Intrasentential and Extrasentential Code-switching Among Young Bilingual Speakers in Bamako: A Conversation Analytical Perspective

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ABSTRACT: *The linguistic reality in Bamako, Mali, has made it commonplace that most interactions are performed in a language combining Bambara and French. The reason is certainly that Bamako, as some researchers suggest, is an ethnic and linguistic melting pot. This "hybrid" language seems to have downgraded the notion of language delimitations, hence affecting consequently the identity of each language. In other words, Bambara seems to be an excuse for escaping the successful use of French while interactions in Bambara are significantly dominated by French. It is believed that such a situation favours none of the two languages at play. Already, initial observation has made it possible to assert that the most perceptible manifestations of code-switching in this particular context are intrasentential and extrasentential. To confirm this claim, the present paper will adopt a conversation analytical approach, based on the recording of naturally occurring language.*

KEYWORDS: Code-switching; Bilingualism; Multilingualism; Conversation Analysis

1. Introduction

Whether taking part in a conversation or simply observing one at a distance in several areas of Bamako, Mali, it is not rare to see that the interaction is performed in a language that seems to blend Bambara and French. Whether conventional, trendy or perhaps just a subconscious practice, the usage of this "hybrid" language seems to be incorporated into the daily language practices in Bamako. As Calvet (1994) puts it, Bamako—like many African capitals—is an ethnic and linguistic melting

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pot. It is a speech community where the coexistence between the official language and local languages, notably Bambara, is significant. Indeed, while Bambara represents the most dominating national language, French, however, holds the status of the official language in Mali. The fact is that these two languages come together in such a way that they seem to merge, thus creating two different and alternating situations: (i) when Bambara is spoken, it often alternates with French, and (ii) when the conversation is carried in French, traces of Bambara are recurrently found in the messages being delivered.

It is believed that the practice of switching codes is particularly common among the young population of Bamako. This can be explained by the fact that, linguistically, Bamako is a city that is highly dominated by Bambara, which is commonly used by the youth as the principal means of communication on casual occasions. In the meantime, young people are also exposed to French since they represent the country's most important segment in terms of literacy and that the official language of instruction is French. In other words, the influence of French persists while the general context favours the predominance of Bambara.

This phenomenon, which consists in switching between languages, denotes that a significant number of Malians are bilingual provided that the capital city, Bamako, is the country's most populated city and because it comprises the most important gathering of literate Malian citizens.

Still, it is important to note that the phenomenon under study does not concern the sole literate community of Bamako. In other words, the alternation of languages not only occurs in the language usage of literate citizens but also the daily communication of the illiterate community of Bamako. However, for more focus and narrowness, this paper will exclusively examine the case in which Bambara often—if not regularly—alternates with French even though the conversation is meant to be carried out in Bambara. Also, the motivation for making such a choice is justified because although these two cases may seem similar, they hardly have the same implications and may be perceived differently by the speaker's interlocutors.

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Indeed, it is important to note that, in Mali, speaking Bambara and alternating it with French is a significantly different situation from speaking French with some sequences of Bambara. Some explanations are possible. On the one hand, switching from Bambara to French may be perceived, depending on the context, as a fashionable way to express oneself, or a relatively highdegree of prestige involving the educational background and, perhaps more subtly, the social status of the speaker. On the other hand, alternating from French to Bambara is often seen as an indicator of the speaker's poor level of proficiency in French; yet it may also be perceived in certain settings as the speaker's attachment to local values, thus showing the conservative side ofhis or her personality.

2. The Linguistic Situation in Bamako and the Orientation of this Study

Bambara (Bamana or Bamanakan) represents, in Mali, one of the several indigenous languages which are estimated at twenty (Canut & Dumestre, 1993). Out of these twenty languages, thirteen have been promoted and given the status of national languages, notably Bambara, Bomu,Bozo, Dogon, Fulfulde, Mamara, Syenara, Songhay, Soninke, Tamachek, Hassaniyya, Maninka, and Xassonke (Lyche & Skattum, 2012). Within this cluster, Bambara is the most widely spread language and as Skattum (2010) avers, Bambara is "a lingua Franca and a national language of Mali spoken by perhaps 15 million people, natively 5 million Bambara people, and about 10 million second language users." Skattum (2010) goes on to assert that "it is estimated that about 80% ofthe Malian population speak Bambara as a first or second language."

