

Wolof in the Transmission of Technical Knowledge and Skills: A Comparative Sociolinguistic Study of Language Practices in Automotive Mechanics, Electricity, and Body-Shaping Workshops in Dakar and Thiès

Mamadou Salla Gueye

Laboratory of Mathematics and Decision Sciences (LMSD), Ecole Polytechnique Thiès, Thiès, Senegal

Email: msgueye@ept.sn

How to cite this paper: Gueye, M. S.

(2026). Wolof in the Transmission of Technical Knowledge and Skills: A Comparative Sociolinguistic Study of Language Practices in Automotive Mechanics, Electricity, and Body-Shaping Workshops in Dakar and Thiès. *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics*, 16, 644-675.

<https://doi.org/10.4236/ojml.2026.165037>

Received: September 11, 2026

Accepted: October 26, 2026

Published: October 29, 2026

Copyright © 2026 by author(s) and Scientific Research Publishing Inc.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution International License (CC BY 4.0).

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



Open Access

Abstract

This paper deals with the role of Wolof language in the transmission of Knowledge, Know-How, Abilities and Skills (KKAS) [the distinction between the notions of Knowledge, Know-How, Abilities and Skills is articulated around the theories of Guy Le Boterf (2015, 2018) and the ILO (OIT, 2025) in the fields of management sciences and education] in informal workshops of auto mechanics, electricity and body-shaping in Dakar and Thiès. Methodologically, this qualitative study is based on empirical triangulation, integrating direct observations with eighteen semi-structured interviews with master artisans, experienced workers, and apprentices, and six hours of *in-situ* audio recordings of speech acts in real work situations. The data obtained therefore show that Wolof is not simply a vector of code-switching but rather an integrated cognitive technolact used to compensate for the lack of formalized training materials in French. The analysis, thus, reveals a technolinguistic symbiosis in which Wolof grammar incorporates and internalizes Western technical terminology, transforming these inputs into operational structures that directly govern physical professional gestures on the shop floor. In addition, the study highlights specific geolinguistic variations: the axis of Dakar chooses a hybridization of fast Franglais, while the hub of Thiès maintains a traditional lexicon based on endogenous metaphors. Finally, by assessing technical appropriation through criteria of operational action, this article uncovers a strong empirical

association, which demonstrates the didactic effectiveness of artisanal oral tradition. It calls for the standardization of these field lexicons along the lines of the national SenTermino platform (IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop & ESP, 2025) and formal vocational training centers in Senegal.

Keywords

Urban Sociolinguistics, Wolof, Transmission of Knowledge, Competency-Based Approach, Informal Economy, SenTermino, Senegal

1. General Introduction

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the traditional and informal technical apprenticeship in trades still rests essentially on “on-the-job” transmission. This artisanal economy in Senegal is based on workshops specializing in automotive mechanics, electricity and body-shaping. These are vibrant places of socialization where complex technical knowledge, know-how and skills are passed on daily from master artisans to apprentices. This pedagogical transfer happens almost exclusively through oral communication in Wolof, the dominant vehicular language in the country, which embeds individuals deeply within communities of practice through situated learning dynamics (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This communicative process also reflects a larger language socialization structure (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) in which linguistic acquisition and cultural integration occur simultaneously. Pioneering field studies of urban Wolof have already documented this language’s remarkable plasticity and capacity to adapt to structural changes brought by modernity and new technologies (Swigart, 1992; McLaughlin, 2001). The structure of languages in Senegal, as emphasized in the basic sociolinguistic literature (Cissé, 2005), is linked to the intricate interweaving of State educational policies, urban growth, and local societal demands.

In urban sociolinguistics, the city is a powerful catalyst of language practices, following Louis-Jean Calvet (1994, 2002). The cosmopolitan and highly polarized metropolis of Dakar is compared with Thiès, a regional center and historic railroad junction, to study the extent to which urban density and professional specializations determine the permeability of linguistic phenomena. This dynamic shows how urban Wolof-French co-bilingualism (Daff, 2002) functions in daily life as a highly fluid sociolinguistic resource. These artisanal production units systematically elude the classical accounting and formal regulatory standards, but the reality of their operations follows strict rules of verbal interaction. The continuous code-switching and the pragmatic inclusion of imported technical lexicons show exactly how Wolof structures and organizes access to professional knowledge, producing specialized jargon or technolects unique to the informal economy (Diallo, 2011).

This sociolinguistic dynamic has a direct bearing on contemporary theory in management and education. Knowledge, Know-How, Abilities, and Skills

(KKAS) are not merely productivity metrics or economic outputs (Gueye, 2026: [1, op.cit.]). They are genuine levers for community development and long-term societal outcomes. Such cognitive competencies and soft skills when applied in these custom-based workshop environments closely match the national vocational guidelines promoted by the International Labor Organization (ILO, OIT, 2025) for the institutional recognition of artisanal trades. Furthermore, this empirical process intersects with recent attempts to standardize scientific terminology, in particular by the national SenTermino project supported by UNESCO (2025), IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop & ESP (2025). The latter aims to legitimize national languages by proving their ability to articulate complex knowledge and modern technological concepts.

The demographic and socio-economic reality of Senegal reinforces the structural weight of this informal educational system. The data from the National Agency for Statistics and Demography (ANSD, 2023, Labor Inspection Statistics of Thiès) confirm a high concentration of mechanics, electricity and body shaping units along the Dakar-Thiès axis. These workshops cater to a large group of out-of-school youth who don't fit into the traditional school system offering a viable path to professional integration and financial independence via conventional apprenticeship systems (Ndiaye, 2018). While official educational policies fail to introduce local languages into primary schools, a counter-phenomenon spontaneously appears on the shop floor, where the vernacular entirely invades the technical sphere to counter the total lack of French instructional textbooks. Wolof is therefore not just a vehicle for empty chatter, but a complete teaching aid that translates Western technical jargon to describe safety procedures, to locate and identify complex mechanical breakdowns or to physically manipulate materials.

This socio-educational situation poses a basic question: to what extent can language practices in Wolof compensate for the absence of formalized technical training in French, and how do they contribute to the conceptualization of professional know-how of the artisan-owner-manager of these three trade workshops in Senegal?

From this main question three fundamental sub-questions can be derived:

- 1) How does Wolof actually function as a cognitive tool and didactic mediator during explanations, corrections, and instructions from the master to the apprentice?
- 2) How do trade specificities (global diagnosis in mechanics, circuit precision in electricity, material manipulation in body-shaping) influence lexical creation and the use of Wolof-French bilingualism?
- 3) How do the contrasting urban contexts of Dakar and Thiès shape distinct sociolinguistic variations in the appropriation of technical jargon?

Finally, the analysis of technolinguistic practices cannot be isolated from the material realities of the workshop. Examining their impact on production unit governance, transaction cost optimization, and human capital profitability invites

us to address the following question as an economic, managerial, and organizational opening: To what extent does the formalization of a hybrid technolact (Wolof-French) structure workshop governance modes, transaction cost optimization, and the economic valuation of human capital among these artisan-owners-managers?

The general objective of this article is to map and enhance the role of the Wolof language in the informal economy and technical training. More specifically, this work aims to:

- Identify the linguistic processes through which Wolof assimilates Western automotive technical lexicons (borrowings, code-switching).
- Model informal pedagogy and the knowledge transmission tree (observation, imitation, and verbalization) in mechanics, electricity, and body-shaping workshops.
- Compare micro-social and geographical variations of professional discourses between the Dakar and Thiès sites to evaluate the impact of the urban environment on language evolution.

2. Method of Field Study

The successful implementation of a valid sociolinguistic survey in informal production spaces requires, by its very nature, transparent field entry protocols, a high degree of representativeness for local actors and strong data categorization instruments. The research is empirical and qualitative and follows a strict structured framework based on direct systematic field observations. This methodological approach is characterized by a continuous deep contextual scrutiny and empirical cross-checking, represented analytically through the Wolof socio-cognitive practices of *seetlu ak xool bu woor ak settantal bu sàkk*, for the rigorous deciphering of verbal and gestural interactions inside artisanal workshops in the urban hubs of Dakar and Thiès.

2.1. Mode of Access to Field and Profile of Participants

Access to informal manufacturing hubs and production spaces requires a methodological approach rooted in field ethics and mutual respect. Before entering the field, the research goals and underlying scientific motivations were systematically and explicitly stated to the master artisans, analytically identified as the workshop heads (*borom këru liggeyukay yi*). Building a real climate of trust and respect depended on showing the concrete scientific value and socio-economic weight of their knowledge transmission practices. This low-profile, transparent engagement successfully allowed free, prior and informed consent for all *in-situ* audio recordings and systematic behavioral observations in both urban centers.

The observation protocol was aimed at capturing the historical and relational depth of the transmission process, by targeting and integrating the four key categories of actors detailed in our in-depth interview sample:

- Master artisans/Heads of workshop: guarantor of informal education, economic efficiency and didactic authority.
- Experienced professionals / Apprenticeship masters (including ex-apprentices trained on the job who became professionals): Senior employees, who provide close technical supervision and do the daily tasks.
- Apprentices Currently in an acquisition phase, heterogeneity in formal schooling backgrounds (often school dropouts from the classic system).

To avoid any methodological shortcuts, a clear distinction was established between purely geolinguistic or cultural variations related to location (Dakar vs. Thiès) and underlying structural factors influencing language (nature of the task, equipment level, embedded vehicle technology, internal workshop organization, and actors' experience level). These crucial distinctive modifications were inserted directly [see **Table 1**].

Table 1 below—while highlighting the interprofessional and interurban comparative logic—provides methodological details regarding the sample size (Number of participants and sample reconciliation) by geographical area, workshop, and role. Consistency between theoretical participant categories and the 18 reported interviews is thus established, integrating the methodological contribution of professionals who are all former apprentices recruited after successfully completing their acquisition continuum.

Table 1. Distribution of the participant sample by role, workshop, and geographical zone.

