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and Didactics**

**Code Switching and Code Mixing Among Bambara-French Speakers**

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this modest work to my late father, Mohamed Soudha Yattara, my lovely mother, Zeïnabou Djibrila Touré and the rest of my family.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my great appreciations to my supervisor, Pr. Bouhania Bachir for his guidance, help, encouragement and patience.

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Also, my thanks to the department of English, my teachers and colleagues of University Ahmed Draia.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMES**

**CS:** Code Switching

**CM:** Code Mixing

**AMAF:** American Missionary Andrew Foster

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## The phonetic symbols

### 1. Bambara

#### ➤ Vowels

o	ô	ou	è	i	é	a
/ɔ/	/o/	/u/	/ɛ/	/i/	/e/	/a/
ɔ	o	u	ɛ	i	e	a

<https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bambara>

#### ➤ Consonants

r	d	tch	dj	t	p	b
ʀ	ɗ	ʈ	ɗʝ	t	p	b
m	l	k	f	gb	s	rr
ɱ	ɺ	ɸ	ɸʝ	ɳ	ɬ	ʈ
n		y	w	h	n	ny
ɲ		ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ

<https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bambara>

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## **Abstract**

This present dissertation entitled Code Switching and Code Mixing of Bambara-French Speakers intends to analyse the language contact phenomena of code alternation by Bambara speakers of French. The work seeks to find the reasons and factors that push Bambara speakers to code switch and code mix in their daily conversation. It also aims to study the sociolinguistic situation in Mali, which is a heterogenous society with many ethnic groups. In order to study the factors that lead Bambara speakers to code switch and code mix, 70 participants are selected from the Malian community living in Algeria and Mali as well. Two instruments are used in the study, an online questionnaire and recordings. The study has confirmed that when Bambara speakers code switch and code mix in their daily conversation there is no violation of grammar of French and Bambara. In addition, we have remarked that the French can constitutes a threat for Bambara since people when code switching and code mixing, they used French words constantly even if the equivalent exists in Bambara. Another essential fact that we have remarked is that when Bambara speakers code switch, they make a literal translation from Bambara into French and most of the time their sentences are semantically incorrect.

**Keywords:** Bilingualism, Multilingualism, Code switching, Code mixing, Diglossia, Borrowing.

## **General Introduction**

The ability to communicate our thoughts, emotions, and opinions to others is truly remarkable. Our use of language can influence our self-concept and identity. Cultural influences are also reflected in our language and similarly influence how we conceptualize who we are and where we come from. Language has a social feature, which means that it is used by the members of society. The social aspect of language is studied by sociolinguistics, a subdivision of linguistics which studies social factors.

Bilingual communities use certain phenomena to make communication more effective and meaningful. One of these phenomena are code switching and code mixing which we can observe mostly in second or foreign language classrooms. It refers to the use of two languages within a sentence or discourse. It is a natural process that often occurs between multilingual speakers who share two or more languages in common.

This research work mainly focuses on the definition of code switching and code mixing, the reasons for using code switching, the types of code switching and their definitions.

### **Aim of the study**

The aim of this research work is to study code-switching and code-mixing phenomena, but most importantly to check whether French constitutes a real threat for Bambara in Mali.

### **Statement of the problem**

Mali, known for its sociolinguistic diversity where many ethnic groups and different cultures coexist, the sociolinguistic of Mali shows that French is in knee competition with Bambara which is a lingua franca. The contact between these two languages lead the

phenomena of code switching and code mixing among Bambara speakers of French in their daily conversation.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study is significant because it will highlight the effects of contact between Bambara and French, the reasons and motivations that push people to code-switch and code-mix between French and Bambara, the extent to which this linguistic contact phenomenon could deteriorate or ameliorate Bambara. The findings will help to contribute to the knowledge in the field of study of sociolinguistics in general and contact linguistics in particular.

### **Research questions**

The present piece of research aims at raising the following questions:

- Why do Bambara speakers of French code switch and code mix in their daily conversation?
- What are the factors that cause to code switch and code mix?
- When do they code switch and code mix?

### **Hypotheses of this Study**

This study tests the following hypotheses:

First, the emergence of code switching and code mixing in Mali is due to the influence of French.

Second, Bambara speakers of French code switch and code mixing according to the situation they are in.

Third, the influence of French can constitute a threat to Bambara.

### **The structure of study**

This research consists of three chapters. The first chapter focuses on the sociolinguistic situation in Mali and background knowledge about the topic. The second chapter deals theoretical side; several linguistic phenomena are presented and explained. The third part is concerned with the practical side in which the data collected are analysed.

### **Limitation of the study**

The major limitation in this study was to the collection of data, since the participants were far, even some were in different countries we were obliged to send them an online questionnaire. Concerning the literature, just few exist in Bambara and most of them are not free.

Chapter I:  
Linguistic Situation in Mali

## Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the linguistic situation in Mali, passing by the different Empires that have marked the history of the country. It also aims to study the different ethnic groups and spoken languages in Mali. Moreover, it tries to shed light on French impacts over Bambara speakers on the one hand, and on the other hand explain the Malian educational system, language planning and policy; and the different decisions taken by the Malian government to promote the national languages.

### 1. Historical Background

Mali is a landlocked country bordered by Ivory Coast and Guinea to the south, Senegal to the West, Mauritania and Algeria to the north, and Niger and Burkina Faso in the East. It is the eighth largest country of Africa with a surface of 1.241.238 km<sup>2</sup>. The desert covers the north and a certain part of the centre of the country.

Approximately 17 million of inhabitants live in Mali, the urban population (48,2%) mainly lives in Bamako the capital in the southern part of country. The country was colonized by France between 1885-1895 and was proclaimed an independent republic on September 22, 1960. Before French colonization, many empires and kingdoms have succeeded each other: Empire of Mali, Songhay Empire, Bambara kingdom, kingdom of kaarta, Kenedougou kingdom, Maasina, Toucouleur Empire and Wassoulou Empire. This succession of empires and kingdoms makes Mali one of the most multicultural countries of Africa.

The Malian authorities, in the first article of the constitution n°159 PG-RM of 19 July 1982 have recognised 20 languages, but only 13 have received the status of national languages: Bambara (Bamanankan), Bomu, Bozo, Dogon, Fulfulde, Hassaniyya, Malinke, Mamara, Songhay, Soninke, Syenara, Kel Tamasheq and Xassonke; status that implies their

codification with an alphabet and grammar rules. The national languages play a certain role in the media, education and parliament.

The most dominant language is Bambara due to its prestige; it is spoken by 46,3% of the population. French is the official language and it is the language of administration and education. The diglossic relationship between French and Bambara leads to many phenomena of language change and variation. These phenomena are characterised by a transfer of phonological, semantic, lexical, and syntactic patterns of Bambara into French, and in return, Bambara receives new terms from French that express concepts or ideas that Bambara natives do not have in their language.

### **1.2. Language contact in the Malian linguistic landscape**

Mali has known two big Empires (Bambara Empire and Songhay Empire). The impact of these Empires has led to the division of the country into two parts, the south and the north. In the south, Bambara is the lingua franca and the majority of population of the country lives in Kayes, Koulikoro, Bamako, Sikasso and Segou. The other languages surrounding Bambara in the south are: Soninke, Mamara, Xassonke, Syenara, Bomu and Bozo. From the centre until the North, Songhay is the lingua franca (Mopti, Timbuktu, Goa, Menaka, Taoudini and Kidal) the surrounding languages are Fulfulde, Hassanyya and Tamasheq. So, we can say that two linguistic zones are observed in the linguistic landscape of Mali.

Calvet (1999:293) affirms that geographical, urban, religious, military or political reasons are the factors that empower a given language. This regional domination of Bambara, Fulfulde and Songhay is due to the reigns of the Empire of Mali in XIII-XIV centuries and a succession of Bambara kingdoms on the one hand, and on the other hand the Songhay Empire called Sudan by the Arab traders in XV-XVI centuries. Despite the fact that other languages exist in the south and the centre of the country, Bambara predominates in most regions except

in the north of the country but with the recent problems that the country is facing the influence of Bambara is being noticed in the north. Beyond these linguistic zones, another linguistic zone exists in the north of the country where Hassanya and Tamashaq are spoken. But in this zone, any of these languages serve as inter-ethnic means of communication. Beside Hassanya and Tamashaq speakers communicate with their neighbours either in French or Songhay.

The 25<sup>th</sup> article of the Constitution of the Republic of Mali states that «French is the official language in Mali, the highest linguistic status in the country» that makes it benefit from the prestigious and privileged language status. It is the main medium of instruction in school and administration. However, the government is encouraging the study of national languages at schools and universities, but French remains the language of political settings, official discourse, parliamentary debate and meetings.

Even if French plays the role of official language, it cannot be considered as the national lingua franca (a language or dialect systematically used to make communication possible between people who do not share a native language or dialect, particularly when it is a third language that is distinct from both native languages), because it is spoken by a small number of the population. Unlike the linguistic situation in Burkina and Ivory Coast where French is the language of the street or used in family communication. But still French remains an important part in the linguistic landscape of Mali, and we can see its impact on other national languages through code switching and code mixing.

