

Investigation into Bamanankan-French Code Switching among University Students in Bamako

**Dr. Mohamed MINKAILOU, Université des Lettres et des Sciences
Humaines de Bamako**

**Dr. Ibrahima ABDOULAYE, Université des Lettres et des Sciences
Humaines de Bamako**

Abstract

One important manifestation of language contact is code-switching. That involves the alternation of two languages in the course of a single conversation. At university in Bamako, alternation between French, the basic language of education, and Bamanankan, the lingua franca in Bamako is a commonplace linguistic practice. This study has been conducted at university in Bamako to determine the manifestations and typologies of code-switching and to check up the validity of Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint theory and Myers-Scotton's (1993b) Matrix Language Frame Model. The data were collected through a series of nine recordings of university students. The results show that i) Bamanankan-French code-switching is a commonplace linguistic behavior among students; ii) the typologies are inter-sentential, intra-sentential (including intra-word) and tag-switches; iii) intra-sentential switches are the commonest typology and nouns are the most switched category. The study also shows that the past participle form of the French verbs is often integrated into Bamanankan to represent the base form of the verb. Last, the study equally supports both of Polack and Myers-Scotton's theories.

Mots-clés / Keywords: code-switching, inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching, Equivalence Constraint, Matrix Language-Frame Model.

Introduction

Mali is a multilingual nation characterized by the presence and use of several languages. Law recognizes multilingualism in the country when it confers the status of national language to thirteen of the languages in use throughout the country. Besides, the former colonial language, French, which became the official language after independence, continues to hold a prestigious role especially among educated people. Bamanankan is the dominant language in

southern Mali, Songhai predominates in northern Mali and Fulfulde relatively predominates in central Mali.

Educated people are those who feel more than any other category of the population very much affected by this state of plurilingualism. In fact, most Malian children go to school by age seven after having had full command over their mother tongues. Once at school, they are propelled into a new world where the mastery of French, ‘the language of success in life’, becomes compulsory. For years, they will struggle hard to have command over that language. Ultimately, they will become bilinguals. At times, because the level of education or the type of school to attend does not exist in the learners’ own area, they will be required to move to a new area where another local language is spoken; therefore, the development of at least some survival skills in that new native language will become necessary; that will eventuate in multilingualism. Additionally, higher education often requires a further similar movement demanding the development of further survival skills in another native language. In fact, most higher education institutions, if not all, are located in the capital city, Bamako; that is the reason why Baccalaureate holders from different parts of the country usually come and meet in Bamako for further education. They will, by the same token, have to develop some basic skills in Bamanankan, the main lingua franca of the area. The result will be further multilingualism.

In short, on their arrival in Bamako, the students will have been exposed to three languages at school and to two to three other languages outside school, becoming by the same token full multi-linguals. The consequence of that state of multilingualism will be the ability to easily and sometimes un/consciously shift (switch) from one language to another in the same discourse. In other words, they will tend to insert and/or alternate vocabulary and structure of two or more languages in the course of a single conversation. At university, Bamanankan-French alternation in discourse appears far more commonplace than in any other combination of languages. This is possibly so because of the degree of rootedness of the French language among students who have received the major part of their education in that language. On the other hand, the capital is a melting pot where people from different parts of the country meet and use principally Bamanankan as their lingua franca. The result is the emergence of a kind of ‘Bamfrench’ language – basically made up of Bamanankan as the base language which sets the frame and French as the embedded language which provides lexical items to insert. It may also be just alternations of the two languages.

Definitions of key terms

Four types of code-switching appear in the literature:

-**Inter-sentential switching**, sometimes called extra-sentential switching, occurs at the sentence or clause boundaries;

-**Intra-sentential switching** is the aspect which has received more attention from researchers; it occurs within the clause or the sentence. It can be alternational with a new grammar deriving from the grammars of the two languages involved; it can also be insertional with the emergence of elements of one language in the morphosyntactic frame of the other.

-**Tag-switching**, common in intra-sentential switches, it is a type of switching of either a tag phrase or a word or both;

-**Intra-word switching** occurs within a word, usually at the morpheme boundary and is therefore included in intra-sentential switching.