As for the status of French in Mali, one may observe that it is not only a language but also a factor that promotes the socio-cultural balance. This is because the multicultural reality of Mali coupled with the emergence of its capital city as an "ethnic melting pot" has made the French language a middle-ground solution in terms of language policy in the country, especially in Bamako. In other words, no ethnic group seems to be willing to embrace the language of any other local community simply because the linguistic diversity triggers a situation where each group claims the primacy of its language. Therefore, French

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is seen as a sort of "no man's language" because it is not the language of any indigenous group. This also explains why, up to now, any national language in Mali has not been declared to be an official language.

In addition, this relatively "new" kind of language has been expanding in recent decades and is popular with all segments of the urban population, especially the youth of Bamako. For this reason, the present study focuses on conversations, i.e., naturally occurring language, involvinggroups of young individuals commonly referred to as "grin" (youth clubs)[1]. Indeed, the conceptof youth clubs represents a famous phenomenon in Mali, especially in Bamako. Those clubs are casual interactional settings where young people from various neighbourhoods of the capital regularly meet, exchange information, have talks, and perform activities together. In general, youth clubs are made up of youngsters of nearly the same age—but most often from the same generation. Besides, since it appears that most individuals from those youth clubs are either students or unemployed graduates, they consequently reveal to have some notions of French inaddition to their mother tongue or a national language. As a result, it is not surprising that thereis a strong possibility to identify traces of code-switching in their daily conversations.

3. Bilingualism

The literature on bilingualism abounds with a variety of perspectives on the concept. Still, it should be acknowledged that the definitions suggested by certain scholars only confers to the concept a limited and scope and a constraining interpretation. For instance, Bloomfield (1933) sees bilingualism as a 'native-like control of two languages'. Indeed, the interpretation of this definition is significantly constraining because it means that anyone who speaks more than onelanguage but still fails to

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[1] In Mali, the grin signifies an informal group of youth who meet each day around tea to discuss their quotidian lives. They share everything: clothing, shoes, and even intimate secrets. The birth of grin in Mali can be situated in the widespread unemployment that ruined two intellectual generations. (Kane & Leedy, 2013: 56)

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show signs of 'native-like control in both languages cannot be considered bilingual. Therefore, Bloomfield's (1933) definition fails to properly consider the signification of bilingualism as it now applies to the world. Besides, it attributes to bilingualismthe proficiency criterion which is not necessarily a prerequisite for being bilingual.

As a reaction to the previous stance, Harley (1995) posits that bilingualism refers to "the use of two languages by an individual or a speech community" with the particularity that "it is not necessary for them to be equally fluent, but at least they should be very competent in the foreign language". This definition suggests a rather moderate perception of the concept of bilingualism, where any speaker who can manage to interact with others in more than one language can be viewed as bilingual. Furthermore, Haugen (1953) posits that bilingualism starts with "the point where a speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language". Likewise, Diebold (1961) asserts that the starting point of bilingualism is "when a person begins to understand utterances in a second language but is unable to produce utterances".

These different positions denote that the concept of bilingualism has been subject to a lot of controversies as to what it is or what conditions make a speaker bilingual. However, it should be more coherent to suggest that having a high level of proficiency, i.e., native-like control, in both languages involved does not guarantee bilingualism. Scholars such as Appel & Muysken (1987) share this standpoint. They advocate that the degree of linguistic proficiency does not count due to the difficulty in having norms that permit to measure the degree of bilingualism. Moreover, the researchers view the bilingual speaker and bilingualism, respectively, as the person who "regularly uses two or more languages in alternation" and "the practice of alternatively using two languages." (Appel & Muysken, 1987)

