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The Processes of Subjectivity in *Yen a Marre* RAP Discourse

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Abstract: This study falls in the theoretical framework of enunciation which is an indispensable concept in the analysis of any discourse. Indeed, the subjectivity of discourse depends on personnal choices of the speaker, on his objectives, on the attitudes that he adopts with regard to what he says, to his manner of addressing his interlocutor. Its expression marks the specificity of language as an instrument of communication and transmission of knowledge by a speaker. The analysis relates more specifically to the facts of language and the impact it can have on the position of the rapper. It attempts to show the subjective judgment of the rapper through his attitude, feelings and opinions within his statement. The study involved a sample of twenty political songs which were released throughout a period starting from 2011 to 2013. As far as its transcription is concerned, extracts of songs are written in italics and the English translation in normal style with quotations. On the basis of corpus data, the results have shown that the rapper's discourse is strongly steeped in subjectivity through the use of linguistic processes. These processes are mainly assertion, interrogation, injunction, exclamation, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, substantives, negative form and verbal tenses. Moreover, they also helped to understand the rapper's degree of commitment to get his people adhesion.

Keywords: Process, Subjectivity, Enunciation, Discourse, Rap, Language, Yen a marre

1. Introduction

Any linguistic production is naturally subjective because its realization is directly made by a speaker, as a communicating subject, who uses language to express himself, to communicate or to influence. Indeed, language also allows the speaker to build a self-image and make a judgment in an explicit or implicit way. Moreover, the speaker, to express his attitude toward his interlocutor, has the opportunity to use several strategies to achieve his goal. However, in the rap discourse of the Y en a marre movement, this phenomenon of subjectivity is very striking; and it is due to the fact that it is a combative discourse where the speaker (rapper) seeks to defend and protect the interests of his people to the detriment of a political elite that he decides to denounce and discredit. Our goal is to analyze the attitude, the feelings and the opinions of the rapper within his statement in order to show the subjective judgment of the latter.

2. Literature Review

For Benveniste, subjectivity is a notion that suggests what

is related to the personality of the speaking subject, that is, to his states of consciousness, his impressions, and his affinity. He considers that subjectivity: "est la capacité du locuteur à se poser comme "sujet" (...) c'est dans et par le langage que l'homme se constitue en sujet parce que le langage seul fonde la réalité, dans sa réalité qui est celle de l'être, le concept d'"ego" [1]. The author focuses his reflection on the personal pronouns and in particular the first person of singular which refers to a subjective person and the second person of singular which indicates a non-subjective person. Moreover, for him, subjectivity and language constitute two inseparable notions: language is the possibility of subjectivity, for containing the linguistic forms that are suitable to its expression, and discourse incites the emergence of subjectivity, for consisting of discrete instances.

As for Orecchioni C-K, she considers subjectivity as a general concept that is related to the judgments and feelings of the "subject", that is, the ego or the individual consciousness. In her study about the subjectivity rate, she

I Is the capacity of the speaker to act as a "subject" (...) it is in and by the language that man is constituted in subject because the language alone bases reality, in its reality which is that of being, the concept of "ego (my translation).

proposes this notion which defines so-called subjective linguistic units. "Il va de soi que toute unité lexicale est, en un sens, subjective, puisque les "mots" de la langue ne sont jamais que des symboles substitutifs et interprétatifs des choses" ² [2]. For her, substantives, adjectives, verbs and adverbs are linguistic units that can allow the subjectivity of discourse. Indeed, many other studies dealt with subjectivity of language [3-10].

3. Methodology

The corpus of data used for the analysis is the *Y en a marre*'s³ political rap songs that are released throughout a period starting from 2011 to 2013, and it is mainly composed of 20 songs. The selection mainly focuses on the most critical songs. Moreover, for the transcription, extracts of songs are written in italics and the English translation in normal style with quotations marks. Indeed, in order to better analyze the subjective functioning of this type of discourse, we have listed at first the speech acts, the different types of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, substantives, then the sentences form and finally verbal tenses.

Moreover, this reasoning enabled to get the results presented in the following chapter.