Literature Review

Code-switching, “the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode,”¹ has extensively been researched since the sixties from so many perspectives that, in this review, we will necessarily hold our tongues on some important elements of the literature. From the pioneering work of Blom and Gumperz (1972) up to recently, most studies have focused on and perceived code-switching and code-mixing as an oral linguistic strategy adopted by bi/multilinguals (Mbodj-Pouye and van den Avenne, 2007). Code-switching therefore appears as a violation of the language use principle that a speaker is expected to use only one language at a time in a given communicative situation. In plain words,

“Code-switching involves skilled manipulation of overlapping sections of two [or more] grammars, and that there is virtually no instance of ungrammatical combination of two languages in code-switching, regardless of the bilingual ability of the speaker. Some suggest that code-switching is itself a discrete mode of speaking, emanating from a single code-switching grammar”².

Li Wei (2000:17) is very keen on the role of each of the two languages involved in the process and therefore underlines that,

“One important aspect of the code-switching grammar is that the two languages involved do not play the same role in sentence making. Typically one language sets the grammatical

¹ M Heller (Ed.) 1988, p.1

² M Heller (Ed.) p.17

framework, with the other providing certain items to fit into the framework. Code-switching is not therefore a simple combination of two sets of grammatical rules but grammatical integration of one language in another”.

The sources for code-switching are basically sociolinguistic. Heller (1988:9) points out that “intra-utterance code-switching will occur in situations, where, for social reasons, it is important to maintain that separation, whereas it will occur when it is important to overcome the barriers”. In the eyes of McClure and McClure³ “where social barriers between groups are strong, conversational code-switching is not very likely to occur, although individuals may speak more than one language in clearly separated domains of social life”.

Poplack (2000) focuses on the linguistic treatment of intra-sentential switching. Code-switching appears grammatically constrained in the sense that it obeys grammatical rules. A significant aspect of code-switching is that “bilinguals tend to switch intra-sententially at certain (morpho)syntactic boundaries and not at others”⁴ basically at those sorts of syntactic boundaries which occur in the two languages. According to the equivalence constraint theory as proposed by Poplack (2000:2), “switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance. The boundary between adjacent fragments occurs between two constituents that are ordered in the same way in both languages, ensuring the linear coherence of sentence structure without omitting or reduplicating lexical content”⁵

Blom and Gumperz (1972:421) assume that “social events, defined in terms of participants, setting, and topic, restrict the selection of linguistic variables in a manner that is somewhat analogous to syntactic or semantic restrictions.” We certainly agree with them because in particular social situations, some linguistic forms may be more appropriate than others. As an example to illustrate, among groups of students conversing along the streets, the language used in this particular situation differs from that used at a press conference. Blom and Gumperz (1972:424) call this type of shift situational switching while they use the term metaphorical switching to describe interactions between clerks and residents in the community administration office wherein greetings take place in the local dialect, but business is transacted in the standard form (1972:425).

Adopting a functionalist position, Heller (1988:1) sees code-switching as,

³ McClure and McClure. In Monica Heller (Ed.) p.16.

⁴ S. Poplack. 2000. Code-switching, P.1.

⁵ S. Poplack. 1978. In S. Poplack. 2000. P2.

“An important part of social mechanisms of negotiation and definition of social roles, networks and boundaries. At the same time, it is effective only where the interlocutors share an understanding of the significance of the pool of communicative resources from which code-switching is drawn. Conventions must be shared in order for their violation to have meaning.”

Describing the relationship between language and identity in economic or class terms, Heller’s ethnographic observations and sociolinguistic study in Quebec and Ontario have led her to consider the economics of bilingualism, and to see code switching as a political strategy (Heller 1988b, 1992, 1995, 1999). She posits that “the use of multiple languages permits people to say and do, indeed to be two or more things where normally a choice is expected” (Heller 1988b:93).

Most of the works of Poplack (Poplack 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1981) are centred on syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on language alternation. Studies on second language acquisition (Romaine 1989) use the term code-switching to “describe either bilingual speakers’ or language learners’ cognitive linguistic abilities, or to describe classroom or learner practices involving the use of more than one language” (Chad, 2006:1).

