

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CODE-SWITCHING AND
CODE-MIXING OF SONGHAY SPEAKERS OF FRENCH**



**A Thesis in the Department of APPLIED LINGUISTICS, Faculty of
LANGUAGES EDUCATION submitted to the School of Graduate Studies,
University of Education, Winneba in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics**

2013

DECLARATION

CANDIDATE’S DECLARATION

I, IBRAHIMA ABDOULAYE, declare that this Thesis, with the exceptions of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

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PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR’S DECLARATION

I, PROF. K. E. YANKSON hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

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CO-SUPERVISOR’S DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to:

- My late father Abdoulaye dit Badou Ahmadou Askobinna and
- My mother Fadimata dite Bintaré Ilaty Sangho.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENT	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
ABSTRACT	xiv
CHAPTER ONE:	
General Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	2
1.3 Objectives of the study	4
1.4 Research questions	4
1.5 Significance of the study	5
1.6 Limitations and Delimitations	5
1.7 Organisation of the study	6
1.8 Overview on Languages in Contact in the Malian Linguistic Landscape	7
1.9 The status of French language in Mali	9
CHAPTER TWO: CODES-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING IN AFRICA	
2.0 Introduction	13

2.1	Definitions of basic terms	15
2.1.1	Code-switching / code-mixing	15
2.1.2	Types of switches	18
2.2	The situation of languages in Africa	19
2.3	Previous works on code-switching and code-mixing in French speaking Africa	23
2.3.1	The code-switching phenomenon in Cameroon	23
2.3.2	The impact of French language in French former colonies	26
2.3.2.1	The impact of French language in Cote d'Ivoire	26
2.3.2.2	The impact of French language in Congo	28
2.3.3	French-English interference phenomena	29
2.4	Theoretical Framework	31
2.4.1	Examples of the linguistic constraints on code-switching	32
2.4.2	Theories and models on code-switching phenomenon	34
2.4.3	The alternation model and insertion model	37
2.4.4	Optimality Theory (OT) and intra-sentential code-switching	40
 CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY		
3.0	Introduction	41
3.1	The design of the study	41
3.2	Population	42
3.3	The sample size	43
3.4	Sampling techniques	44
3.5	The participants and respondents	45
3.6	Coding and transcription convention	46

3.7	Data collection methods	48
3.7.1	Participant observation	48
3.7.2	Conversational interview	49
3.7.3	Questionnaire	50
3.8	Data collection procedure	50
3.9	Data analysis methods	52
3.10	Validation and Reliability of the Instruments	54

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.0	Introduction	56
4.1	Introduction to the Oral Corpus	58
4.2	Classification of instances of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French	75
4.2.1	Instances of inter-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	79
4.2.1.1	Instances of inter-sentential switching at sentences level	79
4.2.1.2	Instances of inter-sentential switching at clause level	83
4.2.2	Instances of intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	87
4.2.2.1	Verbs found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	88
4.2.2.2	Nouns found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	96
4.2.2.3	Adjectives found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	101
4.2.2.4	Adverbs found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	103
4.2.2.5	Conjunctions found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	106

4.2.2.6 Exclamations found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	109
4.3 French integrated words in Songhay Language found in our Data	109
4.4 Reverse Direction of intra-sentential French–Songhay code-switching	113
4.5 The use of code-switching and code-mixing does not affect the morphosyntactic structure of the Songhay language as far as the constraints on code-switching and code-mixing theories are concerned	116
4.6 Phonological processes in the intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French	121
4.6.1 Phonological process of assimilation	121
4.6.1.1 Songhay inflectional affix “-o” merging with French "e muet" ("mute e") before /l/, /r /k/, /g/	122
4.6.1.2 Songhay inflectional affix “-o” merging with French nasals /ã/, /ẽ/, /õ/ or /œ/	124
4.6.1.3 Phonological process of vowel-consonant harmony	125
4.6.2 Other categories of inserted words involving any case of assimilation	127
4.6.3 Phonological process of insertion	130
4.7 Sociolinguistic Dimension of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French	131
4.7.1. The use code-switching and code-mixing by Songhay speakers of French	132
4.7.2 The factors that motivate Songhay speakers of French to use code-switching and code-mixing	139
4.7.3 An increasing number of young Songhay speakers of French can be a source of danger for the Songhay language	141
4.7.4 The implications of the contact between Songhay and French language	143
4.7.4.1. The impact of French on the Songhay language	143

47.4.2 The impact of French language on Songhay speakers	144
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CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary	146
5.2 Code-switching of Songhay speakers of French as a cultural identity (impact on the speakers.)	156
5.3 The effect of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French is inimical to the Songhay language	156
5.4 Recommendations	157
References	161
Books consulted	161
Sitography	169
Dictionaries consulted	173
Appendices	174
Appendix A: Questionnaire	174
Appendix B: Interview Questions	176
Appendix C: Bio-data of participants	177
Appendix D: Oral Corpus	184
Appendix E: Transcription Symbols	300

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Grin Bamako.....	62
<i>Table 2: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Grin 2 Bamako.....</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Table 3: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Grin 3 Bamako.....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Table 4: Total Results of the Classification of Language Levels of Participants per Grin in Bamako.....</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>Table 5: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Gao.....</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>Table 6: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Timbuktu.....</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Table 7: Final Results of the Classification of Language Levels of Participants per city.....</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>Table 8: Bio-data of Participants in Grin 1 Bamako.....</i>	<i>177</i>
<i>Table 9: Bio-data of Participants in Grin 2 Bamako.....</i>	<i>178</i>
<i>Table 10: Bio-data of Participants in Grin 3 Bamako.....</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Table 11: Total Results of the Bio-data of Participants per Grin in Bamako.....</i>	<i>180</i>
<i>Table 12: Bio-data of Participants in Gao.....</i>	<i>181</i>
<i>Table 13: Bio-data of Participants in Timbuktu.....</i>	<i>182</i>
Table 14: Total Results of the Bio-data of Participants per city.....	183
Table 15: Symbols used in the Transcription of the Oral Corpus	300
Table 16: The Alphabet of the Songhay Language.....	301

List of abbreviations

C.CF.....	Centre Culturel Français
CM.....	Code-Mixing
CS.....	Code-Switching
D.E.F	Diplôme d’Etudes Fondamentales
D.E.R	Département d’Etudes et de Recherche
E.N.A	Ecole Nationale d’Administration
F.A.S.T.....	Faculté des Sciences et Technologies
F.L.A.S.H.	Faculté des Lettres, Arts et Sciences Humaines
I.F.M.....	Institut de Formation des Maitres (Teacher Training School)
MLFL.....	Matrix Language Frame Model
O.I.F.....	Organisation International de la Francophonie
O.R.T.M.....	Office de Radio et Télévision du Mali
O.T.....	Optimality Theory
R.F.I	Radio France Internationale
U.N.E.S.C.O.....	United Nations Education Sciences and Culture Organisation

List of figures

Figure 1.....	75
Figure 2.....	77
Figure 3.....	78
Figure 4.....	113



ABSTRACT

The present thesis entitled “The Nature and Extent of Code-switching and Code-mixing of Songhay Speakers of French” is a research work on language contact phenomena of code-alternation by Songhay speakers of French. The study aims at analysing the switches by classifying and categorising them according to the existing models on CS and CM constraints. It also aims at analysing the context that conditions this language practice. To achieve these goals, the study comprises five chapters and an oral corpus of the recorded conversations of the participants. The population of the study is all Songhay speakers of French. 90 participants are selected out of five groups called “grins” in Bamako, Gao and Timbuktu. Three instruments are used in the study: participant observation, a questionnaire for their bio-data of the participants, and a conversational interview to get ideas and opinions of six selected respondents. The study has confirmed the ‘equivalence of structure constraint’ of Poplack (1980) stating that, in the inter-sentential switching where sentences or clauses are juxtaposed, there is no violation of the grammar of the two languages involved in code-switching. In the intra-sentential switching where French words are inserted in a Songhay-based code, the inserted words are not transformed but sometimes take the Songhay inflectional affixes to adapt the Songhay grammar system. This confirms the ‘Matrix Language Frame Model’ of Myers-Scotton (1993a, b). The intra-sentential type of switching has been revealed more frequently used than the inter-sentential one with 82% of speeches, confirming Poplack’s (1980, 1981) ‘size of constituent constraint’. The most striking finding is the frequent use of the past participle of the verbal forms of switches. The study has also revealed phonological processes of assimilation, insertion and vowel-consonant harmony in the intra-sentential type of switching of participants of the Gao dialect of Songhay. The study has demonstrated that this linguistic practice does not endanger the native language, but ‘denatures’ it by a massive invasion of foreign words.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about the general introduction to the study we propose to carry out on the phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French. It aims at describing the general objectives of the study and determines the problem, the objectives, the research questions, and the significance of the study. It also points out the linguistic landscape of Mali and the status of French in Mali.

1.1. Background of the study

Mali is a multilingual country with French as the official language and, according to Skattum (2009c), approximately 20 languages among which thirteen have received the status of national languages: Bamanakan (or Bambara), Bomu, Bozo, Dogon, Fulfulde, Hassaniyya, Malinke, Mamara, Songhay, Soninke, Syenara, Kel-Tamachek and Xassonke. The diglossic relationship between the ex-colonial European languages and the local languages in Africa leads to many phenomena of language change and variation. These phenomena are characterized by a transfer of phonological, lexical, syntactic and semantic patterns of the local languages into these European languages. And in return, the local languages receive and adapt new terms from the European languages that express concepts or ideas the native speakers do not have in their language.

From this point of view, Annamali (1989) noted that “in many situations of languages in contact, constituents of one language can be found with the constituents of another language in a number of linguistic phenomena, namely lexical borrowing, transferring, interference, calquing, diffusion, relexification, code-switching and code-mixing, etc” (Ennamalai 1989:48). Indeed, the present research work, “The Nature and Extent of Code-Switching and Code-Mixing of Songhay Speakers of French”, will be concerned with the linguistic contact phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing which is the use of two different languages in the same speech, as one of the impacts of French language on French speaking Africa.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Phenomena of bilingualism and multilingualism are omnipresent everywhere in all African linguistic communities. In Mali, the sociolinguistic situation at the individual level shows that French language is in keen competition with not only Bamanakan which is the main common language, but Songhay, for instance, which is the second lingua franca in the north of the country. So, in this sense, discontinuity between French and some African languages claimed by Lyche & Skattum (2010) is arguable, considering the fact that language contact is omnipresent. As a result, we can observe phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing among students and other bilingual speakers of French all over the country who alternate or mix elements of French language together with their mother tongue in conversations as the following between two students:

- Est-ce que **ni koy** école **hô**? (Have you been to school today?)
- Non, mais **ay mom subaaho ka** étudiants**diyo** grèvé. (No, but I was told this morning that students went on strike). The bold words are Songhay and the rest is French.

Listening to such a conversation, the striking question any observer may ask is to know exactly what kind of language are these speakers using. So, it will be interesting to investigate this kind of language to see if the structures being switched or mixed conform to the existing theories and constraints on Code-switching and Code-mixing. It will also be interesting to see what could account for this language practice.

Little literature, if any, exists on Songhay-French code-switching. Most of what we have found are either related to other linguistic subfields or do not specifically involve our problem, such as Lyche & Skattum (2010), a survey on the identification of native speakers' accents which came to the conclusion that the so-called "Français du Mali" (Malian French) is nothing but a plurality of languages in which linguistic structures of L1 play the central role.

However, the phenomenon of code-switching between French and other African languages has been studied by many researchers whose methods and findings interest our present study, such as Feral (2004) on Camfranglais in Cameroon, Redouane (2005) on switching constraints of bilingual Moroccan Arabic-French speakers residing in Canada, and many others, as will be seen further.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The major purpose of this study is to examine the impact of code-switching and code-mixing on Songhay speakers of French. Specifically, the study seeks to:

- determine the extent to which Songhay users of French switch and mix elements of Songhay and French language.
- analyse the forms of switching and mixing elements in the linguistic contact between these two languages.
- categorize the switched and mixed elements.
- determine the extent to which this contact situation affects the morphosyntactic structures of the Songhay language.
- determine the factors that condition the context of this language practice.
- determine the implications of this linguistic contact between Songhay and French language.

1.4. Research questions

The following research questions are used to guide the study:

- To what extent do Songhay speakers of French use code-switching and code-mixing?
- How far will this language practice affect the morphosyntactic structure of the Songhay language as far as the constraints on code-switching and code-mixing theories are concerned?
- What are the factors that condition the context of this language practice?

- How far will this language practice of more and more young Songhay speakers of French constitute a source of danger for the Songhay language?
- What are the implications of the contact between Songhay and French language?

1.5. Significance of the study

This study is significant because it will highlight the effects of contact between Songhay and French language, the extent to which code-switching and code-mixing between French and Songhay language influence on these bilingual people's performance, the extent to which this linguistic contact phenomenon could deteriorate or ameliorate the Songhay language. The findings will contribute to the solutions of the national language policy and influence the political decisions about language policy in the sub-region. It will also help contribute to knowledge in the field of study of sociolinguistics in general and contact linguistics in particular.

1.6. Limitations and Delimitations

The major limitation of the study is to get fresh and spontaneous data from Songhay speakers of French living in Bamako, Gao and Timbuktu. This could not be possible without some hindrances and difficulties. Since we met participants in an informal setting, some of them did not feel comfortable with the presence of the tape-recorder and the researcher who is not familiar to them, and therefore did not provide spontaneous and valuable data at the beginning. To go around this, after the first visits in the sites, we asked one of the participants to do the recording of the conversations so that the others could not notice the presence of the tape-recorder. Another limitation is that the selected respondents for the interview were officials of civil

service working to a very tight schedule. We proceeded by informing them ahead of time and this strategy helped to undertake the interviews and the discussions successfully.

In terms of delimitation, the study attempts to describe and interpret the nature and extent of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French focusing on the structures being switched or mixed, the situation and the impact of this language practice on the native language and the native speakers. At the phonological level, the study attempts to describe and analyse phonological processes assimilation and insertion of the switched forms.

1.7.Organisation of the study

The study is presented in five chapters and an oral corpus which presents the transcription and translation into English of 18 thematical conversations of the selected participants. The first chapter is about the general introduction of the study. This chapter gives the background to the study, points out the problem to investigate and determines the purpose and the main objectives of the study. Then, it traces the procedural paths to attain them. Chapter two is concerned with the related literature on code-switching and code-mixing phenomena in French speaking Africa. It also determines the theoretical framework that will guide the study. Chapter three describes the research methods, the participants involved in the study, the research tools used to collect the data, and the procedure of data collection. In chapter four the findings are classified, categorised and then analysed using statistical techniques and deductive reasoning to draw conclusions regarding the stated research questions and research hypotheses. The last chapter is the conclusion of the thesis which sums up the whole

study, emphasizes the sociolinguistic situation in Mali and draws attention on the impact of French language on native speakers and the native language. It also proposes some recommendations on the issue which, if applied, can be helpful as a remedy to the invasion of the native languages by alien words.

1.8. Overview on Languages in Contact in the Malian Linguistic

Landscape

Two linguistic zones are observed in the linguistic landscape of Mali. The first zone covers the south-west and central regions (Kayes, Koulikoro, Bamako, Sikasso, and Segou) where the majority of the population of the country lives. The second zone covers the north-east and some parts of the central regions of the country (Mopti, Tombouctou and Gao). Incidentally, two languages serve as Lingua Franca in Mali, Bamanakan in the densely populated south-western and central regions, and the Songhay language in the north-eastern regions.

Researchers such as Saussure (1916) or Calvet (1999) affirmed that geographical, urban, religious, military or political reasons are the factors that empower a given language. This regional domination of Bamanakan and Songhay is rooted in the reigns of the Mali Empire called ‘Mande’ or ‘Manding’ Empire (XIII-XIV centuries) and the successive Bambara kingdoms of the XVII and XVIII centuries on the one hand, and on the other hand the Songhay Empire called ‘Sudan’ by the Arab traders, or ‘Al-Bilal Sudan’, “the country of the black people” (XV-XVI centuries). The country continued

to be called ‘Sudan’ by the French colonisers until September, 22, 1960 when the new authorities decided to name the independent country the Republic of Mali. According to Maiga (1998:160) “Bamankan predominates in most of the regions of the country except in the northern regions where recently a gradual influence of Bamanakan is being noticed.”

Besides these two linguistic zones, we think, another zone in the north of the country exists, the widest and sparsely populated zone (the northern parts of Tombouctou and Gao, and the region of Kidal) where Arab-Hassanya, Kel-Tamasheq and northern Songhay languages are spoken by nomad people. But in this zone, none of these languages serve as inter-ethnic medium of communication. Moreover, these nomad people do most of their exchanges with their southern neighbours, and most of them speak or understand either French or Songhay language, or both.

Songhay language, Arab-Hassanya, Bamanakan, Bomu, Bozo, Dogon, Fulani, Khasonke, Maninkakan, Senufo-Miniaka, Soninke and Kel-Tamasheq have been recognised by Malian authorities as national languages according to the Constitution decree n° 159 PG-RM (Republic of Mali). The 25th 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 only medium of instruction in the schools and the administration. It is used in, political settings, official discourse, parliamentary debate and meetings.

Although French language fulfils the function of official communication, it cannot be considered as the nationwide lingua franca in Mali, because a small number of the

population use it. Unlike the linguistic situation in Cote d'Ivoire, in Mali French is not the language of the street or that used in family communication. However, French remains an important part of the linguistic landscape of Mali characterised by a diversity of languages and their dialects. As a result, its impact is noticeable on these languages and their speakers in terms of code-switching and code-mixing.

1.9. The status of French language in Mali

Scholars such as Saussure (1916) and Calvet (1999) claimed that a given language is powerful because it belongs to those who have the most advanced civilisation, a political hegemony, or just it simply spreads by itself. Some of these factors confirm the power of French language in Mali and in Africa as a whole. during colonisation French language had been imposed on the colonised people as the main language of communication, and, therefore it had been used as a linguistic superstructure excluding the local languages which were judged incapable of transmitting arts and scientific concepts.

During colonisation French language had been imposed on the colonised people as the main language of communication, and, therefore it had been used as a linguistic superstructure excluding the local languages which were judged incapable of transmitting arts and scientific concepts.

Within the same context, Boutin (2002) cited in Aboa (2009) confirmed that, during that time, French language had played the role of civilizer, spreading the rationalist French civilisation to the indigenous populations of the colonies. The

following words also confirm the power of French in the role of civilizer spreading the rationalist French civilisation to the indigenous populations of the colonies:

« Pour transformer les peuples primitifs de nos colonies, pour les rendre le plus possible dévoués à notre cause et utiles à nos entreprises, nous n'avons à notre disposition qu'un nombre limité de moyens, et le moyen le plus sûr, c'est de prendre l'indigène dès l'enfance, d'obtenir qu'il nous fréquente assidûment et qu'il subisse nos habitudes intellectuelles et morales pendant plusieurs années de suite : en un mot de lui ouvrir des écoles où son esprit se forme à nos intentions. » (Boutin, 2002:29 cited in Aboa 2009)

(To transform the primitive people of our colonies, to make them more and more devoted to our case and useful for our business, we have a limited number of means at our disposal, and the most reliable means is to handle the indigenous people from childhood, to make them familiar with us, and make them conform to our intellectual and moral habits continuously for many years, that is: to provide them with schools where their minds will be shaped to our intentions.) (The translation is mine)

Throughout long periods of colonization followed by a growing urbanization, the African society has been subject to many socio-cultural mutations. After independence, French still continued to be maintained and promoted in all the former French colonies. According to (Joubert 1992) cited in Aboa (2009), French language still continues to play a dominant role in all the former French colonies of sub Saharan Africa. Becoming one of the languages of Africa, it adapts new conditions and generates many variants of French because of many new words and divergent usages.

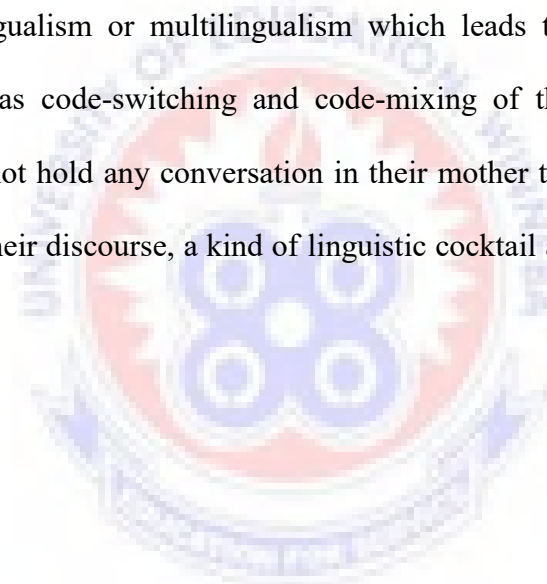
The linguistic phenomena that should come, if not yet in some countries, out of the French-African language contact vary from one country to another, depending on the socio-cultural realities of the countries. In the same vein, Lyche & Skattum (2010) have noted that there is discontinuity between French and local African languages in countries such as Centrafrique, Mali or Senegal where there is a majority language which serves as an interethnic means of communication, Sango in Centrafrique, Bamanakan in Mali and Wolof in Senegal. The authors said that there is continuity between French and local languages in countries like Cameroon, or Cote d'Ivoire where none of the local languages serves as interethnic Lingua Franca.

The reasons that caused the power of French language in Mali are numerous. French has been favoured and put at the highest linguistic position by declaring it in the Constitution as the only official language and the medium of government communication. It has also been the only medium of education since the colonial period. This domination of the French in the system of education from primary schools to university makes Malians learn the language and spread its influence over the local languages and their speakers. The mastery of French is the main criterion to get access to governmental or any other job. French is used as medium in the mass media. Although O.R.T.M (Office de Radio diffusion Television du Mali), the only government-controlled audio-visual medium of information, broadcasts some of its programmes in national languages, in the written press, all the newspapers are in French. So, to get information, Malians have to read in French. Moreover, most of the learned Malians listen to R.F.I (Radio France Internationale).

As such, the impact of French is noticeable through the mass media which brings listeners, hearers and readers into contact with the language. The French cultural

centres C.C.F (Centres Culturels Français) play a crucial role in keeping the French former colonies in perpetual contact with the culture and the language. O.I.F (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie), the International Organisation of the French-speaking countries also serves as a strategic propaganda of defending, maintaining and promoting French language.

All these factors contribute to reinforce the power of the French language on French speaking individuals and local languages. The implication of these factors is an unavoidable bilingualism or multilingualism which leads to many language contact phenomena such as code-switching and code-mixing of the educated elite and the students who cannot hold any conversation in their mother tongue without using some French words in their discourse, a kind of linguistic cocktail as Hudson (1980: 53) calls it.



CHAPTER TWO

CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING IN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction:

In ReVEL (Revista Virtual de Estudos da Linguagem), Vol. 5, n. 9, August 2007, William Labov, the acknowledged founder of Variationist Sociolinguistics affirmed that the future of Sociolinguistics as well as Variationist Sociolinguistics will depend on “whether studies of linguistic change and variation prove to be cumulative and positive route to answering the fundamental questions on the nature of language and the people who use it.” Labov added that he “entered Linguistics with a shift towards a more scientifically oriented field in mind, based on people’s everyday use of language; and, interviewing and recording people, he had found that their everyday speech involved a great deal of variation which the standard theory was not equipped to deal with.”

Then, Labov suggested in the same article some essential readings among the most important early studies in Sociolinguistics, such as the work of Peter Trudgill in Norwich, Walt Wolfram in Detroit, and his own study of New York City as well as the book “Sociolinguistics Patterns.” He also recommended the research works done in Brazil on change and variation of Anthony Naro, Marta Scherre, Sebastian Votre, Gregory Guy, Eugenia Duarte, and Fernando Tarallo, as well as the research on Spanish variables in the studies of Shana Poplack, Richard Cameron, and Carmen Silva-Corvalán. Labov recommended also the two volumes of his recent work (1994, 2001) and the journal Language Variation and Change in which most important papers appear.

As a matter of fact, we can consider these words of Labov as an overview on the genesis of language variation and at the same time the cornerstones of Variationist Sociolinguistics. And we believe in that these recommendations suggested by Labov about literature on language variation and change represent a recipe to be exploited in order to determine the theoretical basis of our study.

Indeed, we shall exploit in our study variationist models and approaches on code-switching as they relate to the way language varies and they accept the basic framework in sociolinguistic variation known as the linguistic variable, a model of analysing language variation developed by Labov, that has been largely popular and has been applied to a lot of speech communities all over the world.

In the same vein, Wolfram, (2006) notes that variability is everywhere in language, from the unique details in each production of a sound or sign to the auditory or visual processing of the linguistic signal. Indeed, he added that language variation is interested in the “differences that have some social significance in terms of group behaviour rather than personal idiosyncrasies, though socially meaningful aspects of individual speaker performance are of interest to those interested in language variation.”

Below, we will review literature about research works dealing with code-switching and code-mixing issues in four main sections. The first section of our review will consist of the definitions of some terms that will be used throughout the study. The second section will be about the situation of languages in Africa. The third section of our literature review will be related specifically to previous studies on code-switching and code-mixing between French language and some African languages on the one hand, and on the other hand, French and English language. Then, the fourth section will

be expressly focused on the theoretical framework of the study about code-switching and code-mixing models.

2.1. Definitions of Basic Terms

2.1.1. Code-switching/Code-mixing

Considering some basic language contact phenomena, terms like code-switching (hereafter CS) and code-mixing (hereafter CM) are not explicitly defined in the same ways by researchers. Many distinctive definitions of the two concepts have been proposed.

According to Naseh (1997), the earliest definition of code-switching dates back to Weinreich (1953), who defines bilingual people as “individuals who switch from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in speech situation”.

In recent literature, there has been some variation in defining this term in comparison to code-mixing. Muysken (2000:1) refers to code-switching as “the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event”, however, code-mixing refers to “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence”.

As for Bentahila et al. (1983:302) code-switching refers to “the use of two languages within a single conversation, exchange or utterance”.

According to Hudson (1980:53) “code-mixing represents the case when a fluent bilingual talking to another fluent bilingual changes language without any change at all in the situation”. He also calls it a kind of language cocktail.

Gumperz (1982:59) refers to the term as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”.

Trudgill (1992) states that “code-mixing is the process whereby speakers indulge in code-switching between languages of such rapidity and density, even within sentences and phrases, that it is not really possible to say at any given time which language they are speaking”.

Poplack (1993) cited in Muysken, (1994:157) defined code-switching as “the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optimally, phonological) rules of the languages of its provenance.” We note that this definition is in line with Gumperz’s (1982:59).

Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) define CS as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”.

As a matter of fact, these researchers use code-switching as a cover term under which different forms of bilingual behavior are subsumed. In the same vein, Myers-Scotton (1993b:1) also uses code-switching as a cover term and defines it as “alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation”.

According to Boztepe (2005), some researchers like Auer (1995) use the term code-alternation as a hyponym to replace CS, while others like Kachru (1983), Singh (1985), Sridhar & Sridhar (1980), however, reserve the term code-switching for inter-sentential switches only, and instead prefer to use code-mixing for intra-sentential switches. Boztepe (2005) said that other researchers like Muysken (2000) avoid using the term code-switching as a cover term because they believe that switching suggests alternation only, as in the case of switching between turns or utterances, but not necessarily insertion.

However, according to Boztepe (2005), Pfaff (1979 along with Poplack (1980) noted the distinction between code-switching and borrowing. Muysken (1994) noted that the definition which fits much of African materials of code-switching characterised by insertions is Myers-Scotton's (1993a:4) which states that "code-switching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation".

Aligning the subject matter of our study with these definitions, we adopt, as a working definition of code-switching and code-mixing the approach of Kachru (1983), Singh (1985), and Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) which refers to CS as inter-sentential switches and CM as intra-sentential switches.

This approach of CS and CM, we think, is the sum of Poplack's (1993) definition of CS as "the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optimally, phonological) rules of the languages of its provenance" and Myer-Scotton's (1993:4) definition of CS as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals forms from an

embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation”. As a result, both terms show a systematic combination of elements of two languages in the same speech act by people speaking more than one language in a conversation. In other words, to be closer to the African context of switching as stated Muysken (1994), we adopt this definition as an umbrella term to cover interchangeably the linguistic phenomena of both code-switching and code-mixing that will occur in the insertions or alternations of words or groups of words by Songhay speakers of French in verbal interactions.

2.1.2. Types of switches

Considering the types of switches, researchers distinguish:

Inter-sentential switching: is, according to Szlezák, (2007), the name given to the type of switching which occurs outside the sentence or the clause level (i.e. at sentence or clause boundaries). It is sometimes called "extrasentential" switching, as in the following example:

Puis quand on a commence parler de ça. SHE REMEMBER EVERYTHING. (Szlezák, 2007).

Intra-sentential switching: is, according to Szlezák, (2007), the name given to the type of switching which occurs within a sentence or a clause, as in the following example:

Ses parents c'est des docteurs et toute, mais i y a rien d.extravagant. sont beaucoup DOWN ON EARTH. (Szlezák, 2007).

2.2. The Situation of Languages in Africa

We begin this section with the paper of Kilanga (2005) in which he discussed the relationship between French and African languages. The author examined the reflection about the situation and the use of languages in Africa assuming that in Africa there are many ethnic groups and each ethnic group can have more than one dialect, a series of traditions and a range of institutions and usages. To point out the relation between language and culture, the author referred to the words of Ki-Zerbo (2003) who insisted on the important role of language in Africa in safeguarding its identity:

“Language is very important for identity. Will African languages perish during this century which has just begun? The slow suffocation of African languages would be dramatic; it would be the death of the African identity; for Africans cannot be satisfied with cultural elements from abroad.”

Indeed, these words, we think, really point out a serious worry for the survival of the African languages in the sense that the African youth is longing to imitate the western look at the expense of the African cultural identity. So, we agree that with this cultural enslavement, the Africans will lose their identity, too.

The author said that according to Grimes (1996) the African linguistic landscape presents 2035 languages. Kilanga (2005) affirmed that, besides recently introduced

languages in Africa such as Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, Afrikaans, Malagasy, the African languages are classified into four big phylums or super families:

- The Niger-Congo which regroups 1436 languages (including the Bantu family with 500 languages)
- The Afro-Asiatic family or Afrasian which regroups 371 languages
- The Nilo Saharan family regrouping 196 languages (including the Songhay language).
- The Khoisan family which regroups 35 languages.

The author assumed that according to the definition of languages and dialects, 1250 to 2100 languages are distinguished in Africa, representing one third of the total number of languages in the world. In the same vein, the paper describes, according to a UNESCO document about an intergovernmental meeting on language policies, the linguistic situation of some African countries with reference to the number of speakers and the number of languages used by these speakers:

About 105 million speakers use 410 languages in Nigeria.

30 million speakers use 206 languages in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

31 Ethiopia has 97 languages for a population of 45 million people.

In Cameroon, 185 languages are used by 8 million people.

58 languages for 3 million people in Benin.

32 languages for 2 million people in Congo-Brazzaville.

120 languages for 28 million people in Tanzania with the Kiswahili as Lingua Franca.

12 languages are used in Mali where 90% of the population use four languages and 65% use one language which is the Bamanakan.

60 languages for 9 million people in Burkina Faso where 50% of the population use Moore.

In Nigeria, 397 languages among the stated 410 are minority languages, but the total number of their speakers represents 60% of the population of the country. (Harare, 17-21 march 1997, p. 3 cited in Heine and Nurse 2004, p. 372) cited in Kilanga (2005)

According to the author, the document reported that the findings of a survey on individual multilingualism in Nigeria show that the number of languages spoken by each member of the linguistic communities varies from two to four as follows: 60% speak two languages, 30% speak three languages and 10% speak more than four languages. And the author suggested that a similar report could be done in many African countries where there is a wide-spread tradition of multilingualism.

Concerning the issue about the use of languages in Africa, the author noted that Africans use European languages such as French, English, Portuguese and Spanish together with the mosaic of local languages. The author said that a speaker can shift from one dominant language to another in his life according to his education and social or geographical mobility. He added that the degree of multilingual competence of African speakers varies according to some interdependent social factors.

Our reflexion on Kilanga (2005) will be directed on the pertinence of the author's viewpoint on the use of languages in Africa which is essential to our study. Indeed, we agree with Kilanga (2005) that multilingualism is a tradition that the African continent has known since a long time before the intrusion of Arabic and western languages. We think that this is due to some geographical and economic factors, notably rural exodus for instance.

But, this multilingualism has been strengthened by the intrusion of Arabic and western languages. Since colonisation, the use of European languages had been imposed on Africans at school, and in the administration. Therefore, the use of African languages was limited at the family boundaries. In Churches and Mosques, religion is most of the time broadcast in English, French or Arabic. Nowadays, the vehicles of science, technology and internet are the same European languages; and still Africans have to use foreign languages on their lands to converse with each other together with plenty of local languages. In fact, this phenomenon has forced Africans to become multilingual. In this multilingual setting, we believe that the use of European languages together with African languages has an impact on African speakers and on African languages, and we intend to discuss this impact further in the study.

2.3. Previous Works on Code-switching and Code-mixing in French Speaking Africa

Literature about research studies on issues of code-switching and code-mixing is plentiful. Boumans (1998:9) stated that “the very early works on code-switching date back to the 1960s with Gumperz (1964), Lehtinen (1966), and Clyne (1967)”. According to Redouane (2005), in the past decades, many research works on code-switching have been investigated using different language pairs.

However, recent studies on the impact of French language in contact with African languages, or other languages elsewhere show new linguistic phenomena which may come to what Feral (2004) refers to as “generational sociolects” or “new languages”.

Indeed, in this section, we will firstly review the work of Feral (2004) on Camfranglais, then the works of Kilanga (2005) and Aboa (2009) on the impact of French language in former French colonies, and lastly the work of Szlezák (2007) on Canadian Franco-Americans in Massachusetts.

2.3.1 The code-switching phenomenon in Cameroon

Feral (2004) examines issues relating to Camfranglais which is spoken by young people in urban areas in Cameroon. The author presents a brief background on the multilingual situation that generated this kind of speech and in which it develops. He determines its main linguistic characteristics and examines the extent to which this

language practice could be considered as a passage to an appropriation of French language.

Among the French-speaking countries, Cameroon is the most multilingual one with about 280 indigenous languages (Hagege 2000, Brenzinger 2004 cited in Feral 2004). According to the author, the term Camfranglais appeared about 20 years ago. However, since 1970, similar usages had been employed by delinquents in the streets in Duala and Yaounde called “Pidgin makro” and “Français makro”. These usages, throughout long periods, had come to Camfranglais which seems, nowadays, to be more prestigious.

The data collected for the study consists of an oral corpus of authentic texts produced by Cameroonian speakers in “easy and quick verbal interactions which show exogenous relexification which means a use of words from foreign origin, and endogenous relexification which is a use of elements from French lexicon by means of transformation or creating new words”. (Calvet, 1999:45 cited in Feral, 2004)

According to Feral (2004), these linguistic forms observed in Camfranglais do not violate in most of the cases the syntax of French language, but they deviate at the lexical level with formal processes found in slangs and an important use of borrowings from local languages in contact.

The author also affirmed that the borrowings from African languages observed in Camfranglais come from the two indigenous languages: Duala language in Douala and Ewondo language in Yaounde, for example. Spread all over the country, Camfranglais borrows from other vernacular languages such as bamileke, fulfulde.

English borrowings observed in Camfranglais come from the English-pidgin lexicon which originated from English language. The author poses the question on the insecurity of French language in Cameroon, because the Camfranglais is gaining more and more young speakers, and he concluded that this vernacular appropriation of French would endanger French language in the country and lead to an autonomous system, to a pidgin.

As a matter of fact, Feral (2004) is useful to our study in the extent that we examine the same linguistic forms of switching and mixing between Songhay and French language. But the context in our case is different, because we will be using adult and young speakers with all levels of intellectual background, in a bilingual context in which the subjects are fluent in both Songhay and French languages. We will be inspired of the methods used in Feral (2004) in order to get fresh data, recording spontaneous and unplanned conversations of the participants during our data collection.

Though the linguistic landscape of Cameroon resembles the Malian one in that both are multilingual in context, the role and the use of French in Mali is limited. We agree with Feral (2004) that, in contact situations between languages, the threat of a linguistic insecurity of one of the languages involved in the contact depends much more on many factors, such as social, geographical, political or economic, as will be seen in the following section and in chapter four, the analysis of our data.

2.3.2 The Impact of French Language in French Former Colonies

Cote d'Ivoire and Congo represent a great interest to our study because of the role French language plays in the language policies of these two francophone countries which have importantly more local languages than Mali.

2.3.2.1 The impact of French language in Cote d'Ivoire

Aboa (2009) discussed the factors which led to the appropriation of French language in Cote d'Ivoire revealing the long process French had undergone in order to get to the Ivorian identity and become a national variant of French.

He stated that the modes of appropriation of French in Cote d'Ivoire can be considered in three main forms: simultaneous acquisition of French and another language, learning at school (where it is the only language for instruction) and learning by illiterate children and adults as second language in informal milieu in a urban context. The author argued that French language which was once imposed to be learned is now desired to be spoken.

Concerning the language policy in Cote d'Ivoire, Aboa (2009) stated that French began to play a more important role in the Ivorian linguistic landscape. It was once imposed to be learned, but it is now desired to be learned. The essence of this language policy was to defend the 'statu quo antae' that means doing nothing so as to keep things the way they are, ensuring legally the total predominance of French language in all the domains.

The study has also shown that French has never been in a situation of complementarities in language interactions with the local languages in Cote D'Ivoire, as it is the case in the north of Senegal with Wolof, or in Mali with Bamanakan. Classify the African States according to the status of the national languages (Heine, B & Reh, M, 1984) noted that Cote D'Ivoire belongs to the category of States without any dominant language. Aboa (2009) concluded that Cote d'Ivoire is sometimes regarded as the most "francophone" country in sub Saharan Africa. He added that French language in this country is undergoing an "ivoirisation" process, and he suggested that this appropriation would not be complete without a stabilisation of a variant, and without measuring this variant to the norm outside.

The study also revealed that Ivorian speakers of French do not switch or mix codes, but they adapt French to the Ivorian socio-cultural context, adopting a national usage which differs from standard French that represents the norm. This is not what we intend to show in our study, because the relationship between French and African languages is as various as the realities in the African countries are divergent. Our intention is to draw the attention of the Songhay speakers of French on the impact of French on the native speakers and the native language.

2.3.2.2 The impact of French language in Congo

According to Kilanga (2005), French in Congo is developing in a multilingual context. The author stated that the findings of Kilanga & Bwanag (1988) and (Kilanaga, 1986), studies on French in contact with African languages of multilingual milieu in the Democratic Republic of Congo, have revealed phonetic, morphosyntactic and

lexicosemantic differences between the French language used by students at the three sociolinguistic levels and the standard French language. The author seeks to know whether these differences are simple deviations which are likely to be corrected or indications of the formation of a new autonomous variety. He stated that further research works (about 200 memoirs and 10 theses under his supervision) in other socio-professional environments have shown that the French varieties observable according to the social categories were characterised by a relative diversification in relation to the norm. Each variety consists of a diversity of variable speech according to the speakers. Anyway, the author stated that on the basis of geographical zones of national languages (Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba and Kikongo) the indicators of each variety depend on the interference of the linguistic systems and are identifiable in the geographical limits coinciding with the boundaries of these languages.

In conclusion, Kilanga (2005) pointed out that in a multilingual context, the manifestation of new forms of structures from contact situations between diverse languages often leads to the formation of new varieties. The author suggested that the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo could be extended to other places, exploring new tracks of interesting research.

We think that the reflexion of Kilanga (2005) on the impact of the contact between French and African languages, and the outcomes of this impact is pertinent and essential to our study which is also directed to the impact of French on bilingual speakers. Indeed, Kilanga (2005) is useful to our study in what it takes the relation between French and African languages. We also think that this relation is debatable because of the diversity and specificities of the different French speaking countries. And we agree with Kilanga (2005) that the outcomes of this impact, as he argued, are

linguistic differences characterised by either simple deviations which can be corrected, or indicators to the formation of new varieties, as stated in Aboa (2009).

2.3.3 French-English interference phenomena

Szlezák (2007) is an article about the impact of the pressure of English-only in the American society on Franco-American speakers of French in Massachusetts, specifically in traditional areas of French-Canadian immigration. In this study, Szlezák (2007) stated that the term ‘Franco-Americans’ is sometimes used to refer to all Americans of French descent in New England, in the six north-eastern States: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. So, it denotes a special group of immigrants. The author defined a ‘Franco-American’ as a permanent New England resident of French-Canadian ancestry, and, possibly but not necessarily, of Catholic religion and French mother tongue.

As a method of the study, the interference phenomena are illustrated through examples taken from the MASS French corpus (2003/04), which utilized 392 questionnaires and 87 interviews with 143 participants from different areas within Massachusetts. The participants are Acadians and Quebeckers of sexes, different social classes and different age groups. The author added that the examples have not been analyzed quantitatively but illustrate very obvious and common tendencies among the participants.

As for the theory of the study, the author stated that the study is guided by the concept of Gardner-Chloros (1985) which pointed out different levels at which code-switched items can be embedded in the other language.

The author distinguished three types of code-switching:

- Tag-switching: involving the insertion of an exclamation, a tag or an idiomatic expression in one language into a sentence which is otherwise in the other sentence, for example:

puis ça a juste tourné avec ça I GUESS. on a juste. mis les mots avec.

- Inter-sentential code-switching which involves a switch between sentences:

celui-là va être un avocat. SHE.S GOIN. TO BE A SCHOOL TEACHER.

- Intra-sentential code-switching which implies a switch within the sentence boundaries:

Vous devez avoir ça aussi à GERMANY.

This classification is in line with Muysken (2000) who distinguished three subcategories of code-mixing: the concept of insertion of an item - mostly nouns or noun phrases, the concept of alteration which involves a code-switching with both languages being relatively separate, and the concept of congruent lexicalization which involves a shared grammatical structure.

Finally the author concluded that the findings of the MASS French corpus have shown linguistic deficits of the participants such as the lack of vocabulary or the loss of grammatical structures, and therefore French has come to be replaced by English in all

domains including the family. He also added that these interference phenomena are unidirectional only, and this is a strong indicator of language loss.

In fact, the findings of Szlezák (2007) actually contain capital information useful for our study in what we intend to classify and categorise our data using the different levels and types of code-switching. The methods used in Szlezák (2007) are relevant to our investigation in what we use recorded spontaneous conversations to get fresh data. The difference between Szlezák (2007) and our study is that in our study the switching and mixing of codes among Songhay speakers of French will show two directions.

To conclude, we can say that the literature we have reviewed in this section will give us a comprehensive knowledge of the field of study, and will help us identify gaps in the domain we will be investigating.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Concerning the implications for a grammar of language, Wolfram (2006) stated that researchers such as Labov (1969), Cedergren & Sankoff (1974) had suggested that “variation was inherent within a language system and part of speaker competence, and hence should be integrated into the grammar.”

About the grammar of code-switching and code-mixing, we can note the words of Labov (1971:457) stating that “no one has been able to show that such rapid

alternation is governed by any systematic rules or constraints and we must therefore describe it as the irregular mixture of two distinct systems.”

This question on a grammar of language, in our opinion, is worth being mentioned here considering the fact that all system is governed by a set of rules. And code-switching, as an independent system, also involves some rules or constraints that govern its functioning.

So, in this section, we examine the constraint approaches on code-switching and code-mixing issues. First, we will review the work of Redouane (2005) on linguistic constraints on code-switching, then Boztepe’s (2005) paper on competing theories and models, and then we will state the two models of code-switching and code-mixing that we have chosen to guide our study.

2.4.1 Examples of the linguistic constraints on code-switching

Redouane (2005) discusses issues involving three linguistic constraints on switching of bilingual Moroccan Arabic-French speakers residing in Canada: the ‘equivalence of structure constraint’, the ‘size of constituent constraint’ and the ‘free morpheme constraint’. The aim of the study is to investigate the validity of these three linguistic constraints by examining the syntax of the intra-sentential codes-witching between Arabic and French, two typologically different languages.

According to the author, the most striking finding in the study is that the participants switched more smaller language units (adjectives, adverbs, determiners, nouns, and verbs) than larger units like sentences or clauses. Among these smaller units, nouns were the most highly switched categories. This confirms the findings of various studies such as Berk-Seligson (1986), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980, 1981) and Timm (1975), where nouns were found to be the most predominant switches. However, the author stated that the findings of Gumperz (1976) and Poplack (1980) do not line .up with her findings. Further, the study shows counter examples of the ‘equivalence structure constraint’. In her attempt to test the validity and universality of the three linguistic constraints by examining some examples of code-switching, the author came to the conclusion that the results of her work confirmed that the ‘size of constituent constraint’ has been violated, these Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals favour smaller units of switches. Moreover, the study found that switches occurred across word internal morpheme boundaries consisting of inflectional morphemes from Arabic and a stem morpheme from French.