Geographical Zone	Workshop Identifier	Master Artisan/Workshop Head	Experienced Professional (Former apprentice turned pro)	Apprentice	Total Participants per Workshop
Dakar	Workshop D1	1	1	1	3
	Workshop D2	1	1	1	3
	Workshop D3	1	1	1	3
Thiès	Workshop T1	1	1	1	3
	Workshop T2	1	1	1	3
	Workshop T3	1	1	1	3
Total per Role	6 Workshops	6	6	6	Grand Total: 18

The total sample of the study is 18 main participants, equally distributed in 6 targeted workshops (3 in Dakar, 3 in Thiès), i.e. exactly 3 participants per workshop. The number of participants with an active role in each workshop is strictly defined as follows:

- 1 Master Artisan/Workshop Head per workshop (6 Master Artisans for all 6 workshops).
- 1 Experienced Professional/Apprenticeship Master for each workshop (Total 6 Experienced Professionals for all 6 workshops).
- 1 Apprentice per workshop (6 Apprentices in total for all 6 workshops).

The confluence of field statuses and roles enables a rigorous reconciliation between the four theoretical categories of actors defined in the methodology and the 18 in-depth interviews conducted.

The second category brings together the “seasoned professionals” and the “proximity apprenticeship masters” (ex-informal apprentices) in a single operational function at the workshop level, which justifies the interview of 6 individuals for this role. The protocol confirms that in the case of the fourth category (“former apprentices who became professionals”), they were recruited and integrated into the core of the survey design: verbatim analysis (especially paragraph 4.2.B) explicitly demonstrates that the profiles interviewed as “seasoned professionals” or “senior apprentices” in Thiès and Dakar are indeed former on-the-job trained apprentices who completed their acquisition continuum, thus strengthening the perfect coherence of the corpus of 18 interviews (6 workshop heads + 6 experienced professionals/proximity masters including recruited former apprentices + 6 active apprentices of variable heterogeneity).

2.2. Theoretical Application of the Analysis Grid

The epistemological originality of this research is that it refuses to reduce Wolof to an instrument of code-switching. Instead it models a major sociolinguistic resource that instantiates access to Knowledge, Know-How, Abilities and Skills (KKAS). In an effort to operationalize the observation of professional practices in the workshop environment, the methodology articulates technical activity around an integrated, non-mathematical systemic continuum structured in an interconnected flow: Experience & Knowledge → Verbalization → Demonstration → Instruction/Correction → Mediation → Terminology → Linguistic Choices → Comprehension → Effected Competence.

The qualitative continuum is formalized as a systemic sequence that responds to a double methodological imperative (ñaari yoon yu ñu war a tegu te sàxx ci). On the other hand, this structural choice is beyond a simple linear description or cataloging of speech acts and linguistic habits (baat yi ñuy wax ak waxxinn wi). Rather, it shows that the transmission of knowledge is a deeply adaptive, interconnected process where the real-time linguistic choices directly condition or dictate the success, precision, or flawless execution of a technical gesture (ngir gestu liggéey bi gënë bakh, gënë rafett te mucx ayyibb). Alternatively, this schematization allows to set a standardized and reproducible framework for capabilities assessment and mapping (KKAS). The structuring of each milestone from lived experience to enacted competence roots fluid, subjective interactional variables in highly observable, concrete empirical indicators that can be reliably cross-checked inside the active workshop environment (ci biir liggeyukaay bi).

Crucially, the structural deployment of this formalization should not be understood by the reader as an artificial attempt to mathematically “quantify” the qualitative. In contrast, this proposal of a qualitative systemic modeling explicitly takes

into account the fluidity of these informal environments. The analytical framework is given as a linear and systemic conceptual flow of eight key qualitative nodes [Refer **Table 2** below that indicates the Main Analytical Dimensions and Elements to Observe in the Workshop].

- 1) Experiential and embodied knowledge: The technical capital of the master craftsman.
- 2) Articulation 1: Articulating the technical problem or the diagnosed failure.
- 3) Gesture Demonstration Physical demonstration of the knack or operational process.
- 4) Instruction and active correction: prescriptive directions or immediate adjustment of the gesture of the apprentice.
- 5) Didactic mediation: Reformulations, analogies of culture or endogenous metaphors used to clarify conceptual opacities.
- 6) lexical processing of Western technolcts through local morphosyntax structures: terminological integration.
- 7) Situational linguistic choices: activating code-switching or blending as appropriate for efficiency or precision.
- 8) Cognitive comprehension, assimilation and achieved competence: the apprentice's understanding of the connection between the verbalized concept (expected action) and the autonomous, safe and compliant execution of the professional gesture on the vehicle.

The eighth step is, in this case, the integrative and teleological element of the study. It does not contribute to linguistic criteria, but turns discursive processes into observable indicators of appropriation and technical skill development, thus validating the didactic effectiveness of the selected channel. Thus it responds to the baseline question: How does Wolof intervene in the different steps of technical knowledge transmission and in the observed processes of appropriation of professional competence?

This 8-dimensional step modeling interlinked allows going beyond a simple linear description of discursive practices. It claims that the effectiveness of the technical gesture is directly related to the relevance of the upstream sociolinguistic choices. The framework also provides a standardized observation protocol, which translates dynamic interactional variables into measurable and observable empirical indicators at the core of the workspace.

Dimension 8: Comprehension, Assimilation, and Effected Competence.

This final stage represents the cognitive grasp and internalizations of the apprentice, evaluating the exact processing of information until they can independently, safely, and compliantly execute professional gestures on a vehicle in strict accordance with the rules of the trade. Within this analytical framework, the eighth step constitutes the integrative and teleological dimension of the study. Far from merely tracking verbal habits or adding simple linguistic criteria, it systematically translates spoken interactions and discursive processes into observable, hands-on markers of technical mastery, thereby

validating the structural and pedagogical effectiveness of oral traditions in artisanal training.

Consequently, this dimension directly addresses the foundational research question: How does Wolof concretely intervene, through visible and verifiable pathways, across the various stages of technical knowledge transmission and within the observed mechanics of professional competence appropriation?

This interconnected eight-dimensional sequence moves far beyond a superficial or linear inventory of spoken phrases. It directly substantiates the hypothesis that successful technical execution on the shop floor depends inherently upon the relevance of the sociolinguistic choices established upstream. Furthermore, it delivers a standardized observation protocol that successfully converts dynamic interactional shifts into concrete, empirical indicators at the absolute heart of the active workshop environment.

Table 2. Main analytical dimensions and elements to observe in the workshop.

No.	Large Analytical Dimensions	Elements to Note and Analyze	Integrated Transversal Research Questions
1	Experiential knowledge, gestures, and technical verbalization	Knacks from experience; trade secrets; embodied knowledge; technical explanations in Wolof; gestures, practices verbally explained during action.	How does an apprentice acquire a new technique?
2	Demonstration and implementation of activity	Demonstrations accompanied by speech in Wolof; gestures accompanying discourse; fine articulation between speech, observation, imitation, and material execution of the task.	Is a new technique easily transmitted to an apprentice?
3	Instructions, corrections, and monitoring of activity	Transmission of work instructions; professional directives; verbal and gestural corrections given to apprentices; answers to questions; real-time regulation of execution.	What functions are fulfilled by Wolof in the transmission of technical knowledge?
4	Pedagogical explanation, reformulation, and mediation	Explanations of technical terms; individual differences in explaining the same operation; reformulations; simplifications; cultural analogies; concrete examples; strategies to approach opaque concepts.	Why is a technical term difficult to explain, and how?
5	Terminology and lexical construction of knowledge	Technical terms borrowed from French; terms adapted, calqued, or invented from scratch in Wolof; explanation and definition of specialized terms; contextual adaptation of vocabulary.	What is the term used, where does it come from, and how is it integrated into the local vocabulary?
6	Code-switching and multilingual practices	Wolof/French code-switching or blending phenomena (Franglais) Identification of situations where French is maintained or Wolof is privileged Co-construction and negotiation of meaning	What languages are used? In what cases? How does code-switching happen? Are there differences by trade (mechanics, electricity, body shapers)?

Continued

7	Comprehension, memorization, and assimilation of KKAS	How teaching in Wolof shapes, protects and supports the apprentice to hear, understand, remember, distinguish and master the technical knowledge delivered on the shop floor. This is about studying the indicators of understanding, memorizing and reinvesting the knowledge transmitted, mapping the operational shift where a verbal understanding or spoken word heard by the ear solidifies into deep cognitive assimilation of abilities and practical manual dexterity.....	What are the structural roles of Wolof in the shop floor in case of technical breakdown or difficulties? The extent to which the language actively expands or changes conceptual understanding and the cognitive load of Wolof in the informal learning process from the point of view of master artisans, experienced workers and apprentices.
8	From technical discourse to indicators of appropriation	Differences between discourse on technical knowledge and acquisition of a competence; articulation between discourse, demonstration and autonomy of the apprentice; discursive treatment of safety standards.	What do the masters and apprentices think of the use of Wolof? What does professional autonomy look like in pictures and words?

2.3. Method of Data Collection and Qualitative Triangulation

To ensure the scientific validity of this empirical immersion, the study is based on a qualitative approach only, which is the only one suitable for micro-analysis of interactions in real-world settings. The methodological protocol is based on the principle of triangulation, which combines three complementary instruments. The cross-examination systematically sets in comparison what the actors carry out through efficient practices, what they express through linguistic data, and what they see themselves doing through pedagogical representations and intentions.

- **Direct Observation (Actual practices):** This constitutes the primary methodological framework for accessing transmission dynamics within the workshop. It maps directly onto the dimensions of knowledge transmission, mediation, and competence appropriation. The observer records real-time behaviors, bodily and gestural demonstrations, and linguistic shifts: which language does the master employ to guide a physical action? Does he switch codes (Wolof, French, Franglais) precisely when issuing a safety directive or validating a critical phase?
- **Audio Recordings (Interactional and linguistic data):** Conducted directly on-site with the peaceful and shared consensus of the workspace community, from the master artisans to the youngest learners. Following participant anonymization, these recordings capture technical discourse precisely as it flows spontaneously during the entire duration of the specified work tasks. They preserve real-time code-switching dynamics and contextual reformulations, providing a grounded basis to refine the micro-linguistic analysis of verbal interactions recorded during critical training and mediation phases.
- **Semi-structured Interviews (Representations, intentions, and interpretations):**

Addressed to workshop heads, experienced trainers, and learners using open-ended questions. These target how actors perceive the practical utility, weight, and role of the Wolof language in molding and tracking youth discipline, manners, and technical training until professional mastery is beautifully accomplished. Direct questions allowed them to explicitly clarify terminological choices: “How do you distribute French and Wolof terminological repertoires when formulating technical concepts, and what code-switching dynamics guide their mobilization before the apprentice?” These interviews help evaluate whether Wolof is perceived as the exclusive cognitive engine for knowledge integration or if the workshop is consciously lived as a complex, multi-layered multilingual space.