A great deal of works in syntax, morphology, and phonology has identified various constraints in research on language alternation. Although sometimes controversial, these structural constraints, according to Chad (2006), have been revealed constructive for production models (Azuma 1991) or evidence for a grammatical theory (MacSwan 2000; Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross 2002). But, as Chad (2006) points it out, this structural focus does not account for the questions of function or meaning and it fails to answer the basic questions of why switching occurs. In this vein, Auer (1984:2) in his pioneering study of interaction and code switching states that “grammatical restrictions on code-switching are but necessary conditions”. So, Chad (2006) is certainly right when he postulates that structural rules on code-switching are not enough to describe the reason for or effect of a particular switch.

Chad (2006) notes that conversation analysts have suggested that code-switching may serve to enhance turn selection (Li Wei 1998) or soften refusals (Li Wei 2005), and is a possible resource to accomplish repair (Auer 1995) or mark dispreferred responses (Li Wei 1998). In addition to these interactional functions, empirical studies have examined how switches in language variety make particular elements of situation, speaker identities, or background relevant to on-going talk (Li Wei 1998, 2002; Gafaranga 2001).

Boztepe (2005) considers that Heller's (1992, 1995a, 1995b) research is focused on the aspect of symbolic domination within the larger socio-political context in Canada. In her analysis of classroom discourse of French-language minority education in Ontario, she makes the point that CS is one of the most powerful and potentially effective strategies at the disposal of French/English bilingual students to collaborate with or resist the monolingualizing and standardizing efforts of the school.

The significance of Heller's viewpoint lies in the fact that university students are plurilingual people who have received the major part of their education in French for around twenty years or more and tend to be much influenced by their mother tongue and French. So, they obviously may be willing to resist, as Heller said, a monolingualized discourse and prefer to use some code switching strategies to give their talks more social connotations without changing the topic of the conversation.

There have been studies on Bamanankan-French CS such as Mbodj-Pouye and van den Avenne (2007). But no study has been conducted in a university setting like the one under investigation. From this standpoint, the present paper aims at discovering and comprehending the linguistic constraints on the Bamanankan-French inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switching used by university students in Bamako in their everyday oral communication. The paper specifically aims at displaying the types of switches and the grammatical constraints to those switches. For three major research questions emerge:

-What are the Bamanankan-French switch types that characterize the speech production of university students?

-Are there any morphosyntactic constraints to the switches in their speech?

-Do Poplack's Equivalence Constraint and Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame apply in Bamanankan-French code-switching among university students?

Theoretical Framework

Labov (1971:457) discusses the issue of the existence of a grammar of CS when he states that "no one has been able to show that such rapid alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints and we must therefore describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems." So, this question on a grammar of CS is worth being mentioned considering the fact that all language systems are governed by a set of rules. And code-switching, as an independent system, also may involve some rules or constraints that govern its functioning (Abdoulaye, 2013:32). Many researchers have challenged attempts to provide constraints and models to explicate this phenomenon of language practice. To guide this investigation on

Bamanakan-French CS, the two dominant competitive approaches to CS have been selected: Poplack's (1980) **Equivalence Constraint** model and Myers-Scotton's (1993b) **Matrix Language - Frame Model**.

In the Equivalence Constraint, Poplack (1980: 586) states that "code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language." Considering the structural dimensions of code-switching in general and the fact that switching occurs at specific switch points in discourse, Poplack's (1980, 1981) claims are applied to these findings and are used to explicate the switch points of Bamanakan-French code-switching in language where sentences or clauses are juxtaposed. One may note also that Poplack's idea of alternation is embodied in her (Poplack, 1993) definition of code-switching which states that "code-switching is the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optimally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance."

On the other hand, Myers-Scotton, according to Muysken (1994:156-162), is also best-known for her work on Swahili/English bilingualism in east Africa. Tackling the issue from various perspectives, the researcher had first developed strategies of neutrality on code-switching as marked/unmarked choice. Then, in her recent works, Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), has tried to develop a comprehensive psycholinguistically embedded linguistic model for intra-sentential code-switching known as the Matrix Language Frame Model, according to which there is an asymmetrical relation between the matrix and the embedded language in the switching situation. Muysken (1994) states that in Myers-Scotton's Model, contentives can be inserted into mixed constituents only when congruent with the matrix language categories, while functors cannot. The model also states that the grammatical morphemes must be from the base language. Muysken (1994) then contends that Myers-Scotton's definition of code-switching stating that code-switching is "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" goes with the Matrix Language Frame Model and fits much of the African material of code-switching which is characterized by insertions. As a matter of fact, these two perspectives appear very useful to the present study in that they provide grammatical and sociolinguistic backgrounds for the kinds of switches that will be analyzed in the Bamanakan-French code-switching.