Besides, Weinreich (1953) advocates that there are three types of bilingualism, notably: compound bilingualism, coordinate bilingualism, and subordinate bilingualism. Compound bilingualism refers to the acquisition that takes place in a country where the two languages are

equally integrated with childhood. Co-ordinate bilingualism refers to the fact of learning the firstlanguage and then begin the acquisition of the second language with the possibility to use both languages in a parallel manner. Finally, subordinate bilingualism occurs when a speaker knows two languages but can only simultaneously understand and produce superficially only one. (Weinreich, 1953)

4. Conversation analysis

Emerging from discourse analysis, conversation analysis is a collection of methods, all being involved with the examination of how humans organise their talk to convey meaning in its implicit nature (meaning may either be implicit/figurative or explicit). However, conversation analysis exclusively applies to talks that are not unidirectional such as addresses, statements, monologues, and alike. Rather, a conversation analytical approach is concerned with dialoguesor interactions between two or more participants, hence the notion of talk-in-interaction.

The pioneering work regarding conversation analysis as a discipline can be traced back to the 1960s thanks to Harvey Sacks' lectures, which were posthumously published in 1992 by his students and some adherents. Conversation analysis emerged from the methodological limitations and the general dissatisfaction with sociology as to the quantitative modes of data collection, data analysis, and interpretation of results. Indeed, the quantitative perspective of research revealed to be unable to show how, in real-life situations, individuals preconceived the social world and actively managed to realise interactive situations. Therefore, scholars needed tocome up with new ways of thinking, new ways of approaching language-related phenomena, with the end goal of being able to observe and interpret those phenomena. In short, they needed to come up with new practices that could capture naturally occurring language in its originality and dynamism, hence the concept of conversation analysis. As Atkinson & Heritage (1984) suggested:

The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explicationof the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in

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participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction. At its most basic, this objective is one of describing the procedures by which conversationalists produce their own behavior and understand and deal with the behavior of others. (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

Following the same logic as Discourse Analysis, conversation analysis is applied to the study of naturally occurring language according to four generic criteria: (i) looking for natural data, (ii) setting it in its co-text, (iii) watching for its non-literal meaning, and (iv) identifying the social actions performed (Antaki, 2008). It would not be a mistake to affirm that a well-conducted conversation analytical research is one that externalises implicatures from the speaker's perspective, i.e., one that remains faithful to the speaker's intentions. Yet, the question is to know how the researcher can interpret conversations according to speakers' intentions given that what they often do is to imply while interacting. Thus, what is required, in addition to the four generic criteria of conversation analysis, is also to rely on the context in which the conversational sequences being analysed were produced and recorded.

Indeed, participants' role in conversation analysis is of primary importance, and as Paraskeva (2010) points out, participants are social actors, whose actions are subject to the co-participant's logical deductions and subsequent verbal actions. In the same way, Schegloff (1968) averred that no participant's speech can "exist or be analysed on its own" given that there is always a "give and take relationship among the participants" in a conversation. Moreover, on an interactional basis, Auer (1984) posits a sequential analysis of code-switching which, as suggested, has a 'global function' which, in turn, is dependent on a 'local function'. While the global function tends to be theoretical, the local function, however, is strongly related to observations based on the conversational context.

5. Code-switching Observed from a Conversation Analytical Standpoint

One of the major sources of confusion when dealing with code-switching is how it relates to codemixing. In this regard, Milroy and Muysken (1995) show that code-switching is subject to further

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questioning by averring that "the effort to settle the confusing situation that is prevailingin describing the phenomenon of [code-switching] by standardising the terminology was provento be an unfeasible task." Therefore, it would be important to answer the following question in the course of the present study: does code-switching merge with codemixing, thus making it possible to use both terms interchangeably, or else, are they two distinct concepts?