- Empirical data extracted from these field interviews underwent a rigorous double-verification process to ensure a flawless, error-free manuscript. Transcriptions in Wolof were standardized according to the official orthographic standards established by active Senegalese legislation, while English glosses and translations were systematically validated by a linguistics expert. This process preserves the deep technical semantics specific to workshop trades and ensures the absolute validity of linguistic evidence [notably decree No. 75-1026 and its revision No. 85-1232, alongside research standards of the Linguistics Laboratory of IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD)].

2.4. Interprofessional and Interurban Comparative Logic (Dakar/Thiès)

Table 3. Refined dimensions and elements to observe or analyze.

Dimensions of Analysis	What Can Be Analyzed (Observable Indicators)
Language	The main task is to map the linguistic landscape inside the workshop. We systematically follow how speakers negotiate Wolof, French and other local languages.
Transmission	It details how masters break down technical skills and direct apprentices through systematic observation. We identify the exact nature of the knowledge communicated, that is, the basic elements of KKAS. This dimension relates to the knowledge transfer trajectory through active observation, guided imitation and in-situ verbalization at the workplace. This section maps technical skill pedagogy and deconstructs the structural hierarchy of the craftsmanship knowledge tree—from master to apprentice—of knowledge, know-how, soft skills and operational capabilities.
Interactions	This block registers the daily flow of communication in the workshop. We look at different levels of relationships: master-apprentice, senior-junior, peer-peer.
Terminology	Language on the shop floor is always in flux. We thus distinguish three different streams of technical vocabulary: French words which are left unchanged, French loan words which are adapted to Wolof phonetics, and highly localized jargon which emerges at the workbench.
Code-Switching	Here we explore why and how craftsmen code-switch between French and Wolof. We examine the social triggers and contextual friction that produce this code-switching.

Continued

Orality	This informal education is based on spoken communication. We show how the learning process is steered by verbal explanations, physical demonstrations, and direct commands, rather than formal textbooks.
Seizing the Opportunity	Raw & Concrete expertise: We capture the trade secrets that were never written down, the common operating procedures and the wisdom earned from years of manual labor.
Social Factors	Importantly, we cross-reference these practices with socio-demographic factors. We investigate the impact of age, experience, formal education levels and workshop hierarchy on the apprentice learning curve.

The analysis relies on a double reasoned comparison, matching pairs of identical trades across both urban environments to deeply examine local workspace dynamics [See **Table 3** for the Refined Dimensions and Elements to Observe or Analyze]:

- Comparison between trades: It connects the interactional triad (the sender/workshop head, the collaborator/trainer, the learner) to the core specificities of automotive mechanics (global diagnosis and troubleshooting), electricity (conceptual precision and circuit clarity), and body-shaping (physical manipulation and structural reshaping of matter).
- Comparison between cities (Dakar and Thiès): This macro-social dimension compares the Dakar environment—a dense, highly populated metropolis where professions heavily overlap and where linguistic porosity is structurally heightened under globalization’s influence (Franglais, anglicisms)—and the Thiès space, an artisanal crossroads with a historically anchored sociolinguistic identity. The collected data reveal whether Wolof transmission modalities present deep structural permanences or notable terminological variations from one urban pole to another.

3. Corpus Constitution and Sampling

Our sampling protocol is based on a qualitative exploratory and comparative framework. The model is centered on empirical depth, on various workplace settings and on data triangulation instead of aiming at broad statistical representativeness. To this end, we intentionally selected a small number of six (6) workshops, evenly distributed between Dakar and Thiès, to capture the minutiae of verbal exchanges and bodily gestures on the shop floor. [**Table 4** below details the Purposeful selection of participants and corpus size in Dakar and Thiès.]

3.1. Choice of Observation Units

To ensure the data collected from both urban hubs is valid and directly comparable, we chose the workshops based on five stringent benchmarks:

- 1) Sector specific trades with a focus on automotive mechanics, electricity and bodywork.

2) Intergenerational configurations (e.g., a clear master-apprentice or senior-junior dynamic).

3) Daily work requires a mix of Wolof, technical French and loanwords, in what is known as latent multilingualism.

4) Temporal stability: The workshop must have been in operation continuously for at least two (2) years, so that learning routines and production habits are fully established.

5) Ethical feasibility: Ethical feasibility: For on-site observation and audio recordings of active work sessions, we asked shop managers for explicit, voluntary consent. Using these criteria, we were able to design a balanced fieldwork plan, as shown in the table below. Temporal stability.

Table 4. Purposeful selection of participants and corpus size in Dakar and Thiès.

Survey Design Elements	Dakar Site	Thiès Site	Total Volume
Target Workshops Investigated	3	3	6
*Specialty: Automotive Mechanics	1	1	2
*Specialty: Automotive Electricity	1	1	2
*Specialty: Body-shaping/Bodywork	1	1	2
Main Participants Concerned	9	9	18
*Master Artisans/Workshop Heads	3	3	6
*Experienced professionals & Apprenticeship masters with deep technical expertise	3	3	6
*Apprentices entering the trade with highly variable formal education backgrounds	3	3	6
Direct on-site observation sessions, fixed at three discrete site visits per workshop	9	9	18
Sequenced audio recordings tracking real-time labor for one full hour per workshop	3 hours	3 hours	6 hours
In-depth Semi-structured Interviews	9	9	18

3.2. Profiles of Participants and Roles in Apprenticeship

We selected our sample of participants in a purposeful way, related to context, and with the aim of tracing changing language patterns and mapping socio-professional hierarchies.

- The Master Artisan: This is the person who owns or operates the production unit. He is the traditional expert, with full mastery of technical know-how and managerial authority.
- The Seasoned Professional: An experienced practitioner with a reputation for razor-sharp operational efficiency and critical trade insight, gained through years of hands-on experience on the floor, even if they don't own the shop floor.
- The Apprenticeship Master The designated close-range mentor in the work-

space. His is a role that is all-encompassing but entirely practical. He organizes the workbench, directs technical hand movements, observes safety procedures and shapes the professional work attitude of young students.

- The Apprentice: A proactive learner absorbing the essential components of KKAS. To demonstrate the ways in which Wolof discursive structures are refined as technical competence develops, we intentionally sampled apprentices at various stages of development, from novices to skilled seniors.

The interactional structure of the Master Artisan, the Seasoned Professional, the Apprenticeship Master, and the Apprentice creates an implicit curriculum that is realized through localized peer interaction and scaffolded language socialization practices on the shop floor (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

3.3. Rationalization and Calibration of the Audio Corpus

Our methodological framework is based on a compact, but rich, audio corpus which yields six (6) hours of high quality recordings. There is so much linguistic mixing going on the shop floor that six hours of real-life verbal exchange produces a considerable amount of data for transcription.

To ease our schedule, and to fulfill the short formatting requirements of academic journals, we did not transcribe the interviews in full. Instead, we have selectively edited certain sequences of discourse. This method isolates critical transmission windows such as troubleshooting complex mechanical failures, issuing urgent safety commands or correcting faulty hand gestures.

3.4. Protocol for Data Processing Analysis

To ensure the scientific validity of this qualitative study our analytical protocol distinguishes between two methodological tiers, entirely dependent on the nature of the data. First, we conceptualize the main unit of analysis of the workshop audio corpus as the “speech act in the workplace.” This unit is a specific instance of real-time verbal interaction (e.g., a critical instruction or a troubleshooting argument) which is directly linked to an observable technical action. The audio material underwent three steps: (1) attentive listening to pre-select sequences with dense instructional value, (2) orthographic transcription in a standardized manner to maintain authentic, field-level Wolof, without smoothing out real-world syntax, and (3) thematic coding based on specific morpho-syntax indicators. In contrast, the analysis unit for the data from the 18 individual semi-structured interviews is the full verbatim of each actor. The corpus was transcribed verbatim and systematically thematically coded to identify professional representations. The cross-comparison is performed in matrix form, with a spatial analysis combining the Dakar pole and the Thiès pole (Dakar vs. Thiès), and a socio-professional analysis linking the discourses by professional functions (Master Artisans vs. Professionals vs. Apprentices). Transcriptions, glosses and translations were checked and normalized by a qualified linguist according to official Senegalese application decrees (decree No. 75-1026 and its revision

No. 85-1232) and standards of the Linguistics Laboratory of IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) thus ensuring the replicability of the study. [For more details about the Protocol for data processing analysis, see below **Table 5**. It synthesizes the Qualitative Data Analysis Protocol].

Table 5. Synthesis of the qualitative data analysis protocol.

Protocol Component	Operational and Methodological Description
Primary Analysis Unit (Audio)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Focused on “speech act in the workplace” in the workshop audio corpus. 2. Logs live spoken exchanges (e.g., crucial instructions, problem-solving) that correlate with observable technical activities.
Secondary Analysis Unit (Interviews)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contains the complete verbatim transcripts of the 18 individual semi-structured interviews. 2. To isolate and analyze professional representations between actors.
Step 1: Transcription & Validation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Audio processing: A thorough listening to selected sequences possessing high instructional value is the first step. 2. Orthographic standards: Textual transcription, verbatim from the field, authentic Wolof, not smoothed syntactically. 3. Linguistic validation: Fully reviewed and normalized by a linguist trained in accordance with the official decrees of Senegal No. 75-1026 and No. 85-1232 and the standards of the IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) Linguistics Laboratory for replicability.
Step 2: Coding	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Audio corpus: Guided by systematic thematic coding based on specific morphosyntactic indicators. 2. Interview corpus: Systematically coded thematically to isolate and categorize professional representations.
Step 3: Dimension Allocation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Separates data pathways on the basis of data nature alone (interactional/speech acts vs. conceptual/professional representations) into two distinct methodological levels.
Step 4: Comparative Analysis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Performed in a matrix-style cross-comparison along two axes: 2. Spatial analysis: Opposes Dakar pole against Thiès pole (Dakar vs. Thiès). 3. Socio-professional analysis: Intersections of discourse by professional function (Master Artisans vs. Professionals vs. Apprentices).