As a matter of fact, Redouane (2005) contributes to orientate our study in the selection of the methods of data collection. And it will also help us in the choice of the appropriate theories that will guide our study. We will be inspired by the instruments used in Redouane (2005) to collect our data, using tape-recorded conversations. But our sample will be much larger, and in the selection of our participants, we shall be careful with the differences of age, sex, levels of education and the settings and other demographic data. Contrary to Redouane (2005), we will purposely keep our participants unaware of the purpose of our investigation for the reliability of the data

Still, we will be inspired by Redouane (2005) to interpret and guide our study in the direction of variationist approaches on code-switching models and theories. Specifically, we purpose to examine the linguistic forms of switching among Songhay speakers of French through the models of constraints proposed and formulated by Poplack (1980, 1981), and Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b).

2.4.2 Theories and models on code-switching phenomenon

Boztepe (2005) has reviewed theories on switching phenomena. He noted that researchers have raised the question relating to the formulation of the syntactic constraints on where switching can occur within the sentence. He stated that the study of Poplack (1980, 1981) is the first contribution to the linguistic aspects of CS where she (Poplack, 1980,1981) argued for the word-order equivalence between the languages involved and the free morpheme found at the point of the switch in Spanish/English bilingual utterances. Boztepe (2005) affirmed that other researchers such as Lipski (1978) and Pfaff (1979) also had suggested similar constraints from the perspective of linear equivalence, but Poplack's (1980) study was the first attempt that had proposed explanatory principles as follows:

(1) The Free Morpheme Constraint

This constraint, according to Poplack (1980, p. 586), states that codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.

(2) The Equivalence Constraint

In this constraint, Poplack (1980: 586) states that “code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language.”

Considering the structural dimensions of code-switching in general and the fact that switching occurs at specific switch points in discourse, we intend to apply Poplack’s (1980, 1981) claims to our findings and explicate the switch points of Songhay-French code-switching in utterances where sentences or clauses are juxtaposed.

Boztepe (2005) also noted that the Markedness Model of Myers-Scotton’s (1993b, 1993c) work on Swahili/English CS in Kenya proposed several related principles she called maxims for code-switching phenomena which had been revised afterward. Boztepe (2005) identified three maxims are:

The Unmarked Choice Maxim which requires the speaker to switch from one unmarked code to another on the basis of situational changes during interaction such that the unmarked code changes.

The Marked Choice Maxim which applies when the speaker chooses to negotiate the rights and obligations balance for such purposes as increasing social distance or creating an aesthetic effect.

Finally, The Exploratory Choice Maxim which occurs when an unmarked choice in accordance with community norms is not obvious from situational factors. It applies, the author explained, in cases where, for example, there is a clash of norms and role relationships as in the case of a conversation between a brother and a sister at the brother’s place of business in the presence of other customers, as opposed to home,

their usual place of meeting. The sister uses Lwidakho, their shared mother tongue, which signifies solidarity. The brother, on the other hand, speaks in Swahili, the national lingua franca, to let his sister know that she is being treated as a customer.” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 144-145).

These principles, in our opinion, reveal the social and psychological factors that justify the selection, or the ‘choice’ as used by Myers-Scotton above, of the codes to be switched in the appropriate situation of speech events. From this angle, in our analysis, we will take into account these factors, not by following Myer-Scotton’s maxims stated above, but by asking language experts in charge of the use of national languages in Mali and linguists from the different departments of our Faculty of Languages about their opinions and ideas on the factors that motivate bilingual speakers in choosing to switch codes during their conversation.

However, Boztepe (2005) noted that in more recent works, such as Myers-Scotton (1998), 1999), Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001), the Markedness Model had been remodified as an “extended version” in which the researcher argued that “CS is best explained by the optimal use of speakers’ resources in their linguistic repertoires.” Interpreting these words, Boztepe (2005) assumed that “speakers engage in CS because, through conscious calculation of costs and benefits, they discover that the rewards of CS will be greater than those of maintaining a monolingual discourse pattern”.

As a matter of fact, these constraint approaches we have explored in this section of our study have shaped our vision about code-switching and code-mixing theories, and guided us toward the appropriate models that we hope will fit our research study, the alternation model of Shana Poplack and the insertion model of Carol Myers-Scotton.

2.4.3 The Alternation model and the insertion model

This section will address two divergent approaches on code-switching and code-mixing theories, respectively of Shana Poplack and Carol Myers-Scotton; both well-known in the field of bilingual code-switching.

Muysken (1994:156) asserted that there are two dominant approaches to the problem of syntactic constraints on code-switching. The first is the alternation approach which considers constraints in terms of compatibility or equivalence of the languages involved at the switch point. The second is the insertion approach which considers constraints in terms of the structural properties of some matrix structure. Muysken (1994:156) distinguished the two models, stating that the alternation model involves bidirectional compatibility observations while the insertion model involves unidirectional compatibility observations. The author specified that the phenomenon of switching in the alternation model resembles the kind under which codes are switched between turns or utterances while the insertion model resembles borrowing, for it consists of the insertion of a foreign lexical or phrasal category into a given structure.

Muysken (1994:156-162) assumed that Shana Poplack represents the principal exponent of the alternation model. The researcher has carried out extensive research on diverse bilingual communities such as the Puerto Rican community in New York, the French-speaking community in Ottawa-Hull region, as well as Tamil, Finnish and West African immigrants in Canada. Muysken (1994:156-162) noted that the researcher, in her work on Spanish/English code-switching in the Puerto Rican community (1980), had refuted earlier claims of switchability or non-switchability of various grammatical categories and found that code-switching was constrained to occur largely at sites of

equivalent constituent order at the place where the two languages alternate. Her further research aimed at working out a clear and reproduceable typology of contact phenomena, and identifying the ones that characterise each bilingual community. Muysken (1994:156-162) noted also that Poplack's idea of alternation is embodied in her (Poplack, 1993) definition of codeswitching which states that "code-switching is the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optimally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance."

On the other hand, Carol Myers-Scotton, according to Muysken (1994:156-162), is also best-known for her work on Swahili/English bilingualism in eastern Africa. Approaching the problem from various perspectives, the researcher first had developed strategies of neutrality on code-switching as marked/unmarked choice. Then, in her recent works, Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), she tries to develop a comprehensive psycholinguistically embedded linguistic model for intra-sentential code-switching known as the Matrix Language Frame Model, according to which there is an asymmetrical relation between the matrix and the embedded language in the switching situation. Muysken (1994) stated that in Myers-Scotton's Model, content words can be inserted into mixed constituents only when congruent with the matrix language categories, while function words cannot. The model states also that the grammatical morphemes must be from the base language. Muysken (1994) then affirmed that Myers-Scotton's definition of code-switching stating that code-switching is "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" goes with the Matrix

Language Frame Model and fits much of the African material of code-switching which is characterised by insertions.

As a matter of fact, these two perspectives, in our opinion, are useful to our study in what they provide grammatical and sociolinguistic backgrounds for the kinds of switches that will be analysed in the Songhay-French code-switching, two typologically different languages, as both models had been experimented on typologically different language-pairs such as Spanish/English or Swahili/English.

Our aim is to show if the switches of our findings will fit these proposed models of constraints of code-switching and code-mixing, although Redouane (2005) as well works such as Berk-Seligson's (1986) study on Hebrew-Spanish, Bokamba's (1988) study on Lingala-French and Swahili-English, and Myers-Scotton's (1988, 1993) studies on Swahili-English have demonstrated counter-examples of the claims on these models of constraints. We will use Poplack's (1980) alternation model together with Myers-Scotton's (1993a, b) insertion model in our study on Songhay-French CS and CM as theoretical background. The reason is to describe the grammatical aspects of the switch points in the inter-sentential and intra-sentential Songhay-French CS and CM and see if these theories are applicable to the types of switches found in our data.

The study has explored the most dominant models and theories on code-switching and code-mixing and this has been a capital source of inspiration to use. This will keep our research study up to date with what is current in the field of study. It will also give us a general idea about methods and strategies in carrying out our study, and certainly help us avoid probable pitfalls in our investigation.

2.4.4. Optimality Theory (OT) and intra-sentential code-switching

According to McCarthy (2007), Optimality Theory, developed by Alan Prince and Paul Smolensky in 1993, is a general model of how grammars are structured. It is an approach to phonological analysis which proposes models and grammars of constraint domination hierarchies according to which observed forms of language arise from the interaction between conflicting constraints.

The approach states that there are two patterns of constraint interaction interpreted as: “DO SOMETHING ONLY WHEN NECESSARY”, and “DO SOMETHING EXCEPT WHEN BANNED” (Prince and Smolensky, 2002:23). The first form, according to the authors, arises when a low-ranked constraint bans some structural option of a high-ranked one. The second form arises when the lower-ranked constraint favours some options that the high-ranked one rejects. OT affirms that these conflicting constraints within a particular language can violate claims about the ‘well-formedness’ of some representations. In other words, the theory argues that the rules that govern a particular grammar are often violated under some circumstances in language use.

Indeed, the language practice of CS and CM of Songhay speakers of French is a phenomenon that involves some forms of constraint interaction between the phonological systems of the two languages. From this angle, we use OT in this study as theoretical framework to describe and analyze the phonological processes of assimilation, vowel-consonant harmony and insertion the switched words undergo in the intra-sentential Songhay-French code-switching.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the criteria for the method that is used in the thesis. It focuses on the participants and the sampling methods of the study, the coding and transcription convention used in the study, the methods of data collection, the procedural steps for collecting data and the reference framework for the analysis of our data.

3.1. The Design of the Study

Following the methodologies employed by variationists such as William Labov, Carol Myers-Scotton, Shana Poplack and Rabia Redouane when carrying out research on language variation and change phenomena in terms of field methods, the design of this study is a descriptive survey guided under an interpretivist approach of research philosophy which involves describing and examining the processes and mechanisms of code-switching and code-mixing in the linguistic contact between French and Songhay language, and the impact of this language contact situation. It also involves seeking to categorise and describe the Songhay-French code-switching and code-mixing phenomena. However, following the post-positivist approach termed according to Hirschheim (1985) as “Methodological Pluralism”, we agree with Kaplan and Duchon (1988: 570-586) that “elements of different paradigms as well as methods can be

combined purposely to perfect the quality of research”, considering that all methods are valuable in research if they are appropriately employed and carefully applied. In this vein, numerical accounts of the switches will be considered to interpret the nature and extent of this language practice.

Moreover, the reason in choosing such design as a research method for this study is that it is the strategy that best suits the problem under consideration. One of the merits of this design is that it permits the use of flexible methods of data collection such as participant observation, questionnaire or interviews, and it also permits the use of inductive reasoning to draw conclusions from the data. The advantage of this method of this study is that the researcher has the chance of experiencing the Songhay-French code-switching phenomena being investigated in practice rather than getting it from secondary sources.

3.2. Population

The population of the study is all Songhay speakers of French in Mali. This population is heterogeneous and generally composed of educated people and intellectuals comprising civil servants, other employed workers in all domains and activities, the unemployed, the students, as well as people who are not provided with schooling, but speak French for having stayed in France or in other French-speaking countries for a long time. The population includes also French-speaking immigrants living in areas where the Songhay language is used as the common language for inter-ethnic communication.

3.3. The Sample Size

In order to achieve the aims of this study, we choose for the participant observation a sample size consisting of 90 participants selected out of five groups called “grins” in three urban cities which are Bamako (three “grins”), Gao (one “grin”), and Timbuktu (one “grin”). And for the interview, six respondents will be selected from university teachers, State officials, and personalities from the Songhay speaking community.

A “Grin” is the name for a kind of commonplace where friends usually meet after work to chat and while away time. It is also the place where people of the same age group meet to while away time or to converse. The reason for the selection of such a sample is that “grins” represent the essential places in Mali where educated people frequently meet, and the right cliché favourable to free and spontaneous conversations. The justification of the choice of “grins” is to account for an appropriate and more convenient place where participants do not feel uncomfortable for free conversations, and therefore this setting is favourable to provide valuable and fresh data from the conversations of the “grin” members. We choose to go to different “grins” frequented by people provided with schooling, and including all categories of employed workers as well as the unemployed and students.

The choice of the sites is to account for the urban exposure to the use of both French and Songhay languages. The urban setting consists of Bamako, the capital city of Mali, Gao and Timbuktu, the two regional capital cities representing the two main dialects of Songhay language in Mali. Urban residents are more exposed to the use of

French than rural residents because of the great number of administrative infrastructures, schools and other modern technologies in urban areas.

The justification of the choice of language researchers as the interview respondents is that these selected people are reliable sources that can provide valid information on language issues in general and on French-Songhay code-switching and code-mixing in particular.

3.4. Sampling Techniques

Both stratified and simple random sampling techniques are used in the selection of the “grins”, the participants, and the interview respondents, considering sex, age, level of education and occupation.

The stratified sampling method is used to select the “grins” as we choose to frequent only those attended by people provided with schooling, but participants within the “grins” are selected randomly, this is to allow all members in the “grins” to have an equal chance of becoming a participant in the study.

For the interview, stratified sampling method is used to select the reliable respondents that can be valuable sources of information for the issue under investigation.

3.5. The Participants and Respondents

In order to investigate the code-switching phenomena between Songhay and French language, a total of 90 participants are asked to participate. To achieve pertinent information, certain inclusion criteria are imposed in the selection of the participants and the settings. The participants are selected according to the exposure to the use of French and Songhay languages and must be Songhay L1 speakers provided with schooling. The “grins” are selected according to the frequent contact with friends and the level of education which determines the degree of the mastery of French language.

The participants in Gao and Timbuktu must be native residents of these respective places. Those of Bamako are chosen considering the length of their stay in the capital city and the frequent contact with friends. Thus, 88 male participants and 08 female participants take part in the study. The justification of the large number of male participants is that “grins” are mostly frequented by men. The five “grins” are divided as follows: three “grins” in Bamako, one “grin” in Gao, and one “grin” in Timbuktu.

As for the settings for the participant observation, the study is not conducted in the place of work of employed workers because, as the use of French is compulsory at school and in the administration in Mali, these formal settings do not convene to the purpose of our study for, in such places, participants cannot provide spontaneous conversations. We conduct the study only in the places of frequent contact with friends called “grin” where the selected participants meet to converse and while away time. In these “grins” the participants take part in spontaneous conversations that can provide pertinent information for the study. In these settings, they are not embarrassed or constrained by any circumstances or pressures as it might be in formal settings. The 90

participants selected in the three urban cities are divided into five “grins” composed of all categories of workers and the unemployed as well as students and senior schoolboys and schoolgirls. The justification of the large number of “grins” in Bamako as opposed to the small number of “grins” in Gao and Timbuktu is that all categories of workers, students and the unemployed are concentrated in the capital city and among them we can find representatives of all the different regions of the Songhay speaking community and speakers of the different dialects of the Songhay language. We exclude rural cities in our investigation because in rural areas “grins” consisting of only Songhay speakers of French are rare. We meet all the five “grins” in their respective place of frequentation by appointment until the sample size is reached.

The respondents of the interview must be Songhay L1 speakers provided with a higher academic level and professional skills pertinent to the problem under investigation. Six respondents will be selected from language experts in charge of the use of national languages in Mali, linguists from the different departments of our Faculty of Languages and communicators who are in permanent contact with the Songhay speaking community. For the setting, we will meet the respondents at appointed places.

3.6. Coding and Transcription Convention

Following coding practices employed by Poplack (1993) and her colleagues to identify participants, we adopt in this study a coded number for each participant indicating the number of participant (from the first one until the sample size of the ‘grin’ is reached), the number of the “grin” (as we have three “grins” in Bamako) and the first letter of the name of the site of the field study (‘B’ for Bamako, ‘G’ for Gao and

‘T’ for Timbuktu). Example: **3B11** (participant number 11 in “grin” number 3 in Bamako), or **G6** (participant number 6 in Gao). For female participants, **F** precedes the coded number, for example **FG2** (participant number 2 in Gao) or **FT4** (participant number 4 in Timbuktu).

The interviewees are codified according to the first letters relative to their first name and surname, and the numbers (from one to six). Example: Ali Touré **4AT**, or Moussa Keita **6MK**. All the letters and the figures are in bold type, Intense Reference, Calibri 11, and underlined. The researcher is codified as **TR** (in bold type, Intense Reference, Calibri 11 and underlined).

In terms of transcription convention, we use in our data the symbols of the system of transcription developed by Gail Jefferson. We follow the Jeffersonian system of transcription used by conversation analysis and discursive psychology because it is a requirement in research in language and social interaction. The conventional system of symbols we use in our database are taken from Jefferson (1985, 2004), Potter and Wetherell (1987), Have (1999), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001). A table of transcription notation is shown in the appendices. The alphabet of the Songhay language is also presented in a table. Bold type is used in the transcription to differentiate the French code from the Songhay one. In the translation into English that we put in inverted commas, we try to keep closer to the same sentence word order as in the original text; this is to make the categorization of the switches easier to understand. Footnotes are used to point out some terminologies used by grin members.

3.7. Data Collection Methods

Bowern (2008) has asserted that many of the techniques of data collection used in field linguistics are also applicable when working on language contact. Bowern (2008) noted also that much of fieldwork information on language contact in a field site will come from ethnographic methods of data gathering such as interviews, self-report or observation. In order to solicit information and collect data on Songhay-French code-switching phenomena, we use participant observation, questionnaire and conversational interview. And in order to support the observation and the interview, we use a tape-recorder to have fresh data on cassettes.

3.7.1. Participant Observation

Speaking of the relevance of participant observation method, Poplack (1993) noted that the richest and most copious data on code-switching were the Puerto Rican Spanish/English materials collected by Pedro Pedraza in the course of nearly seven years participant observation of a single block in East Harlem, New York.

Participant observation is useful to our study because, according to Bowern (2008), it is a source of potential information and a very powerful tool for investigating language contact. Bowern (2008) said also that it is a core tool in sociolinguistics. It also permits the researcher to do an exploratory work to find out what people actually do in language use. The advantage of this instrument to our study is that it provides spontaneous data through verbal interactions between the participants. Another advantage of this instrument is that it gives the opportunity to record information as it happens in the setting, with the researcher being either active or passive in the activities.

In one word, observing permits us to gather live data from live situations. In order to get spontaneous data, we observe participants through unplanned self-induced verbal interactions. While observing participants, we carefully record on tape all the utterances of the participants involved in verbal interactions to notice any code-switching employed in that context of language use. We believe that observing participants in free conversations can provide valuable information about the problem being investigated.

3.7.2. Conversational Interview

Speaking on the relevance of interview, Patton (1990:45) noted that “we interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe”. In the same vein Milroy and Gordon (2008) noted that variationists like other sociolinguists traditionally gather their data in the context of conversational interviews in which the subject or informant remains unaware that his or her linguistic usage is the focus of investigation.

In this research work, we use the semi-structured interview to get ideas and opinions of language experts, language researchers and communicators about the issue under investigation. The beginning of the interview is structured with the same set of questions for all of the six respondents (see appendix B, interview questions). The interview is divided in two sections:

- The first section of the interview consists of four questions related to language practices and language attitudes in relation to code-switching and code-mixing.

- And in the second section, the interview turns to become more unstructured with questions revolving the implications of this impact of this language practice on the Songhay language and Songhay speakers.

In order to avoid ambiguity, we will ask all of the interview questions in French, as our interlocutors are speakers of French, the official language and the language for instruction in Mali. Then we translate the responses in English, because what we seek in the interview is to get valuable information to support our research questions and hypotheses.

3.7.3. Questionnaire

The questionnaire is used to collect the backgrounds of the participants in the study. It permits us to identify all the 90 participants in the study and give useful information on them. The questionnaire is divided into two sections (see Appendix A, questionnaire). The first section is designed to identify the participants. The second section gives personal characteristics of the participants. These background data can determine the nature of switches the participants provide in their conversations and the relationship with other variables of the switching forms.

3.8. Data Collection Procedure

The aim of this field study is to gather code-switching and code-mixing data from Songhay-French bilingual speakers in three urban cities: Bamako, Gao, and Timbuktu. The field study lasts 60 days, from November, 20th 2011 to January, 19th 2012, and

comprises three stages. The first stage covers Gao and lasts 15 days. The second stage covers Timbuktu and lasts 15 days. And the last stage covers Bamako and lasts 30 days.

To achieve the aim of the field study, we proceed as follows:

- . Locate and identify the different “grins” involved in the study in Gao, Timbuktu, and Bamako through friends and colleagues.

- . Contact all of the “grins” involved in the study by phone asking them permission to come on appointment and conduct research study about the impact of French on Songhay speakers and the Songhay language.

- . Plan a two-week trip respectively to Gao, and Timbuktu to meet participants in order to collect data.

- . Plan one month stay in Bamako to meet participants in order to collect data.

- . At each stage of the field study we proceed as follows: the first day of the stage is devoted to a visit of familiarisation. Then, we conduct the field study visiting the “grin” and recording on cassettes participants’ free conversations. If necessary, we revisit the “grin” for new recordings of data.

- . As the researcher is known to all the three “grins” in Bamako, the participants will be comfortable in his presence and can provide spontaneous data.

. In the two “grins” of Gao and Timbuktu where the researcher is not familiar as the three “grins” in Bamako, we ask the “president” of the “grins” do the recording, because the participants will not be comfortable with our presence and will not talk much.

. Most of the participants are even not aware of the recording, and those who keep the tape-recorder in Gao and Timbuktu are former students of the researcher but don't know about the purpose of the study, they only know that it's for a survey.

. At the end of the last recording session of the conversations in a “grin”, the researcher administers the questionnaire to get the bio-data of the members of the “grin”.

. Contact the seven respondents involved in the study by phone asking them permission to come on appointment and conduct interview.

3.9. Data Analysis Methods

Before transcribing the data in French and in Songhay scripts, we repeatedly listen to the tapes. After the transcription, we repeatedly read the transcripts and translate them into English. Having done this, the data are fragmented in three parts according to the three sources of data which are the free conversations of participants, the interview and the questionnaire. The data of the conversations which will constitute the oral corpus of the study are classified and categorised according to the types of

switches of the discourse. Content analysis is used to describe what the collected data contain. The data of the oral corpus and the questionnaire are presented in tables as technical data. The data of the interview are presented in the analysis to support the discussion. Then the data are analysed qualitatively using inductive reasoning to draw conclusions regarding the stated research questions and existing relationships between the categories.

Indeed, the study is a qualitative one in that the data collected are in words, though an attempt of a numerical account of the switches is made. The data collected for this research work are conversations and they should be analysed according to the principles of discourse analysis. Thus, the method of analysis is discourse analysis aiming at describing explaining and interpreting spoken language used by Songhay speakers of French. It is theoretically based on Auer's (1998) sequential approach of discourse-related and participant-related code-switching.

Considering the context of use and the situation in which discourse occurs, discourse analysts view language as a social and cultural behaviour. The analysis of our conversations is based on this angle to examine the reasons that cause Songhay speakers of French to switch codes and the context that generates this language practice.

3.10. Validation and Reliability of the Instruments

The interview questions and the questionnaire are submitted to our supervisors for refinement.

The interviews are personally administered by the researcher.

The researcher passively takes part and records the conversations, as a native speaker of the Songhay language. This ensures self-confidence.

The questionnaire is personally administered by the researcher. This ensures 100% of return.

To ensure the reliability of the instruments of the study (the interview, the conversational observations and the recording devices), the researcher initially tests them with six participants outside the sample of the study (selected among Songhay-French bilingual colleagues and friends of the researcher).

The transcription of the data in standard Songhay and the translation are assured by the researcher who has already experienced transcription in Songhay language writing story books in Songhay which he co-authored with the person in charge of the use of National Languages in the Ministry of Education, Youssouf Haidara, a Ph.D holder in applied linguistics. One of these story books, “Faran Maka Boote” has been published by EDIS/Mali in 2007 and available on the net, and five others are forthcoming. In addition, we submit the finalised Songhay transcripts of the data to Dr. Youssouf Haidara for refinement.

Following the practices experienced by researchers in the selection of recording tools, we use for example the MP3-recording devices that Beye (2010) used to record linguistic data in his research project in the village of Donon (Burkina Faso). According to him, the batteries of these devices last around six hours and can be carried in the pocket. Beyer (2010:139) stated that he regarded “these recordings as the closest to natural speech that one could get”

Most of the participants are not aware of the recording, and those who know ignore about the purpose of the study; they only know that it is for a survey.

The conversations are free and spontaneous.

Features in the design, the diversity of the sites, the choice of the “grins” as settings, are all considered to ensure reliability and validity in this study.



CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.0. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the analysis of the data collected to examine the code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French. The method of analysis is discourse analysis. Discourse analysts, as stated in chapter three consider language as a social and cultural behaviour from the context of use and the situation in which discourse occurs. From this point of view, we analyse the reasons that cause Songhay speakers of French to switch codes and examine the context in which this language practice occurs. Our attempt of analysis of the data will focus on two distinct directions, a structural and a sociolinguistic dimension of code-switching and code-mixing practices.

As far as the structural dimension of code-switching and code-mixing is concerned, we have classified our data into two separate segments, following Boztepe's (2005) point of view stating that the intra-sentential and inter-sentential distinction can distinguish the two types of switches equally well. In this vein, considering the structural constraints of the switch points, the first segment will group instances of code-switching, and the second segment will group instances of code-mixing. Then, we will categorise the different switches found in each segment, and identify the morpho-syntactic structures encountered.

The segmentation of our findings is theoretically based on the definition of Boztepe (2005) according to which inter-sentential switching, sometimes called extra-sentential switching, is the type of switching which takes place at sentence or clause boundaries, or outside the sentence or the clause level; while intra-sentential switching is the type of switching which takes place within a sentence or a clause.

This classification and categorisation of our findings are based on the two dominant theories to the problem of syntactic constraints on code-switching: the alternation and the insertion approach, as Muysken, (1994:156) pointed out. The theoretical background of the classification of the instances of inter-sentential switching found in our data is based on Poplack's (1980) word-order-equivalence which states that switches occur at sentence or clause boundaries. The theoretical background of the instances of intra-sentential switching found in our data is based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) linguistic model for intra-sentential codeswitching known as the Matrix Language Frame Model. The first model shows that switches occur between sentences or clauses; the second model consists of the insertion of a foreign lexical or phrasal category into a given system.

The sociolinguistic dimension of our analysis will examine the factors that generate the context of code-switching and code-mixing practices in a social and psychological dimension through the research questions and research hypotheses stated in chapter one. It will also focus on the technical data of the findings and the results of the interview.

4.1. Introduction to the Oral Corpurs

The Oral Corcpus is the data collected for the study of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French. It is composed of 18 thematic conversations in five sections. The conversations have been collected during a field study undertaken in Bamako, Gao and Timbuktu from November 2011 to January 2012. 90 participants have been selected in five groups called ‘grins’ as follows: three “grins” in Bamako (Bamamko grin1 has 15 participants, Bamako grin 2 has 15 participants and Bamako grin 3 has 30 participants), one grin of 15 participants in Gao, and one grin of 15 participants in Timbuktu. Stratified sampling method is used to select the five groups, but participants within the groups are selected randomly.

The first section is about the first ‘grin’ selected in Bamako, Grin1. It counts about 25 members, but only 15 participants are ramdonly selected for the purpose of this study. The grin members meet on week-ends to play cards, exchange on the problems of the grin, or just chat and while away time. All of them are Songhay (koyra-ciini) native speakers and provided with fundamental, professional higher or university level of education.

In the second, section Grin 2 counts about 30 members, but we have selected randomly 15 to participate in the study. They meet once a month, that is the first satuesday of the month. During their meeting they exchange on current issues having tea and chating, but they don’t play cards or any other games. All of them are between 38-54 years old, and are Songhay (koyra-ciini) native speakers and most of them are provided with only fundamental and professional higher level of education.

In the third section, Grin3 is composed of an association of people from Goundam and its surroundings called Bonkoro. It was created in Bamako and counts 50 active. We have selected 30 participants in this big grin. They meet every fortnight to exchange on the problems of their native city, having tea and chatting. All of them are between 35-59 years old, and are Songhay (koyra-ciini) native speakers and most of them are provided with only fundamental, professional higher, and university level of education. Some are civil servant, others in the private sector or in the army.

The fourth section is about the selected grin in Gao. This grin is composed of 15 members, four females and eleven males. All the participants of the grin are from Gao and its surroundings. They meet every night after dinner and have tea, listen to music or just chat. All of them are between 19-28 years old, and are Gao-senni native speakers, and all of them are provided with baccalaureate, professional higher, or university level of education. Some are civil servants, but most of them are students. The conversations have been collected during four night visits in the grin, and one football party in the evening. We noticed that during the first visit, the participants were uncomfortable and didn't talk much because of our presence. So, we decided not to stay in the grin for the rest of the visits but let the president of the grin do the recording of the conversations. We explained to him not to let the grin members be aware of the presence of the tape-recorder in order to get free and spontaneous conversations.

The last section is about the selected grin in Timbuktu. This grin is a group of young people composed of about 21 members of both sex. But only 15 were randomly selected among them to participate in the study, four females and eleven males. They are all from Timbuktu. The whole group meets every fortnight, but some of them come to the place every day in the evening to while away time and chat with friends. All of

them are between 20-25 years old, they are Koyra-ciini native speakers, and are provided with fundamental, secondary, or university level of education. Some are civil servants, but most of them are students and private workers. The conversations have been collected during three visits in the grin. As in Gao, we noticed that during the first visit, the participants were uncomfortable and didn't talk much because of our presence. So, we asked the 'president' of the group to record the conversations.

Grin1 in Bamako has been recorded three times because of their different activities. They meet two times on the week-ends to play cards and chat, and before leaving they have a briefing on current issues of the group. The two other groups in Bamako do not play cards or any other game, and they meet to exchange and discuss on current problems concerning their native town, Goundam. The particularity of these two groups is that they tend to become associations. The bigger one named Boncoro (grin3) has already got legal papers, and the other (grin2) is trying to do so. The group in Gao meet everyday night to chat and have tea. On Saturdays they play football against other groups in the neighbourhood. The group in Timbuktu is a new one contrary to all the others which have existed since a very long time.

All the conversations are free and spontaneous. The researcher is well known to the three groups in Bamako. Most of them are either our friends or our former classmates. That's why the participants were comfortable in our presence. On the contrary the researcher is not familiar to the participants of Gao and Timbuktu, and they are not comfortable in our presence and do not talk much. So we had to let the president of the group do the recording after our first visit, but nobody else in the groups knows about the presence of the tape-recorder which is in the pocket of the president of the group. Most of the participants even are not aware of the recording, and those who keep

the tape-recorder are former students of the researcher and don't know about the purpose of the study, they only know that it's for a survey. The recording session of the conversations covers four cassettes.

The conventional system of transcription symbols were taken from Jefferson (1985, 2004), Potter and Wetherell (1987), Have (1999), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001). A table of transcription notation is shown in the appendices. Another table shows the alphabet of the Songhay language used in the study.

Classification of language levels of the participants

The data of the Oral Corpus are in words. But, we attempt to make a numeral account of the switches. This is useful in that it permits us to confirm current constraints on CS and CM such as the 'size constituent constraint' of Poplack (1980) stating that smaller size of language units like nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc predominate larger ones like sentences or clauses. This is noticeable in the following tables about the classification of language levels of the participants.

Thus, in table 1, the participants in this group of Bamako have provided 433 speeches or utterances, with 180 code-switching and code-mixing, 140 in Songhay only, and 113 French only. So, these speakers use code-switching and code-mixing (42%) more than they speak only in their native language (32%) or in French (26%). Also the use of intra-sentential switching is higher (83%) than the use of inter-sentential switching (17%). This means that smaller language units such as nouns or verbs are more used in the interactions than larger ones such as sentences or clauses.

Table 1: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Grin1 Bamako

Number	Participants	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	<u>1B1</u>	04	47	25	19	95
2	<u>1B2</u>	12	27	27	20	86
3	<u>1B3</u>	00	04	03	08	15
4	<u>1B4</u>	01	13	11	05	30
5	<u>1B5</u>	01	11	12	05	29
6	<u>1B6</u>	05	08	19	10	42
7	<u>1B7</u>	02	07	09	19	37
8	<u>1B8</u>	02	07	03	05	17
9	<u>1B9</u>	00	11	08	11	30
10	<u>1B10</u>	02	08	09	07	26
11	<u>1B11</u>	02	03	06	01	12
12	<u>1B12</u>	00	00	00	01	1
13	<u>1B13</u>	00	01	06	02	9
14	<u>1B14</u>	00	02	01	00	3
15	<u>1B15</u>	00	00	01	00	1
Total		31	149	140	113	433
		180		140	113	433
Percentage		17%	83%			
		42%		32%	26%	100%

Contrary to table 1, in table 2 participants they speak their native language more (46%) than code-switching and code-mixing (42%). But, and they use less French (12%). This is because the level of education of these participants is lower than that of the participants in table 1 (see appendix C, Bio-data of Participants). As in table 1, here also the use of intra-sentential switching is considerably higher (79%) than the use of inter-sentential switching (21%).



Table 2: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Grin2 Bamako

Number	Participants	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	<u>2B1</u>	06	11	11	08	36
2	<u>2B2</u>	01	09	16	05	31
3	<u>2B3</u>	02	05	00	01	8
4	<u>2B4</u>	00	02	01	00	3
5	<u>2B5</u>	00	15	10	02	27
6	<u>2B6</u>	01	06	06	03	16
7	<u>2B7</u>	00	01	06	00	7
8	<u>2B8</u>	04	07	15	03	29
9	<u>2B9</u>	00	00	04	00	4
10	<u>2B10</u>	01	02	01	00	4
11	<u>2B11</u>	00	00	05	00	5
12	<u>2B12</u>	01	00	04	00	5
13	<u>2B13</u>	00	02	01	00	3
14	<u>2B14</u>	00	00	02	00	2
15	<u>2B15</u>	00	01	01	00	2
Total		16	61	83	22	182
		77		83	22	182
Percentage		21%	79%			
		42%		46%	12%	100%

In table 3, below, participants use code-switching and code-mixing (42%) considerably more than their native language (24%). French (34%) is also more than the native language. Here also the use of intra-sentential switching is higher (63%) than the use of inter-sentential switching (37%).



Table 3: Classification of Language Level of Participants in Grin3 Bamako

Number	Participants	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	<u>3B1</u>	07	09	13	13	42
2	<u>3B2</u>	00	01	00	00	1
3	<u>3B3</u>	00	00	00	03	3
4	<u>3B4</u>	00	00	00	02	2
5	<u>3B5</u>	00	01	00	00	1
6	<u>3B6</u>	00	00	00	01	1
7	<u>3B7</u>	00	00	00	01	1
8	<u>3B8</u>	00	01	04	02	7
9	<u>3B9</u>	00	00	01	01	2
10	<u>3B10</u>	01	00	00	00	1
11	<u>3B11</u>	00	00	00	01	1
12	<u>3B12</u>	00	00	00	01	1
13	<u>3B13</u>	00	01	00	00	1
14	<u>3B14</u>	00	01	00	00	1
15	<u>3B15</u>	00	00	01	00	1
16	<u>3B16</u>	01	00	00	03	4
17	<u>3B17</u>	00	01	00	00	1
18	<u>3B18</u>	06	02	02	06	16
19	<u>3B19</u>	00	00	01	00	1
20	<u>3B20</u>	06	04	02	06	18
21	<u>3B21</u>	00	04	00	00	4
22	<u>3B22</u>	00	05	03	04	12
23	<u>3B23</u>	00	04	01	00	5
24	<u>3B24</u>	00	02	00	01	3
25	<u>3B25</u>	01	01	02	00	4
26	<u>3B26</u>	00	00	01	00	1
27	<u>3B27</u>	00	00	01	00	1
28	<u>3B28</u>	00	00	00	01	1
29	<u>3B29</u>	00	00	01	00	1
30	<u>3B30</u>	00	00	00	01	1
Total		22	37	33	47	139
		59		33	47	139
Percentage		37%	63%	24%	34%	100%

Table 4 shows the total results of the three Grins in Bamako with 316 utterances in code-switching and code-mixing representing 42%, 256 in native language representing 34% and 182 in ‘French only’, representing 24%. So, Songhay speakers of French residing in Bamako use code-switching and code-mixing (42%) more than they use their native language only (34%) and ‘French only’ is less used (24%). The table shows also that the use of intra-sentential switching is considerably higher (78%) than the use of inter-sentential switching (22%).



Table 4: Total Results of the Classification of Language Levels of Participants per Grin in Bamako

Number	Grin	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	Grin 1	31	149	140	113	433
2	Grin 2	16	61	83	22	182
3	Grin 3	22	37	33	47	139
Total		69	247	256	182	754
		316		256	182	754
Percentage		22%	78%	34%	24%	100%

Table 5 shows the technical data of participants in Gao. Gao is the biggest city in the north of Mali. It is the capital city of the 7th administrative region. The Songhay dialect spoken in the region of Gao is the most dominant in Mali. Participants in Gao also use code-switching and code-mixing (54%) more than they speak only in their native language (39%). The table shows also that they use considerably less French (7%) than Grin 1 (26%), or Grin 3 (34%) in Bamako. And, like participants in Bamako, participants in Gao also use intra-sentential switching (86%) considerably more than inter-sentential switching (14%).



Table 5: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Gao

Number	Participants	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	<u>G1</u>	01	21	26	04	52
2	<u>FG2</u>	02	21	16	01	40
3	<u>G3</u>	00	02	02	00	4
4	<u>FG4</u>	00	02	01	00	3
5	<u>G5</u>	00	01	00	00	1
6	<u>FG6</u>	00	02	01	00	3
7	<u>G7</u>	01	00	04	00	5
8	<u>FG8</u>	03	01	05	02	11
9	<u>G9</u>	01	04	00	01	6
10	<u>G10</u>	01	04	01	01	7
11	<u>G11</u>	00	02	02	01	5
12	<u>G12</u>	02	01	02	00	5
13	<u>G13</u>	03	14	06	02	25
14	<u>G14</u>	00	08	01	02	11
15	<u>G15</u>	01	06	07	00	14
Total		15	89	74	14	192
		104		74	14	192
Percentage		14%	86%			
		54%		39%	7%	100%

Table 6 shows the technical data of the participants in Timbuktu where another dialect of Songhay is spoken. The results in table 6 are similar to those in table 5 with much more use of code-switching and code-mixing (53%) than the native language only (36%), and less use of 'French only' (11%). Here also, the use of intra-sentential switching is considerably higher (90%) than the use of inter-sentential switching (10%).



Table 6: Classification of Language Levels of Participants in Timbuktu

Number	Participants	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	<u>T1</u>	00	21	21	03	45
2	<u>FT2</u>	01	12	07	01	21
3	<u>T3</u>	00	03	04	00	7
4	<u>FT4</u>	00	05	04	00	9
5	<u>T5</u>	01	03	06	03	13
6	<u>FT6</u>	00	03	04	00	7
7	<u>T7</u>	00	14	08	02	24
8	<u>FT8</u>	00	04	02	00	6
9	<u>T9</u>	00	08	01	01	10
10	<u>T10</u>	00	02	04	02	8
11	<u>T11</u>	05	11	04	01	21
12	<u>T12</u>	04	09	06	05	24
13	<u>T13</u>	00	02	02	02	6
14	<u>T14</u>	01	08	03	03	15
15	<u>T15</u>	00	02	04	01	7
Total		12	107	80	24	223
		119		80	24	223
Percentage		10%	90%			
		53%		36%	11%	100%

Table 7 shows the final results of all the participants involved in the study with 1169 total amount of utterances or speeches grouping 539 speeches of code-switching and code-mixing representing 46%, 443 speeches in native language only representing 35% and 220 speeches in French-only representing 19%. The use of code-switching and code-mixing is higher than the use of the native language and French-only is less used. The table shows also that the use of intra-sentential switching is considerably higher (82%) than the use of inter-sentential switching (18%). As a matter of fact, this predominance of intra-sentential switching confirms the “size of constituent constraint” of Poplack (1980, 1981) and supports the claim that smaller language units like nouns or verbs tend to be more switched than larger ones like sentences or clauses.



Table 7: Final Results of the Classification of Language Levels of the Participants per city

Number	City	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	Bamako	69	247	256	182	754
2	Gao	15	89	74	14	192
3	Timbuktu	12	107	80	24	223
Total		96	443	410	220	1169
		539		410	220	1169
Percentage		18%	82%			
		46%		35%	19%	100%

4.2. Classification of Instances of Code-switching and Code-mixing of Songhay Speakers of French

This section is the first part of the analysis of our data. It consists of two segments that classify the instances of code-switching and code-mixing extracted from the 18 conversations of the oral corpus. The first segment is about instances of code-switching, the second deals with instances of code-mixing. The grammatical for the classification and the description of the structural features of the kinds of switches encountered in the two segments are provided by the two models on code-switching and code-mixing theories proposed by Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b) as stated in chapter two.

In her study of bilingual Puerto Rican in New York City, Poplack distinguished three types of code-switching: inter-sentential, tag-switching and intra-sentential, as can be seen in figure 1 below:

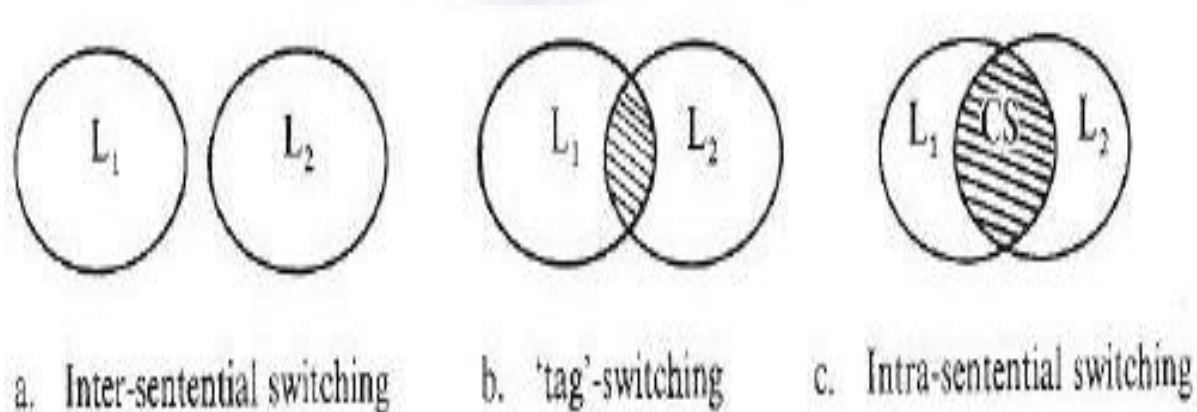


Figure 1: The types of code-switching and the degree of switching in them Poplack (1980: 615)

Figure 1 shows the three types of code-switching proposed by Poplack (1980:615). She (Poplack, 1980:605) opined that tag-switching “requires least bilingual proficiency and minimal knowledge in L2”. She stated that “inter-sentential switching requires more knowledge in L2 and intra-sentential switching requires a high level bilingual proficiency because the speaker needs to know enough of the grammar of both L1 and L2 in order to be able to produce grammatically correct utterances.” (Poplack 1980: 605). Though Poplack affirmed in her study that inter-sentential and intra-sentential are of equal use, Romaine (1995:123) pointed out that “all the three types of switching can be encountered within one discourse.”

Contrary to Poplack’s (1980) classification of the types of switches, in our study the data are classified according to two types of switching, as proposed Boztepe (2005): inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential switching. We think that tag-switching can be grouped with intra-sentential switching because both involve inserting words from one language into another. From this point of view, we propose three representations of the types of Songhay-French code-switching: inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching (in this section) and reverse direction of intra-sentential switching (in section 4.4.).

Thus, figure 2, as seen below, proposes to represent the inter-sentential type of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French. The two circles indicate the two languages involved in CS. The circles are of equal size, this is to fit the “equivalence Constraint” of Poplack (1980). The circles run parallel to each other; this indicates that the two languages involved in the switching are parallel constructions. The opposing direction of the two parallel arrows indicates that the inter-sentential switching is bidirectional.

On the basis of this parallel construction of two different codes, it can also be stated that the production of inter-sentential constructions by bilingual speakers requires competence in both languages.