Essentially, code-switching and code-mixing are designed to refer to two different phenomena. Besides, Auer (1999) does not refute such a view in positing that code-switching refers to "thosecases in which the juxtaposition of two languages is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants" whereas code-mixing is used "for those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful not in a local butonly in a more global sense" However, it should be noted that the distance that separates the two concepts is not significant enough. Indeed, code-switching has been used by scholars as an umbrella term (e.g. Gumperz, 1982 & Myers-Scotton, 2006) to refer to various instances of language contact, including code-mixing. In other words, when the term 'code-switching' is used, it may also take into account code-mixing. But taken alone, what is code-switching?

It is important to note that code-switching is fundamentally a phenomenon that is proper to bilingual or multilingual communities. Therefore, few or none of the definitions suggested by scholars can escape the bilingual or multilingual scope. Likewise, Gumperz (1982) posits that code-switching is 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.' Cook (2001) equally advocates the systematic nature of code-switching in bilingual communities by suggesting that it "takes place when the speaker uses two languages simultaneously". Moreover, Myers-Scotton (2006), asserts that code-switching occurs when "elements of two or more language varieties are found in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morpho-syntactic frame forthe clause."

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Now, based on what has been mentioned about code-switching so far in this paper, it is fair to argue that the phenomenon which was observed in Bamako is an instance of code-switching. The reason is that the conversational phenomenon under study in this paper has already been referred to as a "mixture of languages" and likewise, Gumperz (1982) appears to have the same viewpoint by stating that "code-switching is an exchange of speech between two languages, which form one single way to communicate". This assertion seems to be coherent in the sensethat the language spoken by most youngsters in Bamako is neither exclusively Bambara nor exclusively French. Instead, it is a combination of both languages in terms of grammatical structure as well as lexical choice. Still, for more understanding of the concept of Code- switching, it is crucial to see what different types of Codeswitching exist.

5. 1. Types of Code-switching

To specify the different types of code-switching, one needs to look at the phenomena from two distinct angles: the first is grammatical and the second, sociolinguistic (Van Dulm, 2007). From the grammatical perspective, three types of code switches can be identified: intrasentential, intersentential, and extrasentential code-switching (Hoffman, 1991; Poplack, 2000). As reportedby Hoffman (1991), each of the three types can be described as follows:

- Intrasentential switching refers to switches that occur within sentences. In other words, thistype of shift occurs at the clausal, phrasal, or lexical level within a single sentence. It has been established that intrasentential code-switching is marked with no interruptions or hesitations in the transition from language A to language B, and vice-versa.

- Intersentential switching occurs between sentences. That is, in this type of code-switching, the transition from language A to language B is performed outside the sentential or clausallevel. Also, intersentential code-switching is said to occur most frequently in fluent bilinguals' utterances.

- Extrasentential switching occurs when a bilingual attaches a single

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word or a tag elementsuch as "right?", "you know!", or "okay?" from one language to an utterance in another language.

From the sociolinguistic perspective, Van Dulm (2007) reports that two types of code-switching can be distinguished: metaphorical and situational code-switching. The researcher defines metaphorical code-switching as the process in which a bilingual speaker changes codes because of a change in what the interaction is about. Situational code-switching, Van Dulm (2007) points out, is the process in which a bilingual person often switches from one code to another depending on whom that person is talking to.

In the present paper, only two types of code-switching will be investigated, notablyIntrasentential and Extrasentential Code-switching.

5. 2. Functions of Code-switching

Several functions have been attributed to code-switching so far in the literature. However, for thesake of conciseness and coherence in this paper, only prominent functions will be covered.

Besides, it also turns out that most of those functions contribute to finding out how—or sometimes why—the participants selected for this study switch codes. Thus, as Gumperz (1982)and Mabule (2015) point out, code-switching serves the following functions:

- Express what others have said through quotations;
- Serve as a sentence-filler by expressing emotions through interjections;
- Emphasise or confirm an idea through reiteration;
- Find alternatives to lack of appropriate terminology;
- Enable communication between different cultures and language groups;
- Explain yourself in another language for terminology suitability;
- Affirm one's identity or social status.