To conclude, this analytical protocol provides a rigorous and transparent framework that operationalizes the complex linguistic and technical realities of artisan workshops. The real-time interactional dynamics of the audio corpus can be systematically decoupled from the individual interviews, and this allows for a successful balancing of the empirical granularity of the audio corpus and the theoretical breadth of the individual interviews. Importantly, such a structured manner of processing avoids the bias of literal translations and thus accurately represents the technical semantics specific to the workshops under consideration. Additionally, the transcription methods used in this study follow the linguistic decrees of Senegalese official bodies (No. 75-1026 and No. 85-1232) and IFAN-UCAD standards, thus providing a validated basis for this study, the replicability of the findings, and the cultural integrity of the field-level data.

4. Data Analysis and Findings Results

Our qualitative analysis of the gathered field data proves that Wolof functions as a structured instructional and cognitive tool. The national language does not simply facilitate basic workplace talk. Instead, it directly structures hierarchy on the shop floor, absorbs and shapes the morphosyntax of Western technolects, and authenticates the mastery of professional expertise (KKAS).

4.1. Mapping the Shop Floor: Contrastive Roles and the Workshop Triad

Our field observations reveal a sharp functional divide among the workshop's three pivotal figures: the Master Artisan steers strategic management, trouble-shoots rare and complex mechanical breakdowns, and handles conceptual design; the Seasoned Professional drives daily productivity through expert, autonomous execution; and the Apprenticeship Master focuses directly on close mentoring and instructional guidance. The apprentice navigates around this triad through three complementary stages: preparing the workspace, tracking tasks through passive observation, and performing hands-on labor under direct supervision.

Table 6 below breaks down this role differentiation and charts the specific apprentice postures across each trade.

Table 6. Role differentiation and apprentice postures by trade.

Specialty and Action	Master Artisan (Design/Expertise) vs. Apprentice (Preparation)	Production—Senior Worker/Assistance— Apprentice	Apprenticeship Master (Didactics) vs. Apprentice (Guided Execution)
 Mechanics (Gearbox maintenance)	The master craftsman looked over the plans for a prototype transmission system. The apprentice meanwhile is busy cleaning grease off casings and sorting screws by size on the workbench.	The experienced mechanic replaces worn gears fast and production-oriented. The apprentice watches his movements, handing him tools upon request.	Finally the master puts his hand over the apprentice's on the torque wrench, so that the youth actually feels the correct pressure to use on the bolts.
 Electricity (Connected home automation installation)	The master programs the central software directly from his computer. The apprentice cuts grooves into the walls and pulls cables through the structural partitions.	Working autonomously, the electrician hooks up electronic modules inside the control box. The apprentice strips wires and mounts the wall sockets.	To teach the trade, the master sketches the wiring diagram on a test board, analyzing the apprentice's logical errors before allowing the actual assembly.
 Body-shaping (Deformed chassis restructuring)	The master craftsman uses a laser measuring bench for the measurement of frame deformations. The apprentice tightens the heavy clamps and brushes off metal slag.	Bodywork technician carries out complex welding under the chassis of the car. The apprentice stabilizes the structural elements by means of locking pliers.	The master hands the grinder to the apprentice for de-burring. He stands right next to him correcting his cutting angle and enforcing the wearing of safety gloves and goggles.

4.2. Checking and Normalizing Transcription Corpora (Wolof Linguistics)

Empirical Corpus 1: Workshop for Auto Mechanics

A. Dakar Field (Zone of Rufisque-Mbao):

[Direct observation of a disk and brake pad replacement on a modern SUV shows a very asymmetric pattern of work postures. The experienced pro drives for raw execution speed with the apprentice in a passive role holding the work light. Code-switching is seamless and without any syntactic disruption. French provides the technical nominal matrix, but the speakers immediately grammaticalize these nominal terms in Wolof by morphological affixation. Crucially, the fast diffusion of connected digital devices and embedded vehicle electronics hugely accelerates the dense Franglais hybridization on this shop floor]

Revised Transcription and Glosses:

Professional (Pro) (Dakar): Fi xoolal. Su ma la waxee jox ma “brik yi”, fexeel ba “plaquettes” yi duggu bu baax ci “étrier” bi. Da ngay degg lu, quand tu entendras “tege”, c’est fini, tu ne pourras plus “te seree”. Bu ko “seree trop” nag, pour mu baña “foti”. Jox ma, c’est une “clé à choc”.

Interlinear Gloss: Fi (Here) xoolal (look). Su (If) ma (I) la (you) waxee (tell) jox ma (give me) “brik yi” (the pads [local metaphor of the brake brick]), fexeel (make sure) ba (that) “plaquettes” yi (the pads) duggu (enter) bu baax (well) ci (in) “étrier” bi (the caliper). Dangay degg (You will hear), quand tu entendras “tege” (click into place), c’est fini, tu ne pourras plus te “seree” (tighten). Bu ko (Do not) “seree trop” (tighten too much) nag (however), pour (so that) mu (it) baña (does not) “foti” (strip [the thread]). Jox ma (Give me), c’est une “clé à choc”.

Apprentice: “Clé douze bi la ñuy jël?” [*Gloss:* Clé douze la (this one) la ñuy (we are going to) jël (take)?]

Pro: Waw, c’est la “douzième” bi. Seree ko, mais “dëgëral” pour “sécurité”. “Uil” bi dafa wara “circulé” bu baax, su ko defee “système” bi du “mas”.

Interlinear Gloss: Waw (Yes), c’est la “douzième” bi (the [size-12 wrench]). Seree ko (Tighten it), mais “dëgëral” (strengthen/secure) pour “sécurité”. “Uil” bi (The oil) dafa wara (must) “circulé” (circulate) bu baax (well), su ko defee (this way) “système” bi (the system) du (will not) “mas” (ground/seize up).

Standardized Academic English Translation:

Professional: “Look here. When I ask you for the ‘bricks’ [brake pads], make sure the brake pads fit tightly into the caliper. Listen carefully; when you hear it click into place, it is locked, you can no longer tighten it. However, do not over-tighten it, to avoid stripping the thread. Hand me the impact wrench.”

Apprentice: “Should we use the size-12 wrench?”

Professional: “Yes, the size-12 one. Tighten it, but secure it firmly for safety. The oil must circulate properly so that the system does not seize up.”

[Semi-structured interview (master artisan in Dakar)] The Dakar master artisan grounds this practice in raw operational efficiency: “In Dakar, tight deadlines driven by clients force us to communicate fast. Thus, metaphorical shorthand, as

in 'brik yi' [the bricks], reduces a complex technical command to a single, crisp phrase. If he depended solely on formal, school-bought French, the apprentice would store the instruction in an academic vacuum and forget about the physical task. Rather, Wolof immediately grounds the concept in the gesture itself."

B. Thiès Field (Station Zone):

[Direct observation] Complete overhaul of a diesel engine for a long-haul transport truck. The workshop master is explicitly structuring his approach around pedagogical intent. The length of time for the repair is calibrated directly to the apprentice's understanding and thus effectively privileges cognitive validation over mechanical speed. Here French is more formal and technical, more academic, and it alternates strictly with Wolof, avoiding the hybridized and fused vernacular of Dakar (Franglais). This linguistic compartmentalization is a function of the traditional, analog, heavy mechanics task, and the classic workshop equipment, which both promote deep roots within fellowship structures.

Revised Transcription (Audio) and Glosses:

Apprenticeship Master (Thiès): Il est en train de chercher l'arbre à cames. Xoolal "repère" bi ci "culasse" bi. Su ko "vilebrequin" bi rapsé, moteur bi day paxi. Jëlal clé bi nga tállal ma "tendeur" bi. Degg? Ce n'est pas autre chose que le "faux calage".

Interlinear Gloss: Xoolal (Look) "repère" bi (the mark) ci (on) "culasse" bi (the cylinder head). Su ko (If the) "vilebrequin" bi (the crankshaft) rapsé (shifts/skips a tooth), moteur bi (the engine) day (will) paxi (burst/shatter). Jëlal (Take) clé bi (the wrench) nga (so you) tállal ma (stretch for me) "tendeur" bi (the tensioner). Degg (Understood)?

Apprentice: Maître, bi dafa wara aligné wu ak xet wu ndaw wi? "repère" [Gloss: Master, bi (this one) dafa wara (must) aligné wu (align itself) ak (with) xet (the line) wu ndaw (small) wi (the)?]

Apprenticeship Master: Waw, loolu la! Loolu mooy "ajustement de précision". Su la ko jangalul ci wolof, "soupapes" yi te du ko yëg.

Interlinear Gloss: Waw (Yes), loolu (that) la (is)! Loolu (That) mooy (is) "ajustement de précision". Su (If) la (you) ko (it) jangalul (do not teach) ci wolof (in Wolof), [it will bend] "soupapes" yi (the valves) te (and) du ko (he will not) yëg (feel/grasp mechanically).

Standardized Academic English Translation:

Master: "He is looking for the camshaft. Check the timing mark on the cylinder head. If the crankshaft jumps a tooth, the engine will be destroyed. Take the wrench and compress the tensioner for me. Understood? Otherwise, it results in incorrect timing."

Apprentice: "Master, should this mark align perfectly with this small indicator line?"

Master: "Yes, exactly! That is what we call precision alignment. If I do not explain this to you in Wolof, you will end up bending the valves without even realizing it."

[Semi-structured interview, Senior Apprentice (Thiès): Here in Thiès, you should know very well what we do. Now to be quite clear the Master forbids the word “brik” in his speech and demands that we say “frein bi” and no other way. That is why we actively appropriate the French technical language before thinking, creating and innovating to firmly consolidate it in Wolof. This practice makes our relationship with mechanics unshakable and there is no room for any “ràbbañ-ràbbañ” (mental blur). This process also greatly enhances our mental grasp and connects our expertise to the trade on a deeper level].