### **1.3. Languages used in Mali**

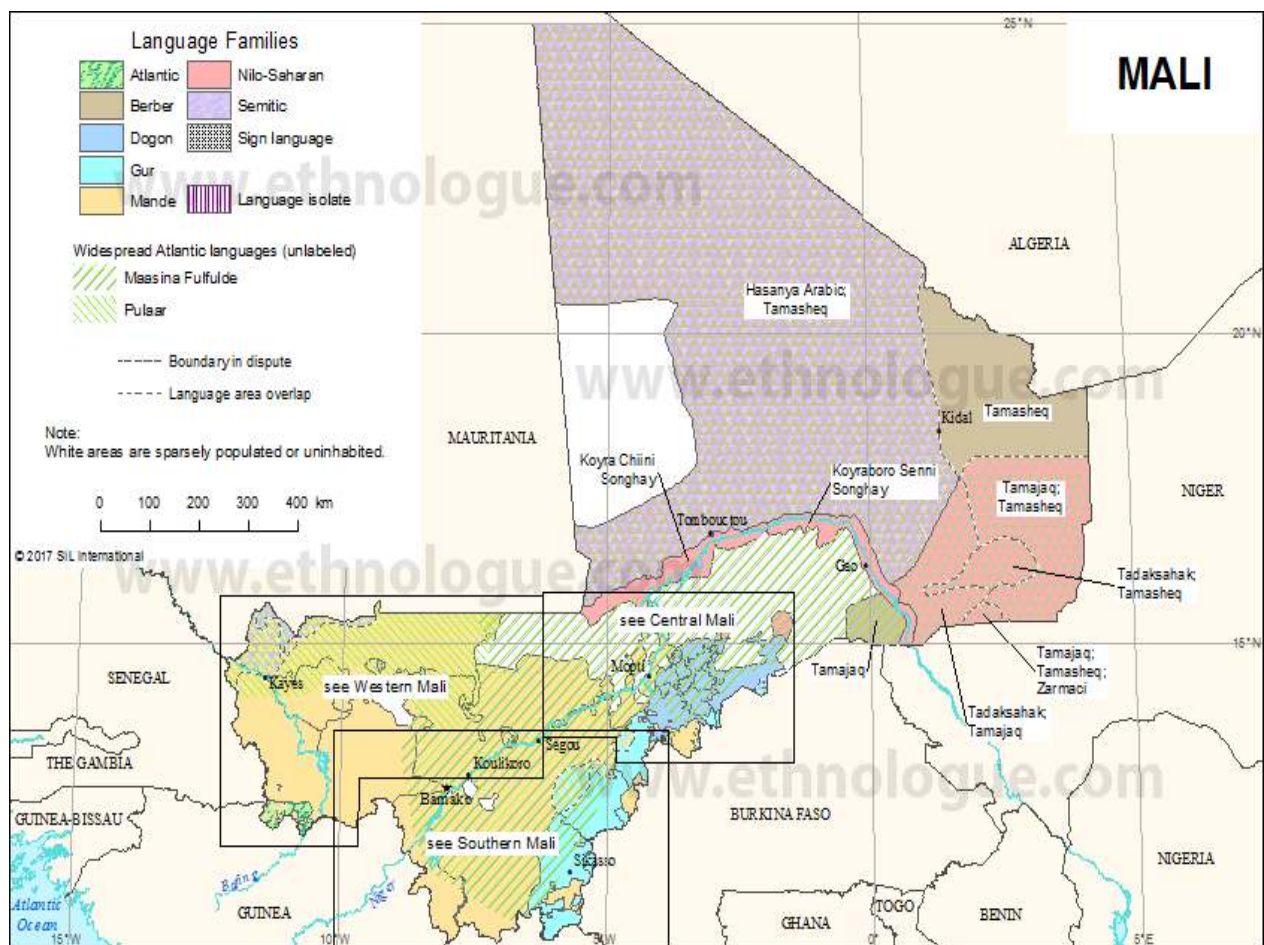
The languages spoken in Mali reflect ancient settlement patterns, migrations, and its long history. Ethnologue counts more than 80 languages, with French as the official language and Bambara the most widespread language in the country. French, which was introduced

during the colonial period, was retained as the official language after the independence and it is used in government and formal education.

Bambara is the Manding language and it is said to be spoken by 80% of the population as first or second language. It is mainly spoken in the south and centre of Mali, and it is also used as a trade language between language groups. Bambara and two other very closely related Manding languages Malinke or Maninkakan in the southwest and Kassonke (in the region of Kayes in the west), are among the 13 national languages. Bambara is also very close to the Dyula language (*Jula or Julakan*), spoken mainly in Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso. The name "Jula" is actually a Manding word meaning "trader." Other Mande languages include Soninke (in the region of Kayes in western Mali), Dogon and Bozo in the centre of Mali.

Other languages include Senufo in the Sikasso region (south), Fula (Fula: Fulfulde; French: Peul) as a widespread trade language in the Mopti region and beyond, the Songhay languages along the Niger, Tamasheq in the eastern part of Mali's Sahara and Arabic in its western part.

Thirteen of the most widely spoken indigenous languages are considered to be national languages. Most formal education for the deaf in Mali uses American Sign Language, introduced to West Africa by the deaf American Missionary Andrew Foster (AMAF). There are two other sign languages in Mali. One, Tebul Sign Language, is found in a village with a high incidence of congenital deafness. The other is Bamako Sign Language which developed in the after-work tea circles of the cities.



**Figure01: Linguistic map of Mali**

#### 1.4 Language planning and policy

Mali is a multilingual country like most of the west African countries, when we talk about language planning and policy what comes immediately to our mind is the set of strategies that are needed to solve problems that are facing multilingual countries. Language planning refers essentially to two types of activities: one purely linguistic the second one administrative (language status). In the case of Mali, the language planning covers the linguistic activities and administrative activities in order to find solutions to the problem of communication.

After independence, the different governments which succeeded each other have been giving a lot of importance to national languages rather than French. Even though French remains the official language in Mali, national languages are used daily in many fields. In this research work what really interests us is the language policy of the Malian government, and the importance given to national languages.

The major factor that has encouraged the Malian authorities to give importance to national languages is the education of adult people. In 1961, the Republic of Mali created a service in charge of education. The purpose of this service was to educate all the adult people in French. This ambitious objective was possible to achieve but at what price?

In 1962, according to Perrin (1984) the campaign of education had only 2000 trainers with 2000 centres for all the country. From 1962 to 1966, the number of trainer was only 60.000. It was very difficult to assess the level of those entertainers because they had been selected according to any criteria. Also, the trainers were under pressure because they had to deal with all people of the country with their small number.

The results of this first attempt were so poor that people were less enthusiastic and started to ask themselves, what is the benefit to be educated since they cannot be state workers anymore, and with whom are they going to practice this language so that they are not going to forget it?

This first attempt of educating adult people was a complete failure and had led the Malian authorities to change the method of education. In 1966, Mali decided to apply a new method called functional education. It consists to teach adult people how to read and write and acquire knowledge that allow them to have better social life, and this new method implies the use of national languages as languages of instruction.

Between 1966-1967, Mali started to educate people in national languages particularly in Bambara. For each region or area, people were taught according to the work they are doing. For example, in Kita, Bafoulabe, Koulikoro, Kolokani for peanut, Doiala and Koutiala for cotton, Segou for rice, and Bamako for industries. The main purpose of functional alphabetization was to educate 100.000 producers (in agriculture and breeding) and 100.000 workers for industries.

In March 1972 was released the first Malian newspaper “Kibaru” written especially in Bambara. Kibaru which means news in Bambara was the best instrument of information that allows to unify all the Manding languages i.e. all the varieties or dialects of Bambara. Kibaru was created for peasants who newly learn how to read and write in Bambara. The journal dealt with all the political, social, agriculture problems of the country; the journal had known a remarkable result in 1980.

In the administrative level, all the documents are written in French, but three notional languages, especially Bambara are often used for oral communication. Even if the alphabetization in Mali is based on national languages, according to the linguist Adama Ouane (cited in Ag Muphtah (2003:32-33)) qu’aussi longtemps que la communication officielle se déroulera en français, les langues locales n’obtiendront pas le niveau voulu : la politique linguistique en ce qui concerne les langues nationales se limite souvent à quelques langues majeures.

As long as official communication takes place in French, the local languages will not achieve the desired level: language policy with regard to national languages is often limited to a few major languages (translation mine).

Bambara is the most spread language in Mali because the Malian authorities has given it a lot of power, but why Bambara fails to be the official language of the country since it used by 80% of people. Selecting a national language over the other national languages may have a lot of consequences. The speakers of one national language for example may see a kind of discrimination towards their language while another becomes the language of the Republic. So, the problem of choosing a local language in multilingual countries particularly in Mali is very complex because any ethnic group does not want to see a particular language imposed on them. Moreover, Mali is a poor country, the promotion of national languages needs the alphabetization in each of these national languages and the teachers should be formed in all these languages. Mali does not have enough resources to form all the teachers in different national languages. In addition to that, administratively it will cost a lot of money for the translation of the documents in all the national languages.

Besides the material and financial problems of alphabetization, certain obstacles of alphabetization are also caused by human factors: the participation of women in alphabetization, according to Perrin (1984: 22) 5% of women in 1980 were participating, this is explained by the fact that their husbands do not want them out of the house. Generally, in Mali the majority of women are housewives and their parents do not allow them to go to school.

### **1.5. The Status of French in Mali**

Even if Mali has been promoting national languages, however, French remains the official language. It is in this language that are printed administrative papers, as well as daily newspapers; and it has the monopole of education.

De Saussure (1916) claimed that a given language is powerful because it belongs to those who have the most advanced civilisation, a political hegemony, or it simply spreads by

itself. These factors mentioned confirm the power that French has in Mali. French people had colonised Mali and have imposed their language as the main language of communication in administration and linguistic structure excluding indigenous languages because they were judged incapable to transmit scientific concepts.

Another important factor that has given power to French is that Mali is a multicultural country. With all these languages, the choice of a particular language can have a lot of consequences. For example, if Mali decides to choose Bambara as the official language, the other ethnical groups may see it as a sign of colonisation because they will speak Bambara instead of their own language.

Besides this factor, many other exist. French has been chosen and put in the highest linguistics position by the constitution. Also, French is the only medium of education, it is used from primary schools until university. Speaking French is the main way that can guaranty a job in the government or any other administration. The debates in Tv or radio are usually in French, even though sometimes, national languages are also used.

These factors have many impacts in the Malian society because it leads to bilingualism which also leads to language contact phenomena such as code-switching and code-mixing of educated people who cannot express themselves in Bambara without the use of some French words in their speech.