Methodology

The data for this paper were elicited from the students of the University of Arts and Humanities of Bamako. The sampling procedure used is convenience sampling also known as accidental, incidental or grab sampling. The procedure “allows the use of any available group of research subjects as the sample”⁶. A research assistant was used to tape record conversations from groups of participants. The cell phone was the tool used for the recording. The research assistant was involved as a subject in the discussions recorded. The participants were not informed that they were recorded. The students’ conversations are made up of nine recordings of different lengths. The recordings have been transcribed (see the appendix). The data are qualitative and the analysis is qualitative. The data is analyzed in the light of Poplack’s equivalence constraint theory and Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language-Frame Model.

Results

The basis for code-switching is the alternation and/ or the insertion of languages in the same conversation or discourse. Boztepe (2005:4) explains the concepts of alternation and insertions in the following words:

“The term alternation is, in fact, used in the literature to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other halfway through the sentence, and it is mostly, but not always, associated with longer stretches of CS. The term insertion, in contrast, mostly correlates with occurrences of single lexical items from one language into a structure from the other language”.

In this sense, an alternation involves both grammar and vocabulary and should be seen as just a switch from one language to the other involving no embedding; an insertion, on the other hand, involves embedding and one lexical item (Muysken, 1994). In other words, single-word occurrences are insertions and multiple-word occurrences are alternations.

The data analysis displays the existence of three code-switching types: inter-sentential, intra-sentential and tag-switches.

Type 1: Inter-sentential switches:

An examination of the data shows that there are a lot of instances of switches from full French sentences and clauses to full Bamanakan sentences and clauses and vice versa.

-Switches from Bamanankan to French: In these types of switches, the speaker begins the discourse with a full sentence or clause in Bamanankan and continues and ends with another full sentence or clause in French. The examples below illustrate:

⁶G. O. Agyedu, F. Donkor and S. Obeng. 2010. Teach Yourself Research Methods. P.100

1. “**Fo i ka giriya o waraw la.** Tu dois avoir un peu de pesanteur” (transcript 6) (You need to be heavy among lions. You have to be a little bit heavy);
2. “**Ne y’ a kɛ.** Moi, je l’ai fait” (transcript2) (**I did it.** Me I did it);
3. “**I b’a fo ko** tu es nouveau bachelier” (transcript1) (**You say that** you are a new baccalaureate holder).

Examples (1) and (2) have the common feature that they are each an alternation of two independent sentences, the first yielded in Bamanankan, the second in French. Example (3) also is an alternation, but at the clause level, within the sentence. In other words, there is a single sentence made up of the juxtaposition of two clauses, a main clause fully delivered in Bamanankan with full respect of the grammatical principles of that language, and a dependent clause produced with the same full respect, this time, of the grammatical principles of French. In either situation, there is full respect of the structural rules of the language of provenance.

-Switches from French to Bamanankan: A number of constructions that begin in French and finish in Bamanankan have been noted. Below are illustrations:

4. “**Ensuite, on n’est pas aussi compréhensif que ça.** N’a fo ra an ka taa, an ka telin, n’a fo ra an ka segi, an bɛ girin” (transcript 9), (**And we are not so understanding.** If we are asked to go, we quicken, if we are asked to come back, we slow down);
5. “**Est-ce qu’on est ami encore?** N ma da la dɛ” (transcript5) (**Are we still friends?** I am not sure);
6. “**Elle était enceinte; maintenant,** a b’a fɛ k’a kɛ” (transcript1) (**She was pregnant; now** she wants to do it);
7. “**Il me demande,** ale yɛrɛ de bɛ ka ne **accéléré**” (transcript2) (**He asks me,** it’s he himself who **is accelerating** me).
8. “**Il faudrait que** i ka taa secrétariat la fɔlɔ” (transcript 8) (**You should** go to the secretariat first);
9. “Tu es là callé, mais **ni mɔgɔ t’i bolo,** tu es obligé”. (You are here highly skilled, but if you have nobody, you will feel obliged) (transcript 7);
10. “Mais, **ni ne ma fili,** y a des parties où on nous demande d’aller faire des interviews”. (But, if I am not mistaken, there are parts where we are required to go and make interviews) (transcript2).

