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Investigating the Patterns of Songhay-Bamanankan Code-switching among the Songhay Communities of Bamako (Mali)

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Résumé

Les recherches sur l'alternance codique ont principalement porté sur les langues étrangères (les anciennes langues coloniales) et les langues autochtones. Cette étude s'intéresse à ce phénomène de contact de langues sous un angle différent : l'alternance codique entre le bamanankan et le songhoy, deux langues locales. L'objectif de cette étude est de mettre en exergue les formes d'alternances. L'observation des participants (enregistrements audio) a été utilisée. Les cadres théoriques de S. Poplack (1980) and de C. Myers-Scotton (1993) ont été utilisées. Après la transcription des données et l'analyse des résultats, trois types d'alternance ont été découverts : les alternances codiques inter-phrastiques, intra-phrastiques et extra-phrastiques (tag). Les participants très souvent utilisent le songhoy comme langue matrice dans laquelle sont insérées des constructions bamanankan.

Mots-clés: alternance codique, contact des langues, songhoy, bamanankan, insertion.

Abstract

Code-switching studies have usually concerned foreign languages (usually ex-colonial languages) and indigenous languages. This paper focuses on the phenomenon from a different standpoint: code-switching between Bamanankan and Songhay, two native languages of Mali. The study aims at determining the patterns of Songhay-Bamanankan code-switching. It makes use of participant observation (audio-recordings). It also uses a combination of the theoretical frameworks proposed by S. Poplack (1980) and C. Myer-Scotton (1993). The analysis of the findings has displayed three types of switches: inter-sentential, intra-sentential and extra-sentential (tag) switches. Participants often use Songhay as the matrix language in which Bamanankan constructions are embedded.

Key-words: Bamanankan, Code-switching, Insertion, Language Contact, Songhay.

Introduction

Language alternation in conversation is a common practice in several bi-multilingual communities. Mali being a multilingual nation, several languages are in competitive use (I. Abdoulaye and M. Minkailou, 2021). The peaceful coexistence of those languages has often been conducive to the phenomenon of code-switching/code-mixing. This phenomenon looks more outstanding in the capital city of Mali where Bamanankan is dominant and the lingua franca for everyone. Speakers from the other ethnic groups often feel obliged to switch between their own languages and Bamanankan. Songhay speakers in particular use their language in their households, but cannot help insert Bamanankan constructions. It is good to underline that studies in the field have mainly focused on switching between ex-colonial languages and the indigenous ones (S. Poplack, 1980; C. Myers-Scotton, 1993a; I. Abdoulaye, 2013, 2016; M. Minkailou and I. Abdoulaye, 2016, 2018 and I. Abdoulaye and M. Minkailou, 2017, 2019). In plain words, little research has tackled code-switching from the perspective of two local languages to better comprehend its nature, patterns, functions and extent.

This paper explores code-switching between two indigenous languages from a sociolinguistic perspective. The study specifically aims to determine the main patterns of Songhay-Bamanankan code-switching in Bamako. It also tries to answer the following research question: What are the basic patterns of Songhay-Bamanankan code-switching used by Songhay speakers in Bamako?

The study combines S. Poplack's Equivalence Constraint model and C. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame Model. The Equivalence Constraint model predicts that switches occur only at points where the surface structures of the two languages coincide, or between sentence elements that are normally ordered in the same way by each individual grammar (S. Poplack, 1980, 1981). On the other hand, the Matrix Language-Frame Model contends that there is an asymmetrical relation between the matrix language and the embedded language in that forms from an embedded language are inserted into utterances of a matrix language. Insertions are only possible when they are congruent with the grammatical framework provided by the matrix language. S. Poplack's claims based on juxtapositions of sentences and clauses and C. Myers-Scotton's perspective on insertions appear very useful to the present paper in that they offer the grammatical and sociolinguistic backgrounds for the Songhay-Bamanankan switches to analyze.

1-Research Methodology

The setting for this research is Bamako, the capital city of Mali. The city is one of the biggest Bamanan strongholds where ethnic groups from different parts of the country come and settle. The new settlers bring both language and culture of their own, which come in interaction with language and culture from the local residents.

The study makes use of a qualitative research design. Therefore, the data collected are qualitative (audio-recordings). Some scholars like J. MacSwan (1999) and K. Ziamari (2008) have applied only the qualitative method that they have found most appropriate to their studies.