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6. Methodology

This study aims to investigate the linguistic/conversational practices of young bilingual speakers in Bamako, Mali, to be able to verify the existence of intrasentential and extrasentential code- switching in their interactions. It is believed that Malians in general, and the young urban community of Bamako in particular, are bilingual and that code-switching is a conversational practice that is significantly identifiable in their language practices, especially when those youngsters are engaged in conversations. For this reason, this study relies on a conversation analytical model of research, which means that data are essentially collected using recordings of naturally occurring language. Besides, an important criterion was to make sure that all the recorded conversations involved only two participants, i.e., the conversations in this study are dialogues. These dialogues were recorded in youth clubs in Bamako but for the sake of conciseness, a selection of no more than two dialogues will be presented in this discussion.

Equally important, the study relies on a qualitative model of research— notably in terms of data collection and analysis. The reason for such a choice is that conversation analysis generally favours the analysis of data from a qualitative perspective. This means, otherwise, that even the shortest sequences of interaction can reveal a significant amount of information about conversational practices as long as they are properly analysed.

6. 6. 1. Participants

A total of ten (10) participants were willing to let their conversational practices be recorded and analysed for eventual instances of intrasentential and extrasentential code-switching. The recordings involve bilingual youngsters picked from five (5) different areas in Bamako, especially in youth clubs. The participants were young male and female individuals (8 boys and 2 girls) aged between 17 to 31. In other words, even though gender equality could not be fully achieved due to the male-inclined reality of youth clubs, the principle of heterogeneity was given special attention. It is also important to stress that while both

literate and illiterate youngsters were participants, surprisingly, they still alternated between Bambara and French.

7. 6. 2. Data Transcription

In the two transcripts below, the French words that speakers use in their utterances are underlined. Plus, provided that none of the two languages involved in the conversations is English (the languages involved are Bambara and French), each utterance is translated into English, and translations are found below each participant's utterance.

8. Transcript 1: Talking about the Malian Football

1. A: Tchè an ka ballon tan'na tchaman bé ka jouer championnat français la sissan dèè, n'est-
    ce pas?
    (Buddy, many of our football players are now playing in the Frenchchampionship,aren't they?)
2. B: Ouais tchè! Mais n'an sera ka entraîneur nianaman sôrô sissan pour que joueurs ninou
    ka évoluer niôgôn fè, ce serait très bien.
    (Yeah buddy! But if we could get a very good coach who can help the players tomoveforward as a team, that would be great.)
3. A: Mais entraîneur ni'n kagni oh, ou bien?
    (But we already have a good coach, don't we?)
4. B: I ba dôn quoi han? Entraîneur ka problème yé mi'n yé wa? Môgô tchaman ta kalama
    mais tension dôw bé équipe kônô. Mais môgôw nièna, ou ba kè comme si tout va bien.
    (Do you know what kind of problems the current coach has? Not many people are awarebut there are tensions in the team. But in public, they make out that everything is alright.)
5. A: Alors que…fin dô béy.
    (Whereas…there is something wrong.)
6. B: Voilà! Entraîneur ni'n téka séka môgôw rassembler, tu sais…
    (Exactly! The coach finds it hard to unite his players, you Know…)
7. A: Et puis, i ba don wa? Attaquant de t'an bolo.

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(Plus, you know what? We have no (good) striker.)

8. B: <u>Bon</u>…Marega…<u>à vrai dire</u>, koungolo té Marega la.
    (Well…Marega…to tell the truth, Marega is not clever.)

9. A: <u>Sérieux</u>, né yé ni'n kouma ni'n fô. <u>En fait</u>, <u>attaquant</u> niouman b'an bolo <u>mais ce n'est</u>
    <u>certainement pas</u> Marega.
    (Seriously, I said this before. Actually, we do have good strikers, but Marega isdefinitely not one.)

10. B: <u>Bon</u>…a ladjè: <u>contre la Côte d'Ivoire</u>, a yé <u>changements bizarres</u> dôw kè…
    (Yeah…look: in the game against Côte d'Ivoire, he made odd substitutions…)

11. A: <u>C'est vrai: le fait</u> ka Diaby <u>remplacer</u>…
    (That's true! The fact that he substituted another player for Diaby...)