4. Results and Discussion

The results have shown that the rapper's discourse is strongly steeped in subjectivity, by the presence of a set of clues that denote the attitude, the feelings and the value judgment of the latter. To do this, the rapper used linguistic processes such as assertion, interrogation, injunction, exclamation, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, substantives, the negative form and verbal tenses. This also helped to understand the rapper's degree of commitment to get his people adhesion.

However, these results are scientifically explained the different sections below.

4.1. Interrogation

Interrogation refers to an interlocutory situation. It is a speech act through which the rapper is questioning his audience (politician or fellow citizen) in order to get reaction (information) from them. The fact of questioning concerns the opinion of the rapper on something in which he is an actor. In (1), the rapper made a deep analysis of the country's situation concerning certain sectors such as Health, Education and Employment. He considers that without these

2It depends on oneself that any lexical unit is, in a sense, subjective, since the "words" of the language are only substitutive and interpretative symbols of things (my translation).

sectors, a country's development is not possible. Here, the rapper's interrogation is addressing politicians in power and who have the responsibility to find solutions to the problems of his people. It is as well an interrogation that results from a feeling of anger and the rapper expects to get an answer from political authorities. In (2), the rapper is denouncing the manner that President Abdoulaye Wade is governing. He noticed that the latter seeks to grant a certain favor to some citizens to the detriment of others. So, through this interrogation, he is addressing Senegalese citizens in inviting them to see again the kind of President they keep on electing.

1) Paj mi feebar, njàng mi sooxe Diplômé chômé. A quand le sérieux (Problem of Health and Education

Be qualified and be in joblessness. When it will be serious?)

Song title: Jógu fi "It still exists"

2) Kan moy suñu President?

Ñun suñu Président farul benn camp
(Who is our President?

We, our President is impartial)

Song title: Le 23 Juin "23rd of June"

4.2. Exclamation

According to Maingueneau: "l'exclamation fait appel à une grande diversité de structures [...] Il s'agit toujours d'exprimer un haut degré" 4 [11]. It permits to express a strong feeling and this can be a surprise, an anger or a fear. In (3), the use of the exclamatory adjective "quelle" (what) permits the rapper to express his deep anger or regret in relation to an action that has already happened. For him, Senegalese citizens are completely disappointed about the political system of President Abdoulaye Wade. He judges that President Wade became unrecognizable because what he had promised during electoral campaigns, is different from the way he is governing. In (4), the interjection "oh" expresses an astonishment in relation to a fact. This astonishment of the rapper results from the fact he realizes that since independence the Senegalese political system has been remaining the same and it is utopian to pretend any change in the management of public affairs.

3) Quelle erreur d'avoir voté en votre faveur!
(What a mistake of voting in your favor!)
Song title: yeweeku am na "one can be free"
4) Oh mon Dieu
60 ba léegi politique bi c'est pareil
(Oh, my God from 60 till now, politics doesn't change)
Song title: nekkal fi askan wi "to be here for the nation"

4.3. Injunction

Injunction is a process through which the rapper acts on his/her interlocutor to influence and even to change the behavior of the latter. It can be expressed in various ways such as: strict order, advice, wish, request, polite request.

^{3 &}quot;Y en a marre" is a Senegalese citizen movement created in 2011 by activist rappers and journalists. Among these rappers, there are Cheikh Omar Cyril Toure alias Thiat (the youngest in a family) and Mbessane Seck alias Kilifeu (the eldest in a family) from Keur GUI (the house) group, Malal Tall alias Fou Malade from Bat'haillons Blin-D group. As for journalists, there are Fadel Barro (spokesman of the movement) and Alioune Sané.

⁴Exclamation resorts a great diversity of structures [...] It is always a question of expressing a high degree (my translation).

After this speech act, the rapper expects from the addressee the accomplishment of an act or the adoption of an attitude. In (5), the rapper uses a strict order, through the imperative mood of verbs "clarifiez, assumez" (clarify, assume), to address political authorities. Here, he assumes his role of people' spokesman which gives him the right of ordering politicians with a certain authority. He considers that these politicians do not perform correctly the mission that they have been confided by Senegalese citizens. In this statement, he also wants to say that the sovereign people is completely excluded in the management of public affairs. In (6), the rapper uses a piece of advice, through the imperative mood of the verb "Nëwal" (come), to address his fellow citizens. So, he is advising or begging them to join the struggle for the respect of democracy. For him, this struggle is a responsibility which rests with any citizen who is really concerned with the future of his/her nation. It is as well a manner to say that without a common implication the struggle will never have success.