Examples (4) and (5) demonstrate that each switch stands on its own as an independent sentence, fully respecting the grammar of its language of provenance. Examples (6) and (9)

are not simple alternations since they are made up of independent sentences the first of which are fully yielded in French and the second begin with the adverbs of time *maintenant* (now) or *mais* (but) and continue in Bamanankan. Examples (7), (8) and (10) alternate clause constructions in French and Bamanankan. What is particularly significant to underline is that these alternations do not affect the grammaticality of the constructions, and appear at very specific sentence or clause boundaries.

Type 2: Intra-sentential Switches:

Language insertions that occur within the sentence, the clause or the phrase or even within the word are intra-sentential switches. Insertions concern contentives. The data analysis indicates that the French words and expressions *mais* (but), *oui* (yes), *non* (no), *bon* (ok/good), *ou bien* (or), *maintenant* (now), *donc* (so), *parce que* (because), *ensuite* (then), *sans problem* (no problem), *depuis* (since), *voilà* (you see/ok), *est-ce que* (used to start some French questions), *et puis* (and then), *sinon* (otherwise), *c'est à dire* (que) (I mean) have a high frequency of use as switches among the student population, obeying the principle of the **size of the constituent constraint** which posits that shorter and simpler constituents are more easily switched. In fact, the Bamanankan equivalences for these terms tend to be dispreferred. University students possibly have a preference for these terms as an indication of their level of education or may just use them because while conversing, they may not immediately have the Bamanankan equivalences at their disposal.

In fact, evidence from the data shows that insertions are bidirectional in the sense that they can go from French to Bamanankan or from Bamanankan to French:

-French Insertions into Bamanankan: A huge number of such insertions have been displayed. In these switches, there is usually a matrix language in which an embedded language is inserted. In the examples below, Bamanankan plays the base language which sets the structural frame for French, the embedded language which provides the lexical items to insert. For the sake of clarity, the matrix language elements have been put into bold italic characters and the embedded language items kept in normal characters.

11. "I bɛ **livres** kalan **depuis** san daminɛ" (You have been reading **books** **since** the beginning of the year) (transcript 6);
12. "E ma **difficulté** sɔrɔ a la wa?" (Did you find any **difficulty** in it?) (Transcript 2);
13. "I b'i ka **choix** kɛ **entre les filières**, i b'i ka **moyenne** lajɛ" (You make your **choice** **among the fields**, you check your **grade**);
14. "U bɛ sɔrɔ ka **message** c'i ma" (transcript 1) (They will send you a **message**);

15. “I te **formulaire rempli**, i yerε” (Don’t you **fill the form**, yourself?) (transcript 8);
16. “Mɔgɔ, mɔgɔ ši ma i **porté volontaire** folɔ, **quoi**, fo a waati” (Nobody, nobody has yet **endorsed your candidacy**, till the right time) (transcript 4);
17. “Dow bε taa yen **directement**” (Some **directly** go there) (transcript7).

Following the general principle of code-switching, all the switched elements in the above examples are contentives, not functors. For example (12) uncovers that **formulaire rempli** is made up of two French words inserted into the frame of the matrix language. This example is evidence for Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame Model in the sense that the two contentives directly follow each other without any insertion, yet do not follow the word order of the language of provenance; they rather follow the word order of the matrix language, Bamanankan. It is important to underline that the two languages involved do not share the same word order: French is a subject-verb-object language whereas Bamanankan is a subject object-verb language. Yet this difference in word order has not resulted into any ungrammaticality in the constructions provided.