12. B: <u>Le fait</u> ka Diaby <u>remplacer</u>! A lé toun makan ka'o kè. Kabi ni o kèra, <u>ivoirien</u> ninou yé
    <u>jeu</u> koura <u>adopté</u>.
    (The fact that he substituted another player for Diaby! He should have done that.Sincehe did, the Ivorian players had adopted a new playing style.)

13. A: <u>Mais l'autre là</u>…eeeeh…Sékou Koita…n'ou y'ou hakili to Sékou Koita la, a bé kè
    <u>grand joueur</u> yé <u>un jour</u>, <u>ou bien</u>?
    (But the other guy…emmm…Sékou Koita…if they keep an eye on Sékou Koita,he willcertainly become a great player one day, right?)

14. B: I y'a ta n'da! Wallah (Arabic) <u>talent</u> 'ba dé b'a la! <u>Mais encore une fois</u>, f'an ka
    <u>entraîneur</u> dé sôrô.
    (You said it! What a skilful player he is! But once again, we just need a goodcoach.)

15. A: …<u>local</u> wa <u>étranger</u>?
    (…a local or foreign coach?)

16. B: A kèra <u>local</u> yé oh a kèra <u>étranger</u> yé oh, ne yèrè…hali ni ou ta'ara <u>africain</u> wèrè dé
    nôfè, <u>mais</u> gnouman dô <u>quoi</u>. <u>Mais</u> toubabou tè dèè, <u>parce que</u> an té sé ka olou sara.

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(Whether a local or foreign coach, personally…even if they have to go get another African coach…a good one. But certainly not a white coach, we can't give them themoney they ask for.)

17. A: [Laugh] Tugna la, ika kouma ni'n, <u>c'est intéressant</u>.
(What you are saying is very interesting.)

9. Transcripts 2: Starting a Bakery Business

1. A: <u>Frangin</u> aw yé wari gnini kana djona an ka <u>boulangerie</u> dayèlè.
(Brother, get rich soon so that we can start our own bakery business.)

2. B: <u>N'est-ce pas</u>?
(Oh really?)

3. A: [Laugh] Je t'assure. (Seriously)

4. B: Donc, wari ba la, ou bien? (So, it is lucrative, isn't it?)

5. A: <u>Jetons</u> ba dé ba la. An bé ka <u>financement</u> dé gnini.

(It is very lucrative. We are just looking for funding.)

6. B: <u>Waouh</u>! <u>Donc</u> o kôrô I yèrè yé <u>experience</u> ba sôrô a la sissan, <u>n'est-ce pas</u>?

(Wow! That means you have got much experience in it now, haven't you?)

7. A: <u>Je te le dis</u>! <u>Mais</u> wari ko de ma <u>gérer</u> fôlô.

(I am telling you! But I haven't found the required funds yet.)

8. B: <u>Mais</u> <u>affaire</u> ni'n, ni'i bé fè ka'a dayèlè…<u>parce</u> <u>que</u> né délila ka n'renseigné a ko la

oh…Moussa ka <u>machine</u> ninou, <u>c'est cher hein</u>, aka tchan ni <u>cinquante millions</u>

yé, <u>mais machine</u> koura kouraw dé do.

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(But that business, when you want to start it…because I once sought information…Moussa's machines are too expensive, they cost more than fifty million(XOF), but they are brand new ones.)

9. A: Awo <u>mais</u>…ni bé fè ka'a <u>débuter</u>, olou bey oh, <u>tu sais</u>…

(Yes, but…there are affordable means to start, you know…)

10. B: anhan?

(Oh really?)

11. A: <u>Ouais</u>! Né bé dô dôn o y'a ka <u>four</u> san <u>à peu près six millions</u> ninou na, a <u>four</u> bé

<u>quatre-vingt baguettes</u> dé kè <u>par tour</u>.