Furthermore, C. Mallinson et al. (2013) have proved that a qualitative method is used to identify language in use in relation to the setting and argue:

The data for qualitative sociolinguistic research are of widely diverse types, but labeling qualitative data as language in use perhaps captures a coherent element in the diversity. There are much more concern about revealing the social context under which the data were produced: who was speaking to whom, what was the setting, what was the relationship between the interlocutors, what roles in the group do the interlocutors have and any other aspects of the occurrence of the utterances that are considered to be relevant to the analysis (p.14).

The research population is made up of bilingual Songhay speakers living in Bamako. A research population is known as a well-defined collection of individuals known to have similar characteristics. A sample is the specific group of informants that a researcher uses to collect data. The sample size is always less than the total population.

L. Milroy and M. Gordon (2003) argue that that random sampling attempts to allow the whole population to have equal chance to be part of the investigation. They maintain: “the guiding principle of random sampling is that anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected” (p.25). Such a sampling procedure is significant for the present study because it helps keep participants on equal-footing.

The data for the present study were collected through participant observation (audio recording). Participant observation involves collecting natural verbal interactions that occur during observation. According to D. Silverman (2005): “audio-recording is a technique employed in qualitative research to capture, in detail, the naturalistic interactions of the participants in the research field” (p.33). W. Labov (1972, p.180) suggests that in a sociolinguistic investigation, the researcher has to use “large volumes of well-recorded natural data”. In fact, the aim of using free recordings is to investigate all instances of code-switching from spontaneous and extempore speech. It also aims to avoid participants’ social constraints and suspects.

Researchers working on phenomena like code-switching tend to select certain types of data rather than others. For instance, C. Myers-Scotton (2006b, p.12) argues: “only naturalistic data can inform code-switching research, as it is the only type of data that occurs in everyday situations”. In the eyes of L. Milroy and M. Gordon (2003): “the principal benefits of participant observation are (a) the amount and quality of the data collected, and (b) the familiarity with community practices gained by the investigator” (p.68). They further explicate as follows: “participant observation can be an enormously fruitful method for sociolinguistic analysis. It produces a tremendous supply of high quality data and crucial insight into community dynamics” (L. Milroy and M. Gordon, 2003, p.71).

The data consist of a series of audio-recordings of different conversations of various lengths (three to five minutes). The recordings were made with a SAMSUNG-A105 mobile phone device. The data collected were transcribed, coded and translated into English with the

support of some native Songhay speakers. InqScribe¹³⁹ application for the transcription of audio-recordings was used.

2. Results and Discussion

As pointed out earlier, the focus of this study is a qualitative analysis of audio recording data. The researchers have recorded group conversations of the participants. Those audio recordings are analyzed and categorized into patterns of code-switching.

2.1. Patterns of Code-switching

After transcribing the conversations from the audio data, the transcripts are coded, categorized and classified into patterns of code-switching according to C. Myers-Scotton (1993a) and S. Poplack's (1980) classification: inter-sentential, intra-sentential, and extra-sentential (or tag switching). In fact, the purpose of categorizing the data into different parts is to make the analysis of the findings easy and distinctive. In the extracts, Songhay is written in normal script, Bamanankan is in **bold** and their translations are in *italic*. Furthermore, elements of French and Arabic did occur in some sentences, and to highlight them, they are capitalized.

2.1.1. Inter-sentential Switches

According to C. Myers-Scotton (1993a), inter-sentential code-switching occurs when the speaker, after s/he has completed a sentence or clause in one language, switches to another language in the next sentence or clause. This is in line with the view held by S. Poplack (1990) about code-switching which she perceives as “the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments each one is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic rules of its lexical language” (p.200). Inter-sentential switches are the most frequent code-switching patterns (60%).

