ai plus l'âge d'être parrainé. ...[See More](#)

U1. ok publie nous tes projets de la politique sociale et espérant la diaspora peut te soutenir, et

U8. **Ghislain Ondele Kanga** Serge si vous me permettez de vous posé une seule question.

Elle sera..... quelle est votre idéologie? Car vous ni du pouvoir ni de l'opposition ?

U2. IGNOREZ CET IDIOT, NE LUI ACCORDEZ AUCUNE IMPORTANCE CE SERAIT FAIRE SA PUB.

U7. Ghislain, merci pour ce direct. Je suis opposant, mais je ne me reconnais pas dans une alliance que j'estime incestueuse frocad idc. Rassurez vous que cette alliance ne regroupe pas tous les opposants congolais. Ceci dit, je les soutiens pour aider à faire respecter l'alternance au Congo. Si je suis assez clair, dites le.

U6. mr serge,croyez vous faire fléchir JOHN par des paroles?

U7. Ghislain, et pis l'opposition au Congo n'est pas idéologique exceptée celle dans laquelle j'ai oeuvré qui prônait un libéralisme économique au PRL. L'opposition est axée vers un système de gestion dangereux. Alors, comment composer avec des gens qui sortent fraîchement dudit système et qui ont des comptes à rendre eux aussi. ?

U7. Derick, si votre démarche peut nous aider à garantir l'alternance, appliquez la. Tant qu'un infime espoir de sortie de crise sans bain de sang existe, je me battraï. Je n'empêche pas à d'autres d'exécuter leurs plans, mais s'ils sont violents, je dénoncerai, comme je décrie la violence faite à la constitution.

U8. Si j'ai bien compris, tu ne reconnaît pas l'alliance du frocard et IDC, mais tu soutien leur vision de faire respecté l'alternance.

U7. Ghislain, cette alliance ne peut et ne doit servir qu'à lutter pour l'alternance. Ils ne sont pas tous des opposants. C'est là où se situe la confusion. Okombi par exemple n'a jamais démissionné du PCT, le mcddi n'a jamais rompu son accord avec le pct....Soyons sérieux, mais avant tout, gagnons le combat de la démocratie, ensuite on fera le point et vous pouvez compter avec moi.

U6. mais pourquoi ne proposez pas vous cette sortie de crise sans bain de sang?vous n'avez pas repondu à ma question croyez vous faire fléchir JOHN par des paroles?

U8. , excuse moi , je trouve que ta vision est courte sur ce qui se passe au Congo . Mon frère si tu veut bien faire la potilique de l'opposition actuellement au Congo, tu as un intérêt a respecté ces monsieurs....[See More](#)

U7. Ghislain relisez ce que j'ai écrit: "mais avant tout, gagnons le combat de la démocratie, ensuite on fera le point et vous pouvez compter avec moi". Ensuite, si vous avez du temps ce soir, suivez la suite de mon interview. Mais je suis assez mûr pour savoir avec qui composer !

U9. bjr Serge, je ne connais pas la chaine sur laquelle passera ton itw. est une chaine du net?

U10. Bonjour U9, l'émission passera ce soir sur [ZIANA TV](#) une chaîne du net [www.ziana.tv](http://www.ziana.tv)

### ZianaTV - l'actu de la diaspora

Partie 1. Alain Mabanckou pour les NulsAlain Mabanckou fait sa rentrée 2015 à La Librairie...

U9. pour le reste, ta vision den la situation est proche de la mienne: de la meme facon que je denoncais les ministres soit-disant opposes au referendum et toujours au gouvernement, c est egalement de la meme facon que je dis qu on ne peut s opposer sans...

U8. Alex Batoumeni tu as tort , retient ça en ne peu pas faire un combat sans avoir des infiltrés dans le camp adverse. Le okombi , parfait et silou jouent ce petit joue. ..

U9. dis moi , cher Ghislain, ils sont infiltrés ou? a la majorite ou a "l'opposition"?

32. **BrazzaNews** Maître Tric, avocat de notre Général JONSON annonce le renforcement de la désobéissance civile qui se fera avec les partenaires sociaux et les syndicats. Il définit les conditions du dialogue dont nous exigeons tous la tenue en terrain neutre, en Suisse. [#FreeMokoko](#)

### Comment