### **1.5.1 The Status of Bambara**

In Mali, between French the official language, and the other national languages that are marginalized, Bambara has gained an important role in the Malian society. Almost all the big places are now bambaraphone, but, seeing the importance of French in Mali especially in

urban areas, Bambara is threatened by French lexically as well as phonetically and morpho-syntactically.

According to Skattum (2010:51) Bambara (Bamana) or Bamanakan «is a lingua Franca and a national language of Mali spoken by perhaps by 15 million people, natively 5 million Bambara people and about 10 million second language users. It is estimated that about 80% of the Malian population speak Bambara as a first or second language. It belongs to the family of Congo-Niger, a Manding language, which has a SVO clause structure and two lexical tones».

The emergence of Bambara as the main spoken language in Mali is not something random. Maurice states that *pour des raisons d'ordre historique, politique, administrative, et militaire, la langue manding est arrivée à occuper, parmi les multiples idiomes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, une situation notoire et prépondérante, d'autant plus solide qu'elle a commencé à s'établir dans le Moyen-Age et qu'elle ne cesse de se développer et de s'affirmer de nos jours.* (cited in Dumestre 1998 :121)

For historical, political, administrative, and military reasons, the Manding language has come to occupy, among the many idioms of West Africa, a notoriously preponderant situation, more solid as it began to settle in the Middle Ages and that it continued to grow and assert itself today. Many factors had contributed and are still contributing to its expansion which are: the development of the administration and communication (radio and television), the spread of religions particularly Islam and trading. In general, the fact of the presence of any modernity in villages (schools, industries, urban immigration) strengthen the spread of Bambara into the areas that are not bambaraphone. Concerning the north of the country, Bambara has still some difficulties to impose itself as the main language. (translation mine)

Since 1972, Mali had its own newspapers in Bambara, Kibaru the first one and after the conspiracy of 1992 had given birth to Jèkabaara which was dealing with the political crisis of that time. In the education plan, 93 of 114 schools that teach in the national languages are in Bambara. In the media especially the radio, the majority of programs are in Bambara as well as the TV journal of one hour. In just twenty years, Bambara has become the unofficial language of Islam, all the preaches are done in Bambara. Gérard Dumestre (1994)

### 1.6 Diglossia

Diglossia is the use of two varieties of one language within the same community. Ferguson was the first one who introduced the term ‘diglossia’ into English by the late of 1950’s. He used this concept to describe the sociolinguistic situation of Arabic speaking countries as well as in the German, the Greek and the Haitian communities where two varieties of the same language are used.

Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (p.336).

Since diglossia has been defined as the use of two varieties of the same language, these varieties are high variety (H) and low variety (L). High variety: is referred as ‘H’ and it is used in formal situation such as: schools, news, poetry, political speeches and so on. As a result to that use, the High variety is more prestigious than the Low variety because its vocabulary contains formal and technical terms.

Low variety: is referred as 'L', unlike the High variety, Low variety is used in informal situation such as jokes, communicating with friends, and so on. Also, it is acquired at home and used as a mother tongue.

Ferguson noted that High variety and Low variety differ in some elements which are:

**Function:** each variety has its function because of the different specific domains

where High or Low variety is used.

**Prestige:** High variety is more prestigious than Low variety since it is used in

education, literature.... etc.

**Literary Heritage:** Both prose and poetry in diglossic languages are written in High variety,

Whereas in Low variety they are not written.

**Acquisition:** Low variety is considered as the mother tongue because it is acquired

before the High variety. The latter comes after the Low variety as it is learned at school.

**Standardization:** High variety is standardized in the sense that the native grammarians

set up dictionaries and grammar books for it, whereas the Low variety is not standardized.

**Stability:** it means that diglossia does not change through history. So, it is stable.

**Grammar:** most linguists agree that High variety has grammatical categories that are

clearly absent in Low variety. The latter cannot be taught at school because it just lacks

grammar.

Lexicon: one variety lacks some vocabulary items that are used in the other variety and vice-versa.

Nevertheless, after the discovery of the phenomenon by Ferguson, Fishman, went further by extending the definition of diglossia. He states, instead of defining diglossia as a sociolinguistic situation in which two varieties involved must be from the same language, rather, it can also be seen as having two varieties of paradoxical languages used in a given speech community. Used in offices, parliament speech taught and, in high education, is the standard one. By its sides is the low variety in which the people speak day-to-day. It has no prestige; therefore, it is hardly learnt even though it might have a written form.

The sociolinguistic situation of Mali is a perfect example of Fishman's diglossia. Bambara and French are two different types of languages coexisting in the country. During the colonization (1893-1960) the colonisers imposed their language since none of the indigenous languages had a written form and were incapable of transmitting knowledge. After the independence French was kept as the official language, it was necessary because Bambara could not be picked out among the others national languages which would have probably led to an ethnic problem. So, the choice of French was better; it served the role of lingua franca between educated people in this melting pot place of ethnic groups and their vernaculars.

Considering this diglossic situation, French is the High variety used in formal situations such as in education, parliament, television etc..., and in contrast Bambara is the Low variety used in situations such as in family, in the street between friends. But as Bambara has a written form it is also used in some formal situations such as at school for adult people or villages.

### 1.7 Multilingualism

Multilingualism is the use of more than two languages, either by an individual speaker or a community of speakers (Merriam Webster Dictionary). West Africa and especially Mali in particular, is characterized by extensive societal multilingualism going hand to hand with culture. This phenomenon is characterized by a complex interaction between two or more languages in the brain of an individual and the whole society. One of the causes of multilingualism in West Africa in general is due to the succession of empires emerging in the area from 300 BC onwards and culminating in the Mali empire around 1250-1450 CE (Davidson 1998; Levtzion 1973).

The spread of religion especially Islam is one factor of multilingualism in West Africa Arabic, Jula which is a variety derived from Bambara and Fulfulde are the languages of spreading Islam. Colonisation is another important factor of multilingualism in West Africa. In Mali French is the official language, and the language of administration, so to find a job or access to knowledge people have to learn French as well as Bambara which is the most spread in Mali. Urbanization due to massive rural exodus is the most recent factor motivating multilingualism, language contact, and language change.

### Conclusion

The fact that Mali remains a poor country, the promotion of all national seems utopian. The promotion of several African languages would require literacy in all these national languages, which would still require instruction from in all the different languages. Mali certainly does not have the financial or personal resources to carry out major reforms of this kind. In addition, multilingualism spread across the country would pose problems in public institutions and the translation costs could be very high.

# Chapter II: Literature Review

## Introduction

This chapter will be related specifically to previous studies on code switching, code mixing and borrowing. Furthermore, it focuses on the reasons and motivations that lead bilinguals to code switch and code mix. In addition to that, the chapter describes the different types of code switching, code mixing, and borrowing.

## 2. Code Switching

In multilingual societies and for a bilingual in particular, the use of languages depends on the situation in which he or she interacts with his or her listener, and each language is used for a particular situation, for example the language used at home is different from the one used in the street and so on.

The first researcher to introduce the term code switching was Hans Vogt in 1954 in his article “Language Contacts”. Code switching rather to be a psychological phenomenon is in fact a linguistic one. Vogt (1954) assumes that code switching is not only natural, but common. He states that all languages users experience language contact, and language contact phenomena imply language alternation, and therefore constitutes an important factor of language change. From that starts a debate and a clear definition was intriguing researchers. But before defining what code-switching means, we have to know what a code is.

«A code can be a language, a dialect, a register or style, etc through which a speaker can express his needs in any situation»(Gardner-Choros 2009:11). Gumperz (1982:59) defines code switching as «the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems». According to them, whenever there is an exchange of passages of speech that belong to different languages which are used in an alternative way, there is a case of code switching. One of the consequences of

bilingualism is code switching, when a speaker switches from one language to another, depending on a given situation, the speaker will choose the language that his or her listener understands.

## 2.1 Types of code switching

Poplack (1980) differentiates these following types of code switching:

### 2.1.1 Tag-switching:

It involves the insertion of a tag or short phrase in one language into an utterance that is otherwise entirely in another language. For example: /Tu sais (French), I ye mi kai o te bin/(Bambara)

Meaning: You know, what you have done is not right.

### 2.1.2 Inter sentential code switching:

It is the switch from one language or variety to a different one within the same sentence. Eg: Je comprends pas(French), ε ko mú? (Bambara) (I do not understand, what did you say?)

### 2.1.3 Intra-sentential code switching:

Switching takes place within the clause or sentence, which means that a word may link to a morpheme from another language. Example : Sometimes I am happy, et des fois je ne le suis pas (French).

Meaning: Sometimes I am happy, and sometimes I am not.

Bloom and Gumperz (cited in Sridhar, 1996) introduced another typology of code

switching; situational and metaphorical code switching.

-Situational code-switching: occurs when the context and the situation change. It is controlled by the component of the speech event like topic, setting and addressee. For example, in a market centre, employees use standard Bambara or French with clients, and use the dialect when they are communicating with themselves to talk about family affairs when having a break.

-Metaphorical code-switching: Later called conversational code switching by Gumperz in 1982, it occurs when there is a change in topical emphasis. Metaphorical code switching may also be used when the situation is not clear for the speaker, which obliges him to use a language variety as a metaphor. This type is not guided by a change in context or situation, and it is rapid and used for communicative purposes.

### **2.1.4 Reasons for code switching**

When a bilingual code switches from one language to another, there must be a reason or motivation that pushes him/her to do so. Grosjean (1982) proves some reasons that push to code switch. According to him, some bilinguals use code switching when they cannot find the adequate words or there is no appropriate translation to the language that is being used. In addition to that, he states that, code switching can be used in other cases such as quoting to report someone's speech, to specify the person we are talking to, and to talk about past events.