5) Clarifiez les dossiers Assumez vos responsabilités (Clarify the cases

Assume your responsabilities)

Song title: Ñëg "to set one's face against sth"

6) Ñëwal yen bi woyoful

(Come the responsibility is not easy)

Song title: nouveau type de baol baol "a new baol baol guy"

4.4. The Use of Performative, Declarative, Opinion and Feeling Verbs

Performative verbs permit the rapper to express his/her position in relation to his statement. With these verbs, the rapper often uses the first person of singular. Indeed, for swearing he uses the holy names such as Billaay, wállaahi and Rasuulilah, to affirm his convictions on a fact or a situation. In (7), the rapper, through "Billaay", wants to confirm that President Abdoulaye Wade would have been a model around the world if he had not attempted to run for a third unconstitutional mandate. He conceives that President Abdoulaye Wade should try to keep his promise which was to respect the constitutional dispositions. In (8), through "wállaahi", the rapper is still reassuring his fellow citizens that Abdoulaye Wade is going to be defeated by Macky Sall during the second round of presidential elections, and for this, he is asking them to be patient because President Abdoulaye Wade has almost lost the vote. In (9), the rapper is addressing President Macky Sall and he uses the phrase Woor na Rasuulilah to confirm that he wishes that the latter had a resounding success for the mission that was confided to him by Senegalese citizens.

7) Bu si manqué sa faluwaat mënuta dagan Billaay mátoon nga royukaay
(If there is one element missing, you can't be elected I swear on the name of God that you could be an example) Song title: faux pas force "do not force"

8) Li si des wállaahi bëriwul

Donc bokkatul

(I swear on the name of God that the rest is not long So, he is defeated)

Song title: doggali "to finish"

9) Wóor na Rasuulilah

Linu lay ñaanal moy nga am ndam Hamdoulilah.

(I swear it on the name of the Prophet

What we are praying for you is success)

Song title: Lettre au Président "letter to President"

As for declarative verbs, they are used by the rapper to express a desire. In (10), the rapper uses the verb *bëggee* (want) to express the desire of Senegalese citizens. This desire concerns the departure of President Abdoulaye Wade from power. According him, the materialization of this desire depends imperatively on the fact that Senegalese citizens accept to register in electoral lists to have a voter card that will enable them to sanction the political system during the presidential elections. In (11), the rapper also expresses a wish through the use of the conjugated verb *voulons* (want). Indeed, the expressed wish concerns the improvement of the conditions of study of public schools' students. He judges that the educational policy of President Abdoulaye Wade lacks performance.

10)Kon suñu bëggee bey suñu waar Gánaayoo dooley carte yi
(So, if we want to execute our rights Let's get voter cards)
Song title: faux pas forcer "do not force"
11)Nous voulons des tables bancs
Ecole mbalit y en a marre
(We want desks
We are fed up of bad schools)

Song: Ñëg "to set one's face against sth"

As far as opinion verbs are concerned, the rapper uses them to express not only his point of view, a judgment, but also to leave no idea of doubt or shade. They give the speaker the possibility to take a position in relation to a fact. According to Orecchioni: "Il s'agit ici des verbes qui dénotent la façon dont un agent appréhende la réalité [...] Cette appréhension peut être comme plus ou moins assurée ou au contraire plus ou moins contestable" [12]. So, in the rap texts, this is expressed through the use of the verb gëm (to believe). In (12), the Senegalese rapper is expressing his opinion and he considers that politicians are really deceitful. According to him, a politician is rather a theoretician than a practitioner, that is to say that the latter never keeps promises. This discouragement of the rapper results from the fact that politicians are not capable to improve the difficult living conditions of citizens through access of employment, the reduction of the price of foodstuffs, of accommodation and so on. In (13), the rapper's opinion concerns the falseness of political game. Here, he seems to give a moral lesson to those who never try to perform their right of vote even if they are not interested in politics. He as well insinuates that if people

⁵ These are verbs that denote the way an agent apprehends reality [...] this apprehension can be more or less assured or, on the contrary, more or less contestable. (my translation).

do not try to fulfill their republican duty (vote), to change the system, they will still live in difficulties that will never have remedy. However, he considers that the performance of this right constitutes the only alternative to stop politicians' faults.