(Yeah! I know someone who bought his oven at about six million XOF, the ovenbakes eighty loaves of bread at a time.)

12. B: <u>Donc four</u>…<u>déjà utilisé mais</u> a bé <u>état</u> la?

(So the oven…already used but still in good shape?)

13. A: A bé <u>état</u> nianaman ba dé la. <u>Donc</u> a bê faralén niôgon kan <u>pour que</u> ika <u>boulangerie</u>

dayèlè a té tèmè <u>huit à neuf millions</u> ninou kan.

(It's in very good shape. So, you don't need more than eight to nine million XOFoverall to start your own bakery business.)

14. B: Tchè! Vraiment djo projet ni'n kagni!

(Wow! That's definitely a good project, buddy!)

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10. 7. Results

Alternating between languages, i.e., switching codes, may often be perceived as a means to remedy the lack of terminology in one or both languages involved when code-switching occurs. However, the observation is that there exists a corresponding Bambara terminology for all the French words that have been identified in the conversations above. Therefore, it could be deduced that code-switching often results from unbalanced levels of proficiency in the languagesused by bilingual or multilingual speakers. Otherwise, it would be interesting to know why the phenomenon occurs provided that speakers do not "always" see code-switching as a way to find lexical alternatives to their lack of vocabulary they may eventually display while expressing theirthoughts.

Furthermore, dealing with the two transcripts in general, another observation is that there are more Bambara words than there are French words. This shows that speakers are aware of the fact that, as they are interacting, the underlying channel of communication that has been agreed uponis Bambara. As a result, they subconsciously try not to get away from this linguistic scope offered by Bambara even though, as the transcripts demonstrate, they do not always succeed in doing so. Also, the high prevalence of Bambara in the interactions, as opposed to French, justifies the choice in this paper to emphasize code-switching more from the perspective of speakers of Bambara rather than those of French. However, although French words are not as many as Bambara words in the two transcripts, the significant frequency of instances in which speakers switch to the French language can also create confusion as to which language was used initially. Now, individual analysis of each transcript may provide further information on the types of switches inherent to the present context and what each case implies.

11. 7. 1. Interpretation of Transcript 1

Transcript 1 involves a naturally-occurring dialogue on a casual occasion about the topic of football in Mali. Both informants are literate bilingual

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speakers from Bamako and this dialogue was recorded as they were having one of their daily talks in a neighbourhood of the capital.

Despite their literacy and the fact that they both speak French, Bambara is generally the language they use for non-formal conversations.

The fact that speakers use French words—even though the majority of the conversation is carried out in Bambara—implies that there is a tendency to display their literacy and, by extension, their social status as compared since speaking French may be perceived as a mark of prestige, depending on the context. In fact, many Malians hold the belief that speaking French in a society dominated by a Lingua Franca which is Bambara is an indicator of their noticeable educational background and prestigious social status. Yet, such a claim needs to be verified even though it is often cited as one of the reasons why bilingual speakers switch codes.

After close observation of transcript 1 from a grammatical perspective, it appears that intersentential code-switching, one that occurs between full sentences or clauses, has less significant distribution in the transcripts than the other two. For this reason, it is fair to suggest that the most prominent types of code-switching in the interactions under study occur at the intrasentential and extrasentential levels.

12. 7. 1. 1. Intrasentential Code-switching in Transcript 1

As far as this type of switch is concerned, analysis reveals that it is the most common type that occurs in transcript 1. Intrasentential Code-switching is involved with switches within a single utterance from one language to another. Thus, even though it can be identified in almost all utterances of transcript 1, utterances 2. B, 4. B, 9. A, 13. A, and 14. B are the most prolific in terms of pieces of evidence. This is because they contain uninterrupted chains of French words inserted into the Bambara pattern.