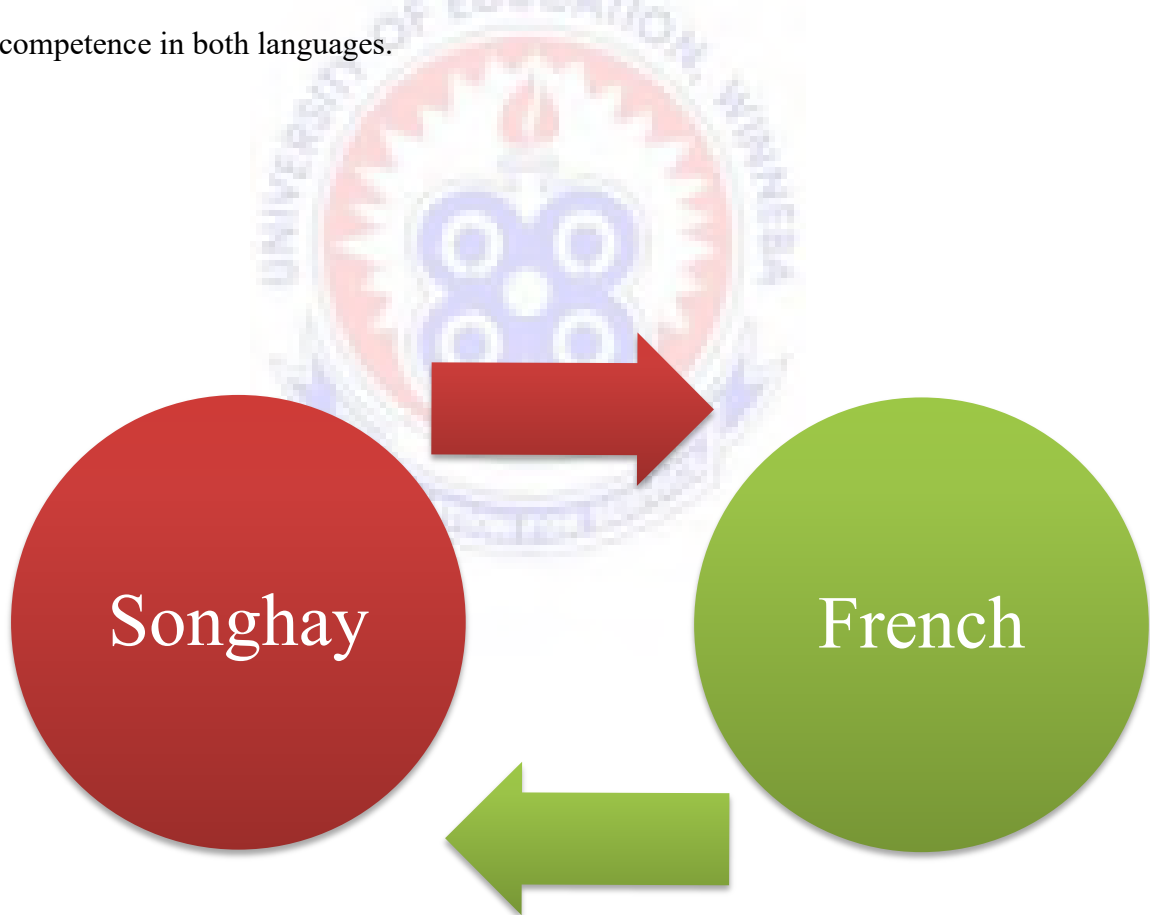


Figure 2: Inter-sentential Songhay-French code-switching

Figure 3 proposes to represent the intra-sentential type of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French. The two languages involved in CS are represented in two different forms. These forms are not of equal size. The larger one indicates the base language or matrix language. The smaller one indicates the language that provides the inserted words. This is to fit the “Matrix Language Frame Model” of Myers-Scotton (1993a, b). The direction of the arrow indicates that words from French are inserted in a Songhay-based code. The switching is so unidirectional.

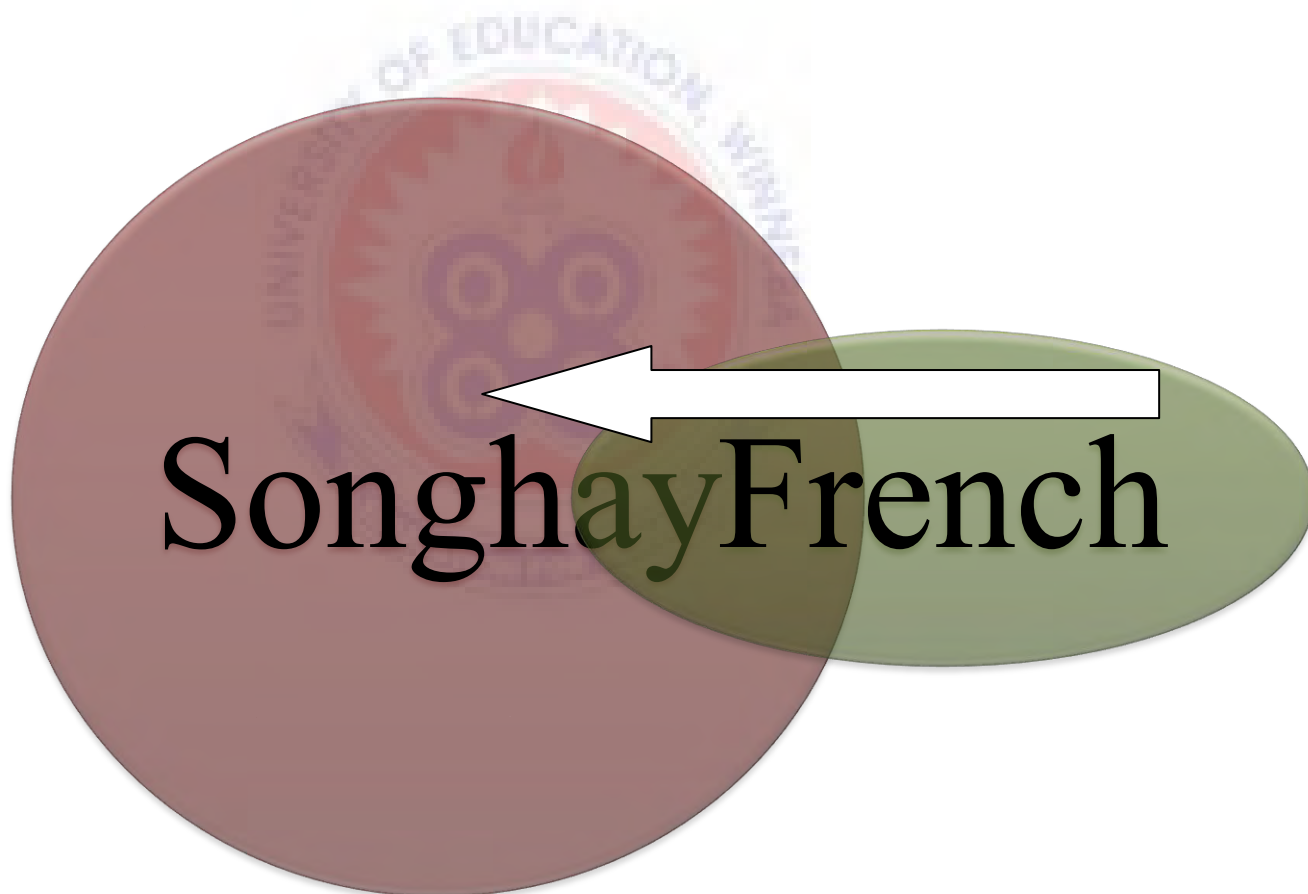


Figure 3: Intra-sentential Songhay-French code-switching

4.2.1. Instances of inter-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

This segment deals with the structural description of some instances of inter-sentential switching encountered through the 18 conversations of our oral corpus. It follows Poplack's (1993) definition of code-switching according to which code-switching is 'the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optimally, phonological) rules of the languages of its provenance'.

Following this definition, Muysken (1994:156) explained that the phenomenon of switching in the alternation model resembles the kind under which codes are switched between turns or utterances. In this section, the kinds of sentences and clauses encountered in the instances of the inter-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French extracted from the oral corpus of our data are described. The descriptions are based on Poplack's (1980, 1981) claim for the word-order equivalence between the languages involved arguing that switching occurs at specific switch points in discourse. In other words, speakers switch codes between sentences or clauses.

4.2.1.1. Instances of inter-sentential switching at sentence level

In the extracts below, speakers place sentences of Songhay and French side by side. They do this without violating the internal structures of the two languages. This point of view goes with Poplack's (1980, 1981) word-order equivalence between the languages involved in code-switching. We can notice that the juxtaposition of the sentences in Songhay and French varies according to the situations and the speakers.

- **1B2 : On joue à Cent¹.** (.) Maa n’o wii ga nda? “**We’re playing ‘Cent’.** Which card should you play?”
- **1B2:** Abdou, ye haasum ni. (0.2) Boro go nee ka nda ma na cii a doo kur ye baa nga ñaahu. (.) **C’est ce qu’il fallait résoudre. (0.2) Tu as compris maintenant?** “Abdou, I respect you. There is a person here that I am going to slap if you don’t talk to him. **That’s what you had to do. Do you get me now?**”
- **1B2 :** Uhh hu! (.) **Parle maintenant.** Maa n’a har? “Come on! (.) **Speak up now.** What did he say?”

In these three extracts speaker **1B2** juxtaposes Songhay and French sentences. In the first extract, the juxtaposition consists of a declarative simple sentence in French followed with a direct question in Songhay introduced by an interrogative pronoun ‘maa’ (what, which). While in the second extract, the juxtaposition consists of two declarative sentences in Songhay followed with two sentences in French, a declarative complex sentence and an interrogative sentence. In the third extract, we have an interjection followed with an imperative sentence in French and an interrogative one in Songhay.

In the following extracts, the juxtaposition of sentences in Songhay and French resembles the kinds we have explained above and varies according to the utterances and the speakers.

- **1B7:** Mise ka n’a... (0.4) **C’est son premier jeu.** “He has just ... **It’s his first game.”**

¹ One of the belote games

- **1B5** : Hey, pique go war boro hinkadi nda cere game. (.) **Tu lui joues le pique au lieu de jouer le cœur.** (.) Woodi ne ay har. “Hey, you two have all the spades. **You play the spade for him instead of playing the heart.** That’s what I said.”
- **1B5** : A boori! Ay ta si cii ni doo mo. (0.2) **Je garde seulement le silence.** “Fine! I am in no position to comment. **I have to keep silent.**”
- **2B3** : **Ah non!** Yer si yadda ga meh! (.) **Nous, on vient de commencer.** (0.2) War ma si yadda woodi i sunsum yer deh! “**Ah no!** We cannot accept it! **We have just begun.** Don’t accept that they exploit us!”
- **2B3** : **Non!** I si hin ka ηindi yer. (.) I si hin ka ηindi yer. (0.2) **Nous, on vient de commencer.** (0.2) “**No!** They cannot fool us. They cannot fool us. **We have just begun.**”
- **3B18** : **Officiellement ils ont les papiers.** (0.2) I ma kaa boncoro, woo ti a ma kan nin. (0.2) “**They officially got documents.** It’s up to them to decide whether they represent bonkoro or not.”
- **3B20** : **Attendez!** (.) **C’est pour cela que j’ai dit qu’on laisse faire.** (0.2) Maa se ne ay har yer’o nan ga? [...] **Donc, en ce moment-là on doit ... on doit quand même parler de ça.** “**Wait! That’s why I proposed to let things take their course.** Why did I propose so? [...] **So, from now on we must ... we must really talk about it.**”
- **3B23** : [...] **On peut décider de dire que, bon voilà:** ‘yer sanba war se woo, war ma faaba ga nda bomo’ [...] “**We can decide to say the following:** ‘we send you this to assist you’.”
- **3B18** : [...] **C’est ce qui met tous à l’aise.** (.) Nda i na hin ka dam woodi, woodiyo ka yer nda gi hin ka goy, yer nda gi da g’o goy. (0.4) **Bon, moi je crois**

qu'il ne faut pas qu'on se complique encore la situation quoi! (0.2) [...] “ That’s what makes every body feel comfortable. If they cannot do that, we’ll collaborate with those who can collaborate with us. Well, I think that we don’t have to make the situation more complicated.”

- **3B1** : Ah, ni har yer go Major do. (.) **Ce n’est pas la peine de nous rappeler qu’on est chez madame.** “Ah, you said that next time we go to Major’s place. There is no point in reminding us that we are going to madame’s place.”
- **G9** : Šiiya! Šiiya! **Il est toujours chef D.E.R, prof., section tronc commun à l’E.N.A. (.) [...] “Stop! Stop! He is still the Head of Department of the common-core syllabus section at E.N.A ((Ecole Nationale d’Administration)).**
- **G1** : **Non! Avant, avant!** (.) Man’ti sohô da g’ay go. “No! Before, before! It’s not now I mean.”
- **FG8** : Hey, macin no? (0.2) **Ça va!** “Hey, what is it? **Alright!**” (P 86, Oral Corpus)
- **FG8** : Ay ši baa ye faajikaaray. (.) **C’est tout! (0.2) Je peux disposer?** “I don’t want to chat. **That’s all! (.) May I leave?”**
- **T5** : Woodi ti nee da k’a har yer se. (.) Yer na guna ga. (0.2) **On n’a pas vu ça.** “It’s that he told us. We didn’t see it. **We didn’t see it.”**
- **T11** : **Je le dis!** (.) Ye har ga hô , ye har ga suba! (0.2) [...] “**I said it!** I say it today, I will say it tomorrow!”
- **T12** : Aywa, ay ta, wa kaabu, war kamba nin! (0.2) Yer ta gaah si ... yer ta gaah si ... **On n’a pas le souci de régarder vos mains.** “So, you know, just count what you have in your hands! We don’t ... we don’t ... **We don’t care about looking into your hands.”**

- **T12** : **Nous, on ne prend pas le souci de régarder vos mains.** (0.2) Hay'ka war har da nono. “**We don't care about looking into your hands.** It's whatever you say.”
- **T11** : **Je voulais résumer, c'est tout!** (0.2) Ay har, Ablo wane ciinidi ga ... “**I wanted to summarize, that's all!** I said, concerning what Ablo has just said...”

As a matter of fact, it can be stated that the practice of inter-sentential switching by Songhay speakers of French is general because we have found examples of this kind of code-switching in all the five selected “grins” of our sample. We can also say that in all the examples, there appears a kind of parallel use of Songhay and French codes through sentences in both languages. This supports the claim that in the inter-sentential switching, the switching phenomenon is bidirectional.

4.2.1.2. Instances of inter-sentential switching at clause level

In the extracts below, speakers juxtapose in the same sentence clauses in Songhay and French in a way that the internal structure of the two languages is not violated. This juxtaposition shows clauses in Songhay and French within the same sentence where we have either the main clauses juxtaposed to the subordinate ones, or independent clauses juxtaposed to each other. For example, in the following extract, speaker **1B6** juxtaposes two clauses in the same sentence where the main clause is in French while the subordinate clause is in Songhay. The word ‘telephone’ is not considered here as a switched word, but as an integrated word in Songhay, as will be seen further in this chapter:

- **1B6** : **Moi, je me demande** mise ka ra boro ma huray ni doo hal a ma jaw ni **telephoned** ni wane bomodi cire. “**I wonder** how someone could get into your house and take your phone under your head.”

In the extracts below, the juxtaposition of clauses in Songhay and French language varies according to the situations and the speakers. We can also notice that in the intersentential switching at clause level, like that at sentence level, the clauses are used in parallels in both codes. So, the switching phenomenon in this kind of switches is bidirectional, too:

- **1B2** : [...] (0.4) Saadi ka a wii kur, **il a mis l’as carreau**. “As soon as he won, **he dropped the ace of diamonds**.”
- **1B2** : [...] (0.2) Maa ya g’a ra kala **plonge la dizaine carreau**. “You have nothing to do but **plunge the ten diamond**. (.)”
- **1B2** : [...] (0.2) Nga yah g’o bay, bara **c’est lui qui a eu les informations**. “He is the one who knows, because **he is the one who got the information**.”
- **1B6** : Ah, ay ta bay nin ka **c’était trop fort, quand même**. “Ah, really, ((the clause in Songhay means literally “I know that”)) **it was too funny, honestly**.”
- **1B6** : Ay bara tarey yah, **donnes-moi ma situation-là**. “I was outside, **tell me my situation**.”
- **1B8** : [...] (0.4) Ay ta jaati, ngi ya har yane **pour un sac ça fait ...** “Personally, they told me that **for one sack it is ...**”
- **1B4** : **Desolés**, yer si may njorfu mayra! “**Sorry**, we don’t have any change!”
- **1B8** : Woo taka, nda n’o day ga, n’o day (.) **une fois que tu as l’occasion, tu payes ton top (.) dix tonnes**. [...] “In such case, if you pay it, you pay (.) **once**”

you have the opportunity, you pay as much as you can (.) ten tonnes for instance. [...]"

- **1B6** : Ay ta go bay nin **moi, mon partenaire-là c'est Abdoulaye**. "I am sure, my co-player is Abdoulaye."
- **1B2** : [...] (0.2) ye noo ga nga piquedi, **et je coince le quatorze parce que** a si may yane nafa kur. "I drop him the spade and I stick the fourteen because I have nothing to do with it."
- **1B11** : [...] (.) **Il a fait son jeu**; a na yaasu nin. "He played well; but he was not lucky."
- **2B1** : [...] (0.2) Hantum nga maadi, **il va donner**. "Put his name, he will give."
- **2B1** : [...] (0.2) Nda a faati a'a noo ga, **c'est fini**. "If he has already given it to you, it's finished."
- **2B1** : Woo ka n'o har mo **c'est des forages ... (0.2)** "What you are talking about are drillings ..."
- **3B25** : [...] (0.2) Biifo nin, ... a gar ye fatta, **moi je l'ai vu deux fois** moto beene, a go koy. "[...] Just yesterday ... when I was on the point of leaving, I saw him two times on his motorbyke, he was going."
- **3B20** : [...] (0.2) **Mais**, ja i kaa hal morayda **on n'a pas parlé**. (.) "But, since they arrived till now we haven't talked."
- **3B1** : [...] (0.2) Nda a kanta gar a go nee, **peut-être que ta question-là sera repondue**. "[...] If he were here, maybe your question would be answered."
- **FG8** : [...] (0.4) Ay nee, **je peux disposer?** "I say, may I leave?"
- **G12** : Har a se **vraiment moi je l'ai pas appelé pour que ... pour savoir le problème**. (0.2) Nee a se kañ maa se **je l'ai appelé ... sanda, messageoo** kañ no ay ga baa ka har a se ... **vraiment, c'est pour ... vraiment ça, je condamne**.

(0.2) **Je condamne et puis** ya mma a har a se **quoi**. (0.2) **Parce que** ay kaynoo no **avant tout quoi**. (.) **C'est mon petit frère**. (0.2) Har a se woo no ay na har a se, **dans la vie il faut s'attendre à tout**. [...] **C'est un moment**, a ga bisa. "Tell him that **really I called him to ... to know about the problem**. Tell him the reason why **I called him ...** that is, the **message** I want to tell him ... **really, that is to ... of course, I condemn it. I condemn and** I want to let him know. Because he is my younger brother **above all. He is my younger brother**. Tell him that this is what I want to tell him, **life is much surprising and one never knows what to expect. It won't take long**, we'll get over it."

- **G12** : Bara boro fooyan ga ni wow kaŋ ši hin ka ni wow, **parce que tu as accepté d'être devant ... devant les gens**. (.) "And some people insult you who may not insult you, **just because you have accepted to be their leader**. (.)"
- **G13** : **C'est pour dire que** cawyan sii nda ... haywana ... "That's to say that for studies, there is no ..."
- **G13** : **Parce que ça vient d'en haut quoi**, woodin se i na cee daabu šennoo ga. "Because the decision came from above, that's why the issue was closed."
- **F12** : [...] (0.2) Wala yer ma ... haya kur ma hun a ra, Gao ijediyo i gay, **ils s'entraident entre eux**. (.) Ay gay ay korosi. "We ... above all, the young men of Gao, **they mutually help one another**."
- **F12** : [...] (0.2) Nda a na ti ngi binediyo ra a go, **est-ce qu'ils vont réagir comme ça?** "If they were not so brave, **would they react like that?** (.)"
- **T12** : **Bon!** (.) **C'est pas forcément** bara akoydi ma bana njerfu. [...] "Well! It's **not compulsory** that the person should pay a fine."

- **T11** : Ay har Ablo wane ciinidi ga, **vous avez tous ...** War har **c'est une bonne idée**. "I said that concerning what Ablo has just said, **you all have ...** You said that **it's a good idea.**"

4.2.2. Instances of intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

In this segment, we describe and categorise the morphological features of the instances of intra-sentential switching encountered in the 18 conversations of our oral corpus. Our descriptions will follow Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) Matrix Language Frame Model, according to which there is an asymmetrical relation between the matrix and the embedded language in the switching situation. In other words, this model states that the two languages involved in a conversation do not have the same status. One of these two languages must be the base code, the "matrix language" as Myers-Scotton may call it, that is, the medium of the conversation where alien words or phrases are inserted. In Myers-Scotton's Model, content morphemes can be inserted into mixed constituents only when congruent with the matrix language categories, while function morphemes cannot, that is to say that the grammatical morphemes must be from the base language. This kind of switching is largely the most frequent among our participants.

In the following extracts, speakers insert different categories of words from French into Songhay language. The procedure looks like what Muysken (1994:156) called placing 'an alien lexical or phrasal category' into a given language. In this case the Songhay language is the base code, that is, the medium of the conversations, and French language plays the role of embedded language, that is, the language that provides the repertoire of the 'alien' words. This proves that the intra-sentential

switching is unidirectional because the conversation is directed only in one of the two codes involved. But, the reverse direction is possible when the speaker changes the direction and uses the other code instead as the medium of the conversation, as will be seen further in this chapter. We propose to distinguish the different categories of the ‘alien’ words ‘imported’ from French into the Songhay language in the following extracts.

4.2.2.1. Verbs found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

In the extracts below, we have noticed that the speakers insert in a Songhay-based code the past participle of the verbs in French. Consider the verb forms in the following three extracts:

- **1B3**: Bari, war **gagné** wala? “Bari, **did you win?**”
- **2B1** : Le **programme-là** ka damndi, (h), **à la mairie de Goundam-là**, i **reconduit** ga. “**The programme** that was planned, (h), **at the town hall in Goundam**, they **renewed** it.”
- **2B8** : Non! A na **fini** deh! (0.2) “No! It’s not **finished** deh! ”

Speaker **1B3** has inserted in his speech the past participle of the verb ‘**gagner**’.

The action of the verb is stated in a past tense corresponding to the ‘**passé composé**’. We notice that the full form of the ‘**passé composé**’ which should be ‘**avez gagné**’ is not used. The first part of the verb which is ‘**avez**’ is omitted. This is because the use of ‘**avez**’ is not congruent with the grammatical structure of Songhay language which requires placing the infinitive form of a verb before the subject to express past actions, for example:

Ay kaa “I have come” or “I came”

Ali koy “Ali has gone” or “Ali went”.

Speaker **2B1** also uses the same form of the verb, the past participle of the verb ‘reconduire’ at the end of his speech, ‘i reconduit ga’”they renewed it”, in French “**Ils ont reconduit cela**”.

Speaker **2B8** , like **2B1** and **1B3**, uses the same form of the verb, the past participle of ‘finir’.

However, it appears that the verbs used in these three examples are from different groups of verbs in French. ‘Gagner’ is a verb of the first group, ‘reconduire’ is a verb of the third group, and ‘finir’ is a verb of the second group.

So, we think that, whatever the group of the verb is, the embedded verb takes the form of the past participle in all the instances of our study where a single word is embedded as verb. But, when we have more than two verbs embedded, only the first verb form is in the past participle, the other forms follow the grammatical rules of the embedded language, like ‘commencé à voler’ in this extract:

- **2B3** : Non! I si hin ka ɲindi yer. (.) I si hin ka ɲindi yer. (0.2) **Nous, on vient de commencer (0.2)**. Yer na ti kala **un petit oiseau (0.2)**. Mise ka yer g’o yer’o sinti ka **commencé à voler (0.2)** [...] “No! They cannot fool us. They cannot fool us. **We have just begun**. We are like **a little bird**. We are just trying to **start flying**.”

To support our claim that Songhay speakers of French use the past participle of the embedded verb in the intra-sentential switching, we have personally observed the

speech of language teachers and communicators to find out if other forms of the following verbs like ‘gagner’, ‘reclamer’, ‘coller’, ‘finir’, ‘fournir’, ‘reconduire’, ‘repondre’, ‘atteindre’ (found in our data) can be used in an intra-sentential switching of a Songhay speaker of French instead of the past participle. From these observations, it can be stated that the past participle of these verbs is generally embedded in an intra-sentential switching of a Songhay speaker of French. Other forms of these verbs do not work in this kind of switching because they will not be congruent with the grammatical system of the Songhay language used as base code in switching practices with French. For example, in this extract:

- **2B1:** Han ka war **décollé**... “The day you **leave**...”

If we substitute the subject ‘war’ (second person plural) with other subjects like ‘ay’ (first person singular) or ‘yer’ (first person plural) or ‘Ali nda Moussa’, the switching will always work with the same verb form ‘**décollé**’:

- Han ka ay **décollé**
- Han ka yer **décollé**
- Han ka Ali and Moussa **décollé**.

But, if we substitute the verb form ‘**décollé**’ with other verb forms like ‘**decolle**’ (first or third person singular) or ‘**decollons**’ (first person plural) or ‘**decollent**’ (third person plural), the switching will not work with the grammatical system of the Songhay language:

- Han ka ay **decolle** (is not appropriate in Songhay-French switching)
- Han ka yer **decollons** (is not appropriate in Songhay-French switching)

- Han ka Ali and Moussa **décollent** (is not appropriate in Songhay-French switching).

The same way, if we substitute ‘**décollé**’ with other verbs like **fournir** or **atteindre**, the switching will always work with their respective past participle forms, and other verb forms will not be congruent in this kind of switching:

- Han ka war **fourni**...
- Han ka war **atteint** ..

But, not:

- Han ka war **fournissez**...
- Han ka war **fournir**...
- Han ka war **atteingnez**...
- Han ka war **atteindre**...



From this angle, if we consider the verb form in the following extract:

- **2B2**: Hey, wa koti a ra nga baadi war ma noo ga a se, yer’o kaa **collé** ga. “Hey, you cut his share from the banknote and give it to him, we will **stick** it after.”

We notice that the embedded verb **collé** is preceded by a Songhay verb ‘kaa’ which is conjugated in a perfect tense with the Songhay modal verb ‘go’, here in the contracted form ‘’o’.

In French, when two verbs precede each other, only the first is conjugated and the second must be in the infinitive form. This rule is violated in the Songhay-French code-

switching. ‘**Collé**’, instead of the infinitive form, takes here the past participle form, because of the switching phenomenon. The infinitive is not congruent with Songhay internal system in the switching. This phenomenon is not a serial verb construction. Research needs to be done to find out if it is a case of vowel harmony. This is obvious when we substitute ‘**coller**’ with ‘**reconduire**’ or ‘**fournir**’, two verbs of second and third group:

- Yer’o kaa **reconduire** ga. (is not appropriate in Songhay-French switching)
- Yer’o kaa **fournir** ga. (is not appropriate in Songhay-French switching)

But,

- Yer’o kaa **reconduit** ga.
- Yer’o kaa **fourni** ga.

So, from that point of view, the embedded verb in an intra-sentential Songhay-French switching takes the form of the past participle of the verb, whatever the group of the verb is.

- **Examples of embedded verbs of first group like ‘gagner’**
- **1B1** : N’o **bouclé** ga hal ma fer a se **2012, non 2011**. “You close it and open **2012 for him, no, I mean 2011.**”
- **2B8** : Muusa na cii (0.2) Muusa na cii, ay ga **reclamé!** “Moussa didn’t say anything. Moussa didn’t say anything, but I **claimed!**”
- **G1** : Baa zaarikayo a cindi ka **connecté**. “Even this morning she was **connected.**”

- **G3** : Aziz, war ga **connecté** nda war **ordiwo**? “Aziz, do you **connect** your **laptop**?”
- **G9** : Sanda, boro no a na dam a ra kaŋ g’a **géré**. “Well, he engaged someone who **managed** it.”
- **G1** : Ah, **donc**, ni n’k’a **renforcé** deh! “Ah, **so**, you just **reinforced** it!”
- **F_{G2}** : Wani n’ka **joué** hô? “Has Wani **played** today?”
- **G1** : I nee Ha-Ko ka **gagné** un à zéro. “They said that Ha-Ko **won** one to zero.”
- **G1** : Ayyo! Baa hano kaŋ ngi nda Mazaa borey **joué** là, i yenje. “Yes! Even the day when they **played** against Mazaa people, they quarrelled.”
- **F_{G2}** : Agay woo, ya nka duu **chance** i ma n’ay **renvoyé**. (0.2) N’ga bay kaŋ ir **dixième** woo ra, ir **grinjo** kul no i n’a **renvoyé** kala ir nda ... ir nda Youba. (0.2) Youba **passé**, agay **redoublé**. Fifiyaŋ kul, i n’i gaarey. “Me, I was lucky they didn’t **expel** me. You know, when we were in **tenth form**, all our **grin** members were **expelled** except Bouba and me. Bouba **moved to next class** and me, I **repeated**. Fifi and all the others were expelled.”
- **F_{T4}** : Sévaré, i g’i **préparé** gi ka koy yenje. “In Severe, they are getting **prepared** to go to fight.”
- **F_{T2}** : Eh! Wala ... wala **RFI** cindi ka **félicité** gi hô, ma na mom **partiedi**? “Eh! Even ... even **RFI** ((Radio France Internationale)) has congratulated them today, didn’t you listen to the related **part**?”
- **F_{T2}** : **Communauté internationale**, i **jété** i ga **fleursyo**. (.) “The **international community** has showered praise on them. (.)”
- **F_{T4}** : I g’i’ **formé** gi. “They are being **trained up**.”

- **T7** : Afrique du Sud go may ngi **joueur** foo ka saa kur a' **marqué contre son camp**, maŋ ga ti a maa? “There is a player in the football team of South Africa who always **scores against his team**, what’s his name?”
 - **T12** : Ay ta, wallaahi, Dra **traumatisé** ay ... wallaahi, Dra **traumati** ... “You know, truly, Dra has **traumatized** me ... truly, Dra’s **traumati** ...”
 - **T14** : Walidi hasara ay ga da. (0.2) Ye baa ay ma **racheté. (0.2) La vie c’est comme ça**. “Honestly, I lost the game. I want to **redeem my honor. Life is like that.**”
 - **T11** : Yer ta **programmé. (0.2) Yer programmé** boro way cindi hinka ka **payé** nee njorfu. “We have already **planned**. We have **planned** for twelve people who had payed here.”
- **Examples of embedded verbs of second group like ‘finir’**
- **2B8** : Non, a na **fini** deh! (0.2) “It’s not **finished** deh!”
 - **G14** : [...] (0.2) Jina, nda a sinti ka **couroo** tee ma ne, nda ni si **effort fourni** deh a ga ni **couroo** kayandi. “[...]. Moreover, if he begins your **course**, and you don’t **make** any **effort**, he stops your **course**.”
 - **T14** : Sanda, **mille francs**di, ay ta, ay guna ka yer ma noo akoydi se **mille francs**di. (0.2) **Mais** yer ma **choisi** hay’ka yer’o hin ka dam, **même si c’est deux cent cinquante wala cent francs**, sanda yer’o koy yer **moyendi** ga nin. (0.2) [...]“Well, the **money**, I think it’s a good idea to give the person one **thousand francs**. **But** we should **choose** something we can do, **for example two hundred fifty or a hundred**, just according to our **means**.”
 - **T11** : [...] (0.4) Woo mo, **éclairci** ga borodiyo se. (.) **Est-ce que** ni faham? (0.4) [...] “You have to **clarify** that also to everybody. **Do** you hear me? ...”

- **Examples of embedded verbs of third group like ‘reconduire’**
- **2B1** : Le programme-là ka damndi, (h), à la mairie de Goundam-là, i reconduit ga. “The programme that was planned, (h), at the town hall in Goundam, they renewed it.”
- **3B1** : [...] (0.2) Ay ta nda ciimi, ay si hin ka har ye **repondu** ga **quoi**. (0.4) **Beero, tu peux ... comme** beero go nee, yaama a ma may hayka a har yer se a ra. “[...] Really, I cannot say that I am able to **answer** it. Beero, **can you ... as** beero is here, maybe he can tell us something about it.”
- **3B18** : [...] woodi ka yer **reconnu** ti nin **c’est-à-dire c’est celle ... l’antenne avec qui on tra... on a pu collaborer.** (.) “[...] “[...] the only one we **recognised** is, that is, the one ... the branch which we ... we had been able to **collaborate**.”
- **G3** : [...] (.) Deh ni ma ni **objectifoo atteint, c’est ça quoi!** “[...] Anyhow, you have to **achieve your objective, that’s right!**”
- **G14** : [...] **Mais** Sam, nga mo a nka **dixième repris**, takaa woo nda ir na **Backoo** tee nda cere. [...] Waatidin, Sam nda ... nda Ousmane Issoufiwoo, nda Albaaşayan ... “[...] **But** Sam also **repeated tenth form**, that’s why we did the **Baccalaureate** together with him. [...] That time, Sam and ... and Ousmane Issoufi, and Albaasha and others ...”
- **Embedded verb forms with Songhay affixation**

Some French verbs follow the process of derivational affixation in the Songhay language. These embedded verbs are formed by adding to the French verb the Songhay derivational affix ‘-ndi’. In Songhay language, this derivational affix is added to a verb to form another verb, as we can notice in the speech of **T11** where the speaker uses pure

Songhay (bayndi, “to make know”) compared to the speeches of **2B8, T9, T11** where the speakers embed the French verb forms with the Songhay affix ‘-ndi’:

- **T11** : [...] (0.2) Wa bayndi boro ka ... mise ka ne hah ... **c'est-à-dire** mise foo ne hayadiyo’ **déroulé** nda. (0.2) [...] “[...]You have to make everyone know that ... **that is**, how things are going **to take place**. [...]”
- **2B8** : **Savoirnd’ay!** Maa n’o hinse yane? “Make me **know!** What have you done for me?”
- **T9** : [...] Sanda woodi ti nin ... sanda woodi ti nin, nda yer’o wir ka **passerndi message quoi!** (.) [...] “ That is ... that is in case we need to **pass** a message!”
- **T11** : [...] **Mais, je crois que**, njorfudi, nda i hiraw misedi ka borodiyo kaa nda, hayadi’o **organiséndi!** [...] “[...] But, I think if we pay correctly the money as it should be, the thing will be **organised!** [...]”

4.2.2.2. Nouns found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

In the extracts below, speakers insert different kinds of nouns from French into the Songhay language: compound nouns, common nouns, proper nouns, abstract nouns, collective nouns. These nouns are used either as subject or as object.

However, we have found that these embedded nouns sometimes keep the Songhay inflectional affixes -di/-o/-wo (for singular nouns), -diyo/-wey (for plural nouns) which indicate the Songhay definite nouns. As for the Songhay indefinite nouns, the embedded words do not undergo any change for singular nouns, but the plural nouns take the inflectional affixes -yo/-yey (-yo in Timbuktu dialect, -yey in Gao dialect).

This angle confirms Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) Matrix Language Frame Model, according to which the grammatical morphemes must be from the base language and 'content morphemes can be inserted into mixed constituents only when congruent with the matrix language categories'. Nouns are content words, and they adapt here the Songhay grammaticality:

- **Definite form of nouns, singular (-di/-o/-wo) and plural (-diyo/-wey)**
 - **1B2**: Policediyo kur ka dam **constadi** ka ra i har () [...] "All the **policemen** that did the **report** in which they said ()"
 - **G1** : A ga **Biblo feuillewey** kortu deh a g'i bibiri. "He tore out the **sheets** of his **Bible** and rolled them up in pieces."
- **Indefinite form of nouns, singular (bare form) and plural (-yo/-yey)**
 - **2B1** : Ciji, yer nda ngi borodiyo bara **débat** timmente ra meh. "Last night, we held a long **debate** with them, you know."
 - **F_{G2}** : Woo no ma bay kaŋ **staryey** ti ir. (0.2) Ay nee **tellement que staryey** ti ir, a si hin ka šelen yane. "It is a fact that we are **stars**. I say we are **stars**, that's the reason why she couldn't talk with me."
 - **F_{G2}** : Eh, Fifi goo nda **forme!** "Eh, Fifi has a **graceful figure!**"
 - **T7** : **Joueyo** ka ja ngi ŋaa hay gi hal more i'g'i goro **banc de touche** ... "These **players**, since they have been playing till now, they are still sitting on the **substitutes'bench** ..."

- **Other examples of embedded definite form of nouns, singular (-di/-o/-wo) and plural (-diyo/-wey)**
- **1B2:** (h) Ay bay nin (h) Abdoulaye (h) (.) Hâa Abdoulaye, nga g’o bay (.) Bara, ye hungu a hâa ngu konde. (.) Abdoulaye hâa ngu konde; **donc**, nga konde ya dam a se **compte-rendudi**. “(h) Surely (h) Abdoulaye (h) (.) Ask Abdoulaye, he is the one who knows (h) because, I think he asked his aunt (.) Abdoulaye asked his aunt about the issue; **so** his aunt actually told him the **report** of the whole story.”
- **1B1 :** Man ne **bicdi** go? **Bicdi** go man? “Where is the **pen**? ((The second interrogative sentence is a repetition of the first one with another word order possible in Songhay language: Man bicdi go? Bicdi go man?))”
- **1B11 :** Nda ni fatta nda **quartozedi**, a’ jaw ga nda **valetdi**. “If you play the **forteen**, he will play the **jack**.”
- **1B1 :** Har yer se **bilandi** wai! “Tell us the **results!**”
- **2B5 :** **Organisationdi**, (0.2) **organisationdi**, (0.2) wooyo ka koynda borodiyo, maa n’ i har i se? A.D.C.V.R wala? (0.2) Woodiyo ya n’ay **place**. “The **organisation** (0.2) the **organisation**, (0.2) those who are in charge of transporting people, how do you call them? Is it A.D.C.V.R? (0.2) ((abbreviation representing the name of an association)) They offered me a **ticket**.”
- **3B18 :** **Bon, mainteanant**, war’o har a se **conditionsdiyo** yah. (.) Haran go har a se **conditions d’adhesiondiyo**. “Well, now you tell him the **conditions**. Let Haran tell him the **membership conditions**.”
- **FG2 :** Ada ... Ada **profilo** face ga cijin. “Ada’s ... Ada’s **profile** on **facebook** yesterday night.”

- **fG2** : Heh, Miguel nda Luciana **musiquoo**. “Heh, that’s the **music** of Miguel and Luciana.”
- **G1** : Jigiba woo, n’**ti parkingoo** no a cindi a ga lakkal? “That Jigiba, wasn’t he watching over the **parking**?”
- **G1** : **Non**, za a cindi ... ay ka dirɲa nga **histoiroo** taka. “**No**, since he was ... I now forgot what his **story** was like.”
- **fG8** : **Oui, ça se voit!** (.) Irkoy se, **en fait**, ya mma goo no ay ga Prince gaa a ma nga **table de multication**woo zaa. “**Yes of course, that’s obvious!** (.) So, **in fact**, I am trying to help Prince learn his **multiplication table**.”
- **fG2** : Abba, ay nee, n’ga bay, ir **temps**ɲoo ga, ir ga aru tee, **mais** ir cine arey banda ir ga hanga. (0.2) **Mais** sohô da, woy ize buuney, aru beerey no ... “Abba you know, in our **times** we made friends with men of our like. **But** nowadays, small girls are making friends with elder men ...”
- **G14** : Nda a dii kaɲ n’ si **avancé** deh a ga ni **couroo** kayandi. “If he noticed that you don’t **improve**, he stops the **course**.”
- **fT2** : Biifo, ay guna a ga **telephoned**i, a go cii kuna ... “The day before yesterday, I saw the **telephone** with him, he was calling ...”
- **fT6** : **Papiers**diyo g’i ga? “Did they get any **documents**?”
- **fT2** : [...] (0.2) **Et puis** wala hah, ay ta n’o bay handidi ka ay naanay gi, handidi ka hayadi sinti, ka borodiyo’ o jur ka kaa ... Tunbuntu **jeuned**iyoo’o jur ka kaa, ngi t’o jur ka yee ya, i har ngiyo’o koy ngiyo **parent**diyo jere. “**And** you know, I really have trusted them since the beginning when people began to run away ... when the **young men** of Timbuktu began to run away, these ones, they ran back instead, to take care of their **parents**”
- **T9** : **Championat**di kay m’bay? “The **championship** is interrupted, isn’t it?”

- **T14** : Jourdi ti **chaque jeudi** wala? “About the **day**, is it on Thursdays?”
- **Other examples of embedded indefinite form of nouns, singular (bare form) and plural (-yo/-yey)**
- **2B4** : Réunion kur ka kaa Modi na kaa. “Modi hasn’t come to any **meeting**.”
- **2B5** : Forage foo binde go hima ka sawanda merje? “How much is one **drilling**?”
- **F2** : Ay dii Ada haywanaa **face** ga. “I saw Ada’s thing on **facebook**.”
- **F2** : Hal ay na ... haywana ... ay na **invitation** samba a se cijin vers minuit ...
“I ... I sent her an **invitation** yesterday night around midnight ...”
- **F2** : Deh, may ka **but** dam? “So, who **scored**?”
- **G15** : A šii nda **âge**. “There is no **age limit**.”
- **T1** : Boro si daabundi miso, war na dam **déclaration**, war na dam haya foo. “A person can not be arrested like that, you didn’t make any **notification**, you did nothing.”
- **F2** : Témoinsyo go dooti. **Il y a des témoins**. N’o kate **témoinsyo** ka ... “There are **witnesses**. **There are witnesses**. You have to come with **witnesses** to ...”
- **F4** : A si koy maase? A baa boro foodiyo ya, wala a duu **arrangement**, wala maa? “Why doesn’t he go? Is he more important than the other people, or has he got an **arrangement**?”
- **F2** : **Communauté internationale**, i jété i ga **fleursyo**. (.) “**The international community has showered praise** on them. (.)”
- **F2** : Boroyo ka yenje nda ton-diyo nda hayayo... i ma fur **armée**, i ma jaw gi. (0.2) **Après**, nda i benndi **guerrewo**, i ma **gradé** afooyo; (.) i ma dam gi nda **colonelyo**. (0.2[...]) “People who fought the rebels with stones and other things

... the **army** must be dismissed, and these young people must be enrolled instead. **Later**, after this **war**, most of them must **be promoted**; they must be promoted to the rank of **colonels**.”

- **Examples of embedded nouns used with French determiners**

- **1B1** : Koy kuboy yane ay wane ijemayroyo deh à l'école publique (0.4). Ni nda woo ma koy nda cere, **le petit-là**. “Go and take my children **at the public school**. You go with this one, **that little boy**.”
- **2B3** : **Non!** I si hin ka ηindi yer. (.) I si hin ka ηindi yer. (0.2) **Nous, on vient de commencer. (0.2)** Yer na ti kala **un petit oiseau. (0.2)** [...] “**No!** They cannot fool us. They cannot fool us. **We have just begun**. We are like **a little bird**.”
- **F12**: [...] Guna **la différence. [...]** “You see **the difference**.”

4.2.2.3. Adjectives found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

The adjectives encountered in the Songhay-French intra-sentential switching of our data are largely numerals and adjectives of quality. Other kinds of adjectives are used, but less frequent than numerals and adjectives of quality. Like nouns, some of these adjectives take the inflectional affixes -di/-o/-wo (for singular nouns), -diyo/-wey (for plural nouns), confirming Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) point of view in her Matrix Language Frame Model, according to which content morphemes, like nouns here, adapt the grammar rule of the base language.

- **Examples of embedded numerals**

- **1B2** : Nda a noo **deux mille** kur a' **bouclé l'année**. “If he gives **two thousands** he **will complete the year**.”
- **2B1** : I fattandi hari à **deux milles** metres. “They have dug **two thousand** metre deep to get water.”
- **ƐG2** : Bouba, ir k'a gar. (0.2) Bouba, n'ti **onzième** n'a go, ir go **dixième**. “Bouba, we came after him. While Bouba was in **eleventh form**, we were in **tenth form**.”
- **ƐT8** : I har i jaw **cent personnes**, **mais** Tumbutu boro boboyo' koy. “It is said that **a hundred people** have been enrolled, **but** many people from Timbuktu have joined.”
- **T9** : Momo'o may ... a'may jiiro **quarante** ans. (.) Abba'o may **quarante** ans. “Momo is **forty** years old this year. Abba is **forty** years old.”
- **T11** : Yer, nee na yer dam war se **cent cinquante un à zéro**. “We, we beat you here **hundred fifty one to zero**.”

- **Examples of embedded adjectives of quality**

- **2B2** : Lazone, n'ti **fort** ne a go **fort** mo ... “Lazone, he is **not only smart but...**”
- **2B2** [A too **fort** ra nong'ka], wala a way ka ηindi war, nda a gay hal a g'o ciini ra, a'a cii hal a ma bendi nga moo wooyo si fer. A go daabu gi nin ka cii. “He is so **smart** that when he wants to fool you, he feigns to close his eyes from the beginning till the end of his speech. He closes them and goes on speaking.”
- **2B3** : **Non!** I si hin ka ηindi yer. (.) I si hin ka ηindi yer. (0.2) **Nous, on vient de commencer. (0.2)** Yer na ti kala **un petit oiseau**. (0.2) “No! They cannot fool

us. They cannot fool us. **We have just begun.** We are like a **little** bird; we are just trying to start flying.”