Other examples supporting include:

18. “**Donc**, u b’i bila ka taa **filière** do la” (So they will send you to a **field**);
19. “**Avec** diplôme jumɛn?” (**With** what degree?) (transcript 7) which shows that the speaker is making an insertion into what he considers to be Bamanankan; otherwise, the construction would have been “Avec jumɛn diplôme?” (following the French word order).
20. “**Mais dans deux mois, trois mois**, barow bε ban” (transcript 6) (**But in two, three months**, chatting will end);
21. “**Sinon** chaque fois ne bε n ka **directeur** wele” (**Otherwise, every time**, I call my **supervisor**) (transcript 2).
22. “**Maintenant**, na **faculté inscription** da yeɛ la ...” (Now, when **school registration** begins ... (transcript1) contains the switch maintenant (now) and a syntactic integration of the French noun phrase faculté inscription following a Bamanankan word order (the matrix language word order).
23. “**FAST Campus** yerε la” (On FAST Campus itself) (transcript3) where FAST Campus seems to have been syntactically integrated into Bamannakan and therefore follows the rules of that language.
24. U b’a **essayé** k’a kε. (They will **try** to do it) (transcript1);
25. **C’est-à-dire** mun de nana n’o ye? (**I mean**, what is the cause of that?) (transcript2);

In the above examples, it is clear that there is a matrix language (Bamanankan) which sets the structural frame in which the embedding language (French) has inserted lexical items.

-Bamanankan Insertions into French: In these constructions, French plays the base language providing the structural frame for Bamanankan, the embedded language to operate insertions. Constructions of this type are not commonplace, but examples (26), (27) and (28) can be illustrating:

26. Oh mais maintenant pourquoi exiger **an kan** diplômés? (transcript2) (Oooh, but, now, why do they claim degrees **from us?**);

27. Même chez nous, **ne ni**, comment on l'appelle? (Even at our place, **me and**, what is his/her name ?) (transcript 7);

28. "Il l'a belle et bien dit à la télé, France 24 **la** direct". (He really said it on TV, live **on** France 24) (transcript 9);

Intra-word switches: These switches should be seen as just a sub-category of intra-sentential switches. For the Bamanankan '-len' passive form of verbs appears in French verb switches. This is an inflectional form that does not seem to have equivalence in the English translation. Illustrations are as follows:

29. "O tuma, i ka theme kun **poselen** do mun kan?" (So what **was** your topic **about?**) (transcript 1)

30. "Mɔgɔ caman frappelen don" (A lot of people **are concerned**) (transcript 4).

In these last two examples, the formation of the passive has eventuated into inflection in Bamanankan with the use of the '-len' inflectional ending just as it appears in ordinary Bamanankan words like 'norolen', 'tigilen', 'faralen', 'tugulen' and the likes. Therefore, poselen and frappelen have just been inserted into the grammatical frame of the base language, Bamanankan. The same holds true with the noun phrase, "A ka fiche medicaliw" (his/her medical certificates) which shows both a phonological adaptation with the insertion of [i] after [l] and a morphological one resulting from the grammar of the matrix language, Bamanankan with the adjective taking a plural inflectional ending [-w].

Verbal switches: Following the contentive constraint, the data analysis shows that it is the passive form of the switched verbs in French (regardless of the French three verb groups and tense) that is generally preferred, whether correct or not. While there are plenty of examples with the French verbs of the first group, it is preferable for the sake of clarity to take those of the second and the third groups the forms of which are rather complex:

31. "I be sɛ k'i **inscrit**" (You can **register**) instead of "I be sɛ k'i **inscrire**" following the French grammar rule that when two verbs follow each other, the second takes the infinitive form (transcript 1).
32. "Ulu ta **suspendu** ra" (Theirs **has been suspended**) (transcript 1);
33. "Ko a bɛ na a di n bɛ ta a **saisi**" (S/he says he will give it to me to go and **type** it) (transcript 2);
34. "I tɛ formulaire **rempli**, i yɛrɛ" (You do not **fill** the form, yourself) (transcript 8).

While the verbs in these sentences are kept in French, they have not been applied any French grammar rule. They are insertions which have ultimately been integrated into the matrix language and therefore undergo the same treatment as all the verbs in Bamanankan.