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13. 7. 1. 2. Extrasentential Code-switching in Transcript 1

Concerning extrasentential code-switching, it is also clearly identifiable in the utterances of transcript 1. Extrasentential code-switching is a type that is concerned with the insertion of words or phrases from another language into a monolingual discourse in the initial language. Those words and phrases are tag elements that occur at the end of a sentence. In Transcript 1, sentences 1.A, 3.A, 6.B, and 13.A include cases of extrasentential code-switching. It should benoted that the speakers opt for these French expressions although their equivalents exist in Bambara.

14. 7. 2. Interpretation of Transcript 2

Just like the previous transcript, transcript 2 also involves a naturally occurring conversation between two speakers. However, the setting, in this case, is different to some extent. Even though the conversation was recorded among young bilinguals in a youth club, a speaker was indeed attempting to convince another speaker to perform a collective action: starting together abakery business. Thus, the fact that the speaker who held the project was also using French to switch codes could also be subject to different interpretations. For example, it could mean that the speaker was trying to upgrade his/her image and take advantage of the prestige of French to convince the other speaker more easily. Surprisingly, this communicational technique may be efficient in the sense that it can allow speakers to display control over the issues or topics beingdiscussed and, therefore, convince their interlocutors more easily.

Still ranging from the grammatical perspective, an examination of transcript 2 further confirms the findings of Transcript 1, especially in terms of the prevalence of intrasentential and extrasentential instances of code-switching. Indeed, it has been observed that none of the utterances was formulated exclusively in one language, hence giving significance to the claim inthis paper that intersentential code-switching occurs less often than the other types of code- switching in the conversation of youngsters in Bamako.

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15. 7. 2. 1. Intrasentential Code-switching in Transcript 2

In the second transcript, illustrations of intrasentential code-switching are found, again, in all theutterances produced. However, evidence abounds in sentence 6. B, 7. A, 8. B, 11. A, 12. B, and

13. A. These utterances show that intrasentential code-switching holds an important place inmost instances of language alternation identified among young bilinguals in Bamako.

16. 7. 2. 2. Extrasentential Code-switching in Transcript 2

As for extrasentential code-switching, evidence of its occurrence is found in sentence 4. B, 6. B,

9. A. This implies that extrasentential code-switching is not as frequent as intrasentential code-switching but knowing that question tags, in general, cannot be described as common linguistic elements, their distribution in this transcript is already significant.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

The present study has permitted to uncovered certain facts concerning code-switching as a common phenomenon among bilingual speakers of youth clubs in Bamako. One of those results is that the paper has permitted to verify and confirm the fact that intrasentential and extrasentential code-switching do occur in the daily conversations between young bilingual speakers in Bamako. Also important, this discussion has shown that Malians, especially the inhabitants of Bamako, are mostly bilingual and that a claim regarding the opposite would hardly be receivable. Besides, it has been shown that as long as most of the inhabitants of Bamako are bilingual, the phenomenon of code-switching will regularly be identified in their daily interactions. For this reason, after recording several naturally occurring interactions in some youth clubs in Bamako, two transcripts were analysed and interpreted in this discussion. While those analyses were mostly directed to the nature, dynamics, and types of code-switching identified in the transcripts, the reasons why

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young bilingual speakers in Bamako switch codes, or the identified functions of code-switching, have been left for the conclusion. Therefore, based on the analysed transcripts, the following observations may be relevant to the case under study:

- Code-switching mostly occurs as a remedy for lack of appropriate terminology; speakers,therefore, look out for resources in the alternative language ;

- Code-switching also appears to be a way for speakers to display their linguistic competence in the alternative language and, sometimes, to put up their social status ;

- Speakers switch codes to enable communication between different language groups (e.g.in Transcript 2, code-switching was mostly used to adapt languages and convince) ;

- Speakers may explain themselves in another language for terminology suitability basedon the context of the interaction ;

- Speakers have initially elaborated their interaction in Bambara but seem to have a preference for French words as the only fact of switching codes shows this preference ;

- Code-switching remains for bilingual speakers of Bamako a significant means to useinterjections and other sentence-fillers by expressing emotions ;

- Code-switching occurs rather frequently but this frequency is mostly internal, i.e. withinsentences.

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