- **G11** : Ya nka si baa ya **troisième leger** tee, **donc, troisième fort** no ay ga baa. “I don’t like to make **light** tea, I like **strong** tea.”
- **G15** : **Il y a des gens, un moment-là, ils sont pas ...** i šii **disponible**. (0.2) Waati fooyan goo no, i ga **regretté** ... “**There are some people, at a certain point, they are not ...** they are not **available**. After sometimes they **regret** ...”
- **T13** : **Mais, c'est-à-dire, après** hawme handudi, maŋ ga ti a maa, bor’ka **prêt**, akoydi’o hin ka hajje ... “**So, that is, after** Lent, you know, any person who **is ready** can ...”

- **Examples of embedded distributive adjectives**

- **Chaque:**

- **T14** : Jourdi ti **chaque jeudi** wala? “About the **day**, is it **on** Thursdays?”

4.2.2.4. Adverbs found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

Contrary to verb forms, nouns and adjectives, the adverbs we found in this Songhay-French intra-sentential switching are fixed words. All these adverbs do not undergo any change.

Maintenant:

- **3B25**: **Donc, maintenant-là**, morayda nda war sanba ga i se, i go yendi ga war se, bara a kaa sanda bana ne war’o bana i se feejidi. (0.2) [...] “**So, then**, now if

you send them anything, they'll return it because that's as if you paid for the sheep they had offered you.”

Après :

- **1B4**: Hey, kaa din ay **motoodi**; **après** kur ay nda ni go **joué**. “Hey, come and take my **motobyke**; **after**, we **play** together.”
- **FT2** : Boroyo ka yenje nda ton-diyo nda hayayo... i ma fur **armée**, i ma jaw gi. (0.2) **Après**, nda i benndi **guerrewo**, i ma **gradé** afooyo; (.) i ma dam gi nda **colonelyo**. (0.2[...]) “People who fought the rebels with stones and other things ... the **army** must be dismissed, and these young people must be enrolled instead. **Later**, after this **war**, most of them must **be promoted**; they must be promoted to the rank of **colonels**.”
- **T13** : **Mais, c'est-à-dire, après** hawme handudi, maŋ ga ti a maa, bor'ka **prêt**, akoydi'o hin ka hajje ... “**So, that is, after** Lent, you know, any preson who **is ready** can ...”

Combien:

- **T12**: N'o may **combien**? “**How much** do you get?”
- **et puis**:
- **FT2**: Wooyo ne i go hima ka **gradé**, Gao **jeunes** wooyo. (.) **Puisque** i too ngiyo hiney, bor'ka yenje malfakoy. (0.2) **Et puis** wala hah, ay ta n'o bay handidi ka ay naanay gi, handidi ka hayadi sinti, ka borodiyo' o jur ka kaa ... [...] “They are the right people who deserve **to be promoted**, these **young men** of Gao. **Because** they did their best, braving gunmen. **And besides**, you know, I really have trusted them since the beginning when people began to run away ...[...].”

Vraiment:

- **2B5** : Est-ce que n' ti metres jangu forages nono? (.) **Vraiment**, woo da se war... yer dawdi kur ne war fun-fun yaada-yaada. (0.2) [...] **“Tell me, these borings, aren't they hundred metres deep? Actually, that's why you... you have dug so many holes in our land for nothing.”**

Tellement:

- **FG2**: Woo no ma bay kaŋ staryey ti ir. (0.2) Ay nee **tellement que staryey** ti ir, a si hin ka selen ya ne. **“It is a fact that we are stars. I say we are stars, that's the reason why she couldn't talk with me”**

Directement:

- **T1** : Non, c'est pas facile! (.) Matchdi ga dam, deh ma **informé** boro **directement** a ma kaa. (0.2) **C'est pas facile!** **“No, it's not easy! Just the moment when the match begins, you inform someone to come at once. It's not easy!”**

Franchement :

- **T7** : Ay har a boori! (0.2) **Franchement**, a na ti Ablo wane **idée** woo foo, **puisque** war mara woo jaatindi ka ye guna, **c'est vraiment très intéressant!** (.) [...] **“I say, well done! Honestly, in addition to Ablo's idea, the meeting itself, it is really very interesting!”**

Forcément:

- **T12** : **Bon! (.) C'est pas forcément** bara akoydi ma bana njerfu. (0.2) **Laissons ça!** “Well! It’s not compulsory that the person should pay a fine. **Forget it!**”
(Here, speaker **T12** mistakenly uses this adverb instead of the adjective **forcé**)

4.2.2.5. Conjunctions found in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

The conjunctions encountered in the Songhay–French intra-sentential switching are fixed words, and like the adverbs, these embedded conjunctions also do not undergo any change in their initial form.

Donc :

- **1B4** : **Donc**, yer fur ga. “So, we forget it.”
- **G1** : Ah, **donc**, ni nk’a **renforcé** deh! “Ah, so, you just **reinforced** it!”
- **G15** : **Donc**, nda war na Bouba gar, **donc on est parti ensemble au lycée**. “So, if you came after Bouba, **so** we went to lycée together.”

Sinon :

- **1B1** : Ni **joué**, woodi se a dam a ra **cœurdi parce que ()**. **Sinon**, a si dam a ra **cœurdi**, bara a hungu n’o wii ga. “You **have already played**, that’s why he has played the **heart**, **because ()**. **Otherwise** he wouldn’t play **the heart**, because for him you would beat.”
- **G1** : **Sinon**, Moussa, a futu deh! (0.2) [...] “**Otherwise**, Moussa got very angry!”

Comme :

- **1B9** : **Comme** ay na tracé ga jina, quoui! “**As I haven’t drawn** it yet!”
- **1B2** : Ay faham ga. (.) **Comme que dixdi** daabu dooti (0.2) ye noo ga nga piquedi, **et je coince le quartorze parce que** a si may yane nafa kur. “I understood it. **Since** the **ten** has blocked the way, I drop him the spade **and I stick the forteen because** I have nothing to do with it.”
- **2B6** : A boori! **Comme** ciinidiyo na sinti jina, **quoui**. “Fine! **As** the discussions haven’t begun yet.”
- **3B23** :Ay har **mariagedi** mo, **comme** a go may wande foo, nda a jaw wande hinkante morayda ... (h) “I say, for the **wedding**, **as** he has only one wife, if now he decides to take a second wife ...”

Mais:

- **2B2**: Yer kondey woo, yer ti talkayo kondey, **mais** boro kur ka wirci dam a ga, wala bun, wala ijemaa, yer kur’o koy. “Our association is an association of poor people, **but** any member who got sick, or a death in his family, or naming ceremony in his family, we all go to his place.”
- **F62** : Abba, ay nee, n’ga bay, ir **temps**noo ga, ir ga aru tee, **mais** ir cine arey banda ir ga hanga. (0.2) **Mais** sohô da, woy ize buuney, aru beerey no ... “Abba you know, in our **times** we made friends with men of our like. **But** nowadays, small girls are making friends with elder men ...”
- **F62** : **Mais** ni, n’si haŋ? (0.2) Ni nka s’a daŋ ni niiney ra? “**But** you, do you take? Don’t you put some in your nose?”
- **G13** : **Mais**, woo kaŋ mana caw, woo nga ti Lavieille ... Lavieille, nga ma hanse ka ... **elle est très paresseuse**. (.) Nda Fifi. (0.2) Fifi hunday, a nka si waani da.

”**But**, the one who didn’t study much, that is Lavieille ... Lavieille, she didn’t much ... **she is very lazy**. And Fifi also. As for Fifi, she doesn’t know anything at all.”

Soit ... soit:

- **FG6:** Wala a koy Bebeyan do ... **soit** Bebeyan do ... woodin hugo miŋo hundey kaŋ g’ir cindi ka kay ... **soit** noodin ra a go, **soit** a koy ... “Either she went to Bebe’s place ... **either** Bebe’s place ... that house in front of which we were satanding ... **either** she is there, **or** she went ...”
- **T14 :** **Soit**, sanda, nda akoydi si nee **quoi**. [...] “**Whether**, for example, the person is absent.”

C'est-à-dire quoi:

- **G10 :** Šine nda Jigiba, i kur mana baa cere, **c'est-à-dire quoi**, Jigiba jindo, nda a šelen mane **quoi** ... “There is no much difference between Shin and Jigiba, **that is**, Jigiba’s voice, when he is speaking ...”

Parce que:

- **G13:** Mazaa borey **là**, i ga yenje **parce que**, (h) n’ ga bay, **c’est des villages contigus** () “Mazaa people are quarrelsome **because**, you know, **they are adjoining villages** ()”

4.2.2.6. Exclamations found in the intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French

We have found many interjections used to express abrupt, emphatic or excited utterances:

- **1B9** : **Non!** Yer na har yer si may. “**No!** We didn’t say that we don’t have.”
- **1B11** : **Non! C’est bon!** Nda () kur ay nda g’o koy kuboy. “**No! All right!** If () I’ll play with him.”
- **1B1** : Aywa, **d’accord!** Ay ta baada, borodi ka si may () ay nda ga g’o **joué**. “**So, alright!** As for me, the person who hasn’t got any () I’ll **play** with him.”
- **1B5** : **Non!** Ay wandi ti **carreau**. “**No!** Mine is a **diamond**.”
- **2B1** : **Eh mais!** Saa ka yer kur na cii. “**Well!** As we all didn’t say anything.”
- **2B3** : **Ah non!** Yer si yadda ga meh! “**Ah no!** We cannot accept it!”
- **3B21** : **Oui, oui!** Woo mo ay mom ga ... [...] “**Yes, yes!** I’ve heard about it ...”
- **G1** : Jina, i nee kaŋ Wani hun **quoi!** (0.2) [...] “And then, they said that Wani is out of the competition.”
- **F2** : Zarma šenni no a ga tee **quoi**, [...] “She speaks Zarma dialect, [...]”
- **G13** : **Mais**, a goo! Ay baabaa goo zankey gamey ra. “**So**, did you ever hear of such a thing! My father is there sitting among teenagers.”
- **F18** : War’o cii **quoi!** “You should talk!”

4.3. French Integrated Words in Songhay Language found in our Data

Integration is different from code-switching and code-mixing. Integration is when a word is accepted by the speakers. It has a historical process. From this angle, the contact between French and Songhay language dated back to the early 18th century at the beginning of the French colonisation. In this process, many French words have

been accepted by most of the speakers and have entered the native language. Some pure Songhay terminologies have totally disappeared and replaced by French lexical items. A certain number of French words have been accepted because their equivalents do not exist in the Songhay language.

Thus, the French words we have encountered in our data are not cases of code-switching and code-mixing because they have already entered the native language.

The following extracts present a repertoire of French words into the Songhay language. But, this repertoire is limited because of the situations of the conversations of the participants. However, it presents a series of lexical items relating to games, sports and other terminologies that the native language has lost or does not have at all.

Vocabulary of sports, games and playing cards:

- **1B6** : Ay si har **Pique** maase? “Why shouldn’t I say **spade**?”
- **1B3** : Bari, war **gagné** wala? “Bari, **did** you **win**?”
- **1B9** : Ni har ‘**tout**’ wala? “Did you say ‘**tout**’?”
- **1B9** : N’ti **trèfle** ne ni **joué** yah? “Isn’t it a **club** you have just **played**?”
- **1B2** : Ni dam **faux-jeu** foo. “You played a **trick card**.”
- **1B3** : **Carreaudi** nono. “It’s the **diamond**.”
- **1B2** : Nda a gar **carreau** foo ya go ay ga, nda a dam ga kur ye fur **carreaudi** [...] “If only I had one **diamond**, and he played this way, I would drop this **diamond** [...]”
- **1B5** : **Trèfle** foo ya go **jeudi** ra. “There is only one **club** in the **game**.”
- **1B2** : [...] Maa ni **coincé**²? Maa ni **coincé**? “What did you **stick**? What did you **stick**?”

- **1B5** : TREFLE hal i ma ‘**capoté**², yer... “Play **club** so that they **dash us off** ...”
- **1B1** : Ay ta, nda a har ‘**passe**’ kur ye har haydi ka ye may. “Actually, if he says ‘**pass**’, I will say exactly what I have.”
- **1B2** : Ay na guna ni **cartedi**. “I didn’t see your **card**.”
- **G13** : [...]. Sanda ay si bay, **peut-être arbitrageo** no. “[...] I really don’t know ... **maybe** it was a **refereeing** error.”
- **G1** : Biifo, yer **matchoo** woo ga, **il y avait un joueur qui est blessé**, a go **terrain**oo ra. I mana a kaa tarey, **ils ont marqué un but**. “The day before yesterday, during our **football match**, there was a **wounded player** lying on the **ground**. They didn’t take him out, **and they scored**.”
- **F2** : Deh, may ka **but** dam? “So, who **scored**?”
- **G1** : I nee Ha-Ko ka **gagné un à zero**. “They said that Ha-Ko **won one to zero**.”
- **T9** : Abba, **gardiendi**. “Abba, the **goalkeeper**.”
- **T7** : **Leur premier match** ... i dam a ra **faux-pasyo** ta. “**During their first match** ... they made some **foolish mistakes** of course.”
- **T9** : **Championat**di kay m’bay? “The **championship** is intrrupted, isn’t it?”
- **T3** : **Avenir équipé**di ka i **aligné**, nda i **joué ball**, i cille si dooti. “The **team** that **Avenir** has selected, if they **set to work to play foot ball**, they don’t have any equal there.”
- **T12** : Boro si nee ka’ hin ka kar’ ay **dame** ra. “There is nobody here who can beat me in playing **draughts**.”

² Belote game terminologies meaning to dash off, to beat the opponent at one go.

Vocabulary that the native language has lost or does not have:

- **1B2**: Policediyo kur ka dam **constadi** ka ra i har () (.) [...] “All the **policemen** that did the **report** in which they said () (.) [...]”
- **1B1** : [A har i jay ngu **telephoned**.] “He said that his **phone** had been stolen.”
- **1B6** : I ma gar n’o kani, i ma jaw ni **pantalon**. (0.2) (h) [...] “They found you in bed, and took your **pants**.”
- **1B1** : Aywa, **cahier**di ma kaa. “O.K., bring the **notebook**.”
- **1B1** : **Bicdi** go man? “Where is the **pen**?”
- **2B6** : **OK!** “**OK!**”
- **2B4** : Ay wane **patron** ga bana yane. “My **chief** has paid for me.”
- **3B21** : **Oui, oui!** Woo moo ay mom ga ... Ye jaw nga **numerodi** morayda. “Yes, yes! I’ve heard about it ... I’ll take his **phone number** right now.”
- **F66** : **Motowoo** binde goo hugey do. “But her **motorbyke** is at home.”
- **G13** : Jean mma goo nda nga **Bible** foo kaṅ, wallaahi, **drogue** deh a n’i kul cendi hal’a ben. (h) [...] “Jean got a **Bible** that he tore out till the last page because of **drugs**.”
- **G15** : Hal’a go hun **lycée**, n’ga bay kaṅ a hasara. “Before leaving the **lycée**, you know, he had been spoiled.”
- **T1** : Hervé gay ka fatta. Hervé na ti **gendarme**, nga ta ti **garde**. **Garde** nono. “Hervé finished long ago. Hervé is not a **gendarme**, he is a **guardsman**. He is a **guardsman**.”
- **T14** : Jourdi ti chaque **jeudi** wala? “About the day, is it on **Thursdays**?”
- **T11** : Haya si bara. (0.2) **Est-ce que** ni faham? “Times are hard. **Do** you understand?”

4.4. Reverse Direction of Intra-sentential French-Songhay Code-switching

Figure 4 proposes to represent the reverse direction of the intra-sentential type of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French. The two languages involved in CS are represented in two different forms. These forms are not of equal size. The larger one indicates the base language or matrix language which is, here, French. The smaller one indicates the language that provides the inserted words. The reverse direction also fits the “Matrix Language Frame Model” of Myers-Scotton (1993a, b). The direction of the arrow indicates that the switching is taking place in French-based code. The reverse direction is also unidirectional.

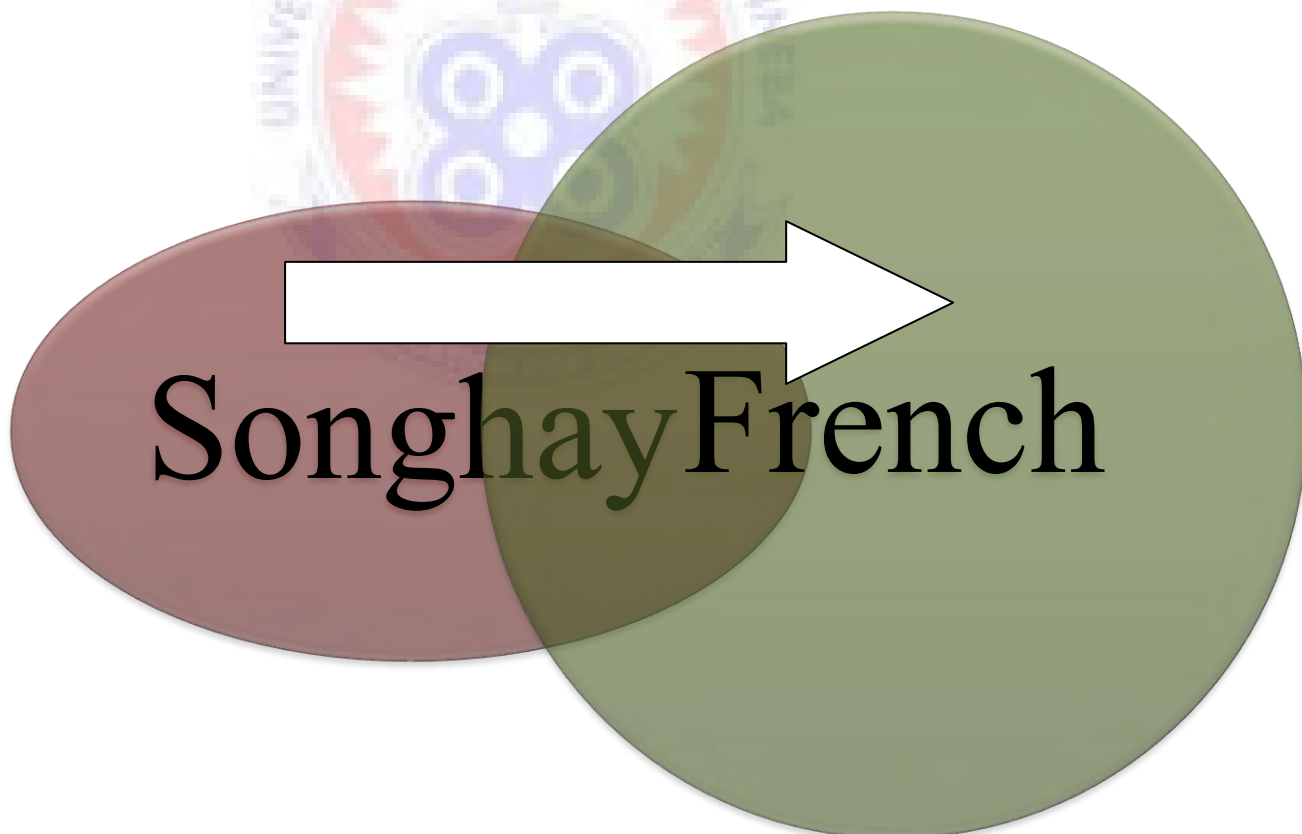


Figure 4: Intra-sentential French-Songhay code-switching (reverse direction)

In the conversations of Songhay speakers of French that we have collected, the intra-sentential switching phenomenon has a reverse direction. Speakers sometimes reverse the direction of the conversation using alternately both languages as base code in their discourse. This does not challenge, anyhow, the unidirectional character of the intra-sentential switching because the conversation is directed only in one of the two codes involved. The speaker only changes the direction and uses the other code instead as the medium of the conversation. In our data, we found some examples of intra-sentential switching where the base code of the discourse is not Songhay language as seen in the extracts above, but French instead. In these examples, the Songhay embedded words generally express emphasis, excitement, surprise, joy, anger, agreement or disagreement, time, and other exclamations.

- **1B3** : C'est même pas bon, wallaahi! “It’s not good, I am sure!”
- **1B8** : Ciji, pourtant moi je l’ai vu. “Last night, I saw him all the same.”
- **1B2** : Aywa, toi aussi tu es avec son oncle. (.) “So, you also you are with his uncle. (.)”
- **1B10** : Aywa, il faut jouer. “So, you have to play.”
- **1B1** : J’ai quatre carreaux, wallaahi. “I’ve got four diamonds, really.”
- **2B1** : [...] Ni baakayna, il fait partir des bailleurs, hein. “Your uncle, he is one of the sponsors, hein.”
- **3B18** : Ngaah, je... je voulais dire un mot par rapport à ça. [...] “Yes, I ... I want to say a word about that.”
- **3B1** : Beero t’a donné ... je crois que beero t’a donné une réponse. Ce que je vais ajouter à ça... “My elder brother has given you ... I think that my elder brother has given you an answer. What I m going to add ...”

- **3B17** : Ah, ³tcheh, **Goundam est impliqué là-dans hein!** “Ah, tcheh, **Goundam is involved in it hein!**”
- **3B10** : A ben, même s’il se marie quatre fois, on va l’accompagner quatre fois. “Alright, even if he gets married four times, we’ll accompany him four times.”
- **3B1** : Bon! (.) Aywa, c’est un peu ça. (0.2) Bon, moi je crois que sur ce ... il n’ya pas trop de choses à dire, beero. (0.2) [...] “Well! So, that it is. Well, and now I think that ... we haven’t got much to say, beero.”
- **G1** : C’est un problème deh! (h) “It’s a problem, of course!”
- **G10** : Il faut avoir un objectif, a ben. “One must have an objective, that’s all.”
- **T1** : Est-ce que Tumbutu ijediyo, ils sont informés? “Do you know if the young men of Timbuktu are informed?”
- **fT2** : Wallaahi, ils sont informés. (.) [...] “Truly, they are informed.”
- **fT8** : Gao, ils sont unis dah. “Gao people are really united.”
- **T1** : Mais, quinzainedi, est-ce que c’est voté? “But, the fortnight, has it been voted?”
- **T14** : Ay ta, je suis quelqu’un qui me déplace beaucoup. (.) [...] “As for me, I am particularly always on move. (.)”

³ Interjection expressing excitement

4.5. The use of code-switching and code-mixing does not affect the morphosyntactic structure of the Songhay language as far as the constraints on code-switching and code-mixing theories are concerned

In this section, we seek to determine if the phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French affects the morphosyntactic structure of the Songhay language. The aim is to show if Poplack's (1980, 1981) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) constraints on code-switching and code-mixing theories fit our findings. The first, Poplack (1980, 1981), claimed that the juxtaposition of the sentences and clauses of the two languages involved does not violate the internal rules of the two languages. The second, Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), claimed that content morphemes can be inserted into mixed constituents only when congruent with the matrix language categories, while function morphemes cannot. This is to say that the use of language alternation by bilinguals or multilinguals does not impact on the grammar system of the native language. And the inserted words in a bilingual discourse fit and adapt the grammar of the base code.

For the inter-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French, if we refer to Poplack's (1980, 1981) assertion, we can say that there is no violation of the grammatical system of either French or Songhay language, as we see in the following extracts:

- **1B2** : Uhh hu! (.) **Parle maintenant.** Maa n'a har? "Come on! (.) **Say something now.** What did he say?"
- **FG8** : Ay si baa ye faajikaaray. (.) **C'est tout! (0.2) Je peux disposer?** "I don't want to chat. **That's all! (.) May I leave?"**

- **G12** : Bara boro fooyan ga ni wow kaŋ si hin ka ni wow, **parce que tu as accepté d’être devant ... devant les gens. (.)** “And some people insult you who may not insult you, **just because you have accepted to be their leader. (.)**”
- **G1** : I nee Ha-Ko ka **gagné un a zéro.** “They said that Ha-Ko **won one to zero**”
- **T12** : **Bon! (.) C’est pas forcément** bara akoydi ma bana njerfu. (0.2) **Laissons ça!** “Well! **It’s not compulsory** that the person should pay a fine. **Forget it.**”

To support Poplack’s (1980, 1981) claim about the alternation of sentences and clauses, we notice that the inter-sentential switching of our study has revealed a certain parallelism vis-a-vis the two grammatical systems of Songhay and French language. In this structural parallelism, the grammar rules of neither of the two languages are violated. We can say also that the bidirectional character of this kind of switching favours this structural parallelism vis-a-vis the two codes. Therefore, the grammar rules of the Songhay language are not affected in this kind of switching.

As far as the intra-sentential switching is concerned, Myer-Scotton’s (1993a, 1993b) insertion model of the Matrix Language Frame Model also does not allow any violation of the internal rules of the matrix language. The model states that the embedded words are congruent with the grammaticality of the base code. This is supported in the intra-sentential switching of our study where inserted French elements adapt to the grammar rules of the Songhay language. We can also add that the unidirectional character of this kind of switching which allows a single medium of conversation among the two codes involved, does not favour any violation of the grammaticality of the base code. Therefore, the Songhay grammaticality is not affected

in conversations where Songhay is the matrix language and French is the repertoire providing the embedded words.

Examining the different kinds of French words found in our data such as verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, or interjections, we have noticed that the speakers do not transform the French words they insert into their talk because they have a good knowledge of French taught at school. However, playing with the form of the embedded lexical items, they alternate the two codes. The following extracts can illustrate this:

- **2B8**: **Savoir**nd'ay! Maa n'o hinse yane? “Make me **know!** What have you done for me?”
- **FG2** : Agay woo, ya nka duu **chance** i ma n'ay **renvoyé**. (0.2) N'ga bay kaŋ ir **dixièmoo** woo ra, ir **grinŋoo** kul no i n'a **renvoyé** kala ir nda ... ir nda Youba. (0.2) Youba **passé**, agay **redoublé**. Fifiyan kul, i n'i gaarey. “Me, I was lucky they didn't **expel** me. You know, when we were in **tenth form**, all our **grin** members were **expelled** except Bouba and me. Bouba **moved to next class** and me, I **repeated**. Fifi and all the others were expelled.”
- **FT4** : Sévaré, i g'i **préparé** gi ka koy yenje. “In Severe, they are getting **prepared** to go to fight.”
- **G1** : **Non**, za a cindi ... ay ka dirŋa nga **histoiroo** taka. “**No**, since he was ... I now forgot what his **story** was like.”
- **FG2** : Abba, ay nee, n'ga bay, ir **tempsŋoo** ga, ir ga aru tee, **mais** ir cine arey banda ir ga hanga. (0.2) **Mais** sohô da, woy ize buuney, aru beerey no ... “Abba you know, in our **times** we made friends with men of our like. **But** nowadays, small girls are making friends with older men ...”

- **G14** : Nda a dii kaŋ n' si **avancé** deh a ga ni **couroo** kayandi. “If he noticed that you don't **improve**, he stops the **course**.”
- **FT2** : Biifo, ay guna a ga **telephoned**i, a go cii kuna ... “The day before yesterday, I saw the **telephone** with him, he was calling ...”

To confirm this point of view, **1IAT**, a linguist, said in our interview that an embedded word in a discourse follows not only the morphosyntactic rules but also the phonetic and phonological rules of the base language. When an alien word enters a base language, it adapts itself to the grammatical system and the pronunciation rules of this language. This is, according to **1IAT**, a universal rule for all languages involved in a contact phenomenon. For example, he argued, in Songhay, we do not have words beginning with the liquid “r”. So, when words like ‘radio’, ‘roti’ or ‘recreation’ get frequently embedded in a switching context, they adopt the phonetic rule of Songhay which requires addition of a vowel at the beginning of the word: ‘aradio’, ‘oroti’, ‘erecreation’. But, when such words are not transformed, they are called xenolexis, an alien word which is not yet assimilated. **1IAT** added that in some cases of switch, structural errors can occur, notably with the use or omission of prepositions in French and postpositions in Songhay. In this way, the base code, Songhay language, can be affected in the long-term use of this language practice, depending on the kinds of people who use this practice, how frequent this practice is, and the need and the ambition of the youth.

If people, **1IAT** said, of considerable merit such as teachers, great personalities, politicians, artists practise it, the phenomenon can affect young people. Then the youth will produce it as elements of the mother tongue. When this language practice becomes so frequent, some people will adopt it as a model of speaking, notably young people

who pretend to be fashionable. The youth most of the time imitate the model of speaking of people belonging to the elite of the society. By the time the embedded alien words will be adapted to the internal structure of the base code. They will finally be adopted in the matrix language as loan words.

2NDC, another linguist, asserted that, contrary to the Songhay speakers, Senoufo speakers of French switch rarely in French. They choose Bamanakan to convey their message. Bamanakan dominates in the Senoufo area so that very frequent examples of code-switching and code-mixing are encountered between these two languages. This can affect the linguistic performances of the native speakers.

4MG, PhD holder in applied linguistics, claimed to differentiate code-switching from linguistic interference phenomenon in that the latter involves a violation of the code of the target language, while the practice of code-switching requires a bilingual competence in which the interlocutors show a mastery of both languages. In this use of two languages, there is a good collocation between syntax, semantics and style.

So, to sum up these observations, it can be argued that the linguistic practice of code-switching and code-mixing does not violate the grammar of the base code. Its use is syntactically, semantically and stylistically appropriate. Consequently, it cannot affect the structure of the native language. But, in the long-term use, it can have some implications that can be seen further.

4.6. Phonological processes in the intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French:

4.6.1. Phonological process of assimilation

Assimilation, in general, occurs when a sound becomes more like a neighboring sound. It occurs when one oral constriction is made for two sounds. It occurs when a sound is assimilated in its place of articulation to the following sound. It can occur within a word or between words. It can be progressive or regressive, partial or complete.

Progressive assimilation is when the sound affected by the assimilation becomes more like the following sound. This type of assimilation is referred to as left-to-right assimilation. It is also called anticipatory because the sound which changes anticipates the following sound. Regressive assimilation is when a sound becomes more like the preceding sound. It is also known as right-to-left assimilation. Complete assimilation is when the sound affected by the assimilation becomes exactly the same as the following sound that causes the assimilation. Partial assimilation is when the sound becomes the same in one or more features, but remains different in other features.

In our study, the data have shown that the phonological systems of French and Songhay involved in CS and CM interact. Such interaction has been found in the form of phonological assimilation of vowel sounds. This phonological assimilation of vowel sounds is manifested only in the types of intra-sentential switches. Constraints exclude its manifestation in inter-sentential switches.

In the Songhay-French intra-sentential switching, some French nouns undergo right-to-left or regressive assimilation processes. These processes are common to the

Songhay phonological system because Songhay words undergo the same phonological rules in rapid speech. This confirms Myers-Scotton's insertion theory of The Matrix Language Frame Model, stating that the inserted words adapt the rules of the base language. We present below various instances of assimilation.

4.6.1.1. Songhay inflectional affix “-o” merging with French

"e muet" ("mute e") before /l/, /r/, /k/,/g/:

In the Songhay-French intra-sentential switching of word-final schwas, the French schwa (/ə/), also called "e caduc" ("dropped e") and "e muet" ("mute e") merges with Songhay back vowel /o/, the singular definite inflectional marker. This type of assimilation is regressive because the trigger that causes the assimilation is the Songhay inflectional affix marker ‘-o’ for singular definite nouns, and the target which is affected by the assimilation is the French schwa (/ə/), like ‘**Biblo**’, ‘**profilo**’ ‘**histoiroo**’, ‘**couroo**’, ‘**arbitageo**’, ‘**musiquoo**’ in the following extracts:

- **G1** : A ga **Biblo** **feuillewey** kortu deh a g'i bibiri. “He tore out the **sheets** of his **Bible** and rolled them up in pieces.”

In this extract, the word ‘**Biblo**’ is pronounced with the Songhay back vowel /o/ affecting the French schwa /ə/.

- **FG2** : Ada ... Ada **profilo** **face** ga cijin. “Ada’s ... Ada’s **profile** on **facebook** yesterday night.”

Speaker **FG2** also pronounced ‘**profilo**’ with the Songhay back vowel /o/ affecting the French schwa /ə/.

- **G1** : **Non**, za a cindi ... ay ka dirɲa nga **histoiroo** taka. “**No**, since he was ... I now forgot what his **story** was like.”

‘**histoiroo**’ is also pronounced with the Songhay back vowel /o/ affecting the French schwa /ə/.

- **G14** : Nda a dii kaɲ n’ si **avancé** deh a ga ni **couroo** kayandi. “If he noticed that you don’t **improve**, he stops the **course**.”

In this extract, the Songhay back vowel /o/ triggered the French schwa /ə/ in the pronunciation of the word ‘**couroo**’.

- **G13** : [...]. Sanda ay si bay, **peut-être arbitrageo** no. “[...] I really don’t know ... **maybe** it was a **refereeing** error.”

The word ‘**arbitrageo**’ undergoes the same process as explained above. But, in the transcription, we keep here the spelling ‘**arbitageo**’ instead of ‘**arbitago**’ to make the difference between the French fricative /ʒ/ and the French stop /g/ because the word is pronounced in French.

- **F_{G2}** : Heh, Miguel nda Luciana **musiquoo**. “Heh, that’s the **music** of Miguel and Luciana.”

The word ‘**musiquoo**’ is also pronounced with the Songhay back vowel /o/ affecting the French schwa /ə/. The second /o/ is added to show the vocal length in the pronunciation of the word.

4.6.1.2. Songhay inflectional affix “-o” merging with French

nasals /ã/, / /, /õ/ or /œ/:

French has four nasal vowels. Unlike oral vowels which are produced within the oral cavity, French nasal vowels are produced when air passes simultaneously through the nose and the mouth. The nasal consonants /n/ and /m/ are not pronounced when they follow a nasal vowel. There is a complete assimilation of these consonants into a vowel pronunciation.

In the Songhay-French intra-sentential switching, these French nasals are triggered by the Songhay inflectional affix marker “-o” for singular definite nouns. This type of assimilation is also regressive in that the trigger that causes the assimilation is the Songhay inflectional affix, and the target sounds which are affected by the assimilation is the French nasal sound /n/, like in ‘temps’. It is the same process in the next extracts with ‘grinṅoo’ and ‘terrainṅoo’:

- **FG2** : Abba, ay nee, n’ga bay, ir **tempsṅoo** ga, ir ga aru tee, **mais** ir cine arey banda ir ga hanga. (0.2) **Mais** sohô da, woy ize buuney, aru beerey no ... “Abba you know, in our **times** we made friends with men of our like. **But** nowadays, small girls are making friends with elder men ...”

Here, the French nasal sound /n/ in the pronunciation of ‘temps’ as /tã/ changes into a velarization ‘tempsṅoo’ where the Songhay velar /ŋ / is heard in the pronunciation.

- **FG2** : [...] (0.2) N’ga bay kaṅ ir **dixième** woo ra, ir **grinṅoo** kul no i n’a **renvoyé** kala ir nda ... ir nda Youba. (0.2) Youba **passé**, agay **redoublé**. Fifiyaṅ kul, i n’i

gaarey. “ You know, when we were in **tenth form**, all our **grin** members were **expelled** except Bouba and me. Bouba **moved to next class** and me, I **repeated**. Fifi and all the others were expelled.”

Here, the nasalization in the pronunciation of ‘grin’ /gɾ/ changes into a velarization ‘grinŋoo’ where the Songhay velar /ŋ/ is heard in the pronunciation.

- **G1** : Biifo, yer **matchoo** woo ga, **il y avait un joueur qui est blessé**, a go **terrainŋoo** ra. I mana a kaa tarey, **ils ont marqué un but**. “The day before yesterday, during our **football match**, there was a **wounded player** lying on the **ground**. They didn’t take him out, **and they scored**.”

The word ‘**terrainŋoo**’ undergoes the same process as said above.

4.6.1.3. Phonological process of vowel-consonant harmony

In phonological assimilation processes, not all types of harmony involve only vowels. Some types of harmony involve consonants and are known as vowel-consonant harmony. This process involves an interaction between vowels and consonants where vowels harmonize with consonants.

In the Songhay-French intra-sentential switching, French inserted words ending with consonant sounds harmonize with the Songhay inflectional affix marker for definite singular nouns like ‘**matchoo**’, ‘**parkingoo**’, ‘**I.F.Moo**’, as seen in the following extracts:

- **G1** : Biifo, yer **matchoo** woo ga, **il y avait un joueur qui est blessé**, a go **terrainoo** ra. I mana a kaa tarey, **ils ont marqué un but**. “The day before yesterday, during our **football match**, there was a **wounded player** lying on the **ground**. They didn’t take him out, **and they scored**.”

In the pronunciation of ‘**matchoo**’, the Songhay back vowel harmonizes with the French fricative /ʃ/. The second /o/ is to show the vocal length in the pronunciation.

- **G1** : Jigiba woo, n’ti **parkingoo** no a cindi a ga lakkal? “That Jigiba, wasn’t he watching over the **parking**?”

In the pronunciation of ‘**parkingoo**’, the Songhay back vowel harmonizes with the French stop /g/. The second /o/ is to show the vocal length in the pronunciation.

- **fG2** : I.F.Moo ra, ay si bay **première année** wala **deuxième année**, **côté** woo ga taka. **Deuxième année** no ni goo? “In the **I.F.M** ((Institut de Formation des **Maitres**, Teachers’ Training School)), I don’t remember **first year** or **second year**, it looks like on that side. Were you attending **second year**?”

- In the pronunciation of ‘**I.F.Moo**’, the Songhay back vowel harmonizes with the French bilabial /m/. The second /o/ is to show the vocal length in the pronunciation.

All the speeches where the assimilation processes occur are from participants of the same selected “grin”, that of Gao. Speeches of participants of other “grins” do not involve such phonological processes. So, it can be stated that these two types of phonological assimilation are encountered among speakers of the Gao dialect of

Songhay, and this, in singular definite nouns only. More research must be done in this domain for new findings.

4.6.2. Other categories of inserted words involving any case of assimilation

In the Songhay-French intrasentential switching, apart from definite singular nouns, there is no assimilation process in the insertion of other categories of words like singular indefinite nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions, etc. These types of inserted words keep their initial phonetic properties in French:

Singular indefinite nouns:

Singular indefinite nouns, unlike singular definite nouns, do not undergo any assimilation process in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French in both Gao and Timbuktu dialects of Songhay, as seen in the following extracts:

- **G13** : Jean mma goo nda nga **Bible** foo kaŋ, wallaahi, **drogue** deh a n'i kul cendi hal'a ben. (h) [...] “Jean got a **Bible** that he tore out till the last page because of **drugs**.”

We can notice that the words ‘**Bible**’ and ‘**drogue**’ are pronounced without any assimilation process.

- **2B5** : **Forage** foo binde go hima ka sawanda merje? “How much is one **drilling**?”

The word ‘**Forage**’ is also pronounced without any assimilation process.

- **ƐG2** : Hal ay na ... haywana ... ay na **invitation** samba a se cijin vers minuit ...
“I ... I sent her an **invitation** yesterday night around midnight ...”

‘**invitation**’ is also pronounced without any assimilation process.

- **G15** : A šii nda **âge**. “There is no **age limit**.”

‘**âge**’ is also pronounced without any assimilation process.

- **T1** : Boro si daabundi miso, war na dam **declaration** [...] “A person can not be arrested like that, you didn’t make any **notification** [...]”

Plural nouns:

Plural definite and indefinite nouns do not undergo any assimilation process in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French in both Gao and Timbuktu dialects of Songhay, as seen in the following extracts:

- **ƐT6** : **Papiers**diyo g’i ga? “Did they get any **documents**?”
- **ƐG2** : Woo no ma bay kaŋ **staryey** ti ir. (0.2) Ay nee **tellement que staryey** ti ir, a si hin ka šelen yane. “It is a fact that we are **stars**. I say we are **stars**, that’s the reason why she couldn’t talk with me.”
- **T7** : **Joueur**yo ka ja ngi ŋaa hay gi hal more i’g’i goro **banc de touche** ... “These **players**, since they have been playing till now, they are still sitting on the **substitutes’bench** ...”

Verbs :

Verbs also do not undergo any assimilation process in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French in both Gao and Timbuktu dialects of Songhay, as seen in the following extracts:

- **fG2** : Wani n'ka **joué** hô? “Has Wani **played** today?”
- **G1** : I nee Ha-Ko ka **gagné** un à zéro. “They said that Ha-Ko **won** one to zero.”
G1 : Ayyo! Baa hano kaŋ ngi nda Mazaa borey **joué** là, i yenje. “Yes! Even the day when they **played** against Mazaa people, they quarrelled.”
- **2B1** : Han ka war **décollé**... “The day you **leave**...”
- **1B3** : Bari, war **gagné** wala? “Bari, **did** you **win**?”

Adjectives :

Adjectives also do not undergo any assimilation process in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French both in Gao and Timbuktu dialects of Songhay, as seen in the following extracts:

- **1B2** : Nda a noo **deux mille** kur a' **bouclé l'année**. “If he gives **two thousands** he **will complete the year**.”
- **2B1** : I fattandi hari à **deux milles** metres. “They have dug **two thousands** metre deep to get water.”
- **fG2** : Bouba, ir k'a gar. (0.2) Bouba, n'ti **onzième** n'a go, ir go **dixième**. “Bouba, we came after him. While Bouba was in **eleventh form**, we were in **tenth form**.”

- **ƒT8** : I har i jaw **cent personnes, mais** Tumbutu boro boboyo' koy. "It is said that **a hundred people** have been enrolled, **but** many people from Timbuktu have joined."
- **T9** : Momo'o may ... a'may jiiro **quarante** ans. (.) Abba'o may **quarante** ans. "Momo is **forty** years old this year. Abba is **forty** years old."
- **T1** : Ni tangari! **HUIT!** "That's a lie! **Eight!**"
- **T11** : Yer, nee na yer dam war se **cent cinquante un à zéro**. "We, we beat you here **hundred fifty one to zero.**"

Adverbs, Conjunctions, exclamations:

Adverbs, conjunctions and exclamations also do not undergo any assimilation process in intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French in both Gao and Timbuktu dialects of Songhay, as seen in the following extracts:

- **3B25** : **Donc, maintenant-là**, morayda nda war sanba ga i se, i go yendi ga war se, bara a kaa sanda bana ne war'o bana i se feejidi. (0.2) [...] "**So, then**, now if you send them anything, they'll return it because that's as if you paid for the sheep they had offered you."
- **1B4** : **Donc**, yer fur ga. "**So**, we forget it."
- **1B11** : **Non! C'est bon!** Nda () kur ay nda g'o koy kuboy. "**No! All right!** If () I'll play with him."

4.6.3. Phonological process of insertion:

When Songhay speakers of French insert some French lexical items beginning with the consonant sound 'r' like 'radio' 'recreation', an additional front vowel sound is pronounced in the surface phonemic form. In the extract below, speaker

2B4 pronounces “**é-réunion**” (VC) instead of “**réunion**” (CV). It is the same in the following extracts with ‘**RFI**’ (‘**é-RFI**’), ‘**renvoyé**’, (‘**a-renvoyé**’), ‘**redoublé**’ (‘**é-redoublé**’):

- **2B4** : **Réunion** kur ka kaa Modi na kaa. “Modi hasn’t come to any **meeting**.”
- **FT2** : Eh! Wala ... wala **RFI** cindi ka **félicité** gi hô, ma na mom **partiedi**? “Eh! Even ... even **RFI** ((**Radio France Internationale**)) has congratulated them today, didn’t you listen to the related **part**?”
- **FG2** : Agay woo, ya nka duu **chance** i ma n’ay **renvoyé**. (0.2) N’ga bay kaŋ ir **dixième** woo ra, ir **grinjo** kul no i n’a **renvoyé** kala ir nda ... ir nda Youba. (0.2) Youba **passé**, agay **redoublé**. Fifiyaŋ kul, i n’i gaarey. “Me, I was lucky they didn’t **expel** me. You know, when we were in **tenth form**, all our **grin** members were **expelled** except Bouba and me. Bouba **moved to next class** and me, I **repeated**. Fifi and all the others were expelled.”

Similar processes occur when French words beginning with ‘s’ + **consonant** like ‘**special**’ pronounced as ‘**ispecial**’ in Songhay-French intra-sentential switching.

4.7. Sociolinguistic Dimension of Code-switching and Code-mixing of Songhay Speakers of French

This section is the second part of the analysis of our data. It is concerned with the explanation and the interpretation of our findings in a social and psychological dimension. On the basis of observations, the numerical account of the database and personal experiences, the analysis aims at responding to the following four key questions that guide the problem under a sociolinguistic dimension: What language are

Songhay speakers of French using? How far will this practice of more and more important number of young Songhay speakers of French constitute a source of danger for the Songhay language? What are the factors that motivate the context of this language practice? What are the implications of this language-contact based phenomenon between Songhay and French language?

The method of analysis we adopt in our explanation and interpretation is discourse analysis based on Auer's (1998) sequential approach of discourse-related code-switching and participant-related code-switching. Auer (1998:4) stated that discourse-related codeswitching means "the use of codeswitching to organise the conversation by contributing to the interactional meaning of a particular utterance" Auer (1998: 8) noted that participant-related codeswitching is considered as "more or less persistent phases of divergent language choices". In other words, discourse-related code-switching plays the role of communicative function in that the speaker switches to the new language to give the conversation a new frame. Participant-related code-switching is an orientation of the conversation to the hearers' (participants') choices.