12)Wax ji doyna, gëmatuñu leen

Teggin nekkin

(Stop talking, I believe no more in you

Promote a good behavior)

Song title: Waxal sa baay "say your father"

13)Gëmuma politique

Waaye sama wareef dina mát

(I believe no more in politics

But I will accomplish my duty)

Song title: xaar mu jot "waiting for the right time"

And in regard to feeling verbs, they enable the rapper to express his emotions and his feelings. Moreover, Orecchioni stated that these verbs are: "À la fois affectifs et axiologiques, ils expriment une disposition favorable ou défavorable, de l'agent du procès vis-à-vis de son objet, et corrélativement une évaluation positive ou négative de cet objet" [13]. Indeed, in (14), the rapper uses the verb "marre" (to be fed up) to express the disgust of Senegalese citizens about politics and politicians. This cry of heart results from the fact that politicians are only interested in themselves and not in the interest of sovereign people who have elected them in power. Moreover, to exteriorize this collective feeling of Senegalese citizens, these rappers have decided to call their citizen movement "Y en a marre".

14)Dañu marre ci seen yëf
Dañu marre bëgg as-lëf
(We are fed up with their way of doing
We are fed up and want something)
Song title: Jógu fi "It still exists"

4.5. The Use of Adjectives and Adverbs

According to Jean Dubois and al:

La grammaire tradictionnelle définit l'adjectif comme le mot qui est joint au nom pour exprimer la qualité de l'object ou de l'être, ou de la notion désignée par ce nom (adjectif qualificatif), ou bien pour permettre à ce nom d'être actualisé dans une phrase (adjectif déterminant)⁷. [14].

C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni distinguished two types of adjectives: subjective and objective adjectives. Subjective adjectives are composed of two classes: affective and evaluative. As for evaluative adjectives, they are divided into: non-axiological and axiological. Concerning affective adjectives, the rapper uses them to express an affective commitment to the qualified thing [15].

In (15), the rapper uses the qualifying adjective *Méchant* (wicked) to describe the negative or bad behavior of the

6 Both affective and axiological, they express a favorable or unfavorable disposition of the agent of the process towards his/her object and correlatively a positive or negative evaluation of this object. (my translation).

Senegalese politician. So, one can even understand that the rapper is animated with a feeling of hatred towards politicians. The latter seeks to discredit the politician, but at the same time tries to say his fellow citizens that politicians do not deserve their confidence because of their deceitfulness.

In (16), the qualifying adjectives *lott* and *loof* have the same meaning which is "an excessive tiredness" in Wolof language. Their use in this statement enables the rapper to describe the difficult living conditions of Senegalese families under their reign of President Abdoulaye WADE. So, he is expressiong a feeling of compassion towards his fellow citizens who are suffering a lot owing to a bad political system.

15)Méchant politicien

Falu wor sa áskan

(Wicked politician

Be elected and betrayed your nation)

Song title: Maintenant ça suffit "that's enough"

16)Baay lott balaa jot salaire

Service sanitaire yaay loof balaa indi leer

(Father is tired before getting his salary

In sanitary service, mother gets exhausted before giving birth)

Song title: Goutte de trop "drop too much"

Concerning non-axiological adjectives, they have a more or less strong subjectivity since their meaning and value vary from one person to another; this means that people do not have the same capacity of observation or perception towards a same reality. With this category of adjectives, the rapper does not make a value judgment, or an affective commitment, but proceeds to an idea of comparison.

In (17), when the rapper uses the qualifying adjectives "grand et petit" (big and small), he is addressing all Senegalese citizens without exception. He is expressing the shared feeling of every Senegalese citizen. This feeling is nothing but disgust in relation to a corrupt political system, coached by President Abdoulaye Wade. Indeed, this collective rejection results from a deep disappointment.

In (18), with the qualifying adjective *bees* (new), the rapper is describing the state of the government. To express his frustration and to show how the republican institution is desecrated by the Senegalese politician, he compares the government of President Abdoulaye Wade to a garment that could be changed at any time. According to him, the endless reshuffle really shows the President is still groping.