Deliberately done in some situations, code switching is used to exclude a person from a conversation. It is viewed as a kind of discrimination of a specific group towards an individual. People who usually code switch do not translate from the weaker language to the stronger one, but they use it when a word does not come out.

Gumperz (1982) states that code switching is seen as the medium to convey both social and linguistic meanings. He has also listed some examples of situations created to convey meaning as mentioned below:

- To appeal to the literate
- To appeal to the illiterate
- To convey precise meaning
- To ease communication
- To negotiate with greater authority
- To capture attention
- To emphasize a point
- To communicate more effectively
- To identify with a particular group
- To closed the status gap to established goodwill and support.

According to Malik (1994) code switching can be also listed according to the functions that they try to accomplish, which are:

- Lack of facility
- Lack of register
- Mood of the speaker
- To emphasize a point
- Habitual experience
- Semantic significance
- To show identity with a group
- To address a different audience

- Pragmatic reasons
- To attract attention.

### **2.1.5 Attitude towards code switching**

This concept of a person's attitude towards code switching is very ambiguous. There are different explanations of this concept proposed by researchers. Ajzen (2005:3) defines attitude with respect to positive and negative attributes of a person. From these definitions of attitude by researchers, we can see that a person's attitude towards code switching is seen as a deficiency of using language properly, and this is confirmed by Lin (1996:163), who argues that, within the world of languages use, code switching has often been perceived as being of lower status, a strategy used by weak language users to compensate for language deficiency.

As bilingualism is the main reason of code switching, many people especially monolinguals, see bilinguals code switching because of education and language skills, that there are unable to acquire two languages and to speak them without mixing these two languages. Recent studies have made researchers aware of code switching as a natural phenomenon caused by language contact and not because of the lack of vocabulary or grammar. Ritchie and Bhatia (2004) state that for bilinguals with a positive attitude towards code switching it is a natural and useful communication strategy and they will therefore not try to avoid code switching. Language is for bilinguals a way to express their multicultural identities.

## **2.2 Code mixing**

Code mixing is the use of more than two languages within a simple utterance without any change of the topic. It occurs when we bring or add small units (words or short phrases) from one code to another one. It is usually done unconsciously and often at word level. In

code mixing, there is a base code that has its own function, whereas the others codes are there to complete the base code without having any function or autonomy as a code.

According to Berhold and Bartorowicz (1997), code mixing occurs when the speaker shifts from one language to the other in the midst of their speech. This definition suites inter-sentential mixing and extra-sentential mixing both under the term code switching. Intra-sentential mixing refers to the alternation of single words, phrases to clauses within a single sentence or speech; whereas extra-sentential mixing occurs at sentence boundaries.

These are the following reasons for code mixing:

-Interjection

-Quoting somebody else

-Because of real lexical need

-Talking about a particular topic

-Repetition used for clarification

-Being emphatic about something

-To soften or strengthen request or command

-Intention of clarifying the speech content for the listener

-To exclude other people when a comment is intended for only a limited audience.

## 2.3 Borrowing

Borrowing is adoption of a word from one language into another. Speakers borrow words from other languages in order to explain or describe ideas or concepts that do not exist or have no equivalents in their mother tongue. Language from which a word has been taken is called the donor language, and the language into which it has been taken is called the recipient language.

Borrowing has been defined by many linguists such as Hudson (1996:55), who states that borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is borrowed from one language to become part of another language.

One important factor that is giving power and pushing people to borrow new words is technology. Nowadays, technology is touching every corner of the globe, and Mali is not advanced in technology, therefore imports foreign products which implies new concepts that need to be named. In Africa and particularly in Mali, the language used to teach at school is French. All the scientific concepts are taught in French since Bambara which is the most spoken language is not that developed. So, Bambara speakers are obliged to borrow new terms such as Television, courant, bougie etc...

### 2.3.1 Types of borrowing

Hockett (1958) gave the different types of borrowing as follow:

- Loanwords: also cultural borrowing, loanwords are words that fill the gaps in the recipient language's store because they are items or concepts new to the culture of the language.

Example: words related to technology like smartphone

- Loan shift: It occurs when we borrow a word from another and change its meaning. Example French borrows the word shampooing which is a product, whereas in English it is the process of putting the shampoo.
- Loan translation or calque: it occurs when the native language uses an item-for-item native version of the original. Translation is loaned and not the word. Example: in English “Adam’s apple” and in French “pomme d’Adam”.
- Loan blend: one part of the compound is borrowed the other one is translated. Example: In English we say grandfather which comes from French grand-père.

## 2.4. Code switching vs code mixing

Code switching and code mixing are the most important linguistic phenomena and well-studied speech processes in multilingual countries. A clear distinction between the definition of these phenomena has created disagreement between researchers, that is why Romaine (1995:180) argues that: problems of terminology continue to plague the study of language contact phenomena with terms like code switching, code mixing and borrowing not being used well by researchers in the same way or even defined at all, but they all agree that code switching and code mixing are both a strategy of communication.

According to Bokamba (1989), code mixing refers to embedding various linguistic units such as affixes, words, phrases and clauses that participants in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what hear with what they understand. In contrast to Bokamba definition of code mixing, code switching is described by Gumperz (1982:59) as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.

What we can deduct from these definitions of CS and CM is that these researchers are trying to make a clear distinction between inter-sentential CS that occurs between sentence,

whereas intra-sentential CM which occurs in sentences boundaries, however they both are motivated by social and psychological factors.

Code switching is a universal language contact phenomenon that concerns the grammar of both languages working together simultaneously. Code mixing in contrast, is also a universal language contact phenomenon, but it does not have any influence on the grammar of both languages working together.

### **2.5. Code switching vs borrowing**

One of the main outcomes of language contact is borrowing which is always confused with borrowing. According to Hudson (1996:55) whereas code switching and code mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the system themselves an item is borrowed from one language to become part of another.

Moreover, Gumperz (1982) proposed five important functions of code switching to distinguish from borrowing:

The incorporation of single words, or short frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another with morpho-syntactic adaptation.

Gumperz is not the only researcher to distinguish between these two phenomena, others like Poplack (1981:5) mentioned the idea that, where CS can occur, a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical item unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme. He noticed that when any item is phonologically added into the language of the bound morpheme it is not considered anymore as CS but rather a borrowing.

## 2.6. Impact of code switching and code mixing

CS and CM are phenomena that occur in bilinguals' conversation, but in any society, there are not only bilinguals, there are also monolinguals who master only one language and interactions between them are common. The major impact of CS and CM on bilingual speakers is that, bilinguals find it too difficult to stay on one language when speaking, because they sometimes use CS and CM unconsciously. Therefore, a problem of misunderstanding is frequent between bilinguals and monolinguals.

Furthermore, the interaction between monolinguals (who only speak their mother tongue) and bilinguals has a big influence on monolingual's language, because their mother tongue is going to be corrupted by new lexical items that they borrow from bilinguals. This contact between monolinguals and bilinguals may lead to language change. According to Offiang and Okon, (2013) CS as a cover term and as one of the most important aspects of language contact phenomena may be considered as an eminent contributory factor to language change or innovation. Therefore, CS and CM are responsible for the insertion and incorporation that take place in the recipient language. Even though many researchers think that this language practice is not a danger. According to Auer' (1998) theory of the sequential of code-switching arguing that code-switching has a meaning, and, regarding the functions it serves in the interaction of the speakers, its use is positive. Exploring the structural dimension of code-switching through our descriptions, it is noted that code-switching does not endanger the structure rules of the native language of the speakers.

Another problem that is recurrent in Malian society is the presence of many ethnic groups which means many cultures. According to Skattum (2010) about thirty are noticed there, in this society we can find families, where the father and the mother are from different culture. Their children are going to be exposed at least to two languages.

We have already mentioned that bilingualism is main reason that leads to CS and CM, and these linguistic phenomena are going to affect or influence the child's language and his language proficiency. In addition to that, parents send their children to school where the language of education is French. So, the children are exposed earlier to French, and also watch television where most programs are in French as well; what has been noticed with people especially young people (bilinguals), during their conversation they use a lot of French words even though the word exists in their mother tongue. Here are some clear examples of that:

**Table01: Example of French words which have their equivalent in Bambara**

French word	The equivalent in Bambara	Translation in English
Seau/so/	Palan /pa.lã/	Bucket
Pantalon /pã.ta.ta.lɔ/	Kulusi /kulu.ji/	Pant
Cahier /ka.je/	Karadasi /kara.da.si/	notebook
Stylo /sti.lo/	Sebennikelan /sɛ.be.ni.kɛ.lã/	pen
Ballon /ba.lɔ/	Ntola /ntɔ.la/	ball

Seeing those examples in the table we can affirm that Bambara is different from French and for each word in French there is an equivalent in Bambara except few words. CS and CM are so much used by Malian people that when having a conversation, they do not use Bambara words, they prefer to use French ones. Now the problem that is happening is that, when they are asked to give an equivalent of some French words or phrases in Bambara like *n'est ce pas* (isn't it) in French, they are unable to give it. In that sense we can say CS and CM constitute a danger for Bambara, because the fact that Bambara words are not being used can

cause the disappearing of Bambara or its shift to give birth to another variety of language and the following example can testify that:

**Table02: Example of Bambara and French words**

French	New word into Bambara or new variety	English
Fenêtre /fə.netʁ/	Fenetiri /fə.netri/	window
Bic /bik/	Biki /biki/	pen
Brosse /brɔs/	Borosi /broʃi/	Brush
Pneu /pno/	Pine /pine/	tire
Cahier /ka.je/	Kaye /kaje/	notebook
Chaîne /ʃen/	Ceni /ʃeni/	chain
Torche /tɔʁʃ/	Torchi /tɔ:ʃi/	torch

All the new words brought into Bambara already have their equivalent, but the fact that people code switch and code mix French words undergo a morphological change.