Abdoulaye (2013) in the investigation of Songhay-French CS reveals the use of the past participle in all the French verb-switches regardless of the verb group and suggests a testable constraint of CS on the choice of this verbal form by the selected participants involved in the study. Bamanakan-French speakers also switch only the past participle form. Thus, this study has confirmed Abdoulaye's (2013) claim that bilingual French speakers choose to switch the past participle form of the imbedded French verb in intra-sentential CS. However, the claim is still taken with care, until further research is done on other francophone speakers. **As a concluding rule of thumb, it could be safe to assert that all the French verbs, regardless of the group, are switched with their past participle forms.**

Type 3: Tag-switches:

They do occur in the conversation of the students, but they remain limited. They may come from either language. The following tag-switches have been identified:

-Tag-switches in French: The sentences are basically in Bamanankan (sometimes with some French insertions), but terminate with tag-switches in French. Examples are as follows:

35. "A ko, ko a ye correction kɛ, **quoi**" (transcript 2) (S/he said that s/he made the correction, **that's it**).
36. I jo tɛ o la dɛ, **ou bien?** (transcript 1) (You are not right, **are you?**);
37. "Aaah, n'aw m'a jati mine, ni ɲɔŋɔn bɛ kɛ aw ka kunko la, **ou bien chefu?**" (transcript 1); (Aaah, if you are not careful, a similar thing will happen to you, **won't it chief?**)
38. "Mɔŋɔ bɛrɛ ma sɔrɔ, **quoi**, I y' a ye? (We did not find anybody else, ok? Do you see?) (35) alternates Bamanankan and French and ends with the tag switch **quoi** (that's it). In ordinary French, **quoi** is expected to ask a question as a conjunction, but in this particular use, it is not. While its use does not carry out real additional information at the end of a sentence,

it is commonplace among non/educated speakers. Examples (36), (37) and (38) are fully delivered in Bamanankan save for the tag sections, *ou bien?* and *ou bien chefu?* (Are you? Won't it Chief?) partly delivered in French and Bamanankan (*chefu* has undergone a phonological integration into Bamanankan). There is a kind of juxtaposition of two structures, one for the Bamanankan section, and the other for the French section.

-Tag-switches in Bamanankan: The sentences are basically in French, but terminate with tag-switches in Bamanankan. The examples below illustrate:

39. "Tu pars seulement, tu dis que vraiment tu es nouveau bachelier, **i m'a faamu wa?**" (transcript 1). (If you just go, you just say really you a new baccalaureate holder, **haven't you understood?**)

40. Aaah ! C'est comme ça heh, **walayi** ! (transcript 6) (Aaaah ! That's how it is, **really!**)

Example (39) alternates four clauses yielded in French, but the last clause, the tag switch is yielded in Bamanankan. Example (40), a French construction, terminates with a Bamanankan tag-switch, *walayi*.

Statistical account of the Bamanakan-French switches. The data collected for the Bamanakan-French CS among students are in words. But, we have tried to make a numeral account of the switches. This is useful in that it can help confirm or refute current constraints on CS such as the 'size constituent constraint' of Poplack (1980) which states that smaller size of language units like nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. predominate larger ones like sentences or clauses.

Speech/Utterances						Inter-sentential switches	Tag-switches	Total
Intra-sentential switches								
Noun	Adverb	Verb	Conjunction	Adjective	Preposition	44	22	196
n	b	s	on	ve	on			
78	18	14	16	3	1			
130								
66.3%						22.4%	11.2%	100%

In the table above, one can notice that the participants have provided 196 speeches or, utterances, with 130 intra-sentential switches, 44 inter-sentential switches, and 22 tag-switches. So, these speakers use intra-sentential switches (66.3%) more than inter-sentential

switches (22.4%) and tag-switches (11.2%). This predominance supports the claims of Poplack (1980, 1981) and other researchers like Redouane (2005), Berk-Seligson (1986), Pfaff (1979), Timm (1975) that smaller size of switches like nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives etc., (the intra-sentential switches) were more frequently used than larger size of switches like sentences or clauses (the inter-sentential switches). Also, in intra-sentential switching, the use of nouns is higher than the other categories (78 / 130 switches).

Conclusion

University students actually code switch. And their code-switching is basically between Bamanankan and French. In fact, all the switching types known in the literature have been displayed with the agreement that intra-word and tag switches may be seen as just sub-components of intra-sentential switches. The analysis has equally revealed that Bamanankan-French code-switching basically affects contentives as predicted by Myers-Scotton (2002), but not functors.