Empirical Corpus 2: Workshop on Automotive Electricity

Direct observation: Fault diagnosis of a multiplexed harness on a modern sedan. The technician uses a Bluetooth enabled OBD scanner for automobiles. The apprentice is staring at the screen of the pro’s phone. We find at the morphosyntactic level the presence of technical action verbs, of French origin but conjugated in Wolof (tester, griller, ponter). This verbal plasticity is synchronous with just-in-time workshop organization and the modernity of embedded automotive technology.

A. Dakar Field (Rufisque-Mbao Zone)

Revised Transcription and Glosses:

Professional (Dakar): “Scanner” bi mooy gindi “défaut” bi. C’est ce qu’on appelle un “court-circuit à la masse”. Fil bi day “mas” ak carrosserie bi. Jëlal “multimètre” bi nga “tester” “fusible” bi. Sa “tension” n’est pas là, son “relais” va “griller”.

Interlinear Gloss: “Scanner” bi (The scanner) mooy (is what) gindi (elucidates/guides to) “défaut” bi (the fault). Fil bi (The wire) day (is) “mas” (grounding) ak (with) carrosserie bi (the bodywork). Jëlal (Take) “multimètre” bi (the multimeter) nga (and you) “tester” (test) “fusible” bi (the fuse).

Apprentice: Maître, “fusible” bi dagga na ñari yoon. Dama koy “ponter”?
[*Gloss:* Dama koy (Should I) “ponter” (bypass with a jumper wire)?]

Professional: Dédet! Bu ko ponter ndax day yàq “faisceau” bi. Sécurité la loolu.
Interlinear Gloss: Dédet (No)! Bu ko (Do not) ponter (bypass) ndax (because) day (it will) yàq (destroy) “faisceau” bi (the wiring harness). Sécurité (Safety) la (is) loolu (that).

Standardized Academic English Translation:

Professional: “The OBD scanner points out the fault code. This is what we call a short circuit to ground. The wire is grounding against the chassis. Take the multimeter and test the fuse. There is no voltage reading, the relay is going to blow.”

Apprentice: “Master, the fuse has blown twice. Should I bypass it with a jumper wire?”

Professional: “Absolutely not! Do not bypass it, or you will burn out the wiring harness. This is a crucial safety protocol.”

[Semi-structured interview—Seasoned Professional (Dakar): “Electrical and electronic wiring had to be precise and strict technical standards at a high level. Wiring diagrams are accessed online in French or English, so linguistic hybridization is inevitable. For example, I say to the apprentice ‘day mas’ [it is grounding] and he immediately knows that the live wire is touching the metal chassis. Wolof

goes straight for the functional objective. That's far more operationally effective than telling him about electron theory.”]

Field (Station) B. Thies

[Direct Observation: Complete charging circuit overhaul on pickup truck alternator. There is no onboard electronics in the system; it works only with visual mapping and a manual tension tester (an artisanal indicator bulb). The metaphor of fire is interesting in that it is used primarily to indicate either imminent technical danger or operational success, especially in the case of the Wolof expression “day tàkk” [it catches fire/it lights up]. This shows the clear primacy of endogenous cultural metaphors based on the element of fire. Ultimately, this classic analogic technological environment limits the choices of the actors in their discourse, pushing the interactional dynamics toward a traditional orality.

Revised Transcription and Glosses:

Apprenticeship Master (Thiès): Teejal “contact” bi. Jèlal “lampe témoin” bi nga teg ko fi ci “borne” bi. Ampoule bi, alternateur bi la wara “exciter” pour mu nekk “régulateur”. Xoolal bu baax, “day tàkk” ndax “étincelle” bi. Sécurisé “batterie” bi.

Interlinear Gloss: Teejal (Turn on) “contact” bi (the ignition). Jèlal (Take) “lampe témoin” bi (the test light) nga (and you) teg ko (place it) fi (here) ci (on) “borne” bi (the terminal). Ampoule bi (The bulb), alternateur bi (the alternator) la (it is what it) wara (must) “exciter” (excite) pour (so that) mu (it) nekk (becomes/acts as) “régulateur”. Xoolal (Look) bu baax (well), “day tàkk” (there is a risk of catch fire/direct short-circuit) ndax (due to) “étincelle” bi (the spark). Sécurisé (Secure) “batterie” bi (the battery).

Apprentice: Maître, bi dafa tàkk gann. [*Gloss:* Master, bi (this one) dafa (has) tàkk (glowed) gann (very intensely [ideophone of luminous intensity]).]

Apprenticeship Master: Waw, loolu lu baax la. Léegi “circuit de charge” bi mu ngi dox.

Interlinear Gloss: Waw (Yes), loolu (that) lu baax (a good thing) la (is). Léegi (Now) “circuit de charge” bi (the charging circuit) mu ngi (is) dox (working).

Standardized Academic English Translation:

Master: “Turn the ignition switch on. Take the test light and connect it to this terminal. This bulb allows the alternator’s excitation circuit to function and regulate the voltage. Watch out, it can spark or cause a short circuit. Disconnect the battery safely.”

Apprentice: “Master, the test light is glowing very brightly.”

Master: “Good, that is a positive sign. The charging circuit is now operating correctly.”

[Semi-structured Interview—Master Artisan (Thiès): “Here in Thiès, electrical work is grounded in pure practice; there is no need for the verbose rhetorical styles typical of Dakar. If the apprentice grasps the operational meaning of ‘day tàkk’ [it catches fire/it lights up], he knows instantly that he must disconnect the battery. This localized Wolof safeguards the entire workshop ecosystem because it leverages potent linguistic imagery inherent to our language to articulate technical

mechanisms.” (This localized vernacular preserves both individual safety and material integrity by anchoring mechanical concepts within robust cultural representations).]

Empirical Corpus 3: Body-shaping/Bodywork Workshop

[Direct observation: Structural repair of a chassis deformed due to a violent rear-end collision. Use of a hydraulic jack. The apprentice adjusts the visual alignment under the master’s order. More numerous, concentrated action neologisms (the Wolofization of French verbal bases): *Pompeel* (pump), *tendre* (stretch), *s’aligner* (align), *revenir* (return). In Dakar, automated equipment (laser, jack) accelerates this verbal hybridization]

A. Dakar Field (Rufisque-Mbao Zone)

Revised Transcription and Glosses:

Professional (Dakar): “Pompéel” gaaw! “Pompéel” mu “tendre” bu baax. Xoolal “ligne” bi ci “aile” bi. Dafa wara “s’aligner” ak “portière” bi. Yemmal! Bu ko “forcer” ndax day “foti” wala mu cassé. “Lalal mastic” après pour dëggal “défaut” bi.

Interlinear Gloss: “Pompéel” (Pump the hydraulic jack [-al: imperative]) gaaw (fast)! “Pompéel” (Pump) mu (for it) “tendre” (to stretch) bu baax (well). Xoolal (Look at) “ligne” bi (the body line) ci (on) “aile” bi (the fender). Dafa wara (It must) “s’aligner” (align itself) ak (with) “portière” bi (the door). Yemmal (Stop/level)! Bu ko (Do not) “forcer” (force it) ndax (because) day (it will) “foti” (tear/fail) wala (or) mu (it) cassé (break). “Lalal mastic” (Apply body filler) après (afterwards) pour (to correct) “défaut” bi (the defect).

Apprentice: Maître, “châssis” bi mu ngi “revenir” ndanka-ndanka. [*Gloss:* Master, “châssis” bi (the chassis) mu ngi (is) “revenir” (returning in place) ndanka-ndanka (slowly).]

Professional: Waw, “contrôler” ko ak “niveau” bi. Il faut donc souder un renfort.

Interlinear Gloss: Waw (Yes), “contrôler” ko (control it) ak (with) “niveau” bi (the spirit level/template).

Standardized Academic English Translation:

Professional: “Pump the hydraulic jack, hurry! Pump until the metal is fully under tension. Look at the body line on the fender. It must realign perfectly with the door panel. Stop there! Do not force it further, or the sheet metal will tear or buckle. Apply body filler afterward to smooth out any remaining surface defect.”

Apprentice: “Master, the structural chassis frame is gradually returning to its original alignment.”

Professional: “Yes, check it using the spirit level. We will then need to weld a reinforcement plate.”

[Semi-structured Interview (Data): Novice Apprentice (Dakar): “When my master talks, it is sàkkoo (mix) French and Wolof. First I don’t know what ‘tendre’ means, but when he says ‘Pompéel ba mu tendre’ I understand the French word thanks to the movement of the jack. I learn the trade and technical French at the

same time (simultaneous assimilation of the professional gesture and its technical denomination).”]

Standardized English Academic Translation:

B. Thiès Field Site (Station District)

Directly tracking and documenting the manual fabrication of a replacement bodywork part from a flat, galvanized sheet metal (*jële ko ci wergël bu leer te ñu def ko galwanise*). Within this workshop environment, the technical workflow remains deeply traditional, relying on a flattening hammer (*marteau à planer*) and a hand dolly (*tas à main*). Surface quality is assessed entirely through tactile feedback, by firmly rubbing the palm of the hand over the metal to evaluate geometric accuracy (*soo rayee weñ gi ak sa biir loxo di nga xam ne mu ngi sotti wallà deet*). The verbal interactions on the shop floor overflow with sensory-based terms and traditional Wolof proverbs, highlighting a clear integration of paremiological structures. Although the introduction of modern chemical products induces the usage of adapted technical loanwords such as “*grâtel*” (to scrape) or “*mastic*” (to apply filler), the overarching linguistic and operational framework remains deeply anchored in bodily and corporeal metaphors, aligning structural alignment with physical sensation.]

Revised Transcription and Glosses:

Apprenticeship Master (Thiès): Hold the hammer firmly just like this (Tëyyël *marteau bi ni*). Scrape the surface until it is completely clean (*Grâtel ba mu set*). Apply the body filler smoothly and gradually, ensuring it gets dense and compact (*Lalal mastic bi ndanka-ndank, ba mu dëj*). The hand dolly must be positioned directly underneath (*Tas bi dafa wara nekk ci suuf*). It is the palm of your hand that will tell you whether the metal is perfectly smooth or if there is an uneven wave (*Domu loxo bi mooy xam su fekke tôle bi dafa lisse wala dafa am vague*). Take a close look at what went wrong and failed to settle properly (*Xoolal bu baax ba yëpp ànd bu sottiwul*). Re-do it from the beginning (*Recommencer ko*).