The analysis attempts to answer to the stated above questions focusing on the motives and social meanings of CS and CM, and determine the functions of CS and CM in the interaction of Songhay speakers of French.

4.7.1. The use of code-switching and code-mixing by Songhay speakers of French

Based on the data we have collected from November 2011 to January 2012 in Gao, Timbuktu and Bamako for the study of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French, we observe that all the 90 participants switch and mix the two codes to such an extent that any observer may ask the question to know what

language these people are using. Is it French, Songhay, or both? To answer to this question, we have to consider the statistical classification of all the utterances or speeches of our data, as shown in table 7 below.



Table 7: Final Results of the Classification of Language Levels of the Participants per city

Number	City	Speeches / utterances				Total
		CS and CM		Only Songhay	Only French	
		Intersentential	Intrasentential			
1	Bamako	69	247	256	182	754
2	Gao	15	89	74	14	192
3	Timbuktu	12	107	80	24	223
Total		96	443	410	220	1169
		539		410	220	1169
Percentage		18%	82%		19%	100%
		46%		35%		

Considering the statistics in table 7 above, we can say that the practice of code-switching and code-mixing is becoming general among Songhay speakers of French. The table shows also that the intra-sentential switching predominates. This predominance supports the claims of Redouane (2005) and other researchers like Berk-Seligson (1986), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980, 1981) and Timm (1975) that smaller size of switches like nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives etc, (the kind of switches we call here intra-sentential) were more frequently used than larger size of switches like sentences or clauses (the kind of switches we call here inter-sentential). Indeed, in our findings, nouns also are the most dominant among the grammatical categories of switches in the intra-sentential switching as it is confirmed in the studies of Redouane (2005), Berk-Seligson (1986), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980, 1981) and Timm's (1975). This predominance of nouns is noticeable throughout our data though we did not consider any statistics to show their exact number.

As a matter of fact, the statistics presented in table 7 answer the first question on the kind of language Songhay speakers of French use.

Of course, the answer for this question is not simple, and researchers have diverse approaches about the issue.

Alvarez-Caccamo (1996) cited in Gafaranga (1997) mentioned that the question of 'what language/dialect we are using' must be solved for any study on code-switching and code-mixing. According to Gafaranga (1997), for the study of code-switching, the question is not 'what language we are using', but rather 'what medium/code we are using'. He justified this joining Gumperz' (1982:99) assertion that "in talk, speakers might not be attending to what grammarians call language, but rather to their own code".

By the same token, when we asked our participants what language they are using in their talk, some of them said they are using Songhay language. Others replied that they are using the Songhay language, but from time to time they use French together with the Songhay language. So, our participants think clearly that they are using their mother tongue as the base code in their talk, at the same time they recognise that they sometimes mix the two codes by juxtaposing them or embedding French words into a Songhay-based discourse, as we see throughout the data. In this context, the Songhay language is the base code of the conversation, or the matrix language, and French is the embedded language.

Auer, (1984:84) noted that “two situations may be observed in bilingual contexts. There are situations where one of the two languages is indeed the base code and situations where language alternation itself is the medium’. Auer considers the second case as a ‘new code’ arguing that ‘one can speak of the ‘new code’ if speakers are seen to use frequent language alternation within turns”.

We think that code-switching and code-mixing is a linguistic phenomenon common to all bilinguals in general and in particular Malian speakers of French. When we asked our participants to tell us the reason why they sometimes use French together with Songhay, they said that they do so because they have difficulties in their mother tongue in expressing some notions they have learnt at school. They even don't know the Songhay for some terminologies, notably in medicine, such as **‘pique’**, **‘injection’**, **‘comprimé’**, **‘aspirine’** **‘serum’**, and many other words in science and technology, so they choose to use the French words they have learnt at school. That way they make themselves understood very easily.

This point is in line with Auer' (1998) sequential approach of code-switching. On the basis of our observations, it can be stated that code-switching plays a communicative function in the interactions of Songhay speakers of French.

In our opinion, the lack of vocabulary when using the mother tongue is a negative impact of French language on the learners. This impact leads to the use of code-switching and code-mixing, of course. We think also that the phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing we have observed through our data is a result of a long process of learning and acquisition, considering the ages of our participants which vary between 19 and 59 (see Appendix C, bio-data of the participants). So we can say that, in our country, the school curriculum and the language policies developed before and after independence have contributed to increase the use of code-switching and code-mixing among the native speakers of Songhay.

This influence of school on learners, we think, is characterised by the factors of the school setting and the environment outside the school.

As far as the school setting is concerned, learners in Mali attend school at an age when they speak only their mother tongue. And in the process of learning, and with the French-only pressure at school since the colonial period and after independence, learners are provided with alien terms they don't know in their mother tongue. Moreover, all the literature at school is in French language. Little literature, if any, exists in the national languages.

The environment outside the school also has influenced learners because most of the films, the TV and radio programmes are in French. We think that these factors have contributed to reduce the use of the mother tongue. As we see in our data (46% speeches of code-switching and code-mixing), formal education has influenced our

participants to a point that every time they meet, they express themselves juxtaposing alternately complete and grammatically correct sentences or clauses in French and Songhay language, or inserting cleverly some French words or phrases into their talks.

Nowadays, we can notice that some of these factors have changed. More attention is being paid to the use of national languages by their introduction into the school curriculum, even though the duration of their programmes still remains unsolved. The French-only pressure has disappeared at school, and learners use their mother tongue all the time. The use of French is limited in the classroom only when the teacher is teaching the lesson. Most of the TV and radio programmes are in the national languages. But, despite these changes, the phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing still exists.

Most of the young participants of our study are students representing 22%, while the others are civil servants representing 21%, or private workers representing 57%, (see appendix C, Bio-data of the Participants, table14).

On the academic level, 28% of the participants have fundamental level of education, 35% have secondary level and 37% have university level (see appendix C, Bio-data of the Participants, table14).

To conclude, we can say that the use of French language is now limited to the role of language of instruction at school, the principal medium in the press (all the newspapers and magazines are in French), and at a certain point the medium in the offices where it is used together with the national languages. Elsewhere people discuss and talk in national languages, specially learned people. But, during these exchanges and talks, French language interferes all the time. So, as a response to the question what language do Songhay speakers of French use, our findings have revealed a high use of

code-switching and code-mixing (46%) as compared to the use of ‘Songhay only’ (35%) and the use of ‘French only’ (19%), (see table 7).

4.7.2. The factors that motivate Songhay speakers of French to use code-switching and code-mixing

The reasons that motivate speakers to switch and mix two codes are numerous and diverse.

According to **1IAT**, when two codes intervene, we observe a certain number of facts. The first fact is related to the memory of the speaker. When speaking, the speaker can have a momentary blockage. He cannot get the word he wants to say in the L1 because the memory betrays him for a second and presents to him several words in the L2, so he soon switches in L2 with the word that first comes to him. This word is a translation into L2. It’s not a lack of vocabulary, but just a problem of memorisation. This is the first case, said **1IAT**. The second case concerns people who switch codes because of snobbery. The reason is to show that they are fashionable. The last case concerns people who switch just because they choose the switching to convey the message better.

3MM, linguist, thinks also that speakers switch codes not by necessity, but by fashion.

2NDC thinks that one of the reasons that cause this language practice is that the speaker becomes limited in his native language in expressing some specific terms or notions. This limitation is observed in the choice of the theme and in the choice of the lexis. The aspiration of people to become cultured is also a reason of this language practice. Another reason is the social environment which influences people’s way of

speaking. People living in urban areas, as opposed to rural residents, get used to exposure of other people and practise code-switching as a model of speaking. Travel is also one the causes of this language practice. So, the main objective of this practice is to make communication easier. Some speakers choose to switch in order to make their communication easier because they have difficulties in expressing themselves in the native language.

4MG affirmed that code-switching is generally oral and context bound. The reasons are multiple. It can be a showing off, snobbery, as said above. It can be an attempt to keep the information secret. The reason can be to express powerful feelings of joy, beauty, happiness or surprise. Another reason is the fact of being stuck and not knowing the appropriate word to use at a given time. The environment also influences the use of CS and CM.

We think that the observations of our respondents share the point of view of Auer' (1998) discourse-related code-switching serving as communicative functions, and participant-related code-switching serving to orientate the conversation to the hearers' choices. So, it can be stated that bilingual speakers use CS and CM as a communication strategy to convey message. To sum up, we can say that the factors that generate the practice of code-switching and code-mixing are largely social and psychological.

4.7.3. An increasing number of young Songhay speakers of French can be a source of danger for the Songhay language

One of the factors that speed up the processes of multilingualism is the growing urbanization of rural areas attracting more and more people.

The aspiration of young people is to be fashionable. In order to be fashionable, they imitate the way of speaking of the elite of the society. The elite of the society is the principal agent propagating the practice of CS and CM.

Moreover, the French-only pressure imposed since colonization and still maintained in the schools in former French colonies had led to the emergence of an increasing number of bilingual speakers in these countries. The schooling rate in Mali representing 22,9% in 2009 according to Lyche & Skattum (2010), and 26,2% in 2010 according to Skattum (2010) is nowadays increasing, and the number of French speakers (10% according to Skattum, 2004) is becoming more important too. Is this, in a sense, a source of danger for national languages?

LIAT responded that it is not a danger for the native language, because a language is like a living body which is dependent on external elements. When a language is in contact with other dynamic languages, its speakers naturally practise code-switching and code-mixing. Purists try to avoid the use of alien words in the native language; but no language has ever succeeded in doing so. In Mali, Songhay and Bamanakan are the two lingua franca of the country. Bamanakan is most prominent from west to center and Songhay from center to east. Besides French, these two languages are surrounded with several other national languages. In this total immersion, speakers alternate codes or mix them. If a language is used in all domains, the

percentage of the foreign words becomes very high. Therefore the language can be 'denatured', but not endangered. The contact with French language is not a danger for Songhay language. The danger for Songhay language is that it is surrounded by several languages, and could become a linguistic isolate. However the very threat for Songhay language is its contact with Bamanakan.

According to **2NDC**, this language practice is not a danger; on the contrary it can contribute to enrich the native language, to make it living and more dynamic. **2NDC** also agrees that a developing language needs to accept external elements. This is the characteristics of all Lingua Franca. We have two lingua Franca in the country: Bamanakan and Songhay, said **2NDC**. In Mali, code-switching and code-mixing practices are becoming a general use; but either Bamanakan or Songhay has not reached yet a high level of switching in their contact with French language as compared to Lingala or Wolof languages. This language practice does not destroy the structure of the native language and it does not prevent communication, either. Therefore, it can be considered as positive.

These observations support Auer' (1998) theory of the sequentiality 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.

So, from these observations, it can be stated that in no sense the practice of code-switching and code-mixing can endanger the native language of the speakers. However, the invasion of the native language by massive foreign words in the long-term can 'denature' it.

4.7.4. The implications of the contact between Songhay and French language

It appears, in the discussion with our interviewees, that the language-contact based phenomenon between Songhay and French languages involves some effects not only on the Songhay language itself but on the speakers as well.

4.7.4.1. The impact of French on the Songhay language

1IAT thinks that learned people who practise CS and CM contribute to make the native language more dynamic. Nowadays in Mali, the learned people are losing their culture because artistic and cultural events are decreasing. And yet artistic and cultural elements are useful for the development of a language.

According to **2NDC**, this language practice can involve a certain classification of the Songhay speakers: there will be a group of speakers who speak pure Songhay, the purists. This group is mostly composed of rural residents, and their number is insignificant. There will be another group of speakers who practise code-switching and code-mixing. And the number of this group is increasing in urban areas.

For **3MM**, the phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French will involve the death of some language elements, especially at the vocabulary level. Some words will totally disappear and will be replaced by French words. There exist already some French words which are adapted to the Songhay language structure: 'fenetre' instead of 'tokara', 'bateau' instead of 'siisihii', 'mobil' instead of 'hii', 'avion' instead of 'beenihii' etc. So, the language will lose much of its

original word stock at the expense of French words. And by the time, as **4MG** remarks, all these words will be accepted by the majority of the speakers, and integrated in the native language. **4MG** said also that code-switching can involve also a nativization process of some words in the long-term use.

4.7.4.2. The impact of French language on Songhay speakers

At the level of speakers, there appears a kind of mental enslavement in terms of the perception of the world. **3MM** revealed the case of a famous politician campaigning for presidential elections in 2007 in Gao city who told the electorate his inability to express his ideas in Songhay, but in French. So, the influence of French language on Songhay speakers involves the destruction of the Songhay vision of the world for the adoption of the French vision of the world.

In our interview, we have approached two famous personalities among the Songhay speaking community whose works are related with the use of the language in the society. The first is a TV and radio announcer in Songhay language, **5BAT**, and the second, **6AIS**, a retired civil servant, is a well-known griot among the Songhay community living in Bamako and in many places in Timbuktu region. The first presents the news in Songhay language at the National Radio and TV Station 'ORTM', the second presides over wedding and naming ceremonies or funerals. These two communicators are always in permanent contact with the "koyraboro" people (the Songhay speaking community). We asked them if they have noticed that Songhay speakers of French switch and mix the two languages in their conversations.

SBAT said that this practice is getting more and more general among intellectuals that many times he decided not to present some interviews at the Radio or The TV because they are full of so many French words that the illiterate listeners and TV viewers cannot understand such discourse. Sometimes the interviewees themselves refused to be interviewed, objecting that their speeches will be full of French vocabulary.

The traditional communicator **6AIS** complains that, nowadays, many Songhay speakers of French do not know the meaning of some words in their native language, and he has to turn to the French translation. But, ceremonial speeches are always in pure native language, and have been transmitted so through generations.

So, from personal experience and observations of the data collected for the study, it can be stated that the effects of the influence of French language on Songhay speakers of French are visible in many spheres. These effects of French can impact negatively on the artistic and cultural production in the native language. To support these points, it can be noted that many talented people are not able to produce in their native language because they have difficulties in expressing themselves in their native language, although they are fluent in French, in English or in any foreign language they acquired at school. Literature in native languages is rare. Many worldwide famous and talented writers Africa has ever had before and after the independences did not write in their native languages. This is a challenge to the new generation because a developing country should begin developing the native languages.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents a summary and a conclusion on the findings of our study on code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French. Finally we propose a set of recommendations on this language contact phenomenon.

5.1 Summary

The issue of code-switching and code-mixing is a language phenomenon facing all languages in contact situation. In Mali, it is a consequence of the plurilinguism that characterises the Malian linguistic landscape and the Malian society as well. Indeed, the present research work entitled “The Nature and Extent of Code-switching and Code-mixing of Songhay Speakers of French” has explored issues on language contact phenomena of code-alternation by Songhay speakers of French. The intellectual milieu of the Songhay speaking community that is largely composed of students and civil servants is the principal agent of innovation of this language practice. Milroy & Milroy (1985:367), describing respectively people who initiate innovations and the agents of propagation of these innovations, affirmed “that variation in language starts by individuals then spreads throughout the whole linguistic community”.

Code-switching and code-mixing are controversial terms. They are not explicitly defined in the same ways by researchers. However, the definitions of Poplack’s (1993) together with that of Myers-Scotton’s (1993a), are used under the same umbrella term to

cover code-mixing in the insertions of words or groups of words, and code-switching in the alternations of sentences or clauses by Songhay speakers of French in their verbal interactions.

Our study seeks to determine the extent to which Songhay users of French switch and mix elements of Songhay and French language, to analyze the forms of switching and mixing in the linguistic contact between these two languages, to categorize the switched and mixed elements, to determine the extent to which this contact situation affects the morphosyntactic structures of the Songhay language, to determine the factors that condition the context of this language practice, and to determine the implications of this linguistic contact between Songhay and French language.

The study is guided under the most dominant models and approaches on code-switching and code-mixing: Poplack's alternation model based on her (1980, 1981) claim for the word-order equivalence between the languages involved, and Carol Myers-Scotton's insertion model based on her (1993a, 1993b) Matrix Language Frame Model.

Though literature does not exist on Songhay-French code-switching, we have reviewed the phenomenon of code-switching between French and other African languages through the works of many researchers such as Feral (2004) on Camfranglais in Cameroon, Redouane (2005) on switching constraints of bilingual Moroccan Arabic-French speakers residing in Canada, the works of Aboa (2009) and Kilanga (2005) on the impact of French language on French former colonies. Also, we have consulted the works of Carol Myers-Scotton, who is, according to Muysken (1994:156-162), "best-

known for her work on Swahili/English bilingualism in eastern Africa”, Poplack (1980, 1981, 1993) and many other works on code-switching and code-mixing.

In terms of methodology, the research method of the study is a survey descriptive design. The population of the study is all Songhay speakers of French. The sample size consists of 90 participants selected out of five groups called “grins” in Bamako, Gao and Timbuktu. A “grin” is a kind of commonplace where friends usually meet after work to chat and while away time. A conversational interview has been carried out with six respondents in order to get ideas and opinions on code-switching and code-mixing issues to support the interpretation of the data. Three instruments have been used to solicit information and collect data: participant observation, a questionnaire to get the bio-data of the participants, and a conversational interview. The data of the interviews and the participant observation had been recorded on cassettes. The data of the conversations have been transcribed in French and in Songhay script according to the system of transcription developed by Jefferson (1985).

The oral corpus presents 1169 total speeches that comprise 539 speeches of code-switching and code-mixing representing 46%, 410 speeches in ‘Songhay only’ representing 35% and 220 speeches in ‘French only’ representing 19%. The 539 speeches of code-switching and code-mixing comprise 443 speeches of intra-sentential switching representing 82% and 96 speeches of inter-sentential switching representing 18% (see table 7). The bio-data show that the 90 participants involved in the study are aged between 19-59 years old and composed of 88 male participants representing 91% of the sample size and 08 female participants representing 09% of the sample. The justification of the large number of male participants is that “grins” are mostly frequented by men. The 90 selected participants consist of 19 civil servants representing

21% of the sample size, 20 students representing 22% of the sample, and 51 private workers representing 57% of the sample. The bio-data show also that 25 participants have fundamental level of education representing 28% of the sample, 32 participants have secondary level representing 35% of the sample, and 33 participants have university level representing 37% of the sample (see appendix C, tables 8-14).

The data had been classified and categorised according to the grammatical aspects of the switches. The data have been classified into two separate segments according to Boztepe's (2005) classification of code-switching and code-mixing in inter-sentential and intra-sentential distinction. The first segment is about the inter-sentential switching based on Poplak's (1980, 1981) claim for the word-order equivalence between the languages involved in code-switching. We have categorised this segment into inter-sentential switching at sentence level and inter-sentential switching at clause level. The second segment is about the intra-sentential switching based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) Matrix Language Frame Model. We have categorised this kind of switching according to the different parts of speech throughout our data.

As a result, the examples found in this inter-sentential switching go with Poplak's (1980, 1981) 'equivalence of structure constraint', a model which claims that switching happens at sentence or clause boundaries in the same discourse without violating the grammar of either language. The following extracts are some examples:

Inter-sentential switching at sentence level

- **2B3** : **Ah non!** Yer si yadda ga meh! (.) **Nous, on vient de commencer.**(0.2)
War ma si yadda woodi i sunsum yer deh! “**Ah no!** We cannot accept it! **We have just begun.** Don’t accept that they exploit us!”

Inter-sentential switching at clause level

- **G12** : Bara boro fooyan ga ni wow kaŋ si hin ka ni wow, **parce que tu as accepté d’être devant ... devant les gens.** (.) “And some people insult you who may not insult you, **just because you have accepted to be their leader.** (.)”

The study has also shown in the second segment instances of intra-sentential switching where French words are inserted in a Songhay-based discourse. This confirms Myers-Scotton’s (1993a, 1993b) Matrix Language Frame Model where, in a conversation a foreign word is inserted in the base language. We have found in our study verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions and exclamations in French language that are inserted in Songhay-based conversations. We have also noticed that most of the inserted verb forms are past participles, and this concerns all the three French verb groups:

Verbs

(First group verb ‘gagner’, second group verb ‘finir’ and third group verb ‘reconduire’)

- **1B3**: Bari, war **gagné** wala? “Bari, **did** you **win**?”
- **2B1** : Le **programme-là** ka damndi, (h), **à la mairie de Goundam-là**, i reconduit ga. “**The programme** that was planned, (h), **at the town hall in Goundam**, they **renewed** it.”
- **2B8** : Non! A na **fini** deh! (0.2) “No! It’s not **finished** deh! ”

Nouns

Definite form of nouns, singular (-di/-o/-wo) and plural (-diyo/-wey)

- **G1** : A ga **Biblo feuillewey** kortu deh a g’i bibiri. “He tore out the **sheets** of his **Bible** and rolled them up in pieces.”

Indefinite form of nouns, singular (bare form) and plural (-yo/-yey)

- **F2** : Eh, Fifi goo nda **forme**! “Eh, Fifi has a **graceful figure**!”
- **I7** : **Joueur**yo ka ja ngi **ηaa hay gi hal more i’g’i goro banc de touche** ... “These **players**, since they have been playing till now, they are still sitting on the **substitutes’ bench** ...”

Adjectives

- **2B2** : Lazone, n'ti **fort** ne a go **fort** mo ... “Lazone, he is **not only smart but...**”
- **F62** : Bouba, ir k'a gar. (0.2) Bouba, n'ti **onzième** n'a go, ir go **dixième**. “Bouba, we came after him. While Bouba was in **eleventh form**, we were in **tenth form**.”

Adverbs

- **3B25**: **Donc, maintenant-là**, morayda nda war sanba ga i se, i go yendi ga war se, bara a kaa sanda bana ne war'o bana i se feejidi. (0.2) [...] “**So, then**, now if you send them anything, they'll return it because that's as if you paid for the sheep they had offered you.”

Conjunctions

- **1B4** : **Donc**, yer fur ga. “**So**, we forget it.”

Exclamations

- **2B3**: **Ah non!** Yer si yadda ga meh! “**Ah no!** We cannot accept it!”

The findings have revealed a series of French lexical items that we have distinguished from code-switching and code-mixing. These words have been integrated

the Songhay language since a very long time and are now accepted by the speakers as part of the native language. The vocabulary found in our data is thematically related to sports, games, playing cards and other terminologies which equivalents had disappeared or do not exist at all in Songhay:

- **1B5**: Trèfle foo ya go jeudi ra. “There is only one **club** in the **game**.”
- **T1** : Hervé gay ka fatta. Hervé na ti **gendarme**, nga ta ti **garde**. **Garde** nono. “Hervé finished long ago. Hervé is not a **gendarme**, he is a **guardsman**. He is a **guardsman**.”

The study has shown that the inter-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French is bidirectional while the intra-sentential switching is unidirectional. Despite the unidirectional character of the intra-sentential switching, instances of the reverse direction have been found where we notice Songhay words inserted in a French-based discourse:

- **1B8** : Ciji, **pourtant moi je l’ai vu**. “Last night, **I saw him all the same**.”

of Timbuktu **are informed?**”

- **F12** : Wallaahi, **ils sont informés**. (.) [...] “Truly, **they are informed**.”

We have explored the phonological aspect of the switched singular definite nouns in the intra-sentential type of switching and found that this aspect of the study is particular to speakers of the Gao dialect of Songhay. Thus, we have described phonological processes of assimilation, insertion and vowel-consonant harmony resulting from the

switching of French words in a Songhay-based code, like ‘**Biblo**’, ‘**tempsjoo**’, ‘**histoiroo**’, as seen in the following extracts:

- **G1** : A ga **Biblo feuillewey** kortu deh a g’i bibiri. “He tore out the **sheets** of his **Bible** and rolled them up in pieces.”
- **FG2** : Abba, ay nee, n’ga bay, ir **tempsjoo** ga, ir ga aru tee, **mais** ir cine arey banda ir ga hanga. (0.2) **Mais** sohô da, woy ize buuney, aru beerey no ... “Abba you know, in our **times** we made friends with men of our like. **But** nowadays, small girls are making friends with elder men ...”
- **G1** : **Non**, za a cindi ... ay ka dirja nga **histoiroo** taka. “**No**, since he was ... I now forgot what his **story** was like.”

The second part of our interpretation is about the factors that generate the context of code-switching and code-mixing practices. This, on the basis of our observations, focused on the impact of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French and the implications of this language practice.

Thus, the data have revealed that the practice of code-switching and code-mixing by Songhay speakers of French is becoming general. The technical data have shown that 46% of the speeches of our participants consist of code-switching and code-mixing, 35% consist of Songhay only and 19% consist of French only (see table7). The study has demonstrated that the use of code-switching and code-mixing does not affect the internal rules of the Songhay language. This confirms Poplack’s (1980) ‘equivalence of structure constraint’ and Myers-Scotton’s (1993a, b) ‘Matrix Language Frame Model’. Following this angle, it has been argued that this language practice does not constitute a source of danger for the Songhay language. Based on our observations,

the findings have revealed also diverse reasons that condition the context of this language practice. This confirms Auer's (1998) discourse-related and participant-related theory on the motives of the use of CS and CM by bilingual speakers.

So, the theories on code-switching and code-mixing claimed by Shana Poplack and Carol Myers-Scotton have been revealed to be applicable to the different forms of the two types of switching in the study of Songhay speakers of French. Among these types, the intra-sentential one abounds much, representing 82% of the total number of the speeches of our data, as shown in table 7. This type of switching, based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a) insertion model is, according to Muysken (1994: 156-162) "typical of the African code-switching materials".

The predominance of intra-sentential switches is evidence that confirms Poplack's (1980, 1981) "Size of Constituent Constraint" according to which smaller language units like nouns, determiners, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives are more frequently switched than larger size of constituents such as sentences and clauses. It also supports the works of Redouane (2005) and other researchers like Berk-Seligson's (1986) study on Hebrew-Spanish, Pfaff's (1979) Poplack's (1980, 1981) and Timm's (1975) studies on English-Spanish where smaller size of switches like nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives etc were had been found to be more frequently used than larger ones.

Among the categories of the intra-sentential switching, the predominance of nouns is also noticeable throughout our data, though we did not consider any statistics to show their exact number and suggest future research to do so. However, the most striking finding in our study is the frequent use of the past participle of the verbal forms

of switches. But, this claim should be taken with care, for more research needs to be done in order to investigate the grammatical categories of the Songhay-French intra-sentential switching using other data collection procedures.

5.2. Code-switching and Code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French as a cultural identity (Impact on the speakers)

In Mali, as said above, French has a prestigious and privileged status, being the only official language and the medium of instruction in the schools. Therefore, its mastery is a crucial asset to get a social position. In the Songhay speaking community, intellectuals distinguish themselves through code-switching and code-mixing practices. This is a way to underline the sense of belonging to the elite of the nation provided with better education. This is also a way to bring out their knowledge of western science and civilisation. The technical data have shown that, among the Songhay speakers of French, the elite are the most numerous in the practice of CS and CM. Our observations have also revealed that speakers practise CS because they want to be fashionable or just to resemble the elite. As a result, all these ‘simulations’ favour a cultural assimilation that could lead, in the long-term use, to ‘denature’ the native language of the speakers.

5.3. The effect of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French is inimical to the Songhay language

Of course, the Songhay language is not facing any linguistic endangerment for the moment, but, it is now stuck between the stature of the French language and the expansion of Bamanakan in the northern regions where Songhay is predominant. The

question is how long will Songhay language resist this invasion? This is not a pessimist point of view but it appears that the influence of French and the spreading of Bamanakan constitute a real threat for the Songhay language.

The present-day linguistic landscape of Mali is rooted in the linguistic pre-knowledge Malian people inherited from their skilled ancestors who had developed a linguistic culture known as “baasataray” or “sinankuya” in Bamanakan, (cousinship joke). This was to preserve unity and peace between the different families, clans and ethnic groups. Despite the power of the three great empires (Ghana, Mande and Songhay) and many kings who had reigned supreme over different ethnic groups, none of them had ever practised or imposed a linguistic imperialism, because they were fully convinced that culture and traditional values of peoples could not be preserved if their languages were endangered, for languages are the sole vehicle of culture and civilisations.

5.4. Recommendations

This section presents a certain number of recommendations to future researchers in the domain of CS and CM. We also propose some recommendations that, if applied, are worthy of consideration in order to remedy the invasion of the Songhay language by alien words, avoid any presage of language endangerment, and contribute to the preservation, the protection and the promotion of the national languages in Mali.

- We propose that future research studies be done to generate new data and new findings on the problem of code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French for further refinements.
- Future researchers should investigate the morphosyntactic impact of Code-switching and Code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French.
- Research must be done on the phonological processes of the switched items of Songhay speakers of French.
- Research needs to be done on vowel harmony in the intra-sentential switching of Songhay speakers of French.
- It will also be interesting to undertake more research work on code-switching and code-mixing issues on other languages in the Malian linguistic landscape such as code-switching of Songhay speakers of Bamanakan, Bambara speakers of French, Fulani speakers of French, Fulani speakers of Songhay, Fulani speakers of Bambara, Songhay speakers of Kel-Tamasheq and code-switching between French and other Malian national languages.
- Research needs to be done to reinforce the human resources of the existing institutional structures in charge of the use and promotion of national languages and strengthen the capacities of these services.
- More research should be done on the use and promotion of national languages.
- Research must be done on the use of effective and successful bilingual methods of teaching in the school curriculum.
- More Research needs to be directed on cultural elements of the language in all its different dialects such as legends, stories, songs and dances of the folklore, artistic productions. These cultural elements are useful for the

preservation and the development of a language because they make it more dynamic culturally.

- We propose to create an Academy for National Languages that will be in charge of employing the techniques of “neologie defensive” consisting of inventing new terminologies and words in order to replace the foreign lexical items that invaded the native language; these techniques, according to Boyer (2001), have proved to be efficient in France and Quebec in 1960’s.
- This academy will also be in charge of elaborating and propagating the use of the equivalents of some alien words that already exist in the language during public meetings and traditional ceremonies, on radio and TV programmes, in official messages, advertisement and announcement, and notice-boards.
- The government must increase and enrich the number of TV and radio programmes in national languages.
- The advertisement and announcement on the National Television and Radio and local stations must be done in the dominant languages, not in French and Bamanakan only as it is the case now.
- At the Faculties of Languages of the University of Bamako and other public Universities a department for each national language must be created which will be in charge of studies and research on the national languages.
- Though various efforts have been made and are being made, the government must support any action aiming at protecting, preserving and promoting the national languages.

Our vision is by no means a kind of nationalist or regionalist linguistic purism, or a kind of francophobia, or a pretentious propaganda to substitute the alien words in the native language, but it aims at protecting the native language and making it more dynamic.

It is our hope that the results of this research will contribute to the solutions of the national language policy and will influence the political decisions about language policy in the sub-region.



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APPENDICES

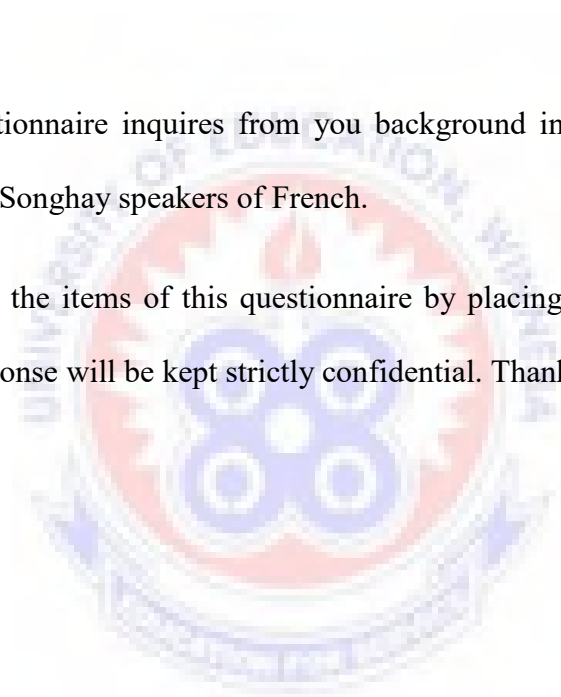
Appendix A: Questionnaire

Ce questionnaire vous est adressé pour solliciter des informations dans le cadre d'une étude sur l'alternance codique des locuteurs Songhoy Francophones.

Veuillez répondre en cochant la case correspondante. Nous vous serons gré s de la sincérité de votre réponse et nous nous engageons à garantir votre anonymat. Merci d'avance.

(This questionnaire inquires from you background information for a study of code-switching of Songhay speakers of French.

Kindly respond to the items of this questionnaire by placing a tick at the appropriate column. Your response will be kept strictly confidential. Thank you.)



Section 1: IDENTIFICATION PERSONNELLE (PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION)

Prénom (First name)	Nom (Surname)

Section 2: CARACTERISTIQUES PERSONNELLES (PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS)

‘Grin’ de fréquentation (Place of frequentation):

Grin 1 Bamako	Grin 2 Bamako	Grin 3 Bamako	Gao	Tombouctou

Age (Age):

14-19 ans	20-30 ans	31-40 ans	41-50 ans	Plus de 50 ans

Sexe (Sex):

Masculin	Féminin

Niveau d'études (Academic qualification) :

Fondamental	Secondaire	Supérieur

Profession (Occupation) :

Etudiant	Fonctionnaire	Privé

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Questions adressées à des experts linguistes et communicateurs pour s'enquérir de leurs idées et opinions dans le cadre d'une étude sur l'alternance codique intraphrastique et interphrastique des locuteurs Songhay francophones. "Questions to linguists and communicators to inquire about their ideas and opinions concerning a study on code-switching and code-mixing of Songhay speakers of French."

Section 1:

1. Avez-vous constaté que les locuteurs Songhays francophones alternent ou mélangent le Français et le Songhay dans leurs conversations? Cela vous arrive-t-il? (Did you notice that Songhay speakers of French in their conversations switch or mix French and Songhay languages? Does this happen to you?)
2. Dans quelle mesure cette pratique langagière qui est l'alternance codique intraphrastique et interphrastique peut-elle affecter les structures morphosyntaxiques des deux langues en questions? (This linguistic practice known as intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching, does it affect the morphosyntactic structures of the two languages involved?)
3. Dans quelle mesure cette pratique langagière d'un nombre de plus en plus important de jeunes locuteurs francophones pourrait-elle mettre en danger la langue Songhay? (How far will this linguistic practice of more and more important number of young speakers of French endanger Songhay language?)
4. Quelles sont les causes qui pourraient amener ces locuteurs bilingues à insérer, alterner ou mélanger ces deux langues dans la même séquence de parole dans leurs conversations? (What may cause these bilingual speakers to switch or mix these two languages in the same speech act during their conversations?)

Section2:

5. Quelles sont les implications de ce contact linguistique entre le Français et la langue Songhay? (What are the implications of this language-contact based phenomenon between Songhay and French language?)

Merci d'avance. (Thank you.)

Appendix C: Bio-data of Participants

Table 8: Bio-data of Participants of Grin1 Bamako

Nber	Participants	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	<u>1B1</u>	*		46	*					*
2	<u>1B2</u>	*		48			*		*	
3	<u>1B3</u>	*		44			*			*
4	<u>1B4</u>	*		47			*		*	
5	<u>1B5</u>	*		46			*		*	
6	<u>1B6</u>	*		48			*			*
7	<u>1B7</u>	*		46			*		*	
8	<u>1B8</u>	*		45			*		*	
9	<u>1B9</u>	*		45	*					*
10	<u>1B10</u>	*		46	*					*
11	<u>1B11</u>	*		46	*					*
12	<u>1B12</u>	*		48			*	*		
13	<u>1B13</u>	*		47			*		*	
14	<u>1B14</u>	*		46			*		*	
15	<u>1B15</u>	*		44			*	*		
Total	15	15	00		04	00	11	02	06	07
Percentage	100%	100%	0%	44-48	27%	0%	73%	13%	40%	47%

Table 9: Bio-data of Participants of Grin2 Bamako

Nber	Participants	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	<u>2B1</u>	*		48			*	*		
2	<u>2B2</u>	*		49	*				*	
3	<u>2B3</u>	*		50	*				*	
4	<u>2B4</u>	*		39			*	*		
5	<u>2B5</u>	*		52			*		*	
6	<u>2B6</u>	*		54			*		*	
7	<u>2B7</u>	*		51			*	*		
8	<u>2B8</u>	*		50			*		*	
9	<u>2B9</u>	*		47			*	*		
10	<u>2B10</u>	*		40			*	*		
11	<u>2B11</u>	*		51			*	*		
12	<u>2B12</u>	*		47			*	*		
13	<u>2B13</u>	*		54			*	*		
14	<u>2B14</u>	*		48			*	*		
15	<u>2B15</u>	*		38			*	*		
Total	15	15	00		02	00	13	10	05	00
Percentage	100%	100%	0%	38-54	13%	0%	87%	67%	33%	0%

Table 10: Bio-data of Participants of Grin3 Bamako

Nber	Participants	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	3B1	*		44			*			*
2	3B2	*		52			*	*		
3	3B3	*		59			*	*		
4	3B4	*		51	*					*
5	3B5	*		48	*					*
6	3B6	*		54	*				*	
7	3B7	*		42	*					*
8	3B8	*		58	*				*	
9	3B9	*		40			*	*		
10	3B10	*		46			*		*	
11	3B11	*		51			*	*		
12	3B12	*		59			*	*		
13	3B13	*		49	*				*	
14	3B14	*		35			*	*		
15	3B15	*		47			*	*		
16	3B16	*		56	*					*
17	3B17	*		49			*		*	
18	3B18	*		52	*					*
19	3B19	*		50			*	*		
20	3B20	*		52	*			*		
21	3B21	*		48			*	*		
22	3B22	*		49			*		*	
23	3B23	*		46	*		*			*
24	3B24	*		48			*		*	
25	3B25	*		48	*				*	
26	3B26	*		44	*				*	
27	3B27	*		48			*	*		
28	3B28	*		45			*		*	
29	3B29	*		49	*					*
30	3B30	*		46			*		*	
Total	30	30	00		13	00	17	11	12	07
Percentage	100%	100%	0%	35-59	43%	0%	57%	37%	40%	23%

Table 11: Total Results of the Bio-data of Participants per Grin in Bamako

Nber	Grin	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	Bamako G1	15	00	44-48	04	00	11	02	06	07
2	Bamako G2	15	00	38-54	02	00	13	10	05	00
3	Bamako G3	30	00	35-59	13	00	17	11	12	07
Total	03	60	00	35-59	19	00	41	23	23	14
Percentage	100%	100%	0%		32%	0%	68%	38%	38%	24%

Table 12: Bio-data of Participants of Gao

Nber	Participants	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	<u>G1</u>	*		22		*				*
2	<u>FG2</u>		*	21		*				*
3	<u>G3</u>	*		26			*		*	
4	<u>FG4</u>		*	19		*			*	
5	<u>G5</u>	*		25			*		*	
6	<u>FG6</u>		*	19		*			*	
7	<u>G7</u>	*		27			*		*	
8	<u>FG8</u>		*	20		*				*
9	<u>G9</u>	*		24		*				*
10	<u>G10</u>	*		23		*				*
11	<u>G11</u>	*		22		*				*
12	<u>G12</u>	*		28			*			*
13	<u>G13</u>	*		24		*				*
14	<u>G14</u>	*		24		*				*
15	<u>G15</u>	*		22		*				*
Total	15	11	04		00	11	04	00	05	10
Percentage	100%	73%	27%	19-28	0%	73%	27%	0%	33%	67%

Table 13: Bio data of participants of Timbuktu

Nber	Participants	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	<u>T1</u>	*		22		*				*
2	<u>FT2</u>		*	20		*				*
3	<u>T3</u>	*		23			*	*		
4	<u>FT4</u>		*	20		*			*	
5	<u>T5</u>	*		21		*			*	
6	<u>FT6</u>		*	20		*			*	
7	<u>T7</u>	*		21		*				*
8	<u>FT8</u>		*	20		*			*	
9	<u>T9</u>	*		21			*			*
10	<u>T10</u>	*		20		*				*
11	<u>T11</u>	*		22			*			*
12	<u>T12</u>	*		22		*				*
13	<u>T13</u>	*		25			*	*		
14	<u>T14</u>	*		25			*			*
15	<u>T15</u>	*		24			*			*
Total	15	11	04	20- 25	00	09	06	02	04	09
Percentage	100%	73%	27%		0%	60%	40%	13%	27%	60%

Table 14: Total Results of the Bio-data of Participants per city

Nber	City	Sex		Age	Job			Level of Education		
		M	F		Civil servant	Student	Private	Basic	Secondary	University
1	Bamako	60	00	35-59	19	00	41	23	23	14
2	Gao	11	04	19-28	00	11	04	00	05	10
3	Timbuktu	11	04	20-25	00	09	06	02	04	09
Total	90	82	08	19-59	19	20	51	25	32	33
Percentage	100%	91%	9%		21%	22%	57%	28%	35%	37%

Appendix D: Oral Corpus

Section 1: Grin 1, Bamako

Conversation 1

((The grin members are playing a game of belote and the conversation comprises six games.))

First game

1B1: Uhh hu! ((Breathy sound stimulating the game)) “Come on!”

1B6: C’est le carreau? “Is it diamond?”

1B7: Wai! “Yes!”

1B9 : C’est le seul carreau qui me... “It’s the only diamond that I...”

1B2: [Ay ta, ay maalebaηηedi... “Well, my apprentice...”

1B6 : [Wai, c’est-à-dire que... “Yes, that is...”

1B1: [Non, yer’o duu cere oh!] “No, I’ll get him!”

1B9 : C’est grave parce qu’il y a (.), i’y a (.). Non, c’est pas la peine. “It’s serious because there is (.), there is (.). No, don’t bother.”

1B7 : Non, il reste deux. (.) S’il y avait un () et c’était fini, quoi. “No, there are two left. If there was one () and the party is over.”

(0.9)

TR: Oh (.), war ma hinje yane! “Oh, excuse me!”

1B9: Eh, Mikhael Gorbatchev? ((Name given to the researcher by his friends, referring to his stay in Russia))

Heh heh

TR : Ah, labas? “Ah, how are you?”

1B6 : [Yer nda cere gaynda!] “Long time no see!”

1B7 : [Ça va toi?] “How are you doing?”

TR : Ça va bien. “Very well.”

Second game

1B6: Pique! “Spade!”

1B7: Passe! “Pass!”

1B2: Nda a na ti alharamtaray, a go yadda ka har ga? “If it were not for bastardy, how dare he say it?”

1B6 : Ay si har **Pique** maase? “Why shouldn’t I say **spade**?”

1B2 : Nda a too ni doo kur ma har ‘**porc**’, yer’o fee ga a’ ga yaada. “When it’s your turn, say ‘**porc**’, we’ll make fun of him.”

1B5: Maa n’a har? “What did he say?”

1B7: Joue Pique! “Play spade!”

1B5: Alharam! “Bastard!”

(0.5)

1B3: Bari, war **gagné** wala? “Bari, **did** you **win**?”

1B2: Wai! “Yes!”

1B3: War’o duu haya wala? “Have you got much?”

1B2: **Bon!** (.) Yer go yah! “**Well!** (.) Yes, we have!”

1B6: Wa kaabu! Wa kaabu! “Let’s count! Let’s count!”

1B4: Mise k’ay **joué** woh! “I’ve just **played**!”

1B7: Mise ka n’a... (0.4) **C’est son premier jeu.** “He has just ... **It’s his first game.**”

1B4: **C’est pas notre premier jeu.** “**It’s not our first game.**”

1B2 : Hey, wa dangay! Wa kay! **Trente un, trente cinq, quatre, cinquante, soixante, soixante deux...** “Hey, stop talking! Stop! **Thirty one, thirty five, forty, fifty, sixty, sixty two...**”

1B7 : Ablo ... ni goro Ablo se! “Ablo ... you sat to replace Ablo!”

Third game

1B7 : Ah, yer ma koy! “Ah, go on!”

(0.5)

1B2 : Ay ta, ye goro ni maasuijo ra morayda ciinafuto! “I’ll knock you down at once!”

1B7 : **Tout**⁴! “**Tout!**”

1B9 : Nda a har ‘**tout**’ kur ma baa meedi ŋaahu. “If he says ‘**tout**’, slap in the face.”

Heh heh

(0.2)

1B9 : Ni har ‘**tout**’ wala? “Did you say ‘**tout**’?”

1B2 : A har ga. “He said it.”

1B9 : Nda a har ‘**tout**’ kur ma baa meedi ŋaahu. N’o noo ga **coup de pied** nda **coup de genou**. “If he says ‘**tout**’ slap him in the face. You **kick** him, and then you **knee** him.”

1B2 : Ayyo, **coup de genou!** “O. K., I’ll **knee** him!”

(0.5)

1B5 : Haŋsi, kar, hey! “Dog, play, hey!”

(0.4)

1B7 : Alharam, biifo, **on allait partir chez toi**, yer kaati ni, ni har ka **tu étais à un mariage-là**. “You bastard, the day before yesterday **we wanted to go to your place**; we called you and you said that **you were at a wedding**.” ((Addressing the researcher))

⁴ One of the belote games

TR : Wai-wai! “Yes, yes!”

1B7 : Trèfle! “Club!”