2.1.1.1. Sentence switches

In fact, Songhay bilingual speakers of Bamanankan alternate independent sentences of Songhay and Bamanankan. Speakers use independent sentences in both languages respecting the structure of each language. Significantly, the sentences in the two codes can easily be identified and 77% of the findings are sentence switches between Songhay and Bamanankan. The following extract is provided to illustrate:

- ❖ **NAM:** Irkoy ma hinna a se, a ma yaafa a se. **A taar'a da dugukolo fimana jɛman cɛ** Kalaban Koro
(*May he rest in peace! He went to rest in peace in Kalaban Koro*) (transcript 14).
- ❖ **PBM:** Ir mana hinka wala tuuri foo duma ganganoo woo ra. **Aw kana yiri da turu yan yɔrɔ la** (*We are not even able to plant one tree in this space. You should not plant some trees here*) (transcript 16).
- ❖ **ZEF:** War nda subo; war ga saabu? war hugey borey? yer n'da cere gay da. **Aw ka te duma ka kɛnɛ? Aw teliyala dɛ!** (*Good morning, are you fine? is everybody fine at yours? It has been a while. Is your delicious tea fine? You were so quick*) (transcript 26).

¹³⁹ InqScribe is an application for transcribing audio-recordings, available on: www.inqscribe.com

In the extract above, it can be noticed that participants NAM, PBM and ZEF have all started their conversations with full sentences in Songhay (in normal scripts) and then have skillfully shifted to full sentences in Bamanankan (in bold scripts): NAM has juxtaposed three sentences the first two of which are in Songhay and the last in Bamanankan; PBM has juxtaposed only two sentences the first of which is in Songhay and the second in Bamanankan; But ZEF has juxtaposed six sentences the first four of which are released in Songhay and the last two in Bamanankan. It looks as if the participants had calculated the costs and benefits of code-switching before their involvement.

In the extract below, participants CAM and DAM do not make use of a different strategy. They begin their interaction in Songhay, their native language, and then switch to Bamanankan, even though they could have continued in Songhay. The result is the juxtaposition of two sentences, one in Songhay (in normal scripts), the other in Bamanankan (in bold scripts). The following extract illustrates:

- ❖ **CAM:** Tuure ! ir ma ŋaa. **E yere ka šɔ ko tɛ ten** (*Touré, let's eat. You are not much interested in beans*) (transcript 3).
- ❖ **DAM:** Alwakatoo ga hansa ka šiita. **Allah k'a nɔŋɔya** (*Times are very hard. May Allah make them easy*) (transcript 4).

The findings also reveal that participants start their interactions with full Bamanankan sentences to convey their ideas (assessing the costs and benefits), shift to Songhay, before they switch back to Bamanankan (giving the feeling that Bamanankan is their main language of interaction in which Songhay is inserted). Bamanankan sentences are placed at the extremities of each participant's interaction, and the Songhay sentence stands between them (**Bamanankan - Songhay - Bamanankan**). Thus, in the excerpt below, speakers *CBM* and *UDM* alternate the two languages intersententially.

- ❖ **CBM:** **A fanicini de fatula.** Dikko baaba kaccaa ka hun naara. **U nana furakelila, ŋa bana ma ŋɛ** (*His junior father died. The junior father of Dikko came from Nara. They came for medical care but he passed away*) (transcript 3).
- ❖ **UDM:** Ah! **N ma fɔ ɲɛna!** ŋi kul ti affoo. **U tɛ punman kɛ** (*Ah! I have told you, they are all the same. They never do good things*) (transcript 21).

At times, participants use Bamanankan beside Songhay (the converse process is also true) with the aim of giving more details about their point of views, making them clearer and avoiding ambiguity. They sometimes aim to give explanations or to apologize. For instance, in the extract below, participant GAM starts his interaction in Songhay, then juxtaposes a Bamanankan construction to come back nearly to the same idea already expressed in Songhay (close to backward translation). Participant GCF rather begins with apologies in Bamanankan before she shifts to Songhay to clarify her point. The extract below illustrates:

- ❖ **GAM:** Elhaj nee ŋa ši wani zii. **Ko ni kurun tɛ ko ale tɛ ba tiŋɛ; o ye a sɔrɔ PONT ma ŋilan fɔlɔ** (*Elhaj says that he cannot swim. He says he will not cross the river without a canoe, there was no bridge made at that time*) (transcript 7).

- ❖ **GCF:** Eh! **Ne pinɛna koy!** Mariam, nda n' koy yooboo ra, ma day ay se albasar nda lay (*Eh! I forgot! Mariam when you go to market, buy onion and garlic for me*) (transcript 7).