17)Du plus grand au petit

On n'a plus d'appétit

(From the bigger to the smaller

We no longer have appetite)

Song title: yeweeku am na "one can be free"

18)Weer wu nekk remaniement bu bees

Ni yére buñuy summi

(Every month with a new government

Like changing clothes)

Song title: lii lumu doon? "What is this?"

As for axiological adjectives, the rapper uses them to make a judgment of positive or negative value, in taking into

⁷ The traditional grammar defines adjective as the word which is attached to the noun to express the quality of the object or being it, or of the notion designated by that noun (qualifying adjective), or to allow this noun to be updated in sentence (determinant adjective).(my translation).

account the substantives that the latter qualify. In (19), the rapper is expressing a judgment of negative value through the use of devaluing axiological adjectives such as mécréant (pagan), défaillant (weak), fainéant (lazy). He is describing not only the behavior of the Senegalese political class, but also the executive power (President of the Republic) and the legislative power (the Parliament). The President of the Republic is judged by the rapper to be "mécréant" (nonbeliever) for building a Monument of the African Renaissance, a statue deemed satanic and to be "fainéant" (lazy) for being unable to provide solutions to the numerous problems of citizens. As for the use of the adjective "défaillant" (failing), he is describing the attitude of Members of Parliament. He considers that the latter do not represent Senegalese citizens, but the Executive power. In (20), there is a judgment of positive value through the use of valorizing adjectives such as taaru (beautiful). So, from a descriptive comparison of the two Ndakaaru⁸, the rapper judges that the one inhabited by bourgeois is much more beautiful than the other occupied by the lower class. This also constitutes a manner for him to tackle the political system of President Abdoulage Wade, which continues to enrich the rich and to impoverish the poor.

19)Président mercréant
Dirigeant fainéant
Parlement défaillant
(A pagan President
A lazy leader
A weak Parliament)
Song title: Ñeg "to set one's face against sth"
20)Am léegi ñaari Ndakaaru
Bii gena taaru
(Now there are two Dakar
The one is more beautiful than the other
Song title: Journal rappé EF15 "rapped Journal EF15"

As regards adverbs, they permit the rapper to express an emotion which is as well a fact enabling to determine the rapper's judgment in relation to his statement. In (21), the rapper uses the adverb of manner fortement (strongly) to judge the political system of the First Senegalese President, Léopold Sédar Senghor. This adverb determines the verb réprimé (repressed) to show the degree of oppression of the population under the reign of Senghor. He conceives that with the reign of Senghor, it was impossible to talk about democracy because the latter and his minister of security (Jean Collin) were quite allegic to any kind of demonstration. In (22), the rapper judges, through the adverb of quantity neew (little or few) which determines the verb des (to remain), the remaining time of President WADE in power. For him, it is a way of saying President Abdoulage Wade that his reign is about to end because it is not possible for him to win the next presidential elections.

21)68 peuple bi di manifester Fortement reprimé par Senghor ak Jean Collin (In 1968, people were demonstrating Strongly quelled by Senghor and Jean Collin Song title: Mea culpa 22)Mágget li la fi dese neew si coob Lekk áq ngen coob (Old man, you have little time to eat You exploit people) Song title: Ñëg "to set one's face against sth"

4.6. The Use of Substantives

The rapper can even make a judgment on the content of his discourse through the use of axiological substantives. In this case, he may use devaluing or gratifying terms. They can also be nouns of quality or hyperbolical and metaphorical nouns [16]. In (23), the rapper uses fenkat (liar) as a devaluing substantive to measure not only the audience's feeling, but also tries to depreciate or stigmaize a character or a situation. The substantive functions as an insult that intended to denigrate President Abdoulaye Wade. Through this substantive, he is expressing a deep disappointment towards President Abdoulaye Wade's reign. He considers that the latter does not respect his promises concerning the impossibility of having a third mandate according to the constitution. In (24), the rapper uses the gratifying term yërmande (pity) that has a positive connotation, to praise a situation or a fact. So, he is begging clemency from President Wade who makes Senegalese citizens suffer.

23)Ndax fenkat hors- pair lañu ko seqal?

Allahou⁹ dana la ko sexal

(Because we have matter with a big liar.