**Conclusion**

Code switching and code mixing are linguistic phenomena that occur in bilinguals' daily conversations. Many scholars think that code switching and code mixing do not constitute a danger for a language, but seeing the examples mentioned previously, we can say that code switching and code mixing can constitute a danger for a language, particularly with Bambara speakers of French, who use French words in their conversations even though the equivalent exist in Bambara.

# Chapter III: Research Methodology

## Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology design used in this study focusing on the participants, data collection and data analysis procedure. Then a description of the quantitative and qualitative methods used to analyse the collected data which were collected through questionnaire and recording.

### 3. Sampling and Design of the study

Many sampling techniques have been used to conduct this research work with a group of participants selected from a large population. Participants were people selected from different places in Algeria and especially in Mali. Among this large population, 70 participants were selected to respond to the research instruments.

#### 3.1 Participants' profile

In order to make this research more credible, people (literate and illiterate) were selected from many places. We have to specify that the illiterate people are immigrants living in Algeria.

#### 3.2. Data collection instruments

The data of this research is taken from the online questionnaire sent to 70 participants. The objective is to point out the reasons that lead Bambara speakers of French to code switch and code mix. To confirm the credibility our findings, quantitative and qualitative methods were used.

##### 3.2.1 Online Questionnaire

Aged from 17 to 34 years, the 70 participants were chosen and an online questionnaire composed of ten questions was sent to them. 30 participants out of 70 have responded.

### 3.2.2 Recording

The conversational data of this research has been recorded by the means of a mobile phone in different places in Algeria with the Malian community.

## 3.3. Analysis and Interpretation of the data

### 3.3.1 Questionnaire analysis

The online questionnaire was designed for literate people, especially those who have access to the internet. The main purpose was to investigate why Bambara speakers of French code switch and code mix as well as where they occur. The questionnaire comprises ten items related to different aspects of the research. It seeks to identify the profile of the participants, their gender, age, social status, and level of education and the language, and as well as their attitude towards code switching and code mixing.

1. Participants information

Table 03: Participant information

Gender		Level of education	
		Educated	Less Educated
Male	22	Yes	
Female	8	Yes	
Total		30	

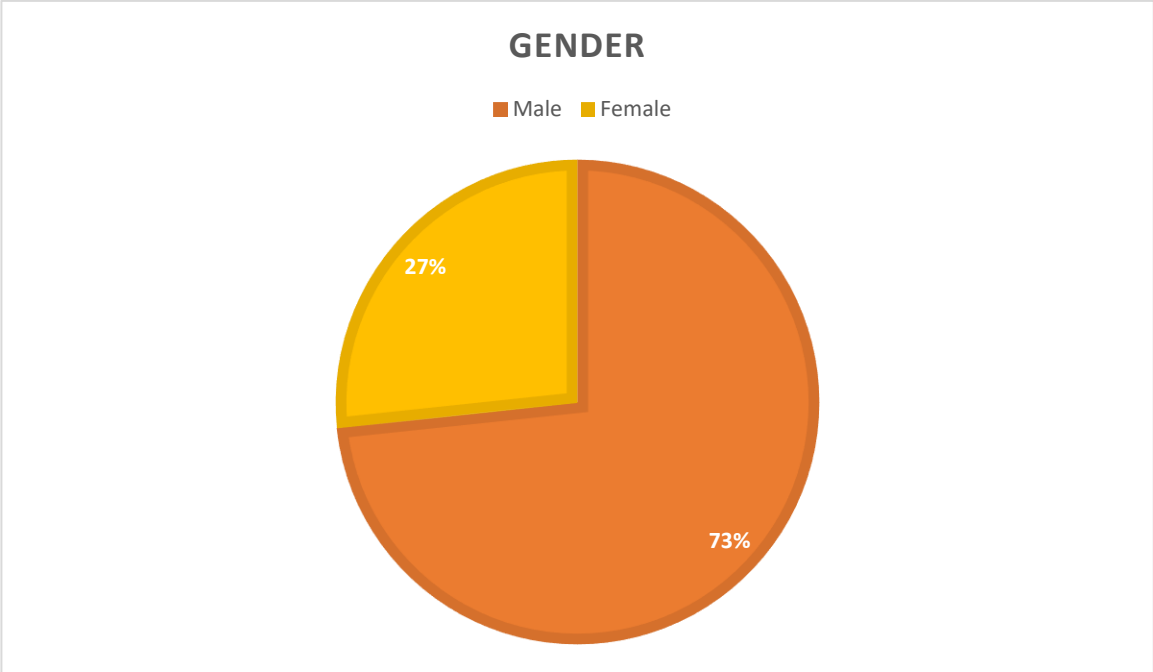


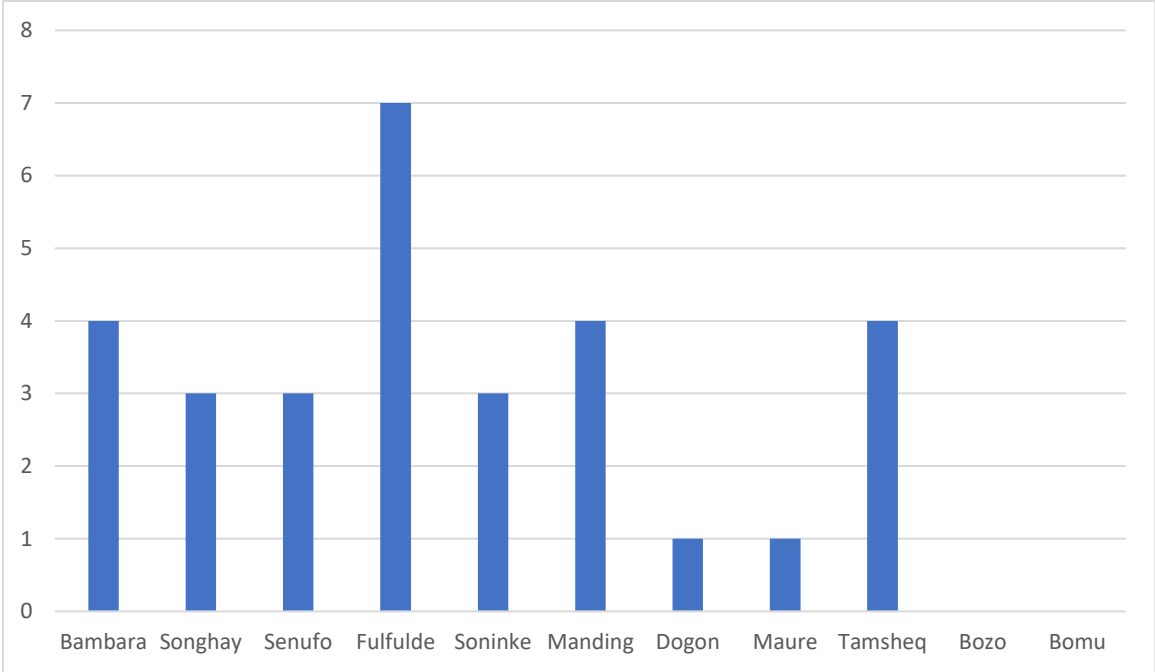
Figure 02: Participants information

The informants included in this questionnaire are adults from different age range. They have different educational levels as their levels range from high school to university. The sample consists of 22 males and 8 females. Here we can see that the participation of males in the research was very significant compared to the females' participation, and their age ranges from 17 to 30 years. Moreover, all 30 participants are educated people.

## 2. To which ethnic group do you belong?

**Table 04: Participants' ethnic group affiliation**

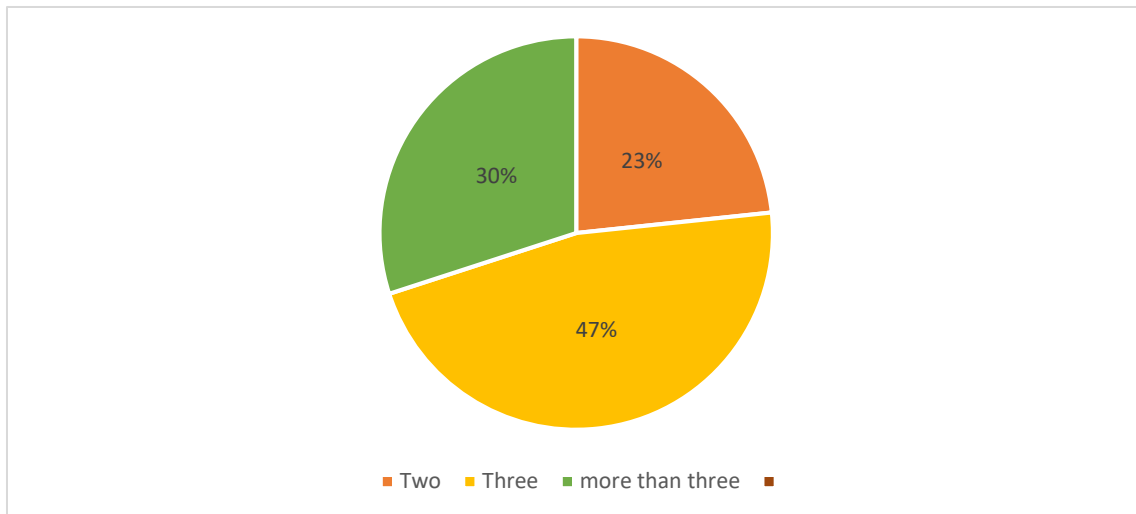
<b>Ethnic groups</b>	<b>Number of speakers</b>
<b>Bambara</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Songhay</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Senufo</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Fulfulde</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Soninke</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Manding</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Dogon</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Maure</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Tamsheq</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Bozo</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>bomu</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>



**Figure 03: Different ethnic groups**

From Figure 02 we can see clearly that the participants are from different ethnic groups, and the most represented ethnic group is Fulfulde with 23,33%, followed Bambara, Manding and Tamasheq with 13,33%; then Senufo, Songhay and Soninke 10%, and finally Dogon and Maure 10%. The figure 02 shows the cultural diversity of Mali. Despite of this cultural diversity all the participants speak Bambara and French.