The participants sometimes use the backward translation technique to switch between codes. Backward translation involves the repetition of the same phrase, clause, or sentence from the native language to the guest language and vice versa. In the extract below, it can be noticed that participants *DDM* and *KBM* use Songhay sentences at the start of their interaction and shift (translate them in-) to Bamanankan to make them understandable to non-Songhay speakers. For instance, speaker *KBM* begins with *ay cere no* (He is a friend of mine) and translates the same sentence into Bamanankan, *n terikɛ de do* (He is a friend of mine) to make his friend understand what was said in Songhay, showing by the same token, solidarity with his friend who does not understand the other code. Speaker *DDM* back translates his Songhay sentence *ni ma jimay ya, Yusuf* (You have to wash up, Yusuf) into the Bamanankan version *i kan k'i ko*, (You have to wash up). The purpose of such a strategy is group-inclusion (and at times, group-exclusion) and conversation maintenance. The excerpt below illustrates:

- ❖ **DDM:** Ah! ni ma jimay ya Yusuf. Humm, **I kan k'i ko, I dɔgɔni ka den kundi ye bi ye** (*Ah! You should get washed Yousouf. Hum, you should get washed; today is the naming ceremony of your junior brother*) (transcript 4).
- ❖ **KBM:** Ay cere no; **n' terikɛ de do, Koyta** (*This is a friend of mine. This is my friend Koita*) (transcript 11).

2.1.1.2. Clause Switches

They occur when the speaker uses one or more independent clauses in one language and a dependent clause in another language. The findings uncover that participants switch between Songhay and Bamanankan clauses. 15% of the findings are clause switches. As illustrated in the excerpt below, speakers use the main clause in their native language, Songhay, and the dependent one in Bamanankan. The situation is reversible.

- ❖ **DDM:** Mayga ! nd'a mana zay, **putɛɛ t'a bolo** (*Maiga! If he does not steal, he has nothing*) (transcript 4).
- ❖ **KCM:** Nd'ay baɲɲaa na goyoo benandi, **sɔni n bɛ dɔ kari kari ka bila n pɔʃi la ko n bɛ taa di n muso ma** (*If my slave finishes working, I will soon put some in my pocket that I will give to my wife*) (transcript 11).
- ❖ **KDM:** Aru kul kaɲ n' n'ay fotowoo kaɲ goo ni ekraɲoo ga, ay moyey nd'ay takaa cebe a se, **ni ye ne balimakɛ dɔ ye**, ga hunbur ni (*Any man who sees my picture on your screen and you show him my eyes, my ways of behaving and tell him that is one of my brothers, will be afraid of you*) (transcript 11).

Participants *DDM* and *KCM* start their sentences in Songhay before they switch to Bamanankan. They begin with subordinate clauses in Songhay (*DDM: Nd'a mana zay; KCM: Nd'ay baɲɲaa na goyoo benandi*) and terminate with main clauses in Bamanankan (*DDM: putɛɛ t'a bolo; KCM: sɔni n bɛ dɔ kari kari ka bila n pɔʃi la ko n bɛ taa di n muso ma*). As to participant *KDM*, he makes use of a long Songhay construction which combines a main clause (*Aru kul...ga hunbur ni*) and several dependent clauses (*kaɲ n' n'ay fotowoo kaɲ goo ni*

ekraŋoo ga, ay moyey nd'ay takaa cebe a se), including one in Bamanankan (*ni ye ne balimake do ye*), all of which conjoined by either coordinate or subordinate conjunctions. The speakers use this strategy to emphasize a particular point in their conversation and demonstrate, by the same token, their skill in alternating the two codes.

Another point worthy to underline is that participants sometimes make use of French insertions to back up their Bamanankan, and then shift to Songhay. In the excerpt below, participant WCM introduces his interaction in French with a main clause (*CEUX QUI DISAIENT*), goes on to express his main idea in Bamanankan with two dependent clauses (*bua b'a bila, bua t'a bila*), and comments on that main idea in an independent clause in Songhay (*iri kul ga dii cimoo sohõ da*).

- ❖ **WCM:** CEUX QUI DISAIENT *bua b'a bila, bua t'a bila*, iri kul ga dii cimoo sohõ da (*Those who were saying Bua will give it up, Bua will not; we all see the truth now*) (transcript 23).

It appears from this example that each of the three alternating languages (trilingual code-switching) used fulfills a particular function in the interaction: the use of French signals the participant's level of education; Bamanankan is used to express direct statement and defend own point of view; and Songhay is used to argue about the participant's point of view already expressed in Bamanankan.