1B9 : N’ti trèfle ne ni joué yah? “Isn’t it a **club** you have just **played?**”

(0.5)

1B2 : Ni dam faux-jeu foo. “You played a **trick card.**”

1B7 : Ni mo dam faux-jeu, haṅsi! “You also played a **trick card, dog!**”

Heh heh

1B3 : Carreaudi nono. “It’s the **diamond.**”

1B2 : Non, Diop, tu n’as pas l’as carreau, c’est pas la peine de () “No, Diop, you haven’t got the ace of diamond, there is no point in ()”

1B5 : Trèfle foo ya go jeudi ra. “There is only one **club** in the **game.**”

1B2 : Nda a gar carreau foo ya go ay ga, nda a dam ga kur ye fur carreaudi [...] “If only I had one **diamond**, and he played this way, I would drop this **diamond** [...]”

(0.9)

1B5 : Ah, moi, je l’ai dit aussi. “Ah, me, I also said it.”

1B9 : Faut pas (.) Faut pas l’accuser banalement. “Don’t (.) Don’t accuse him in the most ordinary way.”

(0.9)

1B6 : Ay ta! (0.2) **Moi, je me demande** mise ka ra boro ma huray ni doo hal a ma jaw ni **telephoned** ni wane bomodi cire. “Tell me! (0.2) **I wonder** how someone could get into your house and take your **phone** under your head.”

1B2 : Alwaati woodi gar, a go dam nbaaga-nbaaga. (.) (h) Eh, Ablo, Alwaati woodi gar, nga moo go koron “That moment he was crawling down like a lizard. (h) He was too busy that moment.”

Heh heh

(0.5)

1B2 : Policediyo kur ka dam **constadi** ka ra i har () (.) Maa ni **coincé²**? Maa ni **coincé**?

“All the **policemen** that did the **report** in which they said () (.) What did you **stick**?

What did you **stick**?”

1B6 : Ah, ay fatta a ra! Ay s’a ra! “I have to retire! I give up!”

1B2 : Ni maasujo ra ye dam ay kambo! “I put my hand into your insides!”

1B4 : A’kubay! “Really!”

(0.4)

1B2 : Ma na bay ka **coincé** haya abada, ma bitte a kuna. “You **have** never **stuck** something and managed to pull yourself through it.”

Fourth game

1B2 : Yer ma koy! “Go on!”

1B7 : A go boori ra! [A go boori ra!] “It’s alright! It’s alright!”

1B4 : [A go boori ra!] “It’s alright!”

Heh heh

1B4 : A go boori ra! “It’s alright!”

1B6 : A go boori ra, m’bay? “It’s alright, isn’t it?”

1B4 : A go boori ra! “It’s alright!”

1B6 : A go boori ra, m’bay? “It’s alright, isn’t it?”

1B4 : Uhh hu! “Yes!”

(0.5)

1B2 : On joue à Cent⁵. (.) Maa n’o wii ga nda? “We’re playing ‘Cent’. Which card should you play?”

(0.9)

1B2 : Abdoulaye? “Abdoulaye?”

1B4 : Haah! “Yes!”

1B2 : Tous les inspecteurs de police et chauffeurs i dam l’enquête-là. (.) I har saadi ka telephoned i go sonnè gar ni hasey moo go fer (.). I har a gar nga moodi ti away! **Donc**, () “All the police inspectors and the drivers did that investigation. They said that when the phone was ringing, your uncle was not sleeping (.). They said that he was not asleep at all! **So**, ()”

Heh heh

1B2 : (h) Ay bay nin (h) Abdoulaye (h) (.) Hâa Abdoulaye, nga g’o bay (.) Bara, ye hûgu a hâa ngu konde (.). Abdoulaye hâa ngu konde; **donc**, nga konde ya dam a se **compte-rendu**. “(h) Surely (h) Abdoulaye (h) (.) Ask Abdoulaye, he is the one who knows (h) because, I think he asked his aunt (.) Abdoulaye asked his aunt about the issue; **so** his aunt actually told him the **report** of the whole story.”

(0.4)

1B2 : Boro foo ñaahu baa. Ay na har ga mane ja saadi wala? “Someone is knocked out. Didn’t I tell you since then?”

1B5 : TREFLE hal i ma ‘capoté⁶’ yer... “Play **club** so that they **dash** us **off** ...”

Heh heh

1B2 : Yerkoy ma baa ni ñaahu, **carreau** nono, joola ñaafindiya, **carreau!** “God damn you, it’s a **diamond**, big idiot, a **diamond!**”

⁵ One of the belote games

⁶ Belote game terminology meaning to dash off, to beat the opponent at one go.

1B5 : Alharam! “Bastard!”

Heh heh

1B7 : Diop wane nono. “It’s for Diop.”

1B2 : **Moi, je n’avais rien à dire. “I had nothing to say.”**

(0.9)

1B2 : Maa ne war’o **joué**? “What are you **playing**?”

1B7 : **Cent**. “We play ‘cent’.”

(0.4)

1B2 : Abdou, ye haasum ni. (0.2) Boro go nee ka, nda ma na cii a do, kur ye baa nga
ɲaahu. (.) **C’est ce qu’il fallait résoudre. (0.2) Tu as compris maintenant?** “Abdou,
I respect you. There is a person here that I am going to slap if you don’t talk to him.
That’s what you had to do. Do you get me now?”

1B3 : **Non, tu as raison. “Yes, you’re right.”**

(0.5)

1B9 : A si baa yer ma ɲaa **quoi**, alhasidtarey. “He doesn’t want us to win the game,
egoistically.”

1B2 : **Il a gâté son jeu. (.) Abdou, tu n’as pas de raison de ne pas lui donner la
dizaine. (0.2) Il a déjà ... (0.4) Saadi ka a wii kur, il a mis l’as carreau. “He spoiled
his game. Abdou, you are not right in refusing to give him the ten. He has
already... . As soon as he won, he dropped the ace of diamonds.”**

(0.2)

1B4 : **Non, c’est pas grave. “No, it doesn’t matter.”**

1B2 : **Voilà, ni kambadi ... “So now, in your hand ...”**

1B3 : **Oui! “Yes!”**

1B2 : **Trèfle nin ga cindi a ra. “You had only clubs left.”**

1B3 : Oui! “Yes!”

1B2 : Donc, maintenant, qu’est-ce que, lui, il devait faire? Qu’est-ce qu’il devait faire? “So, now, what should he do? What should he do?”

1B3 : Ay si duu ga nongu kur. “I could get him nowhere.”

1B2 : Qu’est-ce qu’il devait faire? (.) Il devrait retourner immédiatement le carreau... “What should he do? (.) He should immediately return the diamond...”

1B7 : [C’est pour moi les cartes.] “The cards are mine.”

1B2 : [Voilà pour sauvegarder le reste du carreau avec l’as cœur] [...] “...that’s to save the remaining diamonds with the ace of hearts [...]”

Fifth game

1B4 : Eh président, war tourdi nono me. “Eh, president, it’s your turn to play.”

1B1 : Aywa, a boori! Haya, bisimilla! “OK, fine! So, let’s go on!”

1B7 : Ni g’o joué. “It’s your go.”

1B1 : Ay g’o joué wala? “Is it my go?”

1B7 : Ni ga jaw carreaudi. “It’s you who chose the diamond.”

1B1 : Ay ga jaw carreaudi, ay g’o joué, donc, ye joué woo saadi. Ay carreaudi nono. “I asked for the diamond, and it’s my go, so, I am going to play this. It’s my diamond.”

(0.9)

1B1 : Ah, le bilan! “Ah, tell us the results!”

1B6 : Vingt six-quarante deux. “Twenty six to forty two.”

(0.5)

1B1 : Uhh hu, yer ma koy! “Come on, let’s go on!”

(0.5)

1B1 : Lui, il a dit pique. Il a dit pique avant toi. “He said spade. He said spade before you.”

1B3 : Non, non! “No, no!”

1B1 : [Il a dit pique avant toi.] “He said spade before you.”

1B3 : [Pique ne ni coincé.] “It’s the spade you have stuck.”

1B9 : Heh, hey! “Hey, hey!”

1B3 : Pique ne ni coincé. “It’s the spade you have stuck’.”

1B9 : Bon, hey, l’arbitre n’a qu’à trancher. “Well, hey, the referee has to settle it.”

1B1 : [Pique ne a har deh.] “He really said spade.”

1B7 : [Non, j’ai dit trèfle.] “No, I said club.”

1B3 : Il a dit pique, il a dit ‘coincé’. “He said spade, he said ‘coincé’.”

1B4 : A yina a har pique, jina a har ‘coincé’. ““He first said spade, then he said ‘coincé’.”

1B6 : Hey, pique simple! Pique simple! “Hey, play simple spade! Simple spade!”

1B2 : Aywa, a boori! Haya, on joué! “OK, fine! So, let’s play!”

1B1 : Il a dit pique. “He really said spade.”

1B2 : Uhh hu! (.) Parle maintenant. Maa n’a har? “Come on! (.) Say something now.

What did he say?”

1B1 : Il dit pique simple. (.) Passe⁷! “He said simple spade. (.) Pass!”

1B4 : A har pique simple nono, quoi. “He said that it’s simple spade, you know.”

1B2 : Donc il dit que tu ne peux plus parler. “So he said that you can no more say anything.”

⁷ Belote game terminology

1B4 : Il a dit que c'est pique simple, donc, il peut parler. "He said that it's simple spade, so, he can say something."

1B7 : [Ay har 'passe'.] "He said 'pass'."

1B3 : [Il dit 'passe'.] "He said 'pass'"

1B4 : **Donc**, yer fur ga. "So, we forget it."

(0.9)

1B2 : Hey, kayndi ni lakaldi! "Hey, calm down!"

1B6 : Maa ne yer'o kar? (.) Pique wala? "What are we playing? Spade?"

1B9 : Ça c'est des cartes que moi je ne verifie pas hein. "That's the kind of cards that I don't check them."

1B6 : Ah, mais ...] "Ah, so ..."

1B2 : [Tu as eu tout le temps.] "You have all the time to do so."

1B9 : Non, j'attendais, quoi. (.) Nda ay partenaire⁸ na cii kur ye coincé, quoi. (.)

Donc il a été () "No, I was waiting, you know. (.) If my co-player won't say anything, I will stick the game, you know (.). So, he had been (.)"

1B2 : Voilà! "That it is!"

1B1 : Ni partenaire har pique. "Your co-player said pique."

(0.2)

1B2 : Mais lui, il pensait que tu allais dire 'passe'. "But, he thought you would say 'pass'."

1B7 : Wai-wai! "Yes!"

1B2 : Morayda, nga t'o batu ma har 'passe' yah. "Now, he expected you to say 'pass'."

1B1 : Ay ta, nda a har 'passe' kur ye har haydi ka ye may. "Actually, if he says 'pass', I will say exactly what I have."

⁸ Belote game terminology meaning co-player

1B2 : Il l'a bien dit. Il l'a bien dit. "He really said it. He really said it."

1B1 : Nda a har 'passe' kur ye har haydi k'ay may. "If he says 'pass', I will say exactly what I have."

1B7 : Il n'ya aucun problème. "That's no problem."

(0.9)

1B5 : Ni baa ka ɲindi wooyo wala? "You tried to deceive these men, didn't you?"

1B7 : Yer ma koy! "Let's go on!"

1B2 : Tangari ne a baa ka tangari. (.) Abdou jaati go bay jay nono oh, woo da se Abdou na yadda. "He tried to lie. (.) Abdou also knows that he is a thief, that's why Abdou didn't accept."

1B3 : Ay na har ga. "I didn't say that."

1B1 : [Guna!] "Look!"

1B9 : [Non, c'est pas grave!] "No, it doesn't matter!"

1B1 : Ni joué, woodi se a dam a ra coeurdi parce que (). Sinon, a si dam a ra coeurdi, bara a hungu n'o wii ga. "You have already played, that's why he has played the heart, because (). Otherwise he wouldn't play the heart, because for him you would beat."

1B7 : Ay sii yah! "I wouldn't, of course!"

1B2 : Abdou go bay jay nono. "Abdou really knows that he is a thief."

(0.5)

1B1 : Merje? "How much?"

1B3 : Trente neuf-quarante cinq. "Thirty nine to forty five."

Sixth game

1B1 : A har carreau. “He said diamond.”

1B5 : Il (.) il s’est prononcé à carreau! “He (.) he has already said diamond!”

1B9 : May? “Who?”

1B1 : Abdou har carreau. “Abdou said diamond.”

1B3 : C’est même pas bon, wallaahi! “It’s not good, I am sure!”

1B2 : Hey, ma si farandi ni bomodi yah, Abdou. (.) **Le pique, c’est entre nous. (0.2)**

Maa ya g’a ra kala **plonge la dizaine carreau. (.) C’est tout! (0.2)**. Nda a go yantasu

ga, a go jaw ga. (.) Nda a si yantasu ga, a go nan ga mane (.) Ma yendi ga a se koyne

(0.2). Woo da ne ay g’ o ye har. (0.4) **Au cas où il a besoin. (.) S’il n’a pas besoin, il le**

laisse. (.) Mais tu retournes le carreau encore. “Hey, don’t waste your time, Abdou.

Only you and I got all the spades. You have nothing to do but **plunge the ten of**

diamonds. That’s all! If he is interested in it, he will pick it up. If he is not interested,

he will leave it for you. You should return it to him again. That’s what I was telling

you. **In case he needs it. If he doesn’t need it, he leaves it. But you return the**

diamond again.”

1B5 : Hey, pique go war boro hinkadi nda cere game. (.) **Tu lui joues le pique au lieu**

de jouer le cœur. (.) Woodi ne ay har. “Hey, you two have all the spades. **You play**

the spade for him instead of playing the heart. That’s what I said.”

1B9 : C’est très bien. “It’s very good.”

1B1 : **Pique**, yer boro hinkadi da nono oh. “**Spades**, only we two got them.”

1B9 : Il a dit carreau, mais est-ce qu’il est certain qu’il a tous les carreaux? “He

said diamond, but is it certain that he has got all the diamonds?”

Heh heh

1B1 : Aywa, aywa, aywa war sinti, n’bay? “So, so, so, you have begun, haven’t you?”

Heh heh

1B6 : Wai, cere, **joue!** “Yes, my friend, **play!**”

Heh heh

1B2 : Ablo har siibidi jibadi ra i kaw **telephoned (0.2)**. A gar siibidi mo go hal a tinjidi doo(0.2). A har a gar a go hal a tinji saadi ka i go kaw ra **telephoned**. “Ablo said that the **phone** was taken out of the pocket of his pants. That moment, the pants were as far as under his knees. He said that he was completely barelegged the moment when the **phone** was taken out of his pocket.”

1B6 : [Siibi ciinadi ra ne i kaw ga wala?] “Was it taten from the underpants?”

1B1 : [A har i jay ngu **telephoned**.] “He said that his **phone** had been stolen.”

1B6 : Siibi ciinadi ra ne i kaw ga wala siibi berdi ra? “Was it taken from the underpants or the trousers?”

1B2 : Hâa Ablo (0.2). Nga yah g’o bay, bara **c’est lui qui a eu les informations**. “Ask Ablo. He is the one who knows, because **he is the one who got the information.**”

1B6 : Nga siibidi (h) “His pants ... (h)”

1B1 : Aywa! “Please!”

1B2 : Ay ta baatal, nga tubahardi har yane, saadi ka i kaw a ra **telephoned** gar a go nga ceedi ra. “As far as his nephew told me, when the **phone** was taken he had his pants on.”

1B8 : Haah?

1B2 : Tubahardi har yane siibidi, a gar a go nga kanjedi do [...] “His nephew told me also at that moment he really had the pants beneath his knees [...]”

Heh heh

1B2 : A har ngu mom nda ngu konde. “He said that he got this information from his aunt.”

1B6 : Wai (.). Hal lolodi ra i gar ga me. “You know, it was found out in the street after.”

Heh heh

1B6 : Hal lolodi ra i gar siibidi. “The pants were then found out in the street.”

1B1 : Saadi, i guna siibidi saadi. “So, they found the pants in the end.”

1B6 : Ngaah! “Yes!”

1B8 : Dooti ne i gar siibidi? “That’s where they found the pants?”

1B6 : Dooti ne i gar siibidi (0.2). Saadi ne i bay ka morayda ta boroyo da ga hiraw nguyo beene. “That’s where they found the pants. And that’s the very moment when they realised that someone had got into the house.”

Heh heh

1B4 : Hey, wa nan yer ma **joué** saa, war ma si farandi yer. “Hey, let’s keep on **playing**, and stop bothering us.”

1B6 : Hey, ni hasay (.), ni hasya ti alharam yah. “Hey, you know, your uncle, your uncle is a bastard.”

1B8 : Carreau! “**Diamond!**”

1B2 : Maa ni har? “What did you say?”

1B8 : Ay har Carreau. “I said diammond.”

1B6 : Non, je préfère le cœur, je pose le cœur. “No, I prefer the heart, I play heart.”

1B2 : ((phone rings, and he picks up the call)) : Allo... aleykummasalam. (0.4) **Vous allez bien? Elle va très bien**, alhamdulillah! [...] “Allo... peace upon you. **How are you? She is very well**, thank God!”

1B6 : Ah, ay ta bay nin ka **c’était trop fort, quand même!** “Ah, really, ((the clause ‘ay ta bay nin ka’ in Songhay means literally ‘I know that’)) **it was too funny, honestly!**”

Heh heh

1B6 : I ma gar n’o kani, i ma jaw ni **pantalon** (0.2). (h) Woodi moo, **pantalon** ta **quand même**, nda bor’o deeci ga, boro bomodi doo here n’o deeci ga. “They found you in bed, and took your **pants** (0.2). (h) Moreover, **pants, anyway**, if you hang them, you better put them above your head.”

(0.5)

1B4 : Ay ta, haydi ka ay na faham, nga ta, a go goro da a go mumusu (0.2). A ma cii. “Actually, I cannot understand that he is sitting here doing nothing but smiling. He must say something.

1B5 : Haydi ka war na faham, bordiyo go cii nin, nga ta si cii (.). War da ga na faham (0.2). Kala a ma **justifié**. “What you don’t know, everybody is saying something, but he doesn’t say anything. You really didn’t understand. He has to **justify** himself.”

((Time for salat alfitr, and all together the group started getting ready to pray)).

Conversation 2

((After praying fitr, the grin members sat for an annual check-up of their fund.))

1B1 : **Bon! Il y a deux points à l’ordre du jour : le premier point c’est notre caisse, la situation de la caisse; le deuxieme point () les divers.** “Well! There are two points to discuss. The first point is about our fund, the situation of the fund; the second point () concerns the micsellaneous.”

TR : **Vous continuez à jouer? “Do you continue to play?”**

1B1 : Wai-wai! **Mais, yer’o (0.2), on échange quelques minutes d’abord (04.).** Uhh hu! **Voilà, donc, par rapport à la caisse, Monsieur le trésorier, donc, voilà (0.2), donc c’est un rappel (0.4). Non-non! Cahierdi? (0.2) C’est (0.4). Kaa! Je pense que ... “Yes! But, we’re going to (0.2), we’re going to discuss for some minutes at first.**

Uhh hu! **Oh, so that's it, then, concerning the fund, the treasurer, so, that's it (0.2), so it's just a reminder. No! The notebook? (0.2) It is (0.4).** Come here! **I think that...**"

1B5 : Non! A ma nan **cahierdi** nin, a ma har nda haya go bara... **"No!** He can let the **notebook** and tell us if there is something ..."

1B1 : Non! A ma nan **cahierdi**(0.4). Nda haya go bara nin (.0.2) yer'o **rappelé** bordiyo nin **comme ça** ... **"No!** He can let the **notebook**, if there is something (0.2) we just **remind** everybody **in that way...**"

1B8 : Voilà! Cahierdi ma kaa, **il fait le point**, woodiyo ka (0.2) **qui sont pas reguliers, ceux qui sont reguliers, il faut que chacun sache.** **"That's it!** He can bring the **notebook**, and **sums up the situation**, those who **(0.2) who are not regular and those who are regular, evebody must know.**"

1B1 : Aywa, cahierdi ma kaa. **"O.K., bring the notebook."**

1B5 : Kate cahierdi. **"Bring the notebook."**

(0.9)

1B1 : Non-non! Ça va aller, inchallaahu! (0.2) Yerkoy (.) Yerkoy Talaahu g'a yaraasundi, nga g'o kokorndi. **Un coup (h) un coup,** nda a gay' a gay kur ... **"No! It's going to be alright,** inchallaahu! Almighty God is the One who predestines and favours. **One go (0.4) one go,** you know, after a while..."

1B8 : Un coup, nda a gay'agay kur, a kaa **deux coups.** **"One go,** after a while will be **two goes."**

Heh heh

1B2 : Ije kayna alharam woo (.), **il est habitué à faire des coups** (.), ka n'o guna. **"This bastard boy that you see, he is used to do things at one go."**

Heh heh

1B2 : Nga ta, **un coup** nin ne a' kar (h). Moreyda, a doonay **un coup (h)**. “He does everything just **at one go**. Now, he is used to do things **at one go**”

1B8 : **Un coup avec quatre-quatre ! (h)** “A four-wheel drive at one go!”

Heh heh

1B1 : Ni mobildi go ni ga wala? “Is your car around?”

TR : N'gaah. “Yes.”

1B1 : Koy kuboy yane ay wane ijemayroyo deh à l'école **publique (0.4)**. Ni nda woo ma koy nda cere, **le petit-là**. “Go and take my children **at the public school**. You go with this one, **that little boy**.”

(0.5)

1B1 : Sumbu! Har ni wane talaamewayo se nga ijedi ma hanga Buri banda, i ma koy kuboy ijemayradiyo. “Sumbu! Ask your neighbour to let her child go with Buri and take the children.”

1B2 : [Ma faab'ay mo nda hari k'ay ñin.] “Give me some water to drink, please.”

1B1 : [Nda n'too, kur n'o har ngi **maitredi** se] ka ni kaa kuboy gi **quoi (0.2)**. **Comme ça**, ma si goro ka batu gi **quoi**. “When you arrive, tell their **teacher** that you come to take them. **That way**, you won't have to wait for them.”

(0.9)

1B1 : Gaston? A si nee. Uhh hu!, Maha, **allez-y!** Gaston, **absent**. Uhh hu! Nga **situation**di? **Deux mille? 2008, rien**, uhh hu, **2009, 2010, 2011**. Uhh hu! Bisa (.) bisa Gaston ga. Uhh hu! Litiche? **C'est la même chose?** Uhh hu! Bari? (0.5) “Gaston? He is not here. Uhh hu! Maha, **go on!** Gaston is **absent**. Uhh hu! His **situation? Two thousand? In 2008 nothing**, uhh hu, **2009, 2010, 2011**. Uhh hu! Move on to the next (.) Let Gaston and move to the next. Uhh hu! Litiche? **Is it the same?** Uhh hu! Move to Bari!”

1B2 : Wala ciji, ay har a se [ka ... “Even lastnight, I told him that...”

1B1 : [Litiche, ay taasi ga hal ay fara, ay jan ka duu ga.] “Litiche, I called him in vain; I couldn’t reach him.”

1B2 : Ciji, a har ka ng’o kaa nee. “Last evening he said that he would come here.”

1B8 : Ciji, **pourtant moi je l’ai vu**. “Last night, I saw him all the same.”

1B2 : Nda moreyda ne ni hâa ga, a si har mane kala ngu g'o kaa moreyda. “Even if you ask him now, he will tell you that he is coming right now.”

1B9 : **2010**. “**For 2010**.”

1B1 : Hâah! May ti woo? “Yes! Who’s that?”

1B9 : Diop. “That’s Diop.”

1B1 : Diop, **2010**, eh? **2010**, **huit mois** ga cindi a se. **2011? D’accord!** Uhh hu! Diop, ye’e **rappelé** ga. Ay ta, man n’a go? “Diop, **2010**, really? For **2010**, he **got eight months** unpaid. And what about **2011? OK!** Uhh hu! as for Diop, I will **remind** him. By the way, where’s he?”

Heh heh

1B1 : Ahah, Abandi, **combien? Six mois?** Woo ti maa? **Deux mille?** “So, concerning Abandi, **how much? Six months?** What’s this? **Which year?**”

1B9 : **2010**. “**That’s for 2010**”

1B1 : **2010**, **six mois**, uhh hu! “**For 2010**, **six months**, uhh hu!”

1B9 : Nda a na ti woo (.) Asko ka bana a kur, nda may? “Excep this one (.) Asko who paid all, and who else?”

1B8 : Ay mo bana haya kayna. “I also paid some.”

1B9 : Ni mo bana haya kayna. Ablo bana **un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq mois**. **Apart Bino et (.)** Bino nda Asko, ngi ya noo haya kayna, boro foo na noo haya kur. “Yes, you

also paid some. Ablo paid **one, two, three, four, five months**. Except Bino and (.) Bino and Asko, they paid some, nobody paid.”

(0.4)

1B1 : Aywa, a goo! A noo **cinq milles**. “Well, here it is! He pays **five thousandds ((francs)).**”

1B12 : Ah! “Ah!”

1B1 : **Six mois dans 2010 plus 2011**. “He pays for **six months for 2010 plus 2011.**”

1B8 : **Moi, il me reste combien de mois maintenant?** “So, how many months do I still have to pay now?”

1B1 : **Maintenant**, dam Ablo **situation**di, moreyda ka a noo haya (0.4). Bari, **2010 et 2011** (.). Aliji, merje? **2010**, Uhh hu! **2011 (0.4)**. Uhh hu, Maha, ni wandi? Ablo go niya ka noo ni njorfu (.). Maha, ni wandi ti merje? “**Now**, put down the **situation** of Ablo, as he has just paid something. As for Bari, he has to pay for **2010 and 2011**. Concerning Alidji, how much? (0.4) **2010**, Uhh hu! **2011**. Uhh hu! You Maha, what about yours? Look, Ablo is giving you the money. And you Maha, how much is yours?”

1B9 : **2010**, a na ti ay har ga mane ya. “It’s 2010, I already told you.”

1B1 : Aah, **2010, 2011**. “OK, **2010, 2011.**”

1B4 : **2011, il me reste combien de mois?** “In 2011, how many months do I still have to pay?”

1B2 : **Il te reste deux mois**; nda n’noo **deux mille francs** kur ni **soldé** ga, ni **soldé l’année**. [...] **C’était cinq**, ni noo **cinq encore**. Nada n’ noo **trois mille** ta kur n’o huraw **dans l’autre** (.) **dans l’année suivante**. [...] “You still have to pay **two months**; so, if you give **two thousand francs** you will close it, you will close the year.

[...] You had to pay five, and you give five more. If you give **three thousands** more, you will start the other (.) the following year.” [...]

Heh heh

1B2 : Nda a noo **deux mille** kur a’ **bouclé l’année**. “If he gives **two thousands** he will **complete the year.**”

1B1 : Non! Il donne **trois mille**. “No! He gives **three thousands.**”

1B2 : Donc, il donne **trois mille** pour rentrer dans l’année suivante. “So, he gives **three thousands** to start the following year.”

1B1 : N’o **bouclé** ga hal ma fer a se **2012, non 2011**. “You close the year and open **2012** for him, no, I mean **2011.**”

(0.5)

1B1 : Uhh hu! Tu **donnes trois mille, (0.2) huit mille francs**. “Uhh hu! You give **three thousands, (0.2) that will make eight thousands francs.**”

1B9 : Ni har maa? “What did you say?”

1B5 : Donc, maintenant tu **payes douze mois, tu ne payes plus deux mois**. “So, now you pay for **twelve months, not for two months.**”

1B2 : Donc, tu **boucles l’année 2011, tu rentres dans 2012 avec mille francs**.

“So, you complete **2011, and begin 2012 with one thousand.**”

1B1 : Avec **mille francs**. “With **one thousand francs.**”

(0.5)

1B5 : Ay na har war ma dam ga **chez Gaston** deh; a har nga wane **mille francs** go ngu doo. “I didn’t say to put it on **Gaston’s** situation; he said to put his **thousand francs** for himself.”

1B4 : **Cotisation** n’ay har mane. “**Subscription charge**, that’s what I told you.”

1B1 : Aah, a ma kaa **cotistion?** (0.2) Ayyo, a boori. “Ah, is that for your **subscription?**
OK, fine.”

1B1 : **Bon! Donc**, Ablo (.) Ablo **2011, deux mille...** “Well! So, for Ablo (.) Ablo has
paid for **2011** and ... ((which year?))”

1B9 : **2012** ne n’o **compté** a se moreyda. “You now **include 2012** for him.”

1B1 : **Non! On est en 2012.** (.) Mise foo n’o ... “No! We are already in **2012.** How
do you ...”

1B9 : **Comme** ay na **tracé** ga jina, **quoi.** “As I haven’t drawn it ((2012)) yet.”

1B1 : **Il faut tracer hein (0.2).** **Comme on a déjà ...** “You have to draw it hein. As
we have already ...”

(0.4)

1B1 : Haah? **Non! Je vais payer un trimestre. (0.2) Je vais payer un trimestre pour**
2012 (0.4). Je vais payer un trimestre. “What? No! I pay for three months. I pay
for three months in 2010. I pay for three months.”

1B9 : **Tu vas payer un trimestre?** “Are you going to pay for three months?”

1B1 : Uhh hu! “Of course!”

(0.5)

1B1 : **Donc**, ye ... (.) yendi yane ... (0.2), yendi yane **mille francs.** “So, re ... (.) repay
me ... (0.2) repay me one **thousand francs.**”

(0.5)

1B6 : Ay bara tarey yah, **donnes-moi ma situation-là.** “I was outside, **tell me my**
situation.”

1B1 : Moreyda! Ni **situation**di wala? A har ga jaati. Caw ga a se, Abandi. “Just now!
Your **situation?** Yes, he actually read it. Read it to him, to Abandi I mean.”

1B13 : Goro! “Sit down!”

1B5 : Abandi (.) man ne Abandi go? Alharam woo (.) Abandi... “Abandi (.) where is Abandi? This bastard (.) Abandi...”

Heh heh

1B5 : [Gaston, Diop, Abandi... ((Reading the names on the list))

1B2 : [Ah, **aéroport**, maa nee a hin ka duu dooti **chantier**di ra? “Ah, at the **airport**, what did he get there in **the building site**?”

1B5 : **2010, six mois**, nga ne ni bana, a cindi **six mois**. Woo ti **deux mil dix, onze** ta ciini na kaa, **douze** moo ciini na kaa. “**In 2010**, you paid for **six months**, and you still have to pay **six months**. That’s just about **two thousand ten ((2010))**, and anything about **eleven ((2011))** as well **twelve ((2012))**.”

Heh heh

1B2 : **La tonne ((de ciment)) est à combien?** “**How much is a tonne ((of cement))?**”

1B8 : **La tonne est à quatre vingt dix milles (0.2). Ça c’est à raison de quatre mille cinq cent par sac (0.4).** Ay ta jaati, ngi ya har yane **pour un sac ça fait ...** “**The tonne is about ninety thousands; that is nine thousand and five hundred per sack.** Personally, they told me that **for one sack it is ...**”

1B2 : **C’est le CPA alors? Le ciment CPA?** “**Is it the CPA, then ? The CPA cement?**”

1B15 : **Mali cimentdi wala?** “**The Malian-made cement?**”

1B2 : **Non-non! Le ciment CPA, c’est le [ci... “No! The CPA cement, that is the ce...”**

1B8 : [C’est pas le ciment huya-huya hein.] “**It is not the ordinary cement hein.**”

1B2 : [Le CPA50, voilà!] “**The CPA50, that’s it!**”

1B9 : Bino, woo ti jangu taaci wala? “Bino, is that four hundreds?” ((Four hundreds in Songhay mean two thousand CFA francs))

1B8 : Wai! **C’est trois (.) non, quatre milles (0.4).** N’o yendi yane **mille francs, quoi.**
“Yes! **That is three (.) no, four thousands (0.4).** You repay me **one thousand francs.**”

1B9 : Haah? “Sorry?”

1B8 : N’o yendi yane **mille francs, quoi (0.2).** **Je vais payer un trimestre.** “You repay me **one thousand francs. I pay for three months.**”

1B1 : **Non, non, non, un trimestre [et...]** “No, no, no, three months and ...”

1B4 : [Desolés, yer si may njorfu mayra. “Sorry, we don’t have any change.”

Heh heh

1B9 : **Non!** Yer na har yer si may. “No! We didn’t say that we don’t have.”

1B8 : **Bon! OK! “Well! OK!”**

(0.5)

1B2 : **Je vais prendre à peu près () mais pas tout de suite,** hal alwaati kayna ma bisa... “I take just about () but not now, shortly after a bit while...”

1B8 : **Non! Si tu es prêt... “No! If you are ready...”**

()

1B4 : N’ti woodi da ne a har (0.2). **Vraiment,** yer **tresorier** woo, nga ciini go bow (0.4). Ni din njorfu, maa yendi? Yer har mane ni si may njorfu mayra.

“That’s what he said. **Actually,** our **tresurer** talks too much. You got the money, so why do you bother about change? We said that you don’t have any change.”

(0.9)

1B8 : Woo taka, nda n’o day ga, n’o day (.) **une fois que tu as l’occasion, tu payes ton top (.) dix tonnes. [...]** “In such case, if you pay it, you pay (.) **once you have the opportunity, you pay as much as you can (.) ten tonnes for instance. [...]**”

(0.9)

1B1 : Uhh hu, Maha? **Situation**di, Ablo? “So, Maha, will you continue? The situation of Ablo?”

1B5 : Ablo ta **bouclé**. “We **completed** for Ablo.”

1B1 : Ablo, **2012 plus un mois**. “Ablo has paid for **one month in 2012**.”

1B4 : Bino nin ya go ay jine (0.2). Bino ga goo **quatre mois**. “Only Bino is ahead of me. Bino has paid for **four months**.”

1B1 : Ay mo noo haya, **2012** (.). Ay noo haya, billa! **2012**, ay moo bana.

“For **2012**, I have also paid something. Really, I have also paid something for 2012. For **2012**, I have also paid something.”

1B5 : **Directeur** har ma har ngu se ngu **situation**di. “**Directeur** asked to tell him his **situation**.”

1B1 : **Directeur**, **2010** il reste **six mois**, nda **2011**. “For **Directeur**, he still has to pay **six months in 2010**, and **2011**.”

1B5 : **Ce qui fait dix huit mois**. “That’s **eighteen months**.”

1B6 : A bow, deh. “That’s too much, deh.”

1B1 : Bino, ni noo **2012** merje? “Bino, how much did you pay for **2012**?”

1B8 : **Quatre mois**. “For **four months**.”

1B1 : **2012**, **quatre mois**. [...] “For **2012**, **four months**. [...]”

Conversation 3

((The 15 grin members are playing a game of belote. The conversation comprises three games.))

First game

1B1 : Bari, hû ma hantu. “Bari, take this and write.”

1B10 : N’o bay haydi ka n’o hantum wala? “Do you know what to write?”

1B7 : Pélé, borodiyo si naanay ni yah. “Pélé, nobody trusts you.”

1B10 : Haah? “What did you say?”

(0.5)

1B1 : **Moi, vraiment j’attends (0.2). Moi, j’atends (0.2). Moi, j’attends (0.4).** Ay nda bordi ka () “**For me, really, I wait (0.2). For me, I wait (0.2). For me, I wait (0.2).** I will be with the one who ()”

1B6 : Ay ta go bay nin **moi, mon partenaire-là c’est Abdoulaye.** “I am sure, **my co-player is Abdoulaye.**”

1B7 : Hey, **non non! Toi, tu n’as pas la parole ici.** “Hey, **no, no! You, you are not allowed to get a word here.**”

1B11 : Ablo hey! “Ablo!”

1B1 : Man ne **bicdi go? Bicdi go man?** “Where is the **pen?** ((The second interrogative sentence is a repetition of the first one with another word order possible in Songhay language: Man bicdi go? Bicdi go man?))”

1B7 : **Non! C’est pas clair.** “**No! It’s not clear.**”

1B11 : **Non! C’est bon!** Nda () kur ay nda g’o koy kuboy. “**No! All right!** If () I’ll play with him.”

1B1 : **Bicdi go man?** “Where is the **pen?**”

1B11 : Ngaah! Ablo nda may g’o **joué?** “Yes! Whom Ablo is **playing** with?”

1B10 : Ahh ha! Aywa, **le tchouné⁹-là (h)**, ni nda ga g'o kuboy. “All right! So, **that beginner**, you will play with him.”

1B1 : Aywa, **d'accord!** Ay ta baada, borodi ka si may () ay nda ga g'o **joué**. “So, **alright!** As for me, the person who hasn't got any () I'll **play** with him.”

(0.5)

1B11 : Ay nda woo go **joué** nda cere, **c'est bon!** “I'll **play** with this man, **alright!**”

1B7 : **Mourou ne sait pas jouer. (h)** “**Mourou doesn't know how to play.**”

1B11 : **Il ne sait pas jouer aussi? (h)** “**Doesn't he know how to play, really?**”

1B1 : **Non!** Mourou s'a ra. (.) Mourou s'a ra. “**No!** Mourou does not count. Mourou does not count.”

(0.5)

1B10 : **Non, non! Lui et Alidji jouent ensemble. (.)** Ay nda ga si **joué** nda cere **carte**. “**No, no! He'll play together with Alidji. I don't play cards** with him.”

(0.5)

1B10 : **Toi, tu es moyen ou tu es comment?** “**You, are you average or what?**”

1B1 : **Moi, je suis tout-terrain¹⁰.** “**Me, I am 'tout-terrain.'**”

1B6 : **Il est tout-terrain.** “**He is 'tout-terrain'**”

(0.5)

1B1 : **Hop! (h), collo! Collo!** “**Hop! (h), lets' go on!**”

(0.5)

1B1 : **Qui dit que jakuma n'est pas wara?** “**Who said that a cat is not a lion?**”

⁹ Belote game terminology designating a bad player

¹⁰ Belote game terminology designating a player of high rank

1B6 : Qu'est-ce qui t'arrive? Ye noo ni **chaisedi** moo n'o () “What’s the trouble with you? I gave you the **chair** but you ()”

1B5 : Ay na faham mee. “I didn’t understand.”

(0.5)

1B11 : Non, tu as bien joué (.), tu as bien joué. “No, you played well, you played well.”

1B10 : Aa-wai! “Indeed!”

(0.5)

1B1 : Je vais travailler avec ça. “I’ll work with this.”

1B10 : Tu peux pas [travailler... “You can’t work...”

1B1 : [Je vais travailler avec ça.] “I’ll work with this.”

1B11 : [Tu as bien joué (.)], tu as bien joué. “You played well, you played well.”

(0.5)

1B1 : Abandi, wooyo duu **chance** ka ay nda ni na **joué** hano. (0.2) Ay nda ni na **joué**, nd’a na yer’o yenjendi gi. “Abandi, you know, these guys are **lucky** I am not **playing** with you today. If I were **playing** with you, we would make them quarrel.”

1B10 : Ayyo! “Really!”

(0.5)

1B1 : Yer na yaasu deh. “We are not lucky.”

1B11 : Capot¹¹! “‘Capot’!”

1B2 : A ben! “It’s over!”

1B1 : Yer na yaasu . “We are not lucky.”

1B2 : Ay ta har mane (.), ay har mane... “I told you, I told you...”

¹¹ Belote game terminology

1B1 : A **coincé** oh! “It’s **stuck!**”

1B10 : Ah, wala a **capot** yah? (h) “Or you are **dashed off?**”

1B2 : Woo ti hano ciini wala! “That’s true!”

Heh heh

(0.5)

1B6 : Diop, Yerkoy se, faynda yer. “Diop, for God’s sake, don’t bother us.”

1B1: Faynda yer **jeudi** way. “Let our **game.**”

1B10 : Ah, **laisse-nous notre jeu.** “Ah, let our **game.**”

(0.5)

1B2 : Ay na guna ni **cartedi.** “I didn’t see your **card.**”

1B5 : **Non!** Ay wandi ti **carreau.** “**No!** Mine is a **diamond.**”

1B2 : Ah, ni wandi ti **carreau.** “Ah, yours is a **diamond.**”

(0.5)

1B2 : **Trente cinq (.) trent cimq, trente neuf, cinquante neuf, soixante treize, quatre vingt dix. Au suivant!** “**Thirty five (.) thirty five, thirty nine, fifty nine, seventy three, ninety. The next!**”

(0.5)

1B10 : War ta, war na gay far. (h) “Your turn didn’t last any long.”

1B5 : Yer na gay. “No, it didn’t.”

1B2 : Amma ni nda (.) ni nda afakaran woo ka go nda cere. “But, you are with (.) you are with that poor man.”

1B7 : **Il est avec son oncle.** “**He is with his uncle.**”

1B2 : Goundam bordi har ngu farkadi se, ‘boro ka si bay ni, g’o day ni.’ “The man from Goundam said to his stubborn donkey, ‘only he, who doesn’t know anything about you, will buy you.’”

1B7 : Il est avec son oncle. “He is with his uncle.”

1B2 : Aywa, **toi aussi, tu es avec son oncle.** (.) A na ti ni mom? Ni hasey goo **avec son oncle.** “So, you also, you are with his uncle. Do you understand? Your uncle is **with his uncle.**”

1B7 : Il est assuré. “He is assured.”

1B4 : Ay nda ay hasey ga go nda cere (.) Ay si hanbur haya foo. “I am with my uncle, so I am not afraid of anything.”

1B1 : Aywa, a boori! “OK, fine!”

1B6 : Maa nono? “What?”

1B4 : Woo na ni ti fondo. “It’s not your problem.”

(0.5)

1B4 : Ay si baa **carte** ra bere-beredi. “I dislike turning over and over when playing **cards.**”

1B10 : Alidji woo ka ni guna, a na ti boro saahinte me. “That Alidji is not a good boy.”

(0.5)

1B10 : Au suivant! “Next, please!”

(0.5)

1B11 : Le jeu est fini. “The game is over.”

(0.5)

1B7 : Alidji ηaahu go baa. “Alidji is dashed to pieces”

1B5 : A boori! Ay ta si cii ni doo mo. (0.2) **Je garde seulement le silence.** “O.K.! I won’t say anything to you. **I have to keep silent.**”

Second game

1B7 : Sors! “Go!”

1B5 : Passe! “Pass!”

Heh heh

1B1 : Yer ma koy nin! “Let’s go on!”

1B10 : Aywa, **il faut jouer**. “So, **it’s your turn to go.**”

1B2 : Carte woo ka n’o guna (0.2) yer’o () **cartedi** ay gay ay faham ga, **mais (.) pas (.) mais seulement**, nda ay na koy nda nee here, a si kaa ni sakudi, ni faham ga? “This **game** you see (0.2) we are (.) That **game**, I’ve understood it since then, **but (.) not (.) but**, if I didn’t play this way, it wouldn’t be what you expected me to do, do you get me?”

1B5 : Woo da ga boori! “Well done!”

1B2 : Ay faham ga. (.) **Comme que dixdi** daabu dooti (0.2) ye noo ga nga piquedi, **et je coince le quartorze parce que** a si may yane nafa kur. “I understood it. **Since the ten** has blocked the way, I drop him the spade **and I stick the forteen because** I have nothing to do with it.”

1B3 : Hey, wa dangay! “Hey, you shut up!”

1B2 : **Tu as compris? (.) Le quartorze pique-là**, a si may yane nafa kur **(.) Donc ye plongé** ga. “**Did you get me? (.) The forteen of spades** was of no importance for me **(.) So I had to drop** it.”

(0.5)

1B4 : Yer ma koy! “Let’s go on!”

1B6 : Aywa, ay g’o **jeu** ra Ablo, ay g’a ra me! “So, I am **playing**, Ablo, really I am playing!”

1B4 : Ah, ma si hanbur! “Ah, don’t be afraid!”

1B6 : Ah, ay ta, ay hanbur deh! “Ah, actually, I am afraid deh!”

1B4 : Hambur s’a ra! Ay go ye **pausé**. Morayda ay g’o kaa. “Don’t be afraid! I want **to pause**. Soon I will be back.”

(0.5)

1B13 : Abocar, a na too yer hal more wala? “Abocar, isn’t it tour turn yet?”

1B10 : Ni ta, n’si goro dah. (0.2) Goro, **on joue**. “You can’t keep still. Sit down, **we’ll be playing**.”

1B7 : **Quand tu n’es pas là, tu ne joues pas hein**. “If you can’t keep still, you don’t play.”

1B13 : Haah? “What?”

1B7 : Nda n’si ne, ni si **joué** deh. “If you can’t keep still, you don’t play.”

1B13 : Eh, woo ne war kate wala? “Eh, have you made changes in the situation?”

1B7 : Trèfle! “Club!”

1B13 : Woo mo ne war karte wala? “Have you made changes in the situation?”

1B10 : Pique! “Spade!”

1B6 : Yer ma koy! **JOUE!** “Come on! **Go!**”

1B7 : **Joue!** “**Go!**”

Heh heh

1B6 : **Ils ont les cartes hein**. “They have got all the cards hein.”

1B1 : Woo ti ay nda ni na duu cere (0.2). Nda a na ti, yer’o yenjendi gi. I’i bay yer woh. “We are not together today, otherwise, we should mak them quarrell. They know us.”