Interlinear Gloss: Dëggal (Hold firmly) *marteau bi* (the hammer) *ni* (like this). *Grâtel* (Sand/scrape) *ba* (until) *mu* (it is) *set* (clean/pure). *Lalal* (Apply) *mastic bi* (the filler) *ndanka* (slowly), *mu dëj* (so it thickens/bonds densely). *Tas bi* (The hand anvil) *dafa wara* (must) *nekk* (be) *suuf* (underneath). *Domu loxo bi* (The palm of the hand [literally: the child of the hand]) *mooy xam* (is what knows) *su fekke* (if) *tôle bi* (the sheet metal) *dafa “lisse”* (is smooth) *wala* (or) *dafa am* (has) “vague” (ripples). *Xoolal* (Look) *li* (this part) *sottiwul* (is not completed). *Recommencer ko* (Redo it).

Apprentice: *Sëñ bi, sudee bi dama ko saable ak këyit saable bu 62 grit, ndax baax na?* [*Gloss:* Master, if I sand this with sixty-grit sandpaper, is it good?]

Apprenticeship Master: *Waw, mais fexeel ba mu plat. Loxo buy liggéey du réer ci fer. Kuy liggey du tiit naaj.*

Interlinear Gloss: *Waw* (Yes), *mais fexeel* (make sure) *ba* (that) *mu* (it is) *plat* (flat). *Loxo* (The hand) *buy* (which) *liggéey* (works) *du* (will not) *réer* (get lost) *ci fer* (in iron treatment [Wolof proverb adapted to informal metallurgy]). *Kuy* (He

who) liggey (works) du tiit (is not afraid of) naaj (the sun).

Standardized Academic English Translation with Dual French-Wolof Framework:

- Master: “Hold the hammer firmly like this (Tëyyël marteau bi ni). Pay close attention (Déglul bu baax). Sand it down until the metal surface is perfectly clean (Grâtel ba mu set wecc). Apply the body filler smoothly so it bonds densely and properly (Lalal mastic bi ndanka-ndank ngir mu dëj te baax). The hand anvil must support it from underneath (Tass bi dafa wara nekk ci suuf). Only the palm of your hand can feel if the panel is completely smooth or if it still has surface ripples (Domu loxo bi rekk mooy yëg su fekke tôle bi dafa lisse wala da fa am ay vague). Look, this area is uneven (Xoolal foofu dafa dëng). Do it over (Defaraat ko).”
- Apprentice: “Master, if I sand this down using 60-grit sandpaper, will it work? (Mëster, su ma ko grâtelé ak kayitu bërëg bu rëy [papier de verre 60], ndax dina bax?)”
- Master: “Yes, but ensure it is perfectly flat (Waaw, mais sàntal ko mu bëre te nekk plat bu baax). A hand diligently shaped by labor and deeply habituated to the craft never loses its mastery over raw iron, no matter how stubborn and brutal the material may be (Loxo bu jàng liggey te tàmm ko, mësul ñàkk man-manam ci fer ak lu mu dëgër-dëgër).”

Semi-structured Interview: Thiès: Master Artisan: Automotive bodywork is an art form (Liggéeyu tòll, fann la [art]). The French language is totally devoid of the exact vocabulary to describe the deep tactile feeling of a palm sliding over sheet metal (Faranse amul baat buy firi ni mu gëna dëggoo li nga yëg ci sa biir loxo buy raas tôle bi) [the artistic and sensory-motor dimension of the trade/mbiru fann ak yëg-yëgu yaram ci liggéey bi]. When I tell them “grâtel ba mu sèt”, it is not a simple, passive sanding job, it is a relentless search for geometric perfection (Bu ma waxé “grâtel ba mu set”, du poncé rekk, waaye mu ngi sàkk matayu rëdd-rëddal gi). This is why Wolof is still essential on the shop floor; no formal engineering textbook can ever replace the spoken word of the Master, which actively guides the apprentice’s eye and hand during execution (Moo tax wolof du mënul ñàkk ci atlee bi, amul benn mbindum masin buy mën a wutu baatub mëster bi biy jiite bët ak loxo ci lëggey bi). Karosiri bu miix mu ngi tegu ci yëg-yëgu loxo [sensibilité haptique] est l’un des fondements de la carrosserie de haute précision. The French language lacks the cognitive repertoires to translate the subtle proprioceptive perception of a hand evaluating metal planarity and spatial scope (Lakkum faranse amul mbind bu mën a firi ni loxo di natté dëgëray weñ gi ak yaatu waayam). As a structural directive, the “grâtel ba mu sèt” is more than abrasion, it is a deeper instruction to go after the ultimate purity of form (Baat bi di “grâtel ba mu set” dafa romb poncé rekk: dafay digle sàkk matayu rëdd-rëddal gi). Wolof is still unassailable because formal or written transmission cannot replace the master’s speech leading the eye, touch, or hand (Wolof dafay wéy di nekk lu kenn mënul wutu ndax mbindum liggéey du mën a jël palaasu baatub mëster bi biy jiite bët wallà laal ak loxo).

This process of orthographic cleaning and normalization of the corpus is essential to guarantee the scientific validity of inter-regional comparisons. By stabilizing linguistic material this way, we highlight structural and lexical divergences specific to each artisanal basin. **Table 7** synthesizes these results by proposing a comparative mapping of technolinguistic variations observed between Dakar and Thiès workshops.

Table 7. Summary of technolinguistic and structural variations (Dakar and Thiès).

Indicators and Variables	Metropolitan Hub of Dakar (Rufisque-Mbao)	Urban Center of Thiès (Station District)
Typology of Vocabulary	Heavy hybridization, lexical blending and intensive use of a Wolofized “Franglais” (brik, uil, scanner).	Code-switching imperméable, qui préserve l’intégrité phonétique du français technique aux côtés de métaphores purement wolof (arbre à cames).
Conceptualization of Risk	Immediate lexicalization by means of functional Anglo-French borrowings or calques “Day kuran”, “Day mas”	“Day tàkk” Endogenous cultural metaphors grounded in elemental symbolism.
Complexity of Repair Tasks	Specializing in difficult electronic system failures, digital decoding and heavy structural frame straightening.	Traditional mechanical block overhauls and manual fabrication of replacement parts (tas, marteau).
Equipment and Automotive Technology	Systemic presence of modern technologies (multiplexing, electronic injection) that requires connected diagnostic tools (multimeter, laser).	Use of traditional mechanical or electrical technologies based on analog equipment or improvisation.
Internal Workshop Organization	Just-in-time workflows are driven by commercial urgency. Quick, short communication directed at immediate operational outcomes.	Traditional, structured apprenticeship. Directed by didactic repetition subordinate to rhythm.
Experience and Participant Profiles	Plastic technolact, in action: Novice apprentices, recent school dropouts, absorbing on the fly.	Stable local mentors, supervising senior apprentices with a consolidated base of technical skills.

Analytical Notes to **Table 7**:

Table 7 highlights a technolinguistic and structural divide between the informal automotive ecosystems of Dakar and Thiès. This divergence takes place along three main axes:

1) Lexical rupture versus metaphorical continuity:

A Dakar, l’urgence commerciale et le progrès technologique (multiplexage, injection électronique) font un langage très plastique, rapide et hybride. Technical borrowings and calques (“Day kuran”, “Day mas”) are integrated functionally to correspond with the immediacy of electronic diagnostics. By contrast, the Thiès hub has a rigid system of code-switching. Traditional Wolof terms and technical French exist side by side, without blending; the indigenous grammatical and con-

ceptual structure of the host language is thus maintained.

2) Workshop Materiality and Technical Ecosystem:

But vocabularies are strictly dependent on the physical tools deployed on the shop floor. The Dakar hub, digitized and connected (scanner, multimètre) produces short standardized and depersonalized interactions. In the Thiès hub, the classic mechanical overhaul and manual metal-shaping (tas, marteau) require the physical gesture to be strictly anchored in the spoken word. Here operational risks are not electronically coded but visualized in terms of elemental metaphors (“Day tàkk”), mapping danger directly onto sensory experience.

3) Synchronous Transmission and Socio-Professional Profiles:

The plasticity of the technoelect is conditioned by the structural organization of the workshop. An informal, discontinuous, and “on-the-fly” language acquisition from Dakar’s apprentices’ recent school dropouts produces a composite, developing lexicon. In Thiès, a stable master-craftsmen and senior apprentices contribute to a traditional model of apprenticeship.

The pedagogical rhythm is founded on guided repetition which guaranties the transmission of a technical and linguistic heritage where the master’s word has its pragmatic authority.

To summarize, while Dakar fluidizes and fragments its linguistic structures to fit metropolitan market flows, Thiès stabilizes its technical lexicon by inscribing it within durable Wolof cultural and paremiological matrices.

4.3. Applying Dimension 8: KKAS Attribution Criteria

This study does not regard linguistic evidence as evidence that Wolof is an autonomous, self-executing causal driver of performance in an effort to avoid unverified inductive overgeneralizations. Rather, the aim is to demonstrate a strong, verifiable correlation between localized discursive interaction within active workspaces and directly observable, highly precise technical execution, which is defined by safe, fluid, and physically unhindered expert mastery.

- Workplace/job preparation and organization: This measure is highly related to the ability to immediately decode complex oratory instruction. In paragraph 4.2.1 we report a positive association in the novice mechanics apprentice in Dakar (Rufisque-Mbao). A: Confronted with the swift technoelectal instructions of the experienced professional, the apprentice organizes his immediate physical action by arranging the parts on the workbench, selecting the disks and the “clé douze bi” without ambiguity. Here the field lexicon is strongly associated with reducing organizational downtime in the workshop.
- Technical mastery of gesture (“Core Business”): The acquisition of a high precision technical gesture is strongly linked to micro discursive adjustment modalities. This relationship exists in the body-shaping apprentice in Thiès, described in paragraph 4.2.3. B. When the apprenticeship master formulates the endogenous sensory injunction “grâtel ba mu set”, the apprentice’s action is immediately adjusted with the hammer and hand anvil. The exclusive use of

tactile metaphor in Wolof is thus linked to an internalization of the expert gesture (fine recognition of the “ripples” or the “smooth” state of the sheet metal through palm touch) that no formal manual could have oriented with the same practical adequacy.