On the whole, the findings at this level show that participants make juxtapositions of Songhay and Bamanankan sentences and clauses; this is in line with the view held by J. J. Gumperz (1982) who sees code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech, and exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p.59). The findings equally uncover that intersentential switches have the highest frequency of occurrence (89%). Full sentence switches make 75% and clause switches are 14%. The results equally uncover the code-switching strategies used by the participants in this study. While the phenomenon seems to vary according to the participants involved in the conversation, the context of the interaction also tends to play a significant role. Being bilinguals who have good command over the two codes, the participants make use of their code-switching skills to back translate, show solidarity, include or exclude other participants in their interactions, clarify their points and disambiguate, apologize and give further details.

2.1.2. Intra-sentential Switches

According to R. Wardhaugh (2010) “code-switching is comprised of alternation between one or more languages or dialects in the middle of a conversation between people who have more than one language in common” (p.98). Participants can alternate various grammatical categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. In this sense, intra-sentential switches appear as the second most frequent pattern of code-switching (36%) according to the findings of this research. In the eyes of C. Myers-Scotton (1993a, p.4), intra-sentential code-switch involves using a single morpheme, phrase or clause along with words, phrases, and clauses from another language within the same sentence. The switches may be nouns, verbs,

verb phrases within the same constituent, prepositional phrases which are entire constituents, etc.

2.1.2.1. Noun Switches

Extracts from the findings display Bamanankan noun insertions into Songhay sentences, but the practice is not common. The Bamanankan nouns *damada* and *jinbere* (transcripts 24 and 25), the Arabic noun insertions MARKAZ and ŠAHAADA and the French noun switch DEMANDE (transcript 8) are the only noun switches identified in the findings (6%). Besides, some participants report that they spent most of their childhood in the North where they generally used Songhay and French as well as some rudiments of Arabic. The use of *MARKAZ*, *ŠAHAADA* (Arabic) and *DEMANDE* (French) show the speakers' background training in *French* and *Arabic*.

- ❖ **XCM**: Muusa binde, Muusa goo **damada** here (Eh! Then Moussa, Moussa is in the gold mine) (transcript 24).
- ❖ **XDF**: Muusa goo **damada** a ga jiri foo (*Musa is in gold mine one year ago*) (transcript 24).
- ❖ **YBM**: Mahamud koy **jinbere** day (*Mahamud go and buy juice*) (transcript 25).
- ❖ **YCF**: A n'ay noo **jinbere** (*He gave me ginger juice*) (transcript 25).
- ❖ **HDM**: Mahamane, **ne yεε ka fenεε bε** MARKAZ¹⁴⁰ la; ŠAHAADA¹⁴¹, amma nda ay ga baa k'a ceeci, ay ga hima ka DEMANDE tee (*Mahamane I have something at Markaz; Certificate, but if I have to look for it, I should make request*) (transcript 8).

In the excerpt above, participants XCM and XDF have systematically inserted the Bamanankan noun morpheme *damada* in their Songhay constructions given the context of the conversation: the interaction takes place in the South (a Bamanankan-speaking area) where traditional gold-mining is well developed; additionally, the use of the Songhay equivalence *wura fansa dogoo* would appear less appropriate and less meaningful to the listener who is rather used to *damanda*. Likewise, participants YBM and YCF have inserted the Bamanankan *jinbere* into their Songhay sentences because the use of the Songhay equivalence *leemurhari* would look less appropriate and less meaningful given the context of the interaction. As to participant HDM, his insertion of the Arabic nouns MARKAZ and ŠAHAADA in a Songhay-Bamanankan conversation unveils his Arabic background training. The insertion of the French noun *DEMANDE* does not necessarily imply any true competence in French; rather, it just underlines the influence that French as the official language, exerts on everyone in the country.

2.1.2.2. Adjective Switches

An adjective is a word that modifies a noun or a noun phrase; it can also describe its referent. The findings reveal that the participants use Bamanankan adjectives (mainly numeral and descriptive) in their Songhay interactions (2%). In the excerpt below, both participants, FAM and WDM, make use of adjective switches (insertions). Participant FAM (transcript 5) starts his conversation with the French noun insertion *CHAMBRE* (room), followed by the Bamanankan adjective *den kelen* (single), the whole backward translated into Songhay as *hugu-iza foo* (a single room). The speaker's use of backward translation aims either to include non-

¹⁴⁰ Markaz (from Arabic): center.