1B6 : **D’accord! Donc...** “Alright! So...”

1B1 : I’i bay yer woh! “They actually know us!”

(0.5)

1B11 : C'est le pique. (.) C'était Ablo. (.) Il a fait son jeu; a na yaasu nin. (.) Sinon () "It's spade (.). It was Abo's go (.). He played well; but he was not lucky. Otherwise ()"

(0.5)

1B6 : Non! J'ai pas raison. "No! I was not right."

1B5 : Hinje ay maale se (.), Hinje ay maale se. "I beg your pardon for my patron. Excuse my patron."

Third game

1B4 : Hey, kaa din ay motoodi; après kur ay nda ni go joué. "Hey, come and take my motobyke; after, we play together."

1B1 : A har ay hoo me (0.2) Ablo har ay hoo (0.4). Hoo ta ay hoo (0.4). Ablo, woo ben, woo ben. "He said that I was wrong (0.2) Ablo said that I was wrong (0.4). Of course, I was wrong (0.2) Ablo, that's alright, that's alright."

1B11 : C'est un truc! "This is a trick!"

1B1 : Rec¹²! "Rec!"

1B10 : Non, c'est pas ça. J'ai plaisanté aux carreaux. < "No, it's not that. I was only kidding on diamonds."

(0.5)

1B10 : Il a quatre carreaux. "He's got four diamonds."

1B11 : Nda ni fatta nda quartozedi, a jaw ga nda valetdi. "If you play the fourteen, he will play the jack."

(0.5)

¹² Belote game terminology

1B1 : Ablo, est-ce que tu sais pourquoi je (). Dans les cartes-là, j'ai quatre carreaux sans la quatorzaine. "Ablo, do you know why I (). In the game, I've got four diamonds without the fourteen."

1B10 : Donnez-moi le carreau, nin a ben! "Pass me the diamond, that's all!"

1B1 : Est-ce que n'o may quatorzedi? "Do you have the fourteen?"

1B10 : Haah? "What?"

1B1 : Quatorze carreaudi go ni ga wala? "Do you have the fourteen diamond?"

1B6 : Non, quatorze carreaudi s'a ga oh. "No, he doesn't have the fourteen diamond."

1B1 : Ahah! "Really!"

1B10 : Non, a s'ay ga. "No, I don't have it."

1B1 : Saadi, c'est le capot. "So, it's 'capot'."

1B2 : Onze-onze. "Eleven to eleven."

1B1 : J'ai quatre carreaux, wallaahi. "I've got four diamonds, really."

(0.5)

1B2 : C'est lui le touteur¹³; il peut ne même pas avoir le carreau. "He is the 'touteur'; he may be kidding on the diamond."

1B1 : Wallaahi, j'ai quatre. "Really, I've got four."

1B2 : Woo se n'o goro ay bii goro jeenodi doo yah? Il raconte ka () "That's why you are sitting in the place I occupied yesterday, aren't you? He said that ()"

1B10 : Maa? Maa? "What? What?"

1B2 : Ay har cœur. "I said heart."

1B10 : Ah, passe! "Pass!"

1B1 : Non, c'est moi qui ai dit cœur. "No, I said heart."

¹³ Belote game terminology

1B2 : A kur ti afoo. (.) Ni har ga, ay har ga, a kur ti afoo. “It’s the same. You said, or I said, it’s the same.”

1B1 : C’est moi qui ai dit cœur. “I said heart.”

1B6 : C’est pas la même chose hein! “It’s not the same hein!”

1B13 : C’est pas la même chose. “It’s not the same.”

1B2 : D’accord! “Alright!”

1B13 : Tu as menti, a () il a parlé avant toi. “You lie, he () he said it before you.”

(0.5)

1B1 : Har yer se **bilandi** wai. “Tell us the **results**.”

(0.9)

1B10 : Ay ta, n’o bay **jeu** wala? “Tell me, do you know how to **play**?”

1B14 : Aah? Ay? “What? Me?”

1B10 : Ahah! “Yes!”

1B14 : Ay bisa ni ka bay **jeu**. “I **play** better than you.”

1B10 : N’o may **partenaire** wala? “Do you have a **co-player**?”

1B14 : **Non**, koy ne ye koy. “**No**, I am leaving.”

1B10 : Aywa, yer’o foo gi! “So, see you!”

1B13 : Maa ne ni har? “What did you say?”

1B12 : **Trèfle! On joue à trèfle**. “**Clubs! We play clubs!**”

1B13 : **On joue à quoi?** “**What are we playing?**”

1B1 : [**Trèfle!**] “**Clubs!**”

1B12 : [**On joue à trèfle.**] “**We play clubs.**”

1B15 : Salaamu aleykum! “Peace on you!”

1B1 : Wa aleykumma salam wa rahamatullaahi taala wa barakaatuhu! “May peace, mercy and benediction of God be upon you!”

[...]

Section 2: Grin 2, Bamako

Conversation 4

2B6 : A ma kani batudi ra wala? “Can I put it down in the center? ((About the dictaphone))”

TR : Honno nonj’ ka ciinidiyo’o haywane. “Look for a safe place where all the talks can be recorded.”

2B1 : Gorondi ga dooti! “Drop it there!”

2B6 : A boori! **Comme** ciinidiyo na sinti jina, **quoi**. “Fine! **As** the discussions haven’t begun yet.”

TR : Ciini kur ka nono. “Any kind of talks.”

2B6 : OK! “OK!”

2B1 : Eh, kandi ga dooti. “Eh, drop it there.”

2B6 : Aywa, a boori! “OK, fine!”

(0.5)

2B1 : Ni mom wala? (0.2) Hantum nga maadi, **il va donner**. “Did you hear? Put his name, **he will give.**”

(0.5)

2B1 : **Voilà son ami!** “Here’s his friend!”

2B10 : Nga wane... “His ...”

2B1 : **Son ami est là. (0.2) S’il donne pas, son ami va donner.** “His friend is here. **If he doesn’t give, his friend will give.**”

2B4 : Eh, Modi si koy a na bana deh. “Eh, Modi should not leave without paying.”

Heh heh

2B4 : **Réunion** kur ka kaa Modi na kaa. “Modi hasn’t come to any **meeting**.”

2B7 : Ah, noo nga maadi jina... “Ah, put down his name...”

2B10 : Hû, **un mois!** “Take, this is for **one month!**”

2B5 : Bana yane, bana yane! “Pay for me, pay for me!”

2B4 : Ay wane **patron** ga bana yane. “My **chief** has paid for me.”

2B7 : [I har ma dam Aseku Ajaawiyakoy.] “I said to put down Aseku Ajawiyakoy.”

2B9 : [Man? Koyra foo?] “Where? Which town?”

2B1 : Lere, Lere. “Lere, Lere.”

2B9 : Hal moreyda i g’a ra yah? Are they still there?” ((Talking about rebels))

2B1 : Ah! **(0.2) Il paraît que bii quinze heures** i go dooti. “Ah, **apparently** yesterday **at 15 : 00** they were there.”

2B9 : Eeh! “Really!”

(0.5)

2B8 : C’est-à-dire quoi, i har... **ils sont en train de prendre, si je comprends bien (0.2), ils sont en train de prendre les militaires en otages.** “Well the thing is... they said...they are taking, that’s how I understand, they are taking the army hostage.”

(0.5)

2B8 : Ni mom wala, **grand-frère?** “Did you get me, **elder brother?**”

2B11 : Woo da nono! “That’s right!”

2B12 : **La population!** (0.2) Woo ti alhabar! “**The people!** That’s a trouble!”

2B6 : **Il faut [m’envoyer... “Send me...”**

2B8 : [I har i hiraw **en ville.**] (0.2) Kala saddaasuyo k’i koynda. [...] “It is said that they entered **the town**. And they took away so many soldiers.”

(0.9)

2B2 : **Bon! Maintenant les débats continuent s’il vous plait. (0.2) Par rapport à cette lettre, Sidi, qu’est-ce que vous voudriez qu’on fasse? “Well! Now let’s continue the debates, please. Concerning this letter, Sidi, what will you suggest doing?”**

2B1 : **Eh mais! Saa ka yer kur na cii. “Well! As we all didn’t say anything.”**

2B2 : **Ah, faabadi, moreyda, on dit que dans la caisse on a cent vingt six mille. (0.2) Cent vingt six mille ti, bon, jenber waranka cindi iddu. () “Ah, for this aid, now, it seems that in the fund we have hundred twenty six thousands ((FCA francs)). Hundred twenty six thousands that is, well, twenty six thousands ((the equivalent in Songhay)). ()”**

(0.5)

2B6 : **May ga jaw radio kaynadi? [Voilà!] “Who took the small tape-recorder? Here it is!”**

2B12 : [Ay da ya kandi ga nee.] “I put it down there.”

2B6 : **Ah, d’accord! “Ah, alright!”**

(0.5)

2B2 : **Saadi, yer si kaw jenber guudi war ma koynda wala? (0.4) Haah? “So, what about taking five thousands out of the money and send it to them? What do you think?”**

2B5 : [Mayyo g’o wir faaba?] “Who need assistance?”

2B12 : [Aywa, woodi da nono!] “OK, that’s right!”

2B1 : **Goundam wane association foo. “An association in Goundam.”**

2B12 : **Jenber guudi si bow. “Five thousands are not so much.”**

2B7 : **Jenber guu, maa ne a go hin ka dam dooti? “Five thousands, what cant it do there?”**

2B14 : **A go hinse haya, (.) a go hinse haya. “It can do something, it can do something.”**

2B13 : Non, faaba ti faaba nin. “No, an aid is just an aid.”

2B14 : A go hinse haya bara kondey fooyo mo faaba gi woh. “It can do something because other associations also have assisted them.”

2B13 : Faaba ti faaba nin. “An aid is just an aid.”

2B8 : Un geste symbolique! “A token gesture!”

2B13 : Ah, wai! “Ah, yes!”

2B2 : Jenber guudi, quand le... quand le secrétaire général va venir, il va faire une lettre... “The five thousand, when the...when the general secretary comes, he will write a letter...”

2B1 : [Donc, il dit qu’il descend à dix sept heures.] “So, he said that he will come from work at 17 : 00”

2B2 : [Il va faire une lettre que] (0.2) on va remettre à Issa. Comme ils vont au nom de l’association Dirga. [...] “He will write a letter that we give to Issa. As they represent the association Dirga. [...]”

(0.5)

2B5 : Organisationdi, (0.2) organisationdi, (0.2) wooyo ka koynda borodiyo, maa n’ i har i se? A.D.C.V.R wala? (0.2) Woodiyo ya n’ay place. “The organisation (0.2) the organisation, (0.2) those who are in charge of transporting people, how do you call them? Is it A.D.C.V.R? (0.2) ((abbreviation representing the name of an association)) They offered me a ticket.”

2B1 : A na ti A.D.C.G deh, A.D.V.G! “It’s not A.D.C.G, it’s A.D.V.G! ((Speaker **2B1** is correcting speaker **2B5** for the right spelling))”

2B5 : A.V... A.D.V... n’ti woo da ne ay har. “A.V...A.D.V... that’s what I mean.”

2B1 : A.D.V.G! “A.D.V.G!”

2B5 : A.D.C.G ta ye bay ga. (0.2) A.D.V.G! “A.D.C.G of course, I know it. I mean A.D.V.G!”

2B1 : A.D.V.G! “A.D.V.G!”

2B5 : Hey! A.D.C.G ye bay ga, A.D.V.G da maadi ne ay g’o ye taasi. “Hey! A.D.C.G, I know it, A.D.V.G, that’s what I wanted to say.”

2B1 : Ciji, yer nda ngi borodiyo bara **débat** timmente ra meh. “Last night, we held a long **debate** with them, you know.”

(0.5)

2B2 : Yaada si bara koyne meh. (0.2) Mahamuduyo, i hinsa ka doonay yaada yer hayoyo ra. (0.2) A.D.C.G [...] wooyo, sunsum da ne i sunsum yer a ra. “There is nothing for nothing now, you know, Mahamudu and others, they are accustomed to getting everything for nothing in our things. A.D.C.G people, these guys do nothing but exploit us.”

2B3 : **Ah non!** Yer si yadda ga meh! (.) **Nous, on vient de commencer.**(0.2) War ma si yadda woodi i sunsum yer deh! “**Ah no!** We cannot accept it! **We have just begun.** Don’t accept that they exploit us!”

(0.5)

2B5 : **Lazaone, il est très fort.** “**Lazone, he is very smart.**”

2B2 : **Lazone, n’ti fort** ne a go **fort** mo ... “Lazone, he is **not only smart but...**”

2B5 : [**Il est très fort.**] “**He is very smart.**”

2B2 : [A too **fort** ra nong’ka], wala a way ka ηindi war, nda a gay hal a g’o ciini ra, a’a cii hal a ma bendi nga moo wooyo si fer. A go daabu gi nin ka cii. “He is so **smart** that when he wants to fool you, he feigns to close his eyes from the beginning till the end of his speech. He closes them and goes on speaking.”

2B3 : Non! I si hin ka ɲindi yer. (.) I si hin ka ɲindi yer. (0.2) **Nous, on vient de commencer. (0.2)** Yer na ti kala **un petit oiseau. (0.2)** Mise ka yer g'o yer'o sinti ka **commencé à voler (0.2).** **Donc,** i berdiyo-là, woodiyo ti boroyo ka gay, **ils sont connus, ils ont tous leurs dossiers (.2).** Yer ta, wala yer kaddasu ya si dooti jina. (0.2) **Donc il faut aller tout doucement. (0.2)** Yer nda gi na ti afoo. “No! They cannot fool us. They cannot fool us. **We have just begun.** We are like **a little bird.** We are just trying to **start flying. So, those** big ones, they are very experienced people, **they are well-known, they have obtained all their files.** As for us, we haven't got any case file yet. **So we have to be careful.** We are not the same.”

2B2 : Maa? (.) Maa ciini ra ni ta go? “What? (.) What are you saying?”

2B3 : Ay har kondey ber wooyo, haydi ka i go dam, **les gestes-là,** yer ma si har yer mo yer'o ... “I said that these big associations, the way they are doing things, **the gestures,** we don't have to do so...”

2B15 : [Yer na har **gestes.**] “We didn't talk about any **gesture.**”

2B2 : [Yer si **gestes** ciini ra morayda woh.] “We are not talking about **gestures** now.”

2B3 : Yer nda gi na ti afoo, yer ta mise ka yer sinti (0.2). **Ces gens-là, ils sont là des années et des années (.).** I bisa **vingt ans,** oh! (0.2) Nda yer ka na sinti, yer ma si har yer'o **comparé** nda gi. “We are not the same, we are novice. **Those associations, they have been existing for years and years.** For more than **twenty years,** oh! We are novice, and we cannot **compare** ourselves with them.”

2B2 : Yer na **comparé (0.2).** Yer har yer'o... (0.2) Ngaah, yer'o hantum leeter (0.2). Tuuru, Issa! (.)Yer har yer'o hantum leeter, yer'o noo ni ga. (0.2) Nda n'too... “We can't be **compared.** We said that we are going to... Yes, we are going to write a letter... listen to me, Issa! We said that we are going to write a letter that we give you. When you arrive...”

2B3 : Hinje yane, **président**, ay fatta ara. “Excuse-me, **president**, I don’t say anything more.”

2B1 : Le **programme-là** ka damndi, (h), **à la mairie de Goundam-là**, i **reconduit** ga. “**The programme** that was planned, (h), **at the town hall in Goundam**, they **renewed** it.”

2B5 : Ayyo! “Really!”

2B1 : I si hin ka dam haya kur ka i na ... i na... **Mais arrivés à Goundam**, i’ hin ka () “They cannot do anything without... without... **But once arrived at Goundam**, they can ()”

2B1 : Han ka war **décollé**... “The day you **leave**...”

2B5 : Ay mom nda borodiyo baa, i’i dam... i’i dam... nongo... i’i dam... i’i dam... maa ti koyradi maa? ... i’i dam Nguuma-Nguuma. Nguuma, Saaryaamu, Diire, deh n’o dâa. “It is said that if they want, they pass in transit through ... they pass in transit through ... there... they pass in transit through ... they pass in transit through ... what’s the name of this town? ... They pass in transit through Nguma. Nguma, Sarayamu, Dire, and then you cross the river.”

2B2 : Haridi na koo jina yah. “The water level hasn’t fallen yet.”

2B5 : **Est-ce que** hari go dooti? Hari go N’guuma yah? “Is there any water there? Is there any water in N’guma?”

[...]

Conversation 5

2B2 : N’o kaw woo se handu foo, n’o kaw Muusa se handu foo, cindidi ti ay wane. “You pay one month for this man, you pay one month for Moussa, and the rest is for me.”

2B6 : N’ta, handu hinja ne n’o hima ka bana. “As for you, you must pay for three months.”

2B2 : A’a hun a ra, haydi ka cindi t’ay wane. “It is to be taken out too, the rest is for me.”

2B8 : N’o dam yane gomni, n’o har n’o wasu ay ga. (0.2) N’o dam ga ay kambo ra, ay g’o noo ga a se.” “You give a donation, and then you laugh at me. You have to put it in my hand, and I handle it to him.”

Heh heh

2B2 : Hey, wa koti a ra nga baadi war ma noo ga a se, yer’o kaa **collé** ga (h). “Hey, you cut his share from the banknote and give it to him, we will **stick** it after.”

Heh heh

2B1 : N’ti a ben? “Is it O.K.?”

2B2 : Batu, i’i koti ni wandi, yer’o noo ni ga (h). “Wait, they will cut your share, we’ll give it to you.”

Heh heh

2B1 : **C’est vrai!** (0.2) Nda a faati a’a noo ga, **c’est fini**. “**It’s true!** If he has already given it to you, **it’s finished.**”

2B8 : **Non!** A na **fini** deh! (0.2) A hima ka dam ga ay kamba ra, woodi ya ti beeray.

(0.2) N’o kaynand’ay maase? “It’s not **finished** deh! He must put it into my hand, that’s respect! Why do you put shame on me?”

Heh heh

2B1 : Ma si cii koyne! “Stop talking, please!”

2B8 : **Non, non**, ay si way ga! (0.2) Ay si way ga! “**No, no**, I don’t like it! I don’t like it!”

2B6 : Ma si kat’ay ga alharamtaray yah. (h) “Keep your bastardy away from me.”

2B8 : Merje ne nga ta har? (.) Merje ne nga ta har? (0.2) Bar ga. (0.2) Merje ne a har nga ga ma hun a ra? “How much did he say? How much did he say? Give the change. How much did he say to take out of it?”

2B6 : Handu foo. “For one month.”

2B8 : Billa hallaji! (.) N’ay’ ay wane njerfu mayradi. “Billa hallaji! ((swearword meaning : By God!)) Give me my change.”

2B3 : **C’est bon!** “**Alright!**”

2B2 : Yer si noo ga! “We don’t give it!”

2B8 : War si n’ay ga maase? “Why don’t you give it to me?”

2B2 : Yer si noo ga. (.) Yer’o noo ga maase? “We don’t give it. Why should we give it?”

2B8 : War mayyo? “You, who?”

2B2 : Yer, kondeydi . “We, the association.”

2B8 : Ni ya may ni bomo wala? “Have you taken leave of your senses?”

Heh heh

(0.5)

2B8 : Pélé? Pélé? “Pélé? Pélé?”

2B6 : Wai! “Yes!”

2B8 : Dunbu a ra ay wane ... haywanadi, (0.2), ma n’ay’ ay wane njerfu mayradi. “Take out my ... this thing, (0.2) and give me the change.”

Heh heh

2B1 : Attaher? Attaher?(.) Ni baakayna, **il fait partir des bailleurs, hein.** “Attaher? Attaher? Your uncle, **he is one of the sponsors, hein.**”

2B2 : .Haah! “Really!”

2B7 : Maa **bailleur** ti woo? “What **sponsor** is that?”

2B8 : Aa-wai! “That’s true!”

2B1 : A’ doonay ka faaba yer nda jenber hinka-hinka, hein. “He used to donate us two thousands for many times.”

2B8 : **Ce que moi j’ai dit là ... Ce que moi j’ai dit là,** ay har nin (.) **vraiment ()**
“**What I said is... What I said is,** I only said that (.) **actully ()**”

2B6 : Eh, Attaher? **Président,** maa ne ni har? “Eh, Attaher? **President,** what did you say?”

2B2 : Kaw a se a ra **mille francs, (.) trois milledi** ma dam ga **caissedi** ra. “Take **one thousand franc** for him, the remaining **three thousands,** you put it in the **fund.**”

2B6 : **Ah, d’accord!** “Ah, OK!”

2B10 : May nda may ga ti **mille francs?** “For whom did you say to take one **thousand francs?**”

2B8 : Uhh hu, ni maa ya go woodi ra? Ay nda Muusa kur. (.) N’ti jangu ne ni noo ga wala? (0.2) Jangu hinja ya ti ay wandi. “What’s your problem? Moussa and I. (.) Isn’t it one hundred that you give him? Three hundreds are mine.”

2B7 : Abada, jangu hinka ya ti Muusa wandi. “No, Moussa’s share is two hundreds.”
Heh heh

2B8 : Muusa na cii... “Moussa didn’t say anything...”

2B7 : Jangu hinka ya ti Muusa wandi. “Moussa’s share is two hundreds.”

2B8 : Muusa na cii. (0.2) Muusa na cii, ay ga **reclamé.** “Moussa didn’t say anything. Moussa didn’t say anything, but I **claimed.**”

2B6 : Abookar? Abookar? N'ti ni har ye yendi mane **cinq cent francs**di, n'bay? "Abocar? Abocar? You said to give you back the remaining **five hundred francs**, didn't you?"

2B8 : N'ay' ay wane **mille francs**di nin; njerfu foo go banda here koyne. (0.2) N'ay ga! (.) Yendi kate ga! "Give me my **thousand francs**; some money is coming back again. Give it! Give i!"

2B5 : Hey, ni si fur ya? Bordiyo kur fur deh, ni si fur. "Hey, don't you pay your contribution? Averybody has payed, and you refuse to pay."

2B8 : N'ay' ay wane jangu hinkadi. "Give me my two hundreds. ((In Songhay, two hundreds represent one thousand CFA francs))"

2B15 : [N'o yadda ka noo ga a se ya?] "Dare you give it to him?"

2B2 : [On peut... on peut lever l'ancre?] "Can we... can we leave?"

2B3 : On ne leve pas l'ancre jina deh! "We can't leave yet!"

2B12 : May?... May se n'o noo? "Whom? Whom are you giving my money?"

2B10 : A har ma noo woo **mille francs**... "He said to give this man **thousand francs**..."

2B6 : A har ye noo woo **mille francs**, ye noo woo **mille francs**, ye dam ngu se **trois milledi**. "He told me to give this man **thousand francs**, to give that man **thousand francs**, and to put the remaining **three thousands** for himself."

2B8 : **Trois milledi**, n'ay ga hal ye noo ga a se. "The remaining **three thousands**, give it to me, I will pass it to him."

2B6 : Haah? **Non, non!** "What? **No, no!**"

2B1 : **Entre toi et lui-là, on peut pas rentrer; (.) mais, quand il vient ici, c'est le président.** "Between you and him, nobody can interfere; but, when he is here, he is the president of all."

2B2 : Ah, il n'a qu'à savoir que je suis président ici hein. "Ah, he must know that I am the president here hein."

2B1 : En ce moment, il n'a rien à dire. "For the time being, he has nothing to say."

2B2 : Il n'a qu'à savoir ça hein! "He must know that hein!"

2B8 : Savoirnd'ay! (0.2) Maa n'o hinse yane? "Make me know! What have you done for me?"

2B2 : Moreyda, ay bana mane handu hinka, yer na hun nee. "Straight away, I've just paid two months' subscription for you, just now."

2B8 : N'alharamo! Jaa ni sinti laamu hal moreyda maa ni bay ka hinse yane? "You bastard! Since you have been appointed president till now what have you done for me?"

2B2 : Moreyda, ay na bana mane handu hinka wala? "Straight away, didn't I pay two months for you?"

2B8 : Ma si bana yane! "Don't pay for me!"

2B2 : Ayyo, ka n'ta gooti n'o har yer... Woo na ti nafa wala? (0.2) Ay hinne gaakoy, n'o har yane alharam. "And you are saying that... Isn't that good? A chief like me, you call me a bastard." ((Speakers **2B8** and **2B2** are playmates and are often joking.))

Heh heh

2B8 : Ay har ga! Ay har ga! "I said it! I said it!"

2B2 : Woo, nda ni fatta, nda ni har ga deh n'o duu boroyo ka'a daabu ni. "So, if you get outside and you say it, you will be soon arrested."

Heh heh

2B2 : Furme jaykoy naajin! "You still remain the same kid that used to steal some frying batter in the street!"

Heh heh

2B8 : Ce que j'ai dit l'autre jour-là, ay har i se ka ay nda Attaher, ay nda ga yenje si koy nongu kur. (0.2) Ma faham ay ciinidi, **mais on a des rancunes.** (0.2) **Mais** moreyda ciino kala a ma bana alkaasu. “**What I said that day**, I told them that Attaher and I, our quarrel is of no importance. You must understand what I said. But **we have some grudges one against the other. But** for this time he must pay a fine.”

Conversation 6

2B1 : Issa? Issa? Sumaare gay deh! “Issa? Issa? Soumare is too late!”

2B8 : [...] Sumaare, **il va venir woh, il va demander le contact.** “[...] **Soumare, he will come, he will ask for the contact.**”

2B1 : Si... s'il ne vient pas... “**If... if he doesn't come...**”

2B8 : **Il est en voiture.** “**He comes by car.**”

(0.5)

2B5 : Sumaare go nin a'a kaat'ay. Cee foo ne ay jaw ga. (0.2) I koy... i hanga woo wandedi, i koy foo boro foo beerey... wala boro ne i koy kuboy mo. Hal i'i kaa kur i gar ay ta koy. (0.2) Ay kandi **telephoned**i, ay koy... “Soumare has been calling me for many times. I picked up his call only once. They went... they accompanied the wife of this man, they went to offer their condolences to someone... or they might have gone to meet somebody. When they came back, I had already left. I dropped the **telephone** there and I left...”

(0.5)

2B2 : Yer kondey woo, yer ti talkayo kondey, **mais** boro kur ka wirci dam a ga, wala bun, wala ijemaa, yer kur'o koy. “Our association is an association of poor people, **but** any member who got sick, or death in his family, or naming ceremony in his family, we all go to his place.”

2B7 : Yer koy ma waa yer bun jaari! “God be with us!”

(0.5)

2B5 : **Forage** foo binde go hima ka sawanda merje? “How much is one **drilling**?”

2B1 : Man? “Where?”

2B5 : Bamako. “In Bamako.”

2B1 : **Trois millions**. “**Three millions**.”

2B5 : **C’est que** i’ hin ka duu yer se Issaber kur ra **forages**. “**That is** we can have so many **borings** in Issaber.”

(0.5)

2B9 : Nongudiyo na ti afoo mo. “Places are different.”

2B5 : **Est-ce que** n’ ti **metres** jangu **forages** nono? (.) **Vraiment**, woo da se war... yer dawdi kur ne war fun-fun yaada-yaada. (0.2) **Metres** jangu ti forage da far wala ? (0.2) **Forage** na ti kala **six cent metres, sept cent metres, huit cent metres**. (.) Woo ga ti **forage!** “**Tell me**, these **borings**, aren’t they hundred **metres** deep? **Actually**, that’s why you... you have dug so many bare holes averywhere in our land for nothing. Is a hundred **metres boring** a good one? A good **boring** is six **hundred, seven hundred, or eight hundred metres** deep. That’s a good **boring!**”

2B11 : U-uh! “No no!”

2B5 : Ah, ma si har yane ‘u-uh’ deh, ay guna ga nda ay moo. (.) **Huit cent metres forage**, ay guna ga nda ay moo. “Ah, don’t dispute, I have seen it. A **boring** with **eight hundred metres** deep, I have seen it!”

2B11 : Ay na har ma na guna me. “I don’t dispute that you haven’t seen it.”

2B5 : Ay guna ga ta, aywa, haya, deh n’o har ‘u-uh’? “I have seen it, so, then why do you dispute?”

2B11 : Ay na har mane haya mo... “I didn’t say anything bad...”

2B1 : I fattandi hari à **deux milles metres**. “They have dug **two thousands metre** deep to get water.”

2B5 : Woo go man? Woo go man? (0.2) Ah, woo na ti **forage**. “Where is that? Where is that? Ah, that’s not a **borings**.”

2B1 : Woo ka n’o har mo **c’est des forages ... (0.2) C’est pas des forages d’eau, c’est des forages de...** “What you are talking is about **drillings They are not borings, they are drillings...**”

2B5 : Abada, **c’est des forages d’eau**. “No, **they are borings**.”

2B1 : **Non! “No!”**

2B5 : Wallaahi, **forages d’eau**. (.) Wallaahi, **forages! (0.2) Soixante forages d’eau**, i kur na ti kala huit cent, sept cent, six cent... eh, huit cent, sept cent, six cent, cinq cent ... “I am sure **they are borings**. I am sure **they are borings! Sixty borings**, all are **eight hundred, seven hundred, six hundred...** eh, **eight hundred, seven hundred, six hundred, cinq hundred...**”

2B1 : Jiiri foo ne i dam ga? “Which year did they drill them?”

2B5 : Hâah? “What?”

2B1 : Jiiri foo ne i dam ga? “Which year did they drill them?”

2B5 : I dam ga... **americain**diyo ga dam... i dam ga **en quatre vingt et...** **americain**diyo ga dam ga Libye... Libye... Libye... “They have been drilled ... they have been drilled by Americans... **in 198...** the **Americans** drilled them in Libya... in Libya... in Libya...”

2B11 : Hal Libye wala? “So far as in Libya?”

2B5 : Libye ne i go, (h). “That’s in Libya.”

2B1 : **Parce que** Mali ta **foragediyo** kur ka g'a ra na ti kala... **foragediyo** kur ka g'a ra na ti kala **des forages**... “**Because** in Mali all the **drillings** we have are... all the **drillings** we have are [for ...”

2B1 : [Kaa!] (.) kaa, ηumay ni kambadiyo! Kaa! Kaa nda nee here! “Come on! Come and wash your hands! Come on! Come here!”

2B5 : [Aywa, woo binde ay ta guna ga nda ay moo ... “So, as for the borings, I really have seen them ...”

2B1 : **President** war si ηumay yah? “**President**, don't you wash your hands?”

2B2 : [Wai-wai!] “Yes, of course!”

2B5 : [Yer faani nee day] (.) Ay dam...yer dam **neuf cent metres** nongo... nee... N'tabagoto. Neuf cent metres. “We have dug a well here. I got... we got it **nine hundred metres** deep there... here ... in N'tabagoto.”

(0.5)

2B3 : **Groupe** foo ma kaa nda nee! “Another **group** may come here!”

Section 3: Grin 3, Bamako

Conversation 7

3B25 : **J'ai compris**. (0.2) Biifo nin, ... a gar ye fatta, **moi je l'ai vu deux fois** moto beene, a go koy. (0.2) **Mais** ay na bay wala a duu woo ta. (.) Ay moo ay huraw. (.) Ay fatta. (.) Ay way ka foo ga da. (.) Nga ne a har nee ka ay go, ng'o tilasunda yer ma guna cere, bara **la dernière fois que** ye hima ka kaa ... **Quand j'étais à Tombouctou pour la formation-là**, ay kaati ga. (0.2) **Il m'a appelé mais**, yer na guna cere. (.) **Mais**, nga ne a har yane ka morayda ne ngu kaa, **il est très chargé**. (0.2) **Maintenant**, a go nee da **au compte de Agro-Action par rapport aux cantines et autres**. (0.2) Ay

har a se aywa, **si c'est au niveau du C.A.P**, ye bay nda a han gi nda **ONG** ka go goy **par rapport aux écoles** nin, woo ta ay nin nono ... **"I understand**. Just yesterday ... when I was on the point of leaving, **I saw him by two times** on his motobyke, he was going. **But** I didn't know he got this new job. So, I got into the house. Then, I got out. I just wanted to greet him. And he told me that he needed to see me because, **the last time** I came ... **When I went to Timbuktu for the training**, I called him. **He called me but**, we didn't see each other. **But**, he told me that he had just arrived and **he was too busy**. Now he is here working for **Agro-Action about canteens and the like**. I told him that **at the C.A.P ((Centre d'Animation Pédagogique))**, if he asks them about the **NGO** which works **with schools**, that's only me ..."

3B1 : Uhh hu! "Alright!"

3B20 : **D'accord!** (.) Salaamu aleykum! **"Alright! Peace on you!"**

3B1 : Wa aleykum ma salam! "Peace on you, too!"

3B20 : Nda war guna ay har may ga ti bonkoro, **je l'ai dit parce que** wooyo, saadi ka ne i koy, saadi ka almudu koykoydiyo koy Goundam, yer'o bay ka boro foo da ga yaaray gi. (.) **Donc, de ce fait**, ye hûgu kala saadi ka ne i kaa ka kaa morayda **on a fait combien de réunions?** (.) **Au moins, on a fait au moins trois réunions**. "If I asked the to know who represent bonkoro in Goundam, **I said it because** when those who went to Goundam for the Almudu feast, we know that only one group gave them a welcoming gift. **So, for this reason**, as far as I remember from the moment they arrived till now, **how many times did we meet? At least, we met at least three times.**"

3B1 : **C'est notre troisième réunion**. "It's our third meeting."

3B20 : **N'est-ce pas? (0.2) Mais**, ja i kaa hal morayda **on n'a pas parlé**. **Alors que normalement on doit parler sur le problème de Goundam puisque déjà...** "Isn't

it? **But**, since they arrived till now **we haven't talked**. Whereas **we should normally talk about the problem in Goundam because since ...**"

3B1 : **On n'a pas parlé de quoi? "We didn't talk about what?"**

3B20 : Goundam bordiyo, **on nous a montré** may ga ti Boncoro, may ga na ti Boncoro. (0.2) **Donc, on doit statuer sur ça** ka bayndi gi ka morayda wooyo ga ti Boncoro Goundam. (.) Ngi ga ti yer wane **representants**diyo dooti. (0.2) **Mais, on n'a jamais parlé de ça**. "In Goundam, **they made it clear** who is bonkoro, who is not bonkoro. **So we have to give a verdict on that** so to make them know those who from now on represent bonkoro in Goundam. They are our **representatives** there. **But, we never talked about that.**"

3B1 : Aywa, **bon!** Beero, **en fait...** "Alright, **fine!** My elder brother, **as a matter of fact ...**"

3B18 : Ngaah, **je... je voulais dire un mot par rapport à ça**. (0.2) Woo ka Almadan go har là, les Madame Sangho-là, war g'a ra, war s'a ra, **ils sont Boncoro**. "Yes, I ... **I want to say a word about that**. What Almadan is saying about **Madame Sangho and others**, what ever you decide **they do represent Bonkoro.** "

3B1 : **Merci**. "Thank you."

3B18 : **Officiellement ils ont les papiers**. (0.2) I ma kaa boncoro, woo ti a ma kan nin. (0.2) Nda a na kan war se, ngi ta **ils peuvent ... en fonction des papiers qu'ils ont làbas déjà ils sont reconnus localement**. (0.2) I ti Boncoro. Yer si hin ka jayndi moo i ma caw gi nda Boncoro. (0.2) **Mais, par rapport au problème que tu as posé**, ay ta ay hungu **la dernière fois-là, on s'est dit que le problème de Goundam là, on laisse tomber**. (0.2) Ay ta hungu woodi ga ne yer cii. (0.2) **On n'a pas essayé de ...** yer har yer'o ... **vraiment on s'en lave les mains, on laisse les choses se faire**. (0.2) **C'est comme ça que moi j'ai compris la chose, hein!** "They officially got documents. It's

up to them to decide whether they represent bonkoro or not. If you don't feel like it, **they can ... according to the documents they got there, before now, they have been recognised locally.** They really are bonkoro. And we can't prevent them being called so. **But, about the problem in Goundam that you have stated, I think, the last time we agreed to forget it.** I think that's what we decided. **We didn't try to ... we said that we are going to ... really we must wash our hands of it and let things take their course. That's how I understand it, hein!"**

3B1 : Bon! Moi, je crois que ... "Well! I think that ..."

3B20 : Attendez! (.) C'est pour cela que j'ai dit qu'on laisse faire. (0.2) Maa se ne ay har yer'o nan ga? (.) Parce que yer har nda waafakay dam, yer nda gi go cii. Morayda, yer guna woodiyo ka go yer banda carrément, nda woodiyo ka si yer banda. Donc, en ce moment-là on doit ... on doit quand même parler de ça. "Wait! That's why I proposed to let things take their course. Why did I propose so? Because we agreed that if they make peace, we will talk to them. Now, we have seen those who are definitely with us. So, from now on we must ... we must really talk about it."

3B1 : Beero t'a donné ... je crois que beero t'a donné une réponse. Ce que je vais ajouter à ça... "My elder brother has given you ... I think that my elder brother has given you an answer. What I am going to add ..."

3B20 : Non... "No ..."

3B1 : Batu nin ... "Just wait ..."

3B20 : C'est sur sa reponse que j'ai parlé là. "What I said is in reply to his question."

3B1 : Ay faham. (.) Ce que beero a dit aussi ... on avait dit qu'on allait voir qui est Boncoro, qui n'est pas Boncoro ... "I understand. What beero also said ... we said that we would see those who represent Bonkoro and those who do not ..."

3B20 : On l'a vu. (.) Donc, on doit faire ce qui se doit. "We have seen it. So we have to do what must be done."

3B1 : Je crois que, aujourd'hui, on a vu qui est Boncoro, qui n'est pas Boncoro. "I think that, from now on, we have seen those who represent Bonkoro and those who do not."

3B20 : Wai! "That's right!"

3B1 : On a vu ça. "We have seen it."

3B20 : Ahh ha! "Yes!"

3B1 : J'ai compris. (.) Et je crois que dans le besoin on va noter ça. (.) On en parlera. (0.2) Mais, maintenant en divers-là. (.) Boro kur si may divers koyne ? "I understand. And I think that, if need be, we'll take it into consideration. We'll talk about it. But, now let's move to the miscellaneous. Is there any miscellaneous?"

3B16 : Bon! Divers, c'est concernant les terrains-là. (0.2) Il n'y a pas de résultat? "Well! As miscellaneous, it's about the plots of land. Isn't there any news?"

3B1 : Bon! Moi je crois que les terrains-là ... (.) comme le président même n'est pas là aujourd'hui. (0.2) Nda a ka'nta gar a go nee, peut-être que ta question-là sera repondue. (0.2) Ay ta nda ciimi, ay si hin ka har ye repondu ga quoi. (0.4) Beero, tu peux ... comme beero go nee, yaama a ma may hayka a har yer se a ra. "Well, I think that the plots of land ... as the president is not here today. If he were here, maybe your question would be answered. Really, I cannot say that I am able to answer it. Beero, can you ... as beero is here, maybe he can tell us something about it."

3B18 : J'ai une dernière information sur les terrains. Les terrains "I got some late news about the plots of land. The plots of land ..."

3B22 : Ce sont les terrains de l'Azawad hein! "It's now the plots of land of Azawad hein!"

3B18 : Les terrains ... “The plots of land ...”

3B22 : Les terrains de l’Azawad! “Azawad’s plots of land!”

3B20 : Donc, Goundam est Azawad? “Then, is Goundam part of Azawad?”

3B22 : Wai! “Of course!”

3B18 : Les terrains ... “The plots of land ...”

3B17 : Ah, ¹⁴tcheh, Goundam est impliqué là-dans hein! “Ah, tcheh, Goundam is involved in it hein!”

3B18 : Alhubar taawadi ka go terrainsdiyo misedi ra ... “The late news about the issue of the plots of land ...”

3B3 : N’ti ngi alhubar ta koyne mee. “There must not be any news about them.”

3B16 : Ah, si!... nda ... vous allez nous rembourser notre argent. “Ah, of course! ... if ... you will pay back our money.”

3B14 : Non, i noondi là, vous avez déjà vos reçus ... “No, they have been distributed and you have already got your receipts ...”

3B3 : N’ti hâa ne ni hâa wala, Sirayba? Nan i ma jaabi ni, hâa ne ni hâa. ”Didn’t you ask the question to know, Sirayba? Let them answer you, you asked a question.”

3B18 : Avec des numéros de terrain! (.) Mais, i har war se les lettres d’attribution ... les lettres, c’est à la Direction Régionale de Tombouctou, dooti ne a go hinsandi. (0.4) Ngi g’o kate ga, saadi ne on va vous retourner ça. (.) Mais déjà avec le reçu que vous avez, ça atteste bel et bien que vous avez payé pour un terrain dont le numéro se trouve sur le reçu. (.) Problème si à ce niveau oh! (0.4) Maintenant, haydi ka yer mom hier, je ne l’ai appris parce que c’est une information de Boncoro, mais parce que c’est une information générale. (.) La mairie a donné des informations que nous on a eues à d’autres niveaux hier. Bii seulement gorondi

¹⁴ Interjection expressing excitement

kuna nga ciiniyo kaa. (0.2) I har' i har **maintenant** boro foo kur ma noo **encore**, bordiyo kur ka se ne i **attribué lot**, i ma noo **douze mille cinq cent francs, frais d'urbanismeyo** nda ay si bay **topographieyo**. (0.2) **Mais en tout cas** i may alkiyaasa fooyo ka i dam **quand même** ka i har **à la base de ça, tout type qui a été attributaire de lot doit encore payer douze mille cinq cent pour avoir sa lettre d'attribution.** (.) Woo ga ti **informationdi** ka too yer doo bii. (0.4) Ngaah, **bon, maintenant** wala alhubardi too Bonkoro, wala a na too ga, **comme il l'a dit, c'est parce que en la matière c'est le président que la mairie doit saisir pour lui dire de dire à ses agents, les dix personnes qui ont eu les terrains-là, i ma samba kate jenber hinka nda jangu guu encore pour finaliser les situations.** (0.4) Ngaah, **donc il paraît que maintenant** nda jenber hinka nda jangu guudi, nda a banandi **maintenant la personne qui va à Goundam qui désire voir son terrain ... même les frais de déplacement du topographe et tout sont prévus dans les douze mille cinq cent-là, ye hungu deux mille cinq centdi** ti nga wane **déplacementdi, mais ils préfèrent eux-mêmes recouvrer ça au nom du topographe.** (.) Comme ça nda bordiyo kaa nin le **topographe automatiquement**, a si kaa ni nda ga nda cere game, **mais il va te montrer quoi, ngaah!** (0.2) **Bon, woodi ga ti informationdi ka yer mom bii quoi!**

“With the numbers of the lands! But they said that the letters of allotment ... the letters of allotment, it's from the Regional Directorate in Timbuktu that they are issued. It's the Directorate that must issue them; after then, you will receive them. But now the receipt you already have attests clearly that you bought a land which number is on the receipt. There is no problem at this level oh! Now, this piece of information we heard yesterday, I noted it not because it is a piece of information addressed to Bonkoro, but because it's for general information. The town hall sent som informations that we got at different levels yesterday. Just yesterday, it was

during a meeting that the question arose. They said that **now** everybody has **still** to pay, all those who **have been granted plots of land**, they have to pay **twelve thousand five hundred francs, for town planning charges** and I don't know **topography charges** also. **But anyway** they said that they did some works **on the basis of which everybody who has been granted a plot of land still has to pay twelve thousand five hundred in order to get his letter of allotment**. That's the **last-minute news** we got yesterday. Yes, **well, now**, whether the information was sent to Bonkoro or not, **as he already mentioned**, it's because **in the case the town hall must inform the president of Bonkoro asking him to tell his agents, the ten people who got the plots of land**, that they **still** have to send two thousand five hundreds **in order to finalize the situations**. Yes, **so now it seems that** once the two thousand five hundred money paid, **you go to Goundam and want to see your plot of land ... even the travelling expenses of the topographer and other expenses are included in that twelve thousand five hundred**, I think **two thousand five hundred** for his **travelling expenses**, but they **prefer to collect the money themselves for the topographer**. So, once arrived in Goundam, **the topographer will soon ...** it should not be between you and him of course ... **but he'll show you your plot**, of course! **Well**, that's the **information** we heard yesterday!"

3B1 : Aywa! A boori! "Well! Fine!"

3B18 : Mais, ça reste [à "But, it has to be ..."

3B1 : [A vérifier.] "To be confirmed."

3B18 : [à vérifier, ngaah!] "to be confirmed, yes!"

3B1 : D'accord, aywa a boori! "Alright, fine!"

3B18 : Woo ga ti haydi ka se yer'o bay haya. "That's what we know about the issue."

3B1 : Sirayba, ni mom? "Sirayba, did you hear?"

3B16 : D'accord! "Alright!"

3B1 : Bari, tu veux parler? "Bari, do you want to say something?"

3B24 : Non non non! "No no no!"