- Compliance of procedures, safety and prevention. The analysis of the interaction shows a strong correlation between the structures of the national language authority and the implementation of physical safety procedures. Paragraph 4.2.2. A In Dakar, confronted with the will of the automotive electricity apprentice to bypass a faulty circuit (“Dama koy ponter?”), the professional’s immediate and categorical prohibition (“Dédet! This ko ponter”) is connected with the immediate termination of the dangerous action. Here, Wolof operates as a pragmatic scheme of risk prevention (harness fires) linking verbal injunction with the preservation of production tools and of individuals.
- Autonomy and self-control (Commissioning and professional behavior): The progress in technical autonomy is revealed by discursive signs where the apprentice makes his own diagnosis or validates the end of his task. This is the case of the body-shaping apprentice in Dakar mentioned in paragraph 4.2.3.A who, seeing the hydraulic jack deployed, validates autonomously the straightening of the structural frame saying: “Maître, châssis bi mu ngi revenir ndanka-ndanka”. The autonomous conceptualization of mechanical action is here directly linked to the apprentice’s capacity of naming material plasticity in his language repertoire.
- Capacity to reason or justify one’s actions: This criterion represents the absolute technical and operational mastery in the cognitive and practical domains, especially the ability of the apprentice to structurally ground and validate theoretical ideas via manual execution. This dynamic is well illustrated by the observation of the apprentice mechanic in Thiès (Paragraph 4.2.1.B): “Maître, bi dafa wara aligné wu ak xet wu ndaw wi?” (Master, does it have to be aligned with the small gear?). The apprentice shows that the learning path goes beyond the simple visual imitation and requires an active discursive search for a rigorous validation of the complex calage de la distribution (camshaft timing arrangement). Such an advanced cognitive capacity to provide detailed justification for hyper-accurate adjustments works in direct, systemic alignment with a reasoned bilingual command of specialized technical lexicons.

5. Discussion

Dakar & Thiès: Analytical Scope of Interactional Data This integrated corpus of workplace interactions, discourse patterns and field transcripts from Dakar and Thiès exceeds a descriptive mapping of multilingual repertoires. These data, by relating language performance to the materiality of artisanal labor, provide empirical leverage for rethinking current paradigms in urban sociolinguistics. From a methodological standpoint, this synchrony between manual execution and technical terminology provides concrete parameters for the restructuring of voca-

tional pedagogy and technological training frameworks in Senegal.

5.1. Revisiting the Theory: From Calvetian Glottophagy to Geolinguistic Symbiosis

Calvet's conceptual framework of the post-colonial city as a linguistic melting pot describes vehicular languages adapting to urban modernity, with the notion of glottophagy denoting the marginalization or absorption of peripheral repertoires by dominant vehicular codes. This unilateral paradigm is challenged by the empirical data collected in Senegalese workshops. The interactional dynamics do not indicate the structural degradation of the vernacular, or the complete obliteration of the colonial lexicon, but rather a symbiotic technolinguistic reciprocity. In this structural copresence, technical French provides the foundational nominal matrix for mechanical components and systems (*arbre à cames, court-circuit, étrier*), while Wolof acts as the critical cognitive engine and morphosyntactic framework governing professional actions (*gindi, rapse, mas*). This lively cross-linguistic synthesis is diametrically opposed to passive glottophagy and creates an independent linguistic subsystem that reappropriates external technical terminology to support localized oral pedagogy. This vibrant cross-linguistic synthesis stands in stark contrast to passive glottophagy, giving rise to an autonomous linguistic subsystem that repurposes foreign technical terminology in service of localized oral pedagogy—beautifully capturing, in this sense, the dynamic process of traditional apprenticeship and endogenous socialization as documented by Ndiaye (2018).

This technolinguistic symbiosis is explicitly crystallized on the shop floor in instructions such as “Pompél ba mu tendre”. In this utterance, the morphosyntactic machinery of Wolof actively scaffolds the acquisition of French lexicons. By attaching the Wolof imperative suffix *-al* to the French verbal base *pomper* which structurally incorporates the following verb *tendre*, the master artisan builds a familiar grammatical reception framework. The apprentice is working the hydraulic jack, and the French technical concept is mapped in real-time to the physical resistance of the material and the spatial alignment of the vehicle chassis. Wolof, in other words, is a direct, praxeological instrument, not a passive matrix for translation. It circumvents the institutional barriers of formal French instruction, didactizing Western technical jargon into operational shop-floor commands validating the empirical effectiveness of the artisanal oral tradition.

5.2. Institutional Viewpoint: Standardization and Promotion for SenTermino Integration

This reality of informal transmission leads to question its recognition and articulation with the formal Senegalese educational system.

A. Institutional standardization and valuation of language: the SenTermino interface

The national SenTermino platform, under the aegis of IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop

and the École Supérieure Polytechnique (ESP) and with the support of UNESCO, centralizes and validates scientific and technological terminologies in national languages (Wolof, Pulaar and Seereer). While the initial SenTermino modules focused on classical academic disciplines (Mathematics, Physics, Life and Earth sciences), our field data demonstrate the need for a sector-specific task force for artisan trades and automotive industries. Instead they are highly productive, usage-proven lexical solutions and are not “waste” or a corrupted form of Wolof. Lexicons produced on the fly in informal workshops. Such innovative vocabularies are validated through operational efficiency and real-time technical competence. The integration of these field-collected terms, in particular the precision haptic lexicons from Thiès and the hybrid action verbs from Dakar, within the SenTermino infrastructure provides a much-needed structural bridge between university linguistic research, formal vocational pedagogy, and the informal craft economy.

B. Proposed Action: Creation of an Official Bilingual Wolof-French Lexicon for Vocational Training Centers

About our approach: development of a rich and bilingual French-Wolof lexicon dedicated to Vocational Training Centers (CFPs). To operationalize this framework, we recommend the creation of an Official Bilingual Wolof-French Lexicon in the fields of machinery and automotive engineering, co-authored by the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training and the Center de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (CLAD). This operational tool, the establishment of this targeted lexicon, will stabilize and standardize technical vocabularies used across Vocational Training Centers (CFPs), working far beyond a passive dictionary that simply lists words. Using such a lexicon we will:

- Reduce cognitive exclusion: it will ease the transition of apprentices coming from informal craft environments toward advanced certification tracks (CAP, BT) by directly capitalizing on and validating the linguistic capital they acquired and validated in automotive garages.
- Reduce Cognitive Exclusion: To ease the transition of apprentices from the informal sector into certified curricula (CAP, BT) by using their existing linguistic knowledge as a starting point.
- Safe teaching of standards Use safety phrasing proven in the field “Day mas”, “Day tàkk” to transmit formal concepts of electrical or chemical risk prevention.
- Codifier sans geler: officializer la double appellation: le terme académique en français et son équivalent fonctionnel ou morphologique en wolof, légitimant ainsi les pratiques de transmission des savoirs endogènes.

5.3. Managerial, Organizational, and Economic Implications: From Technolect Formalization to Workshop Performance

The emergence and structuring of a hybrid Wolof-French technolect within informal production units do not answer solely didactic or linguistic imperatives. This phenomenon lies at the heart of management mechanisms and directly impacts global workshop performance. For artisan-owners-managers in Dakar and

Thiès, mastering and disseminating this shared repertoire act as a strategic lever articulated around three major dimensions:

A. Structuring Governance Modes and Reducing Information Asymmetry

In the studied artisanal structures, governance does not rely on written procedure manuals or formalized contracts. The hybrid technolact serves here as an endogenous governance code. By stabilizing key expressions and safety instructions (such as “*dédet! bu ko ponter*” or “*seree ko mais dëgéral*”), the master artisan establishes his managerial authority while decentralizing close monitoring. The shared language drastically reduces information asymmetry between direction (the master) and execution (the apprentices). It formalizes an oral accountability framework where each actor knows precisely the expectations of his technical role, ensuring fluid chain of command within the workshop triad.

B. Optimisation of Transaction Costs and Operational Efficiency

In the economic sense of transaction cost theory, the informal workshop is subject to constant risks of opportunism, technical misunderstandings, and delivery delays. Systematic recourse to linguistic blending (“*pompeel mu tendre*”, “*vilebre-quin bi rapsé*”) functions as an economic optimization mechanism. By condensing complex Western technical concepts into immediately intelligible Wolof lexical and syntactic units, actors eliminate downtime caused by cognitive blur (the “*ràbbañ-ràbbañ*”). Monitoring costs decrease, part error rates drop, and vehicle turnover on jacks or workbenches accelerates. Linguistic hybridization thus converts popular linguistic capital into immediate, measurable productivity gains in the face of urban clients’ temporal demands.

C. Economic Valuation and Return on Human Capital

For the artisan-owner-manager, enterprise sustainability depends on the speed of workforce autonomization, mostly coming from school dropouts. The hybrid technolact serves as a synchronous learning accelerator. By allowing the apprentice to simultaneously assimilate the technical gesture and its workshop nomenclature, the national linguistic channel maximizes the return on invested human capital. As the apprentice progresses toward autonomy and self-control (e.g., fine haptic evaluation of sheet metal “*grâtel ba mu set*”), he shifts from cost-center status (passive novice) to profit-center status (senior worker confirming commissioning). Field Wolof acts as an inclusive device for valuing cognitive skills and soft skills, transforming out-of-system youth into highly qualified assets for the informal and national economy.

6. General Conclusions and Outlook

6.1. Overall Conclusion

This comparative sociolinguistic study carried out in Dakar and Thiès shows that Wolof is not just a vernacular communication tool in mechanics, electricity and body-shaping workshops, but a cognitive and didactic technolact of integration. There is no formal training manual in French for the apprentices, who are essentially school dropouts. The national language compensates for the in-

stitutional deficit by taking on the conceptualization of complex professional knowledge.