I swear it on the name of God, I will make you eat it)

Song title: faux pas forcer "do not force"

24)Yërmande war nala Goor gi

(You should have clemency Old man)

Song title: Ñëg "to set one's face against sth"

4.7. The Use of the Negative Form

With the negative form, the rapper seems to answer a question raised in a previous discourse and he is expressing his rejection or refusal concerning a fact. Moreover, according to Souad this is not a"simple négation du contenu, mais plutôt d'une réfutation", [17]. This form of negation seems to correspond to what Ducrot calls a polemic negation, meaning that the speaker does not agree with somebody's assertion [18]. In (25), Duñ is a negative form in the second person of plural and it symbolizes that the entity rapper and citizen). This group rejects President Abdoulaye Wade's request for support from Senegalese citizens in order to obtain a third mandate. Here, the rapper tries to express how Senegalese citizens decide to oppose against a possible obtainment of a new mandate. He also justifies the citizens' refusal by the fact the latter never have confidence in President Abdoulaye Wade because of the numerous skids of his political system. At the same time, the rapper spites on the political coalitions that are nothing than lobbies that seek

⁹ God's name.

¹⁰ A simple negation of contents but rather a refutation.

to embezzle the Senegalese tax-payer. In (26), refutation is expressed through the use of *Do tuñ* which is as well a negative form in the second person of plural. Indeed, it is a form of a threat to President Abdoulaye Wade, to whom they suspect fiddling the constitution in order to have another anticonstitutional mandate. The rapper also wants to show how Senegalese citizens are ready to protect their constitution that symbolizes the fundamental charter of their country. According to them, the constitution has been broken many times under President Abdoulaye Wade's reign.

25)Duñ la sánnil suñuy carte

Dañoo bañ bennoo

(We won't vote for you

We refuse the gathering)

Song title: Maintenant ça suffit "now it is enough"

26)Dootuñu nangu

Ñu violer charte réew mi

Dootuñu nangu

Suñu justice nekk yetu parti yi

(We will never accept

You break the constitution

We will never accept

Our justice be a means of repression for political parties)

Song title: Goutte de trop "drop too much"

4.8. The Use of Verbal Tenses

The rapper uses the future tense to express an action in the future and the conditional tense to express a hypothesis or an unaccomplished wish. In (27), the rapper strongly thinks about the validity of what he says. His thought concerns the way of governing of President Macky Sall. For the rapper, this President has undertaken actions that are in opposition to people's interests. In (28), the process is rather planned like an eventuality; it is part of the universe of what is possible. Indeed, the latter explains, in an ironical manner, that the departure of President Abdoulaye Wade from power is going to affect some Senegalese citizens because of his theatrical and entertaining behavior.

27)"Mais ça ne passera pas

Car les gens ont compris

Il ne s'en ira pas

(But that will not happen

Because people understood

He won't get out of it)

Song title: Bañ ba dee "Resistant"

28)"Pape du Soppi¹¹ton retour est comme celui du messie. Si le pds¹²était le barça tu serais Ablaye Messi¹³...

(Pope of Sopi, your return is like the one of Messiah

If Pds was Barcelona, you would be Ablaye Messiah)

Song title: Hymne "hymn".

5. Conclusion

We have presented in this article a method of analysis

allowing to note the different processes of the expression of subjectivity in the *Y en a marre* rap discourse. In this study, the corpus plays an essential role because its constitution has made it possible to properly describe and understand the attitude, thoughts, feelings, intentions, judgments and desires of the rapper through language. However, language is a means of communication offering several means to show the subjective commitment of the speaker, not only through linguistic elements, but also through various parts of discourse that can function as a subjective position of the speaker.

At the end of the analysis, one can notice that the rapper, in his discourse, has developed a communicative strategy, through which, he shows a certain subjectivity, for the sole purpose of attracting, influencing and even to change the attitude of the interlocutor. In other words, he seeks to have the adhesion of his audience. Given that subjectivity is something changeable according to the behavior of speaking subjects but also to the sociohistorical conditions, this research work is not completed and that it would be interesting in this same type of discourse, to explore other forms of this phenomenon as the multilingual character.

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¹¹ A nickname given to President Wade, meaning the chief of change.

¹²Democratic Senegalese Party

¹³ Here President Wade is compared to the football player Lionel Messie.

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