While some of the switches appear just as juxtapositions of equivalences of structure which generate no ungrammaticality, most of them are insertions. Lexical items of an embedded language are inserted into the structural frame provided by a matrix language. If there are a number of instances of French lexical items with Bamanankan inflectional endings or structures that have been identified, no reverse cases of Bamanankan lexical items with French inflectional endings or French grammatical structure have been found. In other words, it would seem that the students use throughout their discourse Bamanankan as their matrix language and French as their embedded language. Reverse cases in which French is the base language and Bamanankan, the embedded language do occur, yet remain limited.

References

- Agyedu G. O., F. Donkor and S. Obeng.** 2010. Teach Yourself Research Methods.
- Auer, Peter.** 1984. Bilingual Conversation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- . 1995. "The Pragmatics of Code-switching: A Sequential Approach." In Lesley Milroy and Pieter Muysken (eds.) One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching, 115-135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Azuma, Shoji.** 1991. "Two Level Processing Hypothesis in Speech Production: Evidence from Intrasentential Code-switching." Papers from the Regional Meetings, Chicago Linguistic Society, 27(1): 16-30.
- Blom, Jan-Petter, and John Gumperz.** 1972. "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code Switching in Northern Norway." In: John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.): Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, 407-434. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Boztepe, E.** (2005). Issues in Code-Switching: Competing Theories and Models. Teachers College, Columbia University Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics, North America , 3 (dec. 2005). Retrieved March 3rd 2011 from <http://www.google.org/ml/>
- Chad, N.** (2006). "Code Switching in Sociocultural Linguistics". Colorado Research in Linguistics. June 2006. Vol. 19. Boulder: University of Colorado. Retrieved March 3rd 2011 from <http://www.google.org/ml/>
- Gafaranga, Joseph.** 2001. "Linguistic Identities in Talk-in-Interaction: Order in Bilingual Conversation." Journal of Pragmatics 33(12): 1901-1925.
- Grice, H. Paul.** 1975. "Logic and Conversation." In Peter Cole and Jerry L. Heller, Monica.
- 1988a. Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1988b. "Strategic Ambiguity: Code-switching in the Management of Conflict." In Monica Heller (ed.) Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives, 77-96. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1992. "The Politics of Codeswitching and Language Choice." In Carol Eastman (ed.) Codeswitching, 123-142. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- . 1995. "Code-switching and the Politics of Language." In Lesley Milroy and **Heller, M.** (ed.) 1988. Code-switching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. Mouton de Gruyter.

Li Wei. 1998. "The 'Why' and 'How' Questions in the Analysis of Conversational Code-Switching." In Peter Auer (ed.): *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*, 156-176. London: Routledge.

--. 2005. "'How can you Tell?' Toward a Common Sense Explanation of Conversational Code-Switching." *Journal of Pragmatics* 37(3): 375-389.

MacSwann, Jeff. 2000. "The Architecture of the Bilingual Language Faculty: Evidence from Intrasentential Code Switching." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 3(1): 37-54.

Mbodj-Pouye, A et Cecile Van den Avenne. "C'est bambara et français mélangées". Analyser des écrits plurilingues à partir du cas de cahiers villageois recueillis au Mali. In *Langage et Société*; Edition de la Maison des Sciences Humaines; 2007/2, N0 120.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1993. *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

--. 1998. *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol and Agnes Bolonyai. 2001. "Calculating Speakers: Codeswitching in a Rational Choice Model." *Language in Society* 30, 1-28.

Myers-Scotton, Carol and Janice Jake. 2001. "Four Types of Morpheme: Evidence from Aphasia, Code Switching, and Second-Language Acquisition." *Linguistics* 38(6): 1053-1100.

Poplack, Shana. 1980. "Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in Spanish y Termino en Espanol: Toward a Typology of Code-switching." *Linguistics* 18(233-234): 581-618.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sankoff, David, and Shana Poplack. 1981. "A Formal Grammar for Code-Switching." *Papers in Linguistics* 14(1-4): 3-45.

Shebba, M. 2011. *Multilingualism in written discourse: an approach to the analysis of multilingual texts*. Lancaster University. Great Britain.