In terms of endogenous governance and risk communication, management in the artisanal workshops studied does not rely on written procedural manuals or formal signed contracts, but on the hybrid technical code developed within the garages. These verbal words are directly defining the regulatory framework of the labor environment. By standardizing key expressions and basic safety instructions like “dédet! bu ko ponter” or “seree ko mais dëgër”, the master artisan establishes a strong managerial presence and ensures continuous, real-time supervision of operations. This common linguistic repertoire reduces the communication barriers and informational asymmetries between management (the master) and execution (the apprentices). It generates a strong framework of oral accountability, where each participant knows exactly what their specific technical responsibilities entail, allowing for a seamless and reliable chain of command on the workshop floor.

6.2. Prospects

A. Methodology’s Application to Other National Languages

Wolof is the vehicular language of the majority of the urban centers studied, but the migratory dynamics and the cultural plurality of Senegal require extending this research protocol. One important approach is to consider KKAS transmission in bilingual or multilingual areas (as in Casamance with Joola, or the peanut basin with Seereer and Pulaar, also affected by SenTermino). This extension would allow us to determine whether the mechanisms of terminological symbiosis and engineering-by-gesture observed for Wolof are universal, or whether they depend on the internal structures of each national language.

B. Vocational Training Engineering and Policy Recommendations

On the institutional level, results from this field survey suggest a revision of the reference frameworks of the Vocational Training Orientation Law in Senegal. We formulate two strong recommendations:

1. Anchoring on the national SenTermino platform (IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop & ESP, 2025)

To achieve this, it is necessary to establish a sector-specific task force (Linguists, Master Artisans, and Pedagogical Engineers) to integrate stabilized workshop technolects into the national terminology database supported by UNESCO.

2. Institutionalization of a linguistic transition model

Introducing bilingual Wolof-French lexicons within Vocational Training Centers (CFP) would allow certifying apprentices coming from the informal sector. By officially recognizing the mediating role of Wolof, school learning of safety instructions would be eased, and pass rates for State exams (CAP, BT) improved.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

References

- Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie [ANSD] (2023). *Statistiques des unités économiques artisanales et des métiers de l'automobile à Dakar et Thiès* (Rapport final EHCVM-vf, p. 136). République du Sénégal. <https://www.ansd.sn>
- Calvet, L.-J. (1994). *Les voix de la ville: Introduction à la sociolinguistique urbaine*. Payot.
- Calvet, L.-J. (2002). *Le marché aux langues: Essai de politolinguistique*. Plon.
- Cissé, M. (2005). Langues, État et société au Sénégal. *SudLangues: Revue électronique internationale de sciences du langage*, No. 5, 89-111.
- Daff, M. (2002). Le co-bilinguisme wolof-français au Sénégal: Une approche sociolinguistique dynamique. *Langage et Société*, 101, 35-57.
- Diallo, A. (2011). Les technocrates du wolof dans le secteur informel: Le cas des ateliers de réparation automobile à Dakar. *Revue Sénégalaise de Linguistique Appliquée*, 14, 45-68.
- Gueye, M. S. (2026). *Compassion & Compétences en Affaire*. TheBookEdition.
- IFAN Cheikh Anta Diop, & École Supérieure Polytechnique [ESP] (2025). *Plateforme Terminologique Nationale SenTermino*. Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) de Dakar. <https://sentermino.com>
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511815355>
- Le Boterf, G. (2015). *Construire les compétences individuelles et collectives: Agir et réussir avec pertinence* (7e éd.). Eyrolles.
- Le Boterf, G. (2018). *Développer la compétence professionnelle: Des savoirs aux critères d'action d'évaluation* (8e éd.). Éditions d'Organisation.
- McLaughlin, F. (2001). Dakar Wolof and the Configuration of an Urban Identity. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 14, 153-172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13696810120107104>
- Ndiaye, M. (2018). *L'apprentissage traditionnel au Sénégal: Trajectoires d'insertion, socialisation et savoirs endogènes*. Thèse de doctorat en sciences de l'éducation, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Archives de l'UCAD.
- Organisation Internationale du Travail [OIT] (2025). *Politique nationale de l'apprentissage professionnel de qualité au Sénégal*. Bureau International du Travail. <https://www.oit.org>
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language Socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 163-191. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.15.100186.001115>
- Swigart, L. (1992). Two Codes or One? The Insiders' View and the Description of Codeswitching in Dakar. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, 83-102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.1992.9994485>
- UNESCO (2025). *SenTermino: Une nouvelle ère pour la diffusion des savoirs en langues nationales au Sénégal*. Bureau régional de l'UNESCO à Dakar. <https://www.unesco.org>

Appendix

To allow the international reviewers (non-Wolof speakers) to fully understand the data, each verbatim segment is carefully translated into English below. Here are the literal translations:

Page 11: Automotive Mechanics Workshop (Dakar)

- **Original Text:** “Fi xoolal. Su ma la waxee jox ma ‘brik yi’, fexeel ba ‘plaquettes’ yi duggu bu baax ci ‘étrier’ bi. Bu ko ‘seree trop’ nag, pour mu baña ‘foti’. Jox ma, c’est une ‘clé à choc’.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Look here. When I ask you to give me ‘the bricks’ [the brake pads], make sure the pads fit properly into the caliper. You have to... when you hear the click, that’s it, you won’t be able to tighten it any further. Don’t over-tighten it, though, to avoid stripping the thread. Hand me... that’s an impact wrench.”
- **Original Text:** “Clé douze bi lañuy jël?” (Apprentice)
- **Proposed Translation:** “Are we using the 12mm wrench?”
- **Original Text:** “Waw, c’est la ‘douzième’ bi. Seree ko, mais ‘dëgéral’ pour ‘sécurité’. ‘Uil’ bi dafa wara ‘circulé’ bu baax, su ko defee ‘système’ bi du ‘mas’.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Yes, it’s the twelfth one [the 12mm wrench]. Tighten it, but secure it tightly for safety. The oil needs to circulate properly so that the system doesn’t short to ground.”

Page 11: Automotive Mechanics Workshop (Thiès)

- **Original Text:** “Xoolal ‘repère’ bi ci ‘culasse’ bi. Su ko ‘vilebrequin’ bi rapsé, moteur bi day paxi. Jëlal clé bi nga tallal ma ‘tendeur’ bi. Degg?”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Look at the timing mark on the cylinder head. If the crankshaft slips [misses the alignment], the engine will blow. Take the wrench and loosen the tensioner for me. Understood?”
- **Original Text:** “Maître, bi dafa wara aligné wu ak xet wu ndaw wi? ‘repère’” (Apprentice)
- **Proposed Translation:** “Master, should this timing mark align with the small line?”
- **Original Text:** “Waw, loolu la! Loolu moy ‘ajustement de précision’. Su la ko jangalul ci wolof, ‘soupapes’ yi te duko yëg.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Yes, exactly! That is what we call a precision adjustment. If they don’t teach you this in Wolof, the valves will collide without you even realizing it.”

Page 12: Auto Electricity Workshop (Dakar)

- **Original Text:** “‘Scanner’ bi mooy gindi ‘défaut’. C’est ce qu’on appelle un ‘court-circuit à la masse’. Fil bi day ‘mas’ ak carrosserie bi. Jëlal ‘multimètre’ bi nga ‘tester’ ‘fusible’ bi. Sa ‘tension’ n’est pas là, son ‘relais’ va ‘griller’.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “The scanner indicates the fault. It’s what we call a short circuit to ground. The wire is grounding against the bodywork. Take the multimeter to test the fuse. Your voltage isn’t right; its relay is going to blow.”
- **Original Text:** “Maître, le ‘fusible’ est à deux reprises coupé. Dama koy

‘ponter’?” (Apprentice)

- **Proposed Translation:** “Master, the fuse has blown twice. Should I bypass [bridge] it?”
- **Original Text:** “Dédet! Loolu du sécurité.” (Professional)
- **Proposed Translation:** “No! That is not safe.”

Page 12: Auto Electricity Workshop (Thiès)

- **Original Text:** “Teejal ‘contact’ bi. Jëlal ‘lampe témoin’ bi nga teg ko fi ci ‘borne’ bi. Xoolal bu baax, ‘day tàkk’ ndax ‘étincelle’ bi. Sécurisé à ‘batterie’ bi.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Turn on the ignition. Take the test light and place it here on the terminal. Look closely, it lights up because of the spark. Secure the battery.”
- **Original Text:** “Maître, l’ampoule est très forte (bi dafa tàkk gann).” (Apprentice)
- **Proposed Translation:** “Master, the bulb is glowing very brightly.”
- **Original Text:** “Waw, loolu lu baax la. Léegi ‘circuit de charge’ bi mu ngi dox.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Yes, that’s a good thing. Now the charging circuit is working.”

Page 13: Body & Fender/Sheet Metal Workshop (Dakar)

- **Original Text:** “‘Pompéel’ gawa! ‘Pompéel’ mu ‘tendre’ bu baax. Xoolal ‘ligne’ bi ci ‘aile’ bi. Dafa wara ‘s’aligner’ ak ‘portière’ bi. Yemmal! Bou ko ‘forcer’ donc tu as déchiré ‘foti’ ou tu as cassé. ‘Lalal mastic’ après un ‘défaut’.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Pump it quickly! Pump until it is fully tensioned. Look at the body line on the fender. It must align with the door. Stop right there! If you force it, you will tear [the metal] or break it. Apply body filler afterward to mask any defects.”
- **Original Text:** “Maître, ‘châssis’ bi mu ngi ‘revenir’ ndanka-ndanka.” (Apprentice)
- **Proposed Translation:** “Master, the chassis is gradually coming back [straightening out] little by little.”
- **Original Text:** “Waw, ‘contrôler’ kò ak ‘niveau’ bi. Il faut donc souder un renfort.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Yes, check it with the spirit level. We will then need to weld a reinforcement.”

Page 13: Body & Fender/Sheet Metal Workshop (Thiès)

- **Original Text:** “Dëggal marteau bi ni... ‘Grâtel’ ba mu sèt’... Lalal ‘masik’ ou ‘mastic’ bi ndanka... Tas bi dafa wara nekk suuf. Domu loxo bi moy xam su fekké tôle bi dafa ‘lisse’ wala dafa am ‘vague’.”
- **Proposed Translation:** “Hold the hammer firmly like this... Sand it until it’s clean... Apply the body filler gently... The hand anvil [dolly] must be underneath. It is the palm of your hand [the fingertips] that tells you if the sheet metal is smooth or if there are waves.”