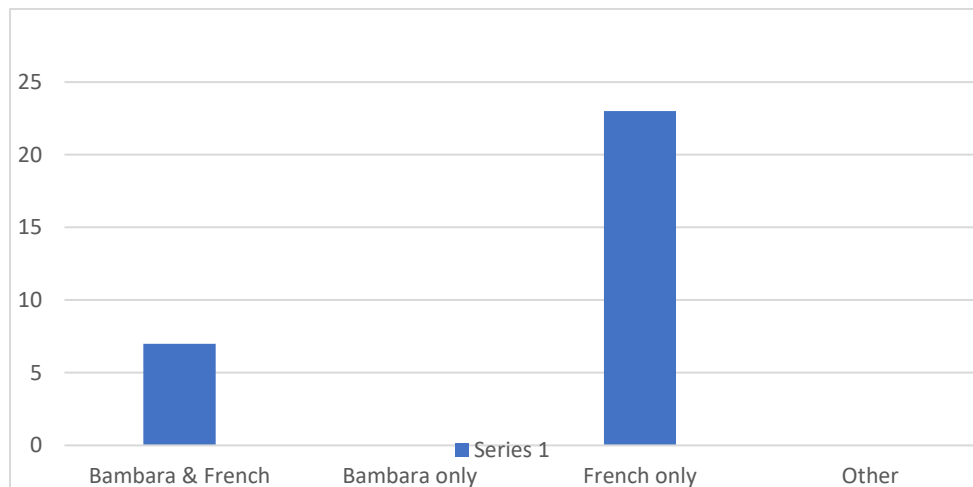
### 1. How many language(s) do you speak?



**Figure 04: Different Language spoken by the participants**

The result shows that 23% of the participants speak two languages, 47% speak three languages, and 30% speak more than three languages. All the participants know Bambara and French, and this confirms Skattum (2010) statement that 80% of the population of Mali speaks Bambara as first or second language. In addition to that, as the participants are all educated they speak French as well.

#### 4. What language(s) was used in teaching you in primary and middle school?



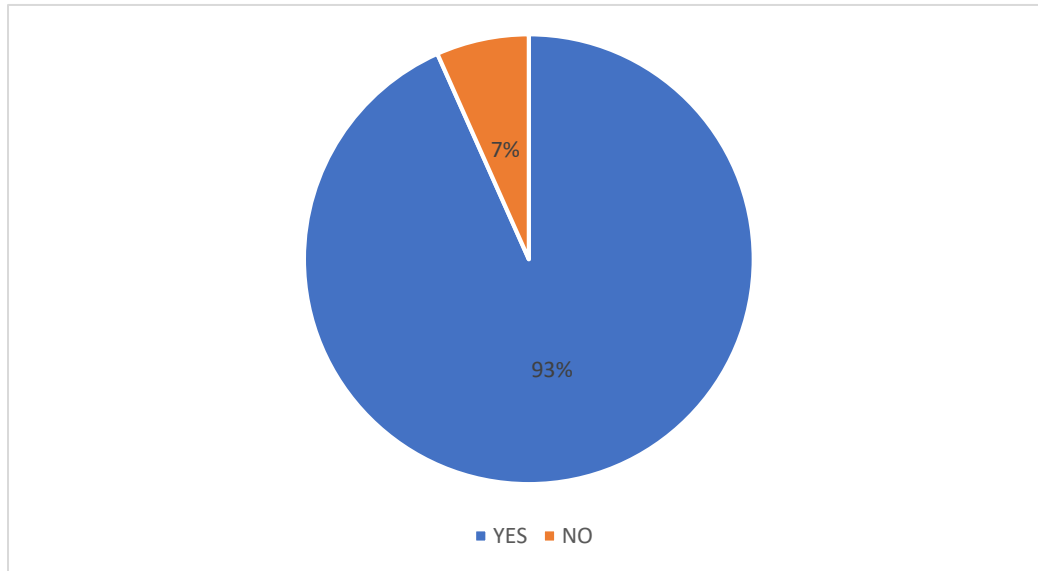
**Figure 05: language(s) used in teaching at primary and middle school**

**Table 05: Language(s) used in teaching at primary and middle school**

Languages used in teaching	Languages used to teach in primary and middle school
Bambara and French	7
Bambara only	0
French only	23
Other	0
Total: 30	

From these results, we see that 23,33% of the participants were taught in Bambara and French, and 76,66% were taught in French only. We can see clearly that none of the participants were taught only in Bambara or any other national languageS. Despite of the multiple decisions taken by the government to promote national languages, we can affirm that Bambara is still struggling to impose itself as a language of instruction at school.

### 5. Do you code switch and Code mix between Bambara and French?



**Figure 06: Reasons to code switching and code mixing**

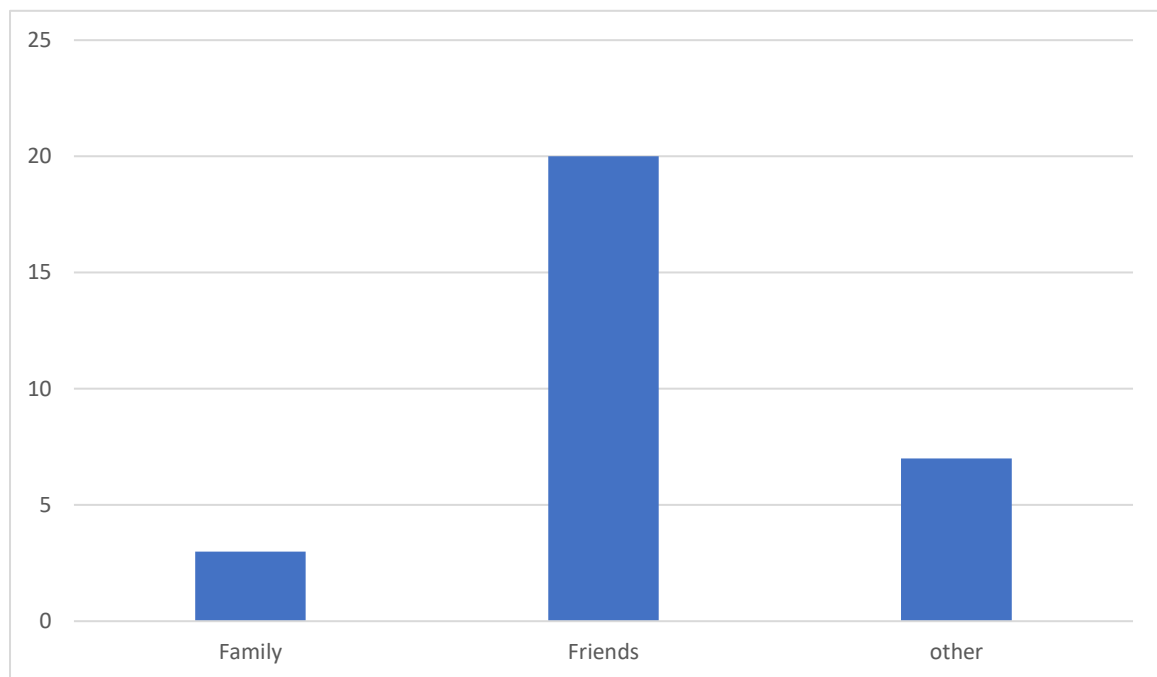
The represent pie chart shows that 93% of the participants code switch and code mix in their daily conversation. In contrast, only 2 participants claim not code-switching and code-mixing in French, they rather code switch and code mix between their mother tongue (Senufo) and French. From that we can conclude that French impact is not only on Bambara, but on Senufo too.

### 6. Why do you code switch and Code mix?

The question seeks to find out settings, reasons and contexts that lead people to code switch and code mix. The responses are not constrained by a pre-established list of answers in order to find possible reasons that lead people to code switch and code mix between Bambara and French. After analysing the questionnaire, the majority 90% of the participants claim to use code switching and code mixing to make themselves clearer vis-à-vis their interlocutors. Others 5% also claim that they travel a lot, especially to countries were Bambara is spoken

such as Ivory Coast, and Burkina. Therefore, they use CS and CM to communicate easily. In addition, some other 5% said that they use CS and CM when they are confronted BY some situations, this is confirmed by Holmes (2001) when she states that code-switching can occur within speech events or social situations.

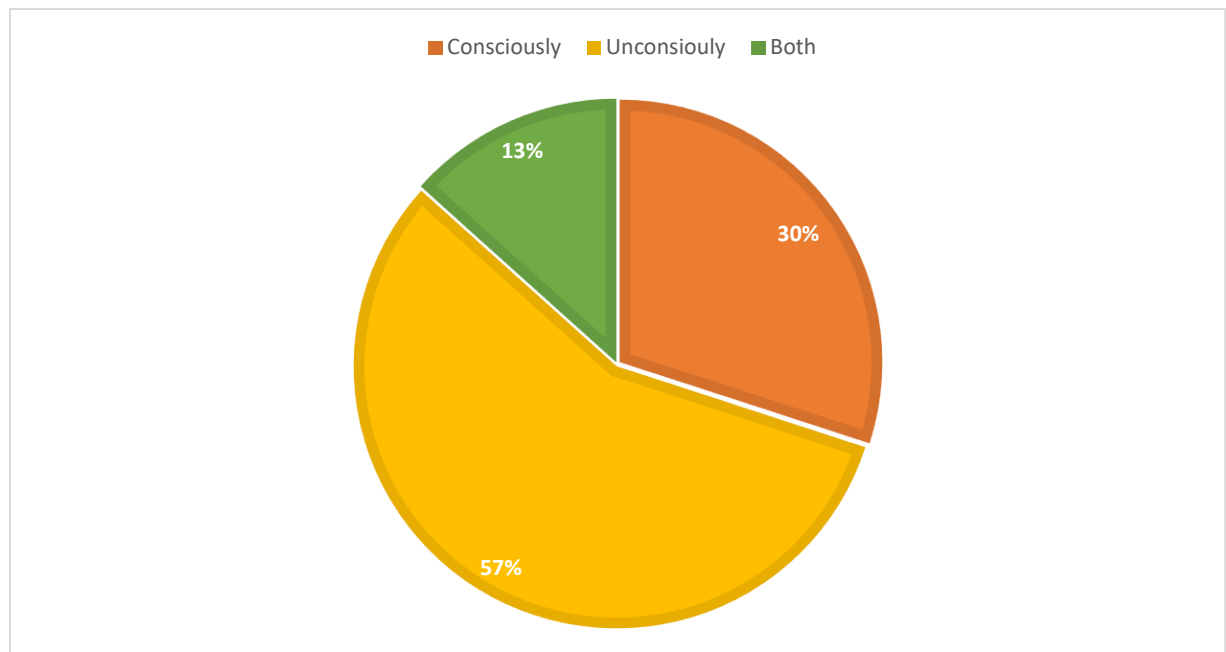
### 7. With whom do you code switch and code mix?