¹⁴¹ Šahaada (from Arabic): certificate.

Songhay participants in the conversation or to demonstrate competence in either language. Likewise, participant WDM (transcript 23) inserts the Bamanankan adjective (*faso*) *jugu* (bad) to terminate his Songhay description of the behavior of *Karim*. It is good to underline that the phrase *Karim faso jugu* had been a motto for years to denunciate the plundering of the country's resources by the former President's family, especially his son, Karim. In a different context, the speaker could have continued his Songhay construction with the use of the Songhay equivalence *laboo-ibera* which would have been more appropriate (see the excerpt below):

- ❖ **EAM:** CHAMBRE **den kelen**, hugu-iza foo, ženber foo nda zangu gu. Ah! Kuraj š'a ra, hari kul š'a ra? (*One single room, each room is at 7500 F? Ah! No electricity, no water?*) (Transcript 5).
- ❖ **WDM:** Maali PROBLEM hõ mana ti kala jine borey, SURTOUT Karim **faso jugu** (*The problem of Mali today is those in power, especially Karim the enemy of country*) (transcript 23).

Shortly put, the intrasentential instances unveiled by this research are limited to noun and adjective switches with a relative predominance of nouns (6%) over adjectives (2%). The switches do not just concern Bamanankan, but also include French and Arabic. The findings did not disclose other instances which may occur in Songhay-Bamanankan code-switching. **2.1.3. Tag (or Extra-sentential) Switches.** Extra-sentential code-switching involves the switching of either a single word or a tag phrase or both, from one language to another. It specifically involves the insertion of a tag, an exclamation, an interjection, sentence filler or an idiomatic expression from one language into an utterance in another language (Poplack, 1980, p.602). This form of switching is common in intra-sentential switches.

Tag switches are found to be the least frequently used in the data collected (4%). The findings show that the speakers generally insert Bamanankan tags into Songhay constructions. The following extract illustrates:

- ❖ **LAM:** N'i m'a ke dɔ̀nidɔ̀ni, ni be bali ka na yan, ŋaabagay kacoo (*If you do not eat slowly, it will be blocked in your throat, small greedy*) (transcript 12).
- ❖ **OAM:** Borey jerey si koy jine, fes, an bara mɔ̀gɔ̀w (*Some people will never make progress, our followers*) (transcript 15).

Participant LAM uses the Songhay tag switch *ŋaabagay kacoo* (small greedy) at the end of his Bamanankan sentence to exclude a non-Songhay participant who should not know about the described negative behavior. Likewise, participant OAM uses at the end of his Songhay sentence the Songhay tag switch *fes* (at all), immediately followed by the Bamanankan tag switch *an bara mɔ̀gɔ̀w* (our followers) to support and clarify the point expressed in his sentence. The use of the Bamanankan switch by the Songhay participant also demonstrates the speaker's full command over the language.

Conclusion

Code-switching involves a wide and heterogeneous set of sociolinguistic phenomena. It appears as a highly sophisticated linguistic strategy that almost all bilingual speakers consciously or unconsciously use. The findings of this paper have unveiled that the participants constantly alternate the Songhay and Bamanankan codes in their daily conversational interactions. They have equally displayed three main switching patterns: inter-sentential (60%), intra-sentential (36%) and extra-sentential switches (4%). The switches are made up of sentence (77%), clause (15%), noun (6%) and adjective switches (2%). In their daily interactions, the speakers juxtapose full sentences from the two codes. When alternation occurs within the same sentence, the speaker may deliver the main clause in Songhay and the subordinate one in Bamanankan (or vice versa). In simple sentences, the switches may occur at the phrase level with the noun phrase in one code and the verb phrase in the other code.

At times, participants tend to freely switch between codes without any specific reason except easiness and availability of the other code. They equally switch to include or exclude participants in the conversation, to clarify specific points in the interaction using for instance backward translation. Last, context stands as a salient switching factor as participants sometimes prefer to switch to the main code of the area while speaking their own language. Further research could tackle issues related to *Fulfulde-Bamanankan code-switching*, *Soninke-Bamanankan code-switching* but also *Attitudes towards Code-Switching and Code-Switching and Code-Mixing*.

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