**Figure 07: Situation where code switching and Code mixing occur**

The result shows that 66,33% of the participants use code switching and code mixing with their friends, and 10% of the participants with their family. The rest of the participants 23,33% claim to use code switching and code mixing with both family and friends and some of them went further to say with everybody.

### 8. When you code switch and code mix is it done consciously or unconsciously?



**Figure 08: Psychological aspect of CS and CM**

From figure 07 we can see clearly that 57% of participants use code switching and code mixing unconsciously; 30% of participants code switch and code mix consciously, and only 13% use code switching and code mixing in both cases. From these results, seeing the highest average 57%, we can say that people code switch and code mix most of the time unconsciously.

### 3.2 Analysis of recordings

These conversations were recorded with a mobile phone. Before recording, we took the precaution to inform the participants that they were going to be recorded.

**Rec1:** Two friends having a discussion about a student who has problems in Oran.

**Demba :** j'ai appris qu'un étudiant a des problèmes en Algérie, a makan caman ba de be Bamako.

/ʒɛ a .pʁi kœ e.ty.djã a de pʁɔblɛm ã al.ʒɛ.ʁi, a makã kùmã de bɛ ba.ma.ko/

**Meaning:** I heard a student has some problems in Algeria, and the problem got till Bamako.

**Ousman:** hé ce Demba, c'est un etudiant qui étudie à Oran, a ka passeport de tunun na, donc policiw ya mine ka bla casso la.

/ɛ ʃɛ dɛba, sɛ œ e.ty.djã ki e.ty.di a ɔ.ʁã, aka pas.pɔʁ de tunu na, dɔk po.lisu ja mine ka bla kasɔ la/

**Meaning:** Demba, it is a student who is studying in Oran, he lost his passport, so the police put him in prison.

**Demba:** C'est vraiment dommage, cenin dou ye mogo gnenema yé.

/sɛ vʁɛ.mã dɔ.maʒ, ʃɛni du jɛ mɔgɔ ŋɛnɛmã de jɛ/

Meaning: It is really a shame, this guy is a good person.

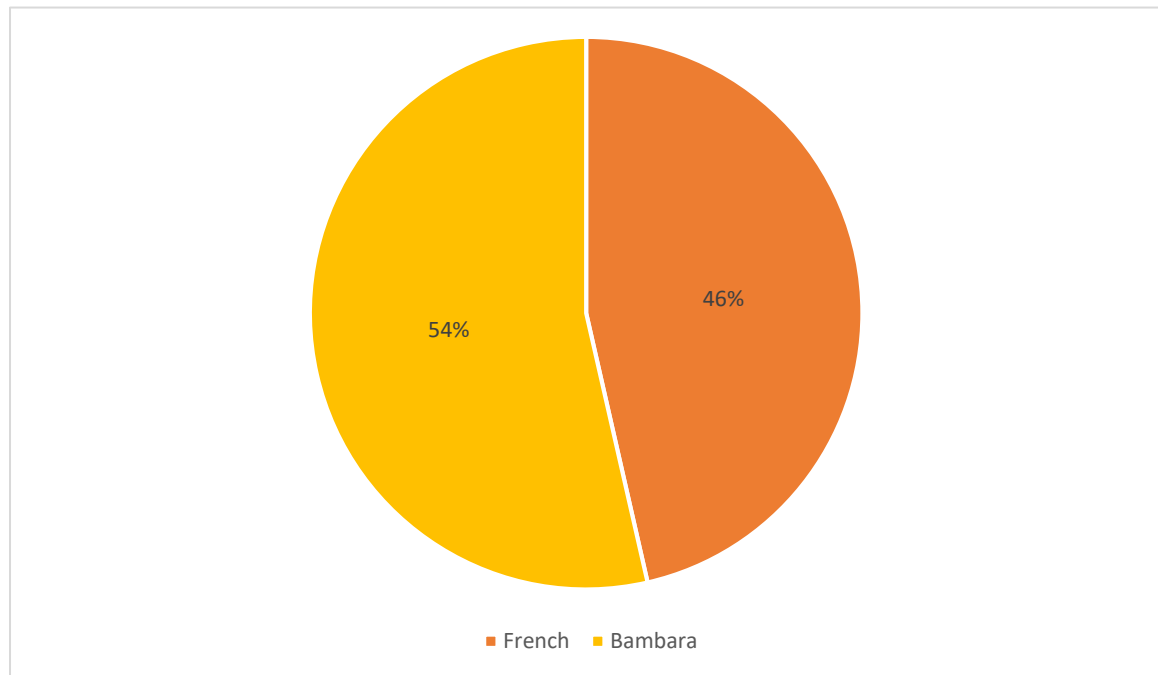
**Ousman:** Je pense u kan bla dans bientôt.

/ʒɛ pã.se u kã bla dã bjɛ.to/

**Meaning:** I think he should be released sooner.

**Table 06: First recorded conversation**

French	Bambara
46%	54%

**Figure 09: First recorded conversation**

This recorded conversation was between two friends in Oran, an immigrant and a student. We can see that both participants have used French and Bambara in order to make themselves clearer. From figure 08 chart we notice that the participants used French 46% and Bambara 54%. From the record we see clearly that inter-sentential code switching occurs, sometimes they use one language, in other times they switch to another, and so on with varying degrees. In addition, we remark the participants code mix more than they code switch.

**Rec2.** Conversation between three friends about politics in Mali recorded in Tizi Ouzou.

**Bouba:** Est ce que a ba don les amis que élection nata be geleya.

/ɛst se kə a ba dɔ lɛ a.mi kə e.lɛk.sjɔ na ta be gɛlɛja/

**Meaning:** Do you know my friends that the coming election is going to be tough.

**Ali :** Pourquoi tu dis cela, e pourtant candidanw ka ca.

/puʁ.kwa ty dis sɔ.la, e puʁ.tã kã.di.da ka fã/

**Meaning:** why are you saying so, yet there are lot of candidates.

**Kaba:** Candidanw ka ca, mais u ci te foye ye.

/kã.di.da ka fã, mɛ u fi te fɔjɛ/

**Meaning:** there are a lot of candidates, but none of them is good to be the president.

**Bouba:** Même si u ta mérité ka kai président ye, mais on doit choisir au moins un.

/mɛm si u ta me.ʁi.te ka kɛ pʁe.zi.dã zɛ, mɛ ɔ dwa fwa.ziʁ œ/

**Meaning:** even if they do not deserve to be president, but we have to choose one.

**Ali :** hali na kan ka dɔ choisi, il faut que an ka kai president human ye.

/hali ã kã ka dɔ fwa.zi, il fo kə a ka kɛ pʁe.zi.dã ɲu.mã jɛ/

**Meaning:** Though we have to choose one, he must be the best.

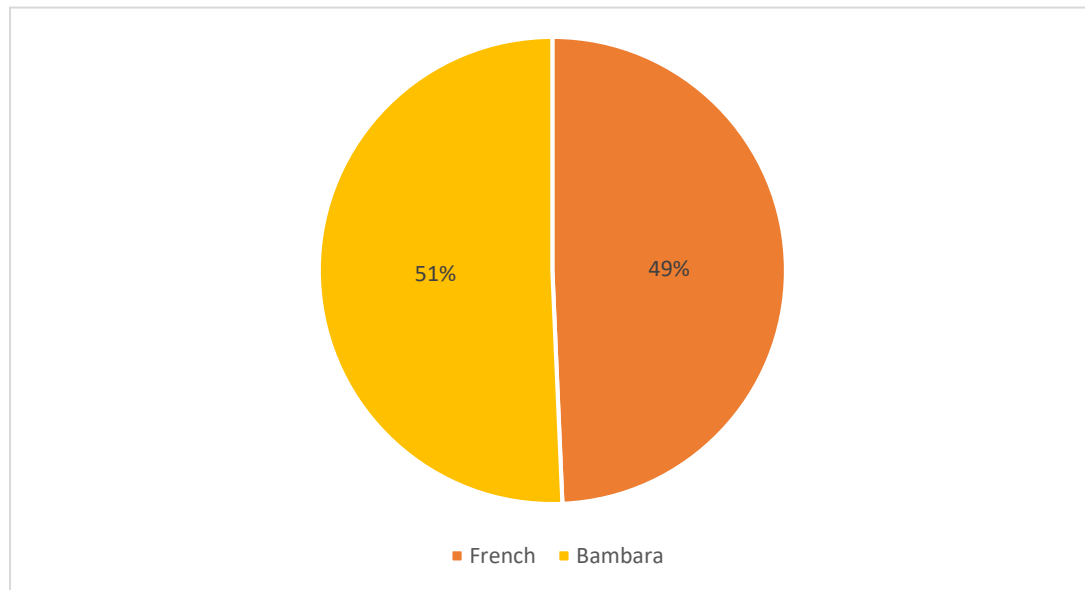
**Kaba:** ce politikimɔgɔ se sont tous des menteurs, a human te.

/ʃɛ pɔ.li.tiki.mɔgɔ se ɔ tu dɛ mã.tœʁ, a ɲu.mã tɛ/

**Meaning:** Politicians are all the same, there are all liars.

**Table 07: Second Recorded Conversation**

French	Bambara
49%	51%

**Figure 10: Second Recorded Conversation**

This second recorded conversation is between three friends. Seeing the importance of the discussion the participants were obliged to code switch and code mix because the theme of the conversation was about politics which requires French vocabularies.

From figure 09, French is used 49% and Bambara 51% in the conversation. In this case we notice clearly that both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switching occur. Moreover, we can see that code mixing is the most used.

If we compare the first record to the second one, we remark that the more the topic requires a high level of education, the more the participants use French words. This practice can engender borrowing; and those borrowed words are sometimes pronounced with Malian

accent, which confirms our hypothesis that code switching and code mixing are the principle source of borrowing, and those borrowed words undergo a phonological and morphological change when Bambara speakers code switch and code mix.

**Conclusion:**

In this chapter, focus was in the data analysis that was mainly based on questionnaire and recordings. The analysis of the results showed that Bambara speakers of French code switch and code switch according to the situation. In addition, code mixing is more used because Bambara speakers are unable to find the right words in their mother tongue while speaking. The practice of code switching and code mixing has generated the use of French words into Bambara, and these words are sometimes used with the wrong pronunciation.

## **General Conclusion**

The present research paper has dealt with the language contact that has given birth to various linguistic phenomena. Code switching and code mixing are one of those phenomena and it is the focus of this study.

In this study, the main concern was to shed light on the phenomenon of code-switching and code mixing in Bambara speakers of French daily conversation.

The data needed in this study have been collected as followed: an online questionnaire, and the recordings of different speakers as a research instrument. The participants of this study are 30 people selected from the Malian community living in Algeria and Mali and have different educational backgrounds.

The analysis of data has shown that all the speakers code-switch and code mix in different ways; they code-switch and code mix from Bambara into French or vice versa; the main reason behind that is the influence of French.

Moreover, the results show that bilingual speakers code-switch and code mix in particular situation and for particular purposes.

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## APPENDICES

You are kindly asked to fill this questionnaire which is part of a memoir for Master Degree about “Code switching and code mixing among Bambara speakers: Case Study Bambara-French”. Your participation will be very appreciated.

Before you have to know what is meant by code switching and code mixing.

Code mixing is simply mixing of two or more languages while communicating and Code Switching is the combination of two languages.

1. Sex:

Male:

Female:

2. Your age:

3. To which ethnic group do you belong?

.....  
.....

4. What is your social status?

.....  
.....  
.....

5. How many language(s) do you speak?

Two

Three

More than Three

6. What language(s) was used in teaching you in primary and middle school?

Bambara and French:

Bambara only:

French only:

Other:

If another language what is it?  
.....

7. Why do you code switch and Code mix?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

8. Do you code switch and code mix between Bambara and French?

Yes:

No:

If no, what language(s) do you code switch and code mix?

9. With whom do you code switch and code mix?

Family:

Friends:

Other:

If other, with whom

.....  
.....

10. When you code switch and code mix is it:

Consciously:

Unconsciously:

The following table gives a summary of the 63 spoken languages reported by ethnologue (there are also 3 sign languages):

**Table 01: Languages spoken in Mali**

Language	Cluster	Language Family	Legal status	L1 speakers in Mali	L2 speakers in Mali	Main region
Arabic, Hassanya	Arabic	Afro-Asiatic: semitic	National	106.000	?	North West
Bambara	Manding	Mande	National	4.000.000	10.000.000	South, most of country
Bomu		Niger–Congo / Gur	National	102,000	?	SE
Bozo, Tiéyaxo	Bozo	Mande	National		?	Central
Dogon, Bondum Dom	Dogon		None?		?	Central -east
Dogon, Bunoge	Dogon		None?		?	Central -east
Dogon, Toro So	Dogon		National		?	Central -east

Dogon, Yanda Dom	Dogon		None?		?	Central -east
Duungooma		Mande	None?		?	S
French		Indo-European	Official			All (esp. urban )
Fulfulde, Maasina	Fula	Niger– Congo / Senegambia n	National		?	Central
Jahanka		Mande	None?		?	SW
Jalunga, Dyalonke		Mande	None?		?	SW
Jowulu		Mande	None?		?	SE
Jula, Dioula	Manding	Mande	None?			SE
Kagoro	Manding	Mande	None?		?	W
Konabéré		Mande	None?		?	SE
Koromfé		Niger– Congo / Gur	None?		?	SE
Maninkakan, Eastern	Manding	Mande	None?		?	SW
Maninkakan, Kita	Manding	Mande	National		?	W

Maninkakan, Western	Manding	Mande	None?		?	SW
Marka		Mande	None?		?	SE
Mòoré		Niger– Congo / Senegambia n	None?		?	SE
Pana		Niger– Congo / Senegambia n	None?		?	Central -East
Pulaar	Fula	Niger– Congo / Senegambia n	None?		?	W
Pular	Fula	Niger– Congo / Senegambia n	None?		?	SW
Senoufo, Mamara (Miniyanka)	Senoufo	Niger– Congo	National		?	S
Senoufo, Shempire	Senoufo	Niger– Congo	None?		?	SE

Senoufo, Supyire	Senoufo	Niger– Congo	None?		?	SE
Senoufo, Syenara	Senoufo	Niger– Congo	National		?	W
Senoufo, Sicité	Senoufo	Niger– Congo	None?		?	SE
Songhay, Humburi Senni	Songhay (Southern)		None?		?	SE
Songhay, Koyra Chiini	Songhay (Southern)		None?		?	N
Songhay, Koyraboro Senni	Songhay (Southern)		National		?	N
Soninke (& Marka/Maraka)		Mande	National		?	NW
Sàmòmá		Niger– Congo / Gu	None?		?	SE
Tadaksahak	Songhay (Northern)		None?		?	N
Tamajaq	Tamashek	Afro-Asiatic / Berber	None?		?	N
Tamasheq	Tamashek	Afro-Asiatic / Berber	National		?	N

Tondi Songway Kiini	Songhay (Southern )		None?		?	N
Xaasongaxango , Khassonke	Manding	Mande	National		?	NW
Zarmaci	Songhay (Southern)		None?		?	NE

**[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages\\_of\\_Mali](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Mali)**

## **Abstrait**

Cette dissertation intitulée Code Switching et Code Mixing of Bambara- French Speakers a pour but d'analyser les phénomènes de contact de langue de l'alternance de code par les locuteurs des bambaras parlant français. Le travail cherche à trouver les raisons et les facteurs qui poussent les locuteurs Bambara à changer de code et à mélanger le code dans leur conversation quotidienne. Il vise également à étudier la situation sociolinguistique au Mali, qui est une société hétérogène avec de nombreux groupes ethniques. Afin d'étudier les facteurs qui amènent les locuteurs bambaras à changer de code, 70 participants sont sélectionnés parmi la communauté malienne vivant en Algérie et au Mali. Deux instruments sont utilisés dans l'étude, un questionnaire en ligne et des enregistrements. L'étude a confirmé lorsque les locuteurs Bambara commutent et code switch et code mix dans leur conversation quotidienne, il n'y a pas de violation de la grammaire du français et du bambara. En outre, nous avons remarqué que le français peut constituer une menace pour le Bambara puisque les gens, lors du changement de code et du mixage, utilisaient constamment des mots français même si l'équivalent existe en bambara. Un autre fait essentiel que nous avons remarqué est que lorsque les locuteurs Bambara changent de code, ils font une traduction littérale du bambara en français et la plupart du temps leurs phrases sont sémantiquement incorrectes.

**Mots-clés** : Bilinguisme, multilinguisme, changement de code, mélange de codes, diglossie, emprunt.

## نبذة مختصرة

ويهدف هذا الحالية أطروحة بعنوان رمز التبديل ومدونة خلط البامبارا الفرنسي مكبرات الصوت لتحليل الظواهر لغة ويسعى العمل على إيجاد الأسباب والعوامل التي .الاتصال التناوب الشفرة عن طريق مكبرات الصوت البامبارا الفرنسية كما يهدف إلى دراسة الوضع .تدفع المتحدثين البامبارا لتبديل رمز ومزيج التعليمات البرمجية في حديثهما اليومية من أجل دراسة العوامل .الاجتماعي اللغوي في مالي، الذي هو مجتمع غير متجانس مع العديد من المجموعات العرقية التي تؤدي المتحدثين البامبارا لتبديل رمز ومزيج الرمز، ويتم اختيار 70 مشاركا من المجتمع المالي الذين يعيشون في وأكدت الدراسة أنه عندما .يتم استخدام أداتين في هذه الدراسة، استبيان على الانترنت والتسجيلات .الجزائر ومالي أيضا التبديل البامبارا المتحدثين رمز ومزيج التعليمات البرمجية في حديثهما اليومية هناك أي انتهاك لقواعد اللغة الفرنسية وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، فقد لاحظ أن العلبة الفرنسي يشكل تهديدا للبامبارا لأن الناس عندما التبديل رمز و خلط .والبامبارا حقيقة أساسية أخرى أننا .اللغات، فإنها تستخدم الكلمات الفرنسية بشكل مستمر حتى في حالة وجود ما يعادلها في البامبارا قد لاحظ أنه عندما البامبارا المتحدثين كود التبديل، لأنها تجعل ترجمة حرفية من البامبارا إلى الفرنسية ومعظم الوقت أحكامهم غير صحيحة لغويا

**كلمات البحث:** ثنائية اللغة، تعدد اللغات، وقانون التحول، وقانون الاختلاط، ازدواج اللسان، الاقتراض