3B1 : Bon! Maintenant, eh, moi le ... la dernière fois qu'on était chez Haran, c'est vrai que ... personnellement j'ai appelé le président pour lui soumettre un problème ... ((phone rings)) (0.4) Vous m'excusez, je peux décrocher ça? ((picking up the call)) (0.4) Mon ami ...mon ami, ça va? (0.4) ...ça marche, il n'y a pas de problème. (0.4) Non, je ne suis pas à la maison, mais je ne suis pas très loin ... (0.4) D'accord mon cher, merci. ... (0.4) (h), ay jaati, ay guna président. (.) Ay har a se la dernière fois ... parce que saadi ka i dam ... ay jumndi nga alakal haya fooyo beene ka ay ta ay har peut-être erreur nono. (0.4) Parce que ye hungu, jiiro saadi ka bordiyo go koy Goundam, projet de programmedi ka i dam, c'est-à-dire le bilan prévisionnel des activités ka i go hima ka koy dam Goundam, i dam ga président doo. (0.4) Ay ta handidi ay si dooti, ay si bay beero jaati si dooti handidi, parce que c'est le jour où il y a eu beaucoup de mariages à Bamako. (0.2) La rencontre du président, ay si bay nda war alakal go a se, ka yer taasi jaati a ma hun handidi, mais handidi boro booboyo na hin ka koy. (0.4) Donc, boro ijekaynayo ga garndi dooti, i dam une proposition de projet, ye hungu woodi da ne yer adopté. (0.2) Mais, en réalité Baŋŋa doo handidi ka ne yer'o bana njerfudi, ay ta ay alakaldi ra, ay hungu njerfudi ka i koynda, haya go a ra ka go hima ka noondi Boncoro bordiyo se Goundam. (.) Ay ta woodi ne ay hungu ay alakaldi ra, mais ay gar a si a ra. (0.4) Ay gar a si a ra mo, saadi ka bordiyo yeekate, i dam compte rendudi. (0.2) Ay faham compte rendudi, mais «gomni dam, war ma hinje yane, a na bownda albarka deh! » ((A Songhay proverb)) (0.2) Parce que ye hungu yer bordiyo ka koy Goundam, Boncoro kur ga koy Goundam. (0.2) I beerindi gi. (0.4) I beerindi gi, beero, i yaaray gi. (.) I yaaray gi mo, ngi alliyaara jangu-jangu da.

Ngi alliyaara jangu-jangu da, nga ra i kaw feeji, i yaaray yer nda ga. Goundam da ra i yaaray yer nda ga, i yaaray Boncoro. «Moo, a si lenje, amma haydi ka bomo go hin, moo nin go calculer ga» ((Another songhay proverb)). (0.4) Yer ma jan ka may haya kur ka yer faaba gi nda. (.) Ay har Mahamoudou, woo ka ay har ay har ga Mahamoudou se, yaama han ka a goro nee mo, ye yendi kate nga ciini war jine. ... ye har ga, **parce que** ay har a se nga ta Mahamoudou, a dam **erreur**. (0.4) **Parce que quelles qu'en soient les conditions, quel qu'en soit le problème**, a hima ka ... nda wala alliyaara jenber foo, nga ne a go jaw deh ... woodiyo ka go dooti. (0.4) **Parce que** feejidi ka i yaaray yer nda, ka yer kur ŋaa, feeji saahinte nono oh! (.) Yer kur guna ga! **Mais**, ay ta do, ay ne ay har, ay ta do, haya kur ka a kaa **au moins** yer'o hima ka may haya ka yer toli gi nda **quoi!** (0.2) Yer bordiyo ma koy Goundam, i ma jan ka noo wala alliyara jenber hinja. (0.4) 'Ah, **vraiment** yaaraydi a hinsa ka kan yer se, amma war jaati, war ma tonton war kamba woo beene!' (0.4) Ay kaati Mahamoudou, ay har ga a se, ay har a se ay ta ya gunadi hinnedi ra, **peut-être** ye hin ka **trompé quoi, mais vraiment** ay ta, ay haasum. (0.4) Ay haasum ti deh ... haydi ka yer'o doonay, haydi Boncoro go bay ka dam, **quelles qu'en soient les conditions**, haya ka go dooti kur, yer ta haydi ka yer'o hima ka dam, yer'o dam ga. (0.4) Nda yer bordiyo koy, yer'o may haya ka yer faaba gi nda. (0.4) Ay har, 'Mahamoudou, uh, ma na faaba gi jiiro **parce que** ma na koy wala? Woodi se ma na sanba haya wala?' (0.4) **Bon**, ay har ga a se. (.) A har, '**vraiment ...** (.)' "Well! Now, eh, me, the ... last time when we went to Haran's place, indeed ... I personally called the president to submit a matter to him ... ((phone rings)) Excuse-me, may I pick up the call? ((picking up the call)) My friend ...my friend, how are you? ... it's OK, no problem. No, I am not at home but I am not very far ... Alright my dear, thank you. ... (h), I went to see the **president** myself. I told him that **the last time ... because** when they did... I reminded him of something which,

maybe for me is an error. **Because** I think that, this year when they went to Goundam, the **programme planning** they proposed, **that's the projected assessment of the activities** they should realise in Goundam, they did it in the president's home. That day I was not there, I don't know beero also was not there that day, **because it was the day when there were many weddings in Bamako. The meeting to the president's home,** I don't know whether you remember it, that we first proposed to postpone; **but** that day many people couldn't attend the meeting. **So,** very few people were present at the meeting, and they proposed **a planning proposal,** I think it's what we **adopted.** But, **actually** the day when we collected the money in Bangna's house, for me I think the money they brought included a part they should give to Bonkoro people in Goundam. That's what I think, **but** I was told after that it was not included. Also, when they returned, they made **a report.** I understood **the report, but,** ((as a proverb says)), excuse-me, «a good deed is worthy of a word of thanks». **Because** I think our people who went to Goundam represented the whole association of Bonkoro. They had been honoured. They had been given a warm welcome, do you listen beero? And they had been offered a welcoming gift. This welcoming gift is the result of their monthly subscription of one hundred francs that they clubbed together to buy a sheep and offer it to us. In Goundam they did this, and they did it for us, for the association of Bonkoro. ((Another proverb says that)) «Eyes do not carry things themselves, but they really calculate what the head can carry ». We didn't give them anything in return as our own contribution. What I am telling you, I have said it before to Mahamoudou our president, maybe when he comes here I'll repeat it in front of you! ... I said it, **because** I told Mahamoudou that he made **an error. Because, whatever the conditions may be, whatever the problem may be,** he should have ... be it a single note of one thousand francs ... he should have given it as our contribution to them. **Because** the sheep they

gave us that we all have eaten, is indeed a very big sheep. We all know that. **But**, I think whatever it should be, **at least**, we should have given them something as a token gesture. Our people went to Goundam, and they didn't give even two thousand francs. 'Ah, we **actually** appreciate the gift, but here's our mere contribution to you!', that's what they should have said. I called Mahamoudou, and I complained to him, I told him that for me, **maybe I am mistaken, but, actually**, I am ashamed! I am ashamed because ... what we used to do, what Bonkoro used to do, **whatever the conditions may be**, whatever the problem may be, we must do what we used to do which is the contribution we used to give. I said, 'Mahamoudou, uh, you didn't send any contribution this year **because** you didn't go? That's why you didn't send anything, isn't it?' Well, I said this to him. He said, '**actually ...** ()'

3B25 : Donc, maintenant-là, morayda nda war sanba ga i se, i go yendi ga war se, bara a kaa sanda bana ne war'o bana i se feejidi. (0.2) Boro kur si bara ka ra gaabidi kuri kaynadi sii. (.) **Donc**, woo ti hari ka mun, war'o bisa a beene. (0.4) War'o hin ka sanba gi haya tanaa foo ka a na ti woo ta, woo ta faati a bisa. (0.2) **Voilà, c'est ça!** "So, then, now if you send them anything, they'll return it because that's as if you paid for the sheep they had offered you. Everybody keeps respect of the sense of honour and duty. **So**, this is like water that has been poored down on the ground, you have to forget it. In the future you can think about sending them something else, let's forget this one. **Right, that's all there is to it!**"

3B23 : Voilà ... donc, Alkaya touché le fond du débat. (0.4) **Comme** ay taasi ciini, **on a les mêmes idées-là**. (0.2) **Ce que je voudrais dire là**, yer ta, a na ti haydi ka i noo yer, nga ne yer'o bana i se. [...] Haydi ka go hin ka damndi morayda ti maa **pour corriger ça?** (.) Yer'o **decidé** haya ka yer hin ka faaba gi nda, a na ti ngi feejidi maaganda se, a na ti hayawane, yer'o har ga i se. (0.2) **Nous, on n'a pas les moyens;**

mais yer wane **caissedi**, yer’o guna a ra haydi ka yer’o hin ka faaba gi nda. (0.4) Yer’o sanba ga, yer’o har i ma tonton ga ngi kanba ga, haydiyo go sendu morayada; woo ti faaba ka yer’o dam i se. (0.4) **C’est ce que moi je propose.** (0.4) Yer ma dam ga yer wane **activités**diyo ra, haya ka yer hin ka faaba gi nda, nda jenber guu nono, nda jenber hiddu nono. (0.4) **On peut décider de dire que, bon voilà:** ‘yer sanba war se woo, war ma faaba ga nda bomo’. (0.2) **Président**, woo ga ti ay wane ciinidi.

“**Right ... so**, Alkaya **has approached the debate from top to bottom. Since** I asked to be allowed to speak, **we have the same ideas on the issue. I’d like to take the floor to say** that our intention is not to pay them back for what they gave us (.) What should be done now **to correct that error?** Let’s **decide** something else that we can give as a contribution, not because of the sheep or some other thing, and we should let them know it. **Our capabilities are limited; but** let’s see in our **fund** what we can give them. We should send it, and we tell them that it’s our contribution, times are hard now, and that’s the contribution we give them. **That’s what I propose.** Let’s include it into our **activities**, no matter the amount we can give, five thousands or six thousands. **We can decide to say the following:** ‘we send you this to assist you’. **President**, that’s what I wanted to say.”

3B1 : A boori! “Alright!”

3B20 : **Président**, ay ta haydi ka ye baa jina, **ce que moi je veux maintenant-là ... maintenant ce que je veux ... mais, nous, ce n’est pas...** a na ti haydi ka yer’o dam i se wala haya tanaa. (0.2) Haya lawal ka yer’o hima ka dam morayda **c’est la reconnaissance, pour leur faire savoir que nous sommes avec eux, avant toute chose. (0.2) Donc ...** “**President**, what I want now, **what I want now ... now what I want ... but, we, it’s not ... it’s not about what to do or not.** The first thing to do now **is the recognition, to let them know that we are with them above all. So,...**”

3B11 : En faisant quoi? “By doing what?”

3B20 : En faisant quoi ti maa? On va leur dire que... ou bien chose... on va leur dire ça, on va leur dire que vraiment maintenant on reconnaît que ce sont eux qui sont avec nous. (0.4) Haya kur ka yer'o hima dam kur woodi ne yer ma jina ka dam jina. (0.4) En ce moment-là s'il y a des gestes à faire eh almudu gooka oh! (0.4) Nda almudu kaa ce qu'on a l'habitude de faire là, on va le faire. (0.4) Moi je pense que c'est ce qu'il faut d'abord. “What is it ‘by doing what’? We are going to tell them that ... or ... we are going to tell them this, we are going to tell them that actually now we recognise that they are those who are with us. Before doing anything, that's what we must do first. Then, if there are other gestures, we can wait for the coming Almudu feast! Next Almudu feast, we keep on doing what we used to do! I think that's what we have to do first. “

3B1 : On a... mais ... “We have ... but ... “

3B20 : Il n'y a pas de ‘mais’ là-dans; ‘mais’ foo si woo ra. “There is no ‘but’ in it; there is no ‘but’ in it.”

3B1 : J'ai compris ni ciini woo. Tu as parlé ... “I understand what you said. You said ...”

3B20 : Il faut ... il faut enlever le litige qui existait là ... “We have to ... we have to settle the dispute that existed ...”

3B1 : Beero, tu as parlé ... “Beero, you said ...”

3B20 : Litige woodi, war ma kaw ga a ra, morayda a hun dooti far, maintenant on ... qu'on met en tête qu'on a une antenne à Goundam, c'est tout! “That dispute, you have to settle it, and for ever, now we ... we have to put in mind that we have got a branch in Goundam, that's all!”

3B1 : D'accord! Beero, ni bendi? ”Alright! Beero, are you done?”

3B18 : Non! Ay ta, moi je crois que ...il ne faut pas ... vraiment, c'est-à-dire, haya bara cindidi **quoi, moi je ne vois même pas pourquoi on se lance dans cette bataille. (0.2) Moi je crois qu'on a été clair. (0.4) Toutes les fois qu'on a eu à discuter ka yer na faham cere, yer har en attendant qu'on revienne à des meilleurs sentiments. (0.4) Dans tous les cas la coordination est là, elle nous represente valablement. (.) Bon, maintenant, les soit-disantes antennes-là, bon, reconnaitre celle-là ou celle-là là, moi je pense que maintenant woodi ka yer reconnu ti nin c'est-à-dire c'est celle ... l'antenne avec qui on tra... on a pu collaborer. (.) Ma na faham? (0.2) Antennedi ka yer nda ga hin ka collaboré, woodi da ga ti yer wane **quoi, sans que a ma ti on a dit que c'est ça ou ça. (0.4) C'est-à-dire quand on se ramene toujours dans le débat de dire que c'est ça ou ça, kur ça amene des problèmes. (0.2) Parce que ce que nous, on a voulu ...** “No! I think that ... don't ... actually, that is, to talk about this and that, I don't really see why we engage in this dispute. I think that we made it clear. All the times when we discussed it and failed to understand one another, we agreed to wait till they settle their differences. Anyway, the coordination is there, and it legitimately represents us. Well, now these so-called branches, to recognise this or that, I think now the only one we recognised is, that is, it's the one ... the branch which we ... we had been able to collaborate with. Do you get me? The branch which we could collaborate with is our branch, without specifying this or that. That is, always when we start discussing to know whether it's this or that, it causes problems. Because what we wish ...”**

3B20 : On n'a pas besoin de faire un débat pour ça. “It's not necessary to discuss this.”

3B18 : Non! Ce que nous, on a toujours voulu c'est que, vraiment, nda i hin ka waafaku, i ma regroupé. (0.4) C'est ce qui met tous à l'aise. (.) Nda i na hin ka dam

woodi, woodiyo ka yer nda gi hin ka goy, yer nda gi da g'o goy. (0.4) **Bon, moi je crois qu'il ne faut pas qu'on se complique encore la situation quoi!** (0.2) Ma na guna, alwakatidi ka **on a oublié même ce problème-là** yer kur beeri. (0.2) **Mais, plus on ramene le problème, plus ...** “No! What we always wish is that, of course, if they accept, they get united. That’s what makes every body feel comfortable. If they cannot do that, we’ll collaborate with those who can collaborate with us. **Well, I think that we don’t have to make the situation more complicated!** You know, the moment when we decided to forget this problem, we all relaxed. **But, the more we discuss the problem, the more ...”**

3B15 : A go beeri. “It exacerbates.”

3B18 : **Plus on va tomber dans des ... dans des situations qu'on n'a pas choisies.** “The more we get ourselves into situations we didn’t wish to have.”

3B1 : **Bon, on est d'accord? Aywa, Assekou? (0.2) Donc, on s'est compris? Beero, donc maintenant qu'est-ce qu'on retient par rapport à ce point? (0.4) On suspend pour prier? “Well, do we agree? And you Assekou? So, do we get it? Beero, so now, what should we adopt about this point? May we stop to pray?”**

3B26 : Fitiraw kaati? “Is it time to pray fitir?”

3B6 : Uhh hu, i kaati! “Yes, it is!”

3B1 : Aywa, yer ma jingar. Yer ma jingar. Yer ma kar alwala ka jingar. “So, let’s pray. Let’s pray. Let’s perform our ablutions and pray.”

Conversation 8

((After the prayer, the membres continued to discuss.))

3B1 : Beero, war duu kondeyije taawo. (.) Ni duu kondeyije taawo. (.) N'o bay ga?
“Beero, you got a new member. You got a new member. Do you know him?”

3B18 : Aywa, ye bay ga. “Well, I got to know him.”

3B1 : Mahamane Seydou. (0.2) N'o bay Seydou Djouguel? (0.2) Sossoawalle amiiru jeenodi, nga wane ije nono. **Heh, Gaston, il faut te presenter aux gens.** “His name’s Mahamane Seydou. Do you know Seydou Djouguel? The former chief of Sossowalle, it’s his son. Heh, Gaston, **you have to introduce yourself.**”

3B8 : **Soyez les bienvenus!** “You’re welcome!”

3B18 : **Non! (.) Dans tous les cas, c’est le jeune frère à Sidi non?** “N0! In any case, it’s the younger brother of Sidi Seydou, isn’t it?”

3B8 : Sidi Seydou kayna har nono yah? “Is he the younger brother of Sidi Seydou?”

3B1 : Ngaah! “Yes!”

3B18 : **Bon, maintenant,** war’o har a se **conditions**diyo yah. (.) Haran go har a se **conditions d’adhesion**diyo. “**Well, now** you tell him the **conditions.** Let Haran tell him the **membership conditions.**”

3B5 : **Conditions**diyo, an’ti a kur go haydino ra ... “**The conditions,** they are all mentioned on that thing ... ((booklet))”

3B1 : Hû, noo ga woo! “Take, give him this!” ((Holding three banknotes of three thousand FCA francs))

3B24 : Ay ta, nda a gar ni har a ma day kate ga nda **lait caillé.** A na baa woo wala **grand-frère?** “You know, if you ask me, he would rather buy some **curd** with this money. Isn’t it better, **my elder brother?**”

3B1 : Haran, il faut lui expliquer les conditions. “Haran, explain him the conditions.”

3B22 : Yer na mara kondey woo ra kala yer ma bay cere se haya. ηayjetatay ... ηayjeteray kondey nono. (0.2) Nda boro go huraw, boro taawo ka kaa ta huraw, n’o bana **frais d’adhesion mille francs**, n’o bana **la carte mille francs**, n’o bana **la cotisation du jour mille francs**, woo ti **trois milles francs**. (0.4) Yer’o kubay **chaque deux semaines**. (0.2) Yer’o sar **dimanche** foo, ihinkantedi yer’o kubay boro foo do. (0.4) Njerfudi ka yer’o mara moo, jangu hinka-hinka nono, boro foo kur jangu hinka. (0.4) “Our purpose in gathering together in this association is to look after each other. Brotherhood ... it’s a brotherhood association. If a person joins it, if a new person joins it, he will pay **one thousand francs for the membership charge**, he will pay **one thousand francs for the card**, you will pay **one thousand francs for the subscription of the day**, that’s **three thousand francs**. We meet **every fortnight**. We miss one **Sunday**, and we meet the following **Sunday** at a member’s house. Also, the money we collect for the share is two hundreds, two hundreds per person.”

3B1 : [Trois milles francsdi goo!] Hû! Trois millesdi goo! “Here are the **three thousand francs!** Take! Here are the **three thousand francs!**” ((Giving the money to speaker **3B22**))

3B22 : [Jangu hinkadi, **c'est-à-dire que**] (0.4) jangudi a go huraw **caissedi** ra, jangu foodi i go noo ga bordi ka do ne yer go. (0.2) **Bon**, haydi moo ka ga ne yer’o kubay, woo ti maatije nda attey. (.) Nda yoo ne ni koosu yer se, nda yer kaa, yer’o ηaa ga, amma yer’o jukundi ni, yer’o jukundi ni jenber foo. (.) Nda n’o way ka kaati kondeydi, n’o kaati yer han tanaa ka na ti mara waati. (.) **Par exemple dimanche** woo ka ra yer’o mara, n’o nan hal saadi ka yer kaa, nga ne n’o hina yer se ... yer’o ηaa, yer’o duu ka jukundi ni. (0.2) **Mais**, nda n’o way ka **invité** kondeydi, n’o har ga i se han ka na ti,

maa ne i go har a se, mara han. (.) Kondeydi go koy tuuru ni. (0.4) Woo ti afoo. (.)
 Ihinkantedi moo, **il y a les cas sociaux : baptème, mariage nda décès**, wooyo kur g'a
 ra. (.) Yer'o kaa akoydi do, yer'o faaba ga mo. (.) Woo mo n'o bana jangu hinka-hinka.
 (0.4) **Je crois que woo ti l'essentiel.** “ The two hundreds, **that is**, one hundred share
 for the **fund**, the other hundred is the share of the person who houses the meeting. **Well**,
 also at a meeting, we have only peanuts and tea. If you kill a camel for us, we come and
 eat it, but we'll fine you, you'll be fined one thousand. If you want to invite the
 association, you do it another day, not the meeting day. **For instance** the meeting day,
 if you give us a meal ... we'll have the meal, and then we'll fine you. But, if you want
 to invite the association, you inform them, how you call it, an ordinary day which is not
 the meeting day. The members will come at your invitation. That's the first point.
 Secondly, **there are social problems: naming ceremonies, weddings and death**, all
 these are included. We go to the concerned person's place and club together to assist
 him. For this, you have to pay two thousands. **I think that this is the main thing.**

3B7 : Wirci! “Illness!”

3B22 : Ah, wircidi mo, woo ra i faaba ni. **Mais** wircidi, **il faut que** a ma kaa ... ni, nda
 ije... “Ah, in case of illness also we assist you. **But**, this **must** concern ... you, or you
 children ...”

3B13 : **Décès**di, woo ti boro, boro huukoy ... “The case of **death**, it concerns the
 member himself, his wife ...” ((or her husband, ‘huukoy’ means both husband and
 wife))

3B20 : N'ti boro ta (h). “Not the member himself.”

3B25 : Eh, bordi s'a ra yah? “Eh, a member couldn't be concerned?”

Heh heh

3B27 : [A g'a ra deh!] “That's right!”

3B3 : [A g'a ra yah!] “That’s right!”

3B25 : Boro, boro hukoy, ηaa, baba, wala ije. “The member, his wife (or her husband), mother, father, or children.”

3B23 : **Mariagedi** moo ti ... “The case of **wedding** also concerns ...”

3B12 : **Les descendants et ascendants.** “The ascendants and descendants.”

3B23 : Ay har **mariagedi** mo, **comme** a go may wande foo, nda jaw wande hinkante morayda ... (h) “I say, for the **wedding**, as he has only one wife, if now he decides to take a second wife ...”

Heh heh

3B22 : Wala nda wande taaci ne a jaw yer’o koy a se (h). “Even if he takes four wives, we’ll support him.”

Heh heh

3B10 : A ben, **même s’il se marie quatre fois, on va l’accompagner quatre fois.** “Alright, **even if he gets married four times, we’ll accompany him four times.**”

Heh heh

3B30 : **D’accord, j’ai compris, Haran.** “Alright, I understand, Haran.”

3B22 : Aywa, a boori! “OK, fine!”

3B1 : **Bon!** (.) Aywa, **c’est un peu ça. (0.2) Bon, moi je crois que sur ce ... il n’ya pas trop de choses à dire,** beero. (0.2) **Peut-être, Haran, n’o har yer se ... n’o dam la situation de la caisse nin, n’o har yer se noŋ ka yer goo. “Well! So, that it is. Well, and now I think that ... we haven’t got much to say,** beero. Maybe, Haran, you tell us ... you state the **situation of the fund** then you tell us where we meet next time.”

3B22 : **Bon, hano quand même il y a quatorze mille francs** ka huraw. (.) **Quatorze mille francs**di ka huraw, yer’o hima ka noo Assekou se **sept milles.** (0.2) Biifo ka yer hun Haran do, **la caisse était à trois cent quarante mille deux cent cinquante.** (.) Nda

ni tonton a ga **sept mille**, a go kaa **trois cent quarante sept mille deux cent cinquante**. (.) **Bon**, morayda ciino **plus les trois mille francs** ka ... a kaa ta noo **pour ... pour les frais d'adhesion, donc** a kaa **trois cent cinquante mille deux cent cinquante**. (.) **Trois cent cinquante mille deux cent cinquante**. (0.4) **Donc**, Mahamane Askiya! (.) A go nee wala a si nee? “**Well, today, really we have got fourteen thousand francs**. From those **fourteen thousand francs**, we must give Assekou **seven thousands**. The last time when we were in Haran’s place, **the total amount of the fund was three hundred forty thousand and two hundred fifty**. If we add **seven thousands** to that sum, it comes to **three hundred forty seven thousand and two hundred fifty**. **Well**, just now, **plus the three thousand francs** that ... he has just given for ... **for the membership charge, so** it comes to **three hundred fifty thousand and two hundred fifty**. **Three hundred fifty thousand and two hundred fifty**. So, next time, we’ll meet at Mahamane Askiya’s house! Is he here or not?”

3B1 : Beero? “Do you mean Beero?”

3B9 : Ah, Major do ne yer goo. “Ah, we go to Major’s place next time.”

3B8 : Insallaah! Wa bisimilla! (0.2) Inshalaah! You’re welcome!”

3B22 : Ah, **on est ... on est chez Nbarka**, hein! (h) “Ah, we go ... we go to Nbarka’s, hein!”

Heh heh

3B23 : Nbarka? “Nbarka?”

3B4 : Nbarka ti may? “Who is Nbarka?”

3B28 : **Nabarka, c’est sa femme (h)**. “Nbarka, that’s his wife.”

Heh heh

3B1 : **Attention!** Beero, n’o bana gooro deh! “**Be careful!** Beero, you’ll pay a cola nut!”

3B22 : May? “Who?”

3B1 : Ni jaati! (h) “Exactly you!”

Heh heh

3B22 : Pourquoi? “Why?”

Heh heh

3B1 : Ah, ni har yer go Major do. (.) **Ce n’est pas la peine de nous rappeler qu’on est chez madame.** “Ah, you said that next time we go to Major’s place. **There is no point in reminding us that we are going to madame’s place.**”

Heh heh

3B8 : Wa bisimilla! “You’re welcome!”

3B24 : **Ah non**, war tooŋe Haran, war tooŋe Haran. “Ah no, you have wronged Haran, Haran is in no way to blame.”

3B4 : Aywa, Major har war ma bisimilla! “So, Major said he welcomes you!”

3B23 : **Prochaine rencontre** yer’o koy **chez Major.** “Next meeting, we go to **Major’s.**”

3B1 : **Voilà!** “So that’s it!”

Heh heh

3B8 : Est-ce que boroyo go dooti ka si bay nongudi? “Is there any body who doesn’t know how to get to the place?”

3B16 : **Il faut expliquer, il y a des nouveaux arrivants.** “You have to explain, there are new comers.”

Heh heh

3B8 : [Eh, je suis à Bacodjicoroni ... “Eh, I live in Bacodjicoroni ...”

3B1 : [La prochaine rencontre c’est chez Major.] “The next meeting will be in **Major’s house.**”

3B29 : Ah, a boori! “Ah, alright!”

3B1 : Hey, Alpha, ni doo kondeyije taawo. “Hey, Alpha, you got a new member.”

3B21 : **Oui, oui!** Woo mo ay mom ga ... Ye jaw nga **numerodi** morayda. “**Yes, yes,** I’ve heard about it ...I’ll take his **phone number** right now.”

3B8 : **Pour** ... bor’ka dere wala? ... **Juste devant le lycée Massa Makan** ... bor’ka dere kur ma kaa **devant le lycée Massa Makan**, deh ma kaati yer, yer’o koy kubay ni ... War mom wala? “**For...those who will get lost? Just they have to wait in front of the lycée Massa Makan** ... if someone gets lost, he has to come and wait **in front of the lycée Massa Makan**, and he calls us, we’ll go and look for him ... have you understood?”

(0.4)

3B21 : **Bon**, kondeyije taawodi, ay har a se ... ay har a se a go boori. (0.2) **Donc**, wala kubaydi ka yer’o kubay **deux fois par mois-là**, a go may nafa **quoi!** Kubaydi nin. (0.2) Yer ma kubay cere, yer ma boyray, **c’est très important**. “**Well**, the new member, I told him ... I told him that it’s good. **So**, even the meeting that we have **twice per month** is very important, **you know!** Just the meeting. We meet together and we chat, **that’s very important.**”

3B9 : **Deux fois par MOIS?** “**Twice per month?**”

3B21 : **Par mois!** Wala maa? Wala n’ti **deux fois** nono? **Président**, ay si bay? ... Eh beero? “**Per month!** Isn’t it? Isn’t it **twice?** **President**, I don’t know? ... Eh beero?”

3B2 : **Deux fois** da nono. “Exactly, it’s **twice.**”

3B21 : Ayyo, a boori! **Le fait que** yer’o mara, a go may nafa. (0.2) Wala hano hemidi ka ra yer go ... yer kur hem foo da ne yer’o hem, wala maa? (0.2) Koyra foo hem da ra yer go. “Ok, thank you! **The fact that** we gather together is very important. And our

concern today ... we all care about the same, don't we? We are all concerned about the same town."

3B19 : A boori! "It's alright!"

3B1 : Aywa **donc, ... je crois que là ... beero, c'est fini?** (0.2) Aywa, **la séance est levée. (.) Merci.** "And so, ... **I think that with this ... beero, are you done? So, the meeting is over. Thank you.**"

Section 4: Gao

Conversation 9

((Music))

fG2 : Ay dii Ada haywanaa **face** ga. "I saw Ada's thing on **facebook**."

G1 : Oh! N'nee n'dii Ada macin? "Oh! You said you saw Ada's what?"

fG2 : Ada ... Ada **profiloo face** ga cijin. "Ada's ... Ada's **profile** on **facebook** yesterday night."

G1 : Ba zaarikayoo a cindi ka **connecté**. "Even today she was **connected**."

fG2 : Hal'ay na ... haywana ... ay na **invitation** sanba a se cijin **vers minuit** ... "I ... I sent her an **invitation** yesterday night **around midnight** ..."

G1 : Cijin! Ho man'a guna? ... N'sella a n'a sanba. "Yesterday! Didn't you see anything today? Maybe she sent it."

fG2 : **J'ai pas regardé. "I didn't check."**

G3 : Aziz, war ga **connecté** nda war **ordiwoo**? "Aziz, do you **connect** with your **laptop**?"

fG4 : Haa? Agay? Yer goy dogo ra. "What? Me? At my place of work."

G5 : [Aziz, woo **volume** ka s'a ra?] "Aziz, does this have any **volume control**?"

G3 : [Cijin here mo war koy goy?] "Do you work by night?"

G1 : **Non**, a si ma koy mo. “**No**, it’s not working.”

G3 : Cijin here mo war ga koy goy? “And also by night you go to work?”

G4 : **Non**, cijin ay koy **cyber**. “**No**, yesterday night I went to a **cyber**.”

G1 : **Cyber** no n’ga koy yah? “Do you go to **cyber**?”

G4 : **Non!** Cijin ... cijin no ir ka koy, agay nd’ay cere no ka koy **cyber** ... “**No!**

Yesterday night ... yesterday night we went, a friend and I went to a **cyber** ...”

G1 : Haaa! “Alright!”

(0.5)

G6 : ((Listening to music and singing))

G1 : May dooni ti woo? “Whose song is this?”

G6 : Mariah Carey. “Mariah Carey.”

G1 : Nga dooni taagaa no? “Is it her new song?”

G2 : Heh, Miguel nda Luciana **musiquoo**. “Heh, that’s the music of Miguel and Luciana.”

G1 : Bijou woo, a mma diira deh. “That Bijou, she is always on move.”

G6 : **Motowoo** binde goo hugey do. “But her **motorbyke** is at home.”

G1 : Saadi, a goo hugey. “So, she is at home.”

G6 : Wala a koy Bebeyan do ... **soit** Bebeyan do ... woodin hugoo miηoo hunday kan g’ir cindi ka kay ... **soit** noodin ra a goo, **soit** a koy () “Either she went to Bebe’s place ... **either** Bebe’s place ... that house in front of which we were standing ... **either** she is there, **or** she went ()”

[...]

Conversation 10

Heh heh

G7 : (h), **Je dis, eh!** ... (h) ... Eh, nda Volumyaŋ kaŋ ga waani nee ngi si tee muse, deh taka foo? (0.2) Kala ir ma duu boroyaŋ kaŋ g'ir zankey cawandi. Ah, woo mo go no deh. “**Well**, eh! ... Eh, if people like Voolime who are suitably qualified refuse to teach, so what? Anyhow, we have to find some people to teach our children. That’s a problem.”

G10 : Ah, anduŋŋaa woo mana ti haya foo. (.) Borey kaŋ ga waani-**là** ... “Ah, life is worth nothing. People who are qualified ...”

G7 : (h) «Gorgey kaŋ ga hima ka ciya, i si ciya.» ((Songhay proverb)) “«The cocks that must crow don’t crow.» ((The right people are not in the right place))”

Heh heh

G10 : Eh, **le premier à l’école n’est pas le premier dans la vie quoi!** (.) **Mot** woo, ay yadda a ga. “**Eh, the top of the class is not the first to succeed in life!** I believe in that **word.**”

G1 : **Et les derniers seront les premiers.** “**And the last shall be the first.**”

Heh heh

(0.5)

G10 : Šine nda Jigiba, i kur mana baa cere, **c’est-à-dire quoi**, Jigiba jindo, nda a šelen mane **quoi** ... “There is no much difference between Shin and Jigiba, **that is**, Jigiba’s voice, when he is speaking ...”

G7 : Boro kul ma hêe ni saayaa ga. “Everybody is waiting for his chance.”

G1 : Jigiba woo, n’ti **parkingoo** no a cindi a ga lakkal? “That Jigiba, wasn’t he watching over the **parking?**”

Heh heh

G7 : (h) Kaynandiyan ti woo. (h) Laahi laa ...Irkoy se ni ciimoo ga ni goo? “That’s humiliating. My God ... Are you telling the truth?”

G1 : Ya mma goo n’ay ga hâa. (0.2) Ma nee ya nka maa **un truc pareil**, wala ay si bay haya kaŋ n’a cindi a ga neere. “I am not quite sure. I seem to have heard something like that, or, I don’t know, he seems to have been selling something there.”

G9 : Sanda boro no a na dam a ra kaŋ g’a **géré**. “As a matter of fact, he engaged someone who **managed** it.”

G1 : **Non**, za a cindi ... ya nka dirŋa nga **histoiroo** takaa. “**No**, since he was ... I now forgot what his **story** was like.”

G9 : Šiiya! Šiiya! **Il est toujours chef D.E.R, prof., section tronc commun à l’E.N.A.**

(.) **Première année, deuxième année**, nga no ma haywana “**Stop, stop! He is still the Head of Department of the common-core syllabus section at E.N.A ((Ecole Nationale d’Administration)). First year and second year levels**, he is in charge of them.”

G1 : **Non! Avant, avant!** (.) Man’ti sohô da g’ay goo. “**No! Before, before!** It’s not now I mean.”

G9 : **Avant, il a été professeur de droit administratif.** “**Before, he was teaching administrative law.**”

G1 : Man’ti **E.N.A** da no a caw? “**Didn’t he graduate from E.N.A?**”

G9 : **E.N.A** n’a caw, **depuis, dans les années 91. (0.2) Mais**, a si waani hunday. “He graduated from **E.N.A**, since the 91s. **But**, he is not very smart.”

(0.5)

G9 : Nga bay, boroyan no kaŋ ... addama-ize kul nda nga **stratégie** kaŋ g’a waani. (0.2) **C'est-à-dire, l’administration de l’E.N.A, il maitrise. (.) Non! Le plan du business-là. ...** ”You know, people like him ... everybody has a **strategy** that is under his

control. **That is, the administration of E.N.A, he knows it very well. No! Business plan. ...**”

G1 : **Non!** Boro sii no kaŋ g’a **maitrisé** nda. “**No!** Nobody **knows** it better than he does.”

G9 : **Comment faire sortir un plan d’action, non,** nda n’**ti** nga, boro si hin k’ a tee E.N.A hunday gundo ra. (.) Ay nee ma ne Jigiba ... **avant que** Šine ga kaa, **c’était** Poker. Poker ti nga zankaa hunday. “**How to lay out a plan of action,** no one else can do it in **E.N.A.** I tell you, Jigiba ... **before** Shin came, **it was** Poker. Poker is younger than him.”

G1 : **Est-ce que** man ti Poker da ka koy nda Šine? “**Was it** Poker who brought Shin along with him?”

Conversation 11

G1 : **Ça va?** “**How are you doing?**”

F8 : Uhh hu!

G1 : Hayey ga boori? “**How are things?**”

F8 : Uhh hu!

G1 : Ni miŋoo feeri kay! “**Open your mouth and speak!**”

F8 : Hey, macin no? (0.2) **Ça va!** “**Hey, what is it? Alright!**”

G1 : Goro! “**Sit down!**”

F8 : Ya goro ka macin tee? “**What do I have to sit down for?**”

G1 : Cin no borey ga goro ka tee? “**What do people sit down for?**”

F8 : Agay, macin no nga baa ye goro ka tee? “**Me, what do you want me to sit for?**”

G1 : Ma goro ka faajikaaray ya ne. “**Sit down and chat with me.**”

F8 : Ay si baa ya faajikaaray. “I don’t want to chat.”

G1 : Cin se? “Why?”

F8 : Ay ši baa ya faajikaaray. (.) **C’est tout! (0.2) Je peux disposer?** “I don’t want to chat. **That’s all! May I leave?**”

G1 : Irkoy ma doonandi! “God willing!”

F8 : **Je peux disposer? “May I leave?”**

G1 : Irkoy ma doonandi! Ah, woo gay a kortu deh? “God willing! Ah, was this torn long ago?”

F8 : Ayyo, a gay a kortu. Fay nd’a! (0.4) Ay nee, **je peux disposer?** “Yes, it was torn long ago. Don’t touch it! I say, **may I leave?**”

G1 : **Non**, ya na benandi mo. “No, I haven’t finished with you.”

F8 : **Ça va, je vais bien, je vais bien quoi! (.) Donc, et toi? Ça va? Heiḡ? “Alright, I am well, I am in good health! So, how about you? How’s business? Hein?”**

G1 : **Ça va! “It’s OK!”**

F8 : **Oui, ça se voit! (.)** Irkoy se, **en fait**, ya mma goo no ay ga Prince gaa a ma nga **table de multication**woo zaa. “Yes of course, that’s obvious! (.) So, **in fact**, I am trying to help Prince learn his **multiplication table.**”

Conversation 12

G11 : **Il faut te servir mon gars! “Get served it yourself, my guy!”**

G10 : **Est-ce que** a mana haḡ? “**Didn’t he drink?**”

G1 : Ah, ay si bay deh. “Ah, I don’t know.”

(0.5)

G10 : Ay ga dii a ga fita ize fooyan hunday. “I see some tea bags with him.”

G11 : Aziz jinoo ra ay na fitaa neesi k'a daŋ. "It was in front of Aziz that I measured out the dose of tea and put it."

G1 : Fita-ize foo (h). Fita zeenaa da boŋ no n'a daŋ? "Only one tea bag. Is it the tea which had been used that you have put some?"

G11 : Nga da! "That's right!"

G1 : Ah, **donc**, ni nk'a **renforcé** deh! "Ah, **so**, you just **reinforced** it!"

Hehe heh

G11 : **Troisièmoo** woo no ay n'a **renforcé**. "It's the **third service** that I **reinforced**."

Heh heh

G1 : Ahh ha! "That's the truth!"

G11 : Ya nka si baa ya **troisième leger** tee, **donc**, **troisième fort** no ay ga baa. "I don't like to make **light tea**, I like **strong tea**."

G1 : Ayyo! Deh, nga no (h) ... nga no ni nee ir se **premier** no. "OK! But ... but you told us that it's **the first service**."

G10 : **Non, c'est pas ... c'est pas un probleme**. "No, it's not ... it's not a problem."

G1 : **C'est un problème** deh! (h) "It's a **problem**, of course!"

Heh heh

G1 : Fita ma boori. (.) **Troisième** woo, za a g'a **renforcé**. (h) Alhabib nee nga mma heray. "It's a good tea. He went on **reinforcing the third** again and again. Alhabib said he got hungry."

Heh heh

[...]

Conversation 13

G12 : Ma'a sensibilisé! (.) Ils sont là pour ça. (.) Tant que ... nda i ma kaa ka ... avant tout c'est leur grand frère. (0.2) Et puis Moussa-là hunday, Moussa, nga nda Bourem laamaa kul, ou bien Gao, ou bien bambarey borey, boro kur kañ g'a bay. (.02) Nda i nee ma ne a ga haywana, c'est pas quelqu'un qui est ... naturellement il est gentil, ... sans façon quoi! (0.2) A sii nda problème. (.) Il n'a pas de problème. N'ti boro no kañ ... je ne vois pas quoi ... vraiment je le comprends. (.02) Si tu vois, il demande d'appeler ... d'aller chez Moussa et puis présenter ses excuses, présenter les excuses au nom du bureau. (0.2) Waati din, a ma borey guna, borey kañ no ngi ... borey din, a ma haywana ... a ma har i se, i ma koy présenté les excuses. (0.4) Ma nee a se même s'il dit demain, on va. (0.2) Si au besoin sa présence est nécessaire, on va l'appeler. "You have to sensitise him? They are here for that purpose. As long as ... if they come to ... Above all, he is their elder brother. And besides, Moussa, Moussa is in good terms with everybody in Bourem and its surroundings, or in Gao, or with the bambara people, and everybody who knows him. If they told you that he ... he is not someone who is ... he is naturally kind, ... he's unaffected! He doesn't have any problem. He doesn't have any problem. He is not someone who ... so I don't see ... I really understand him. If you understand what he said, he asked to call ... to go to Moussa's place and apologise in his name, apologise in the name of the committee. On that moment, look for some people, those who ... these people ... tell them that you have to go and offer apologies. Tell him that even if he says tomorrow, we'll go. If his presence is necessary, we'll call him."

G13 : Comme a si mooru nongu woo ra ... "As he is not far from this place ..."

G1 : Moussa, ay kaati ga woh. "Moussa, I called him."

G13 : **Moussa, depuis que moi je l'ai connu, je n'ai jamais vu un gars aussi gentil que lui!** [...] **Vraiment**, nga hunday, a har yane kaŋ nga mana ... nga mana haywane ... za hayaa woo a sinti, nga ka farta **quoi terrain**ŋoo ga, ... **Moussa était vraiment dépassé**. Sanda ay si bay, **peut-être arbitrageo** no. “**Moussa, since I have known him, I never saw a guy as kind as he is!** [...] **Actually**, he himself, he told me that he didn't ... he didn't ... since the beginning he got out of the **field** ... **Moussa really got out of his depth**. I really don't know, ... **maybe** it was a **refereeing** error.”

G1 : Biifo, yer **matchoo** woo ga, **il y avait un joueur qui est blessé**, a go **terrain**ŋoo ra. I mana a kaa tarey, **ils ont marqué un but**. “The day before yesterday, during our **football match**, there was a **wounded player** lying on the **ground**. They didn't take him out, **and they scored**.”

G12 : Har a se **vraiment moi je l'ai pas appelé pour que ... pour savoir le problème**. (0.2) Nee a se kaŋ maa se **je l'ai appelé ...** sanda, **messageo** kaŋ no ay ga baa ka har a se ... **vraiment, c'est pour ... vraiment ça, je condamne**. (0.2) **Je condamne et puis** ya mma a har a se **quoi**. (0.2) **Parce que** ay kaynoo no **avant tout quoi**. (.) **C'est mon petit frère**. (0.2) Har a se woo no ay na har a se, **dans la vie il faut s'attendre à tout**. [...] **C'est un moment**, a ga bisa. “Tell him that **really I called him to ... to know about the problem**. Tell him the reason why **I called him** ... that is, the **message** I want to tell him ... **really, that is to ... of course, I condemn it. I condemn and** I want to let him know. Because he is my younger brother **above all. He is my younger brother**. Tell him that this is what I want to tell him, **life is much surprising and one never knows what to expect. It won't take long**, we'll get over it.”

[...]

G3 : Les gens vont te dévier quoi! (.) Deh ni ma ni **objectifoo atteint, c'est ça quoi!**
“**People will turn you away, you see!** Anyhow, you have to **achieve your objective, that's right!**”

G10 : Il faut avoir un objectif, a ben. “**One must have an objective, that's all.**”

G12 : Bara boro fooyan ga ni wow kaŋ ši hin ka ni wow **parce que tu as accepté d'être devant ... devant les gens. (0.2) Mais,** woo din kul nda ni ga goy henna tee, **les gens ... a ga kaa ka ben quoi! (0.2) Borey, ils vont comprendre après. Faut pas réagir comme ça ... comme ça-là, spontanément quoi! (0.2) Problèmoo woo, haya kul kaŋ no, il faut l'analyser. (0.2) Il faut analyser le tout minutieusement.** “And some people insult you who may not insult you, **just because you have accepted to be their leader. But,** anyhow, if you do perfectly your job, **people ... there is an end to everything, you see People will understand after a while. Don't react like that ... like that, spontaneously. The problem, whatever it is, you have to analyse it. You have to analyse it in minute detail.**”

G1 : **Sinon,** Moussa, a futu deh! (0.2) Moussa nee za **deuxième mandat** woo, a si a benandi. (0.2) A nee yane **tournoi** woo hunday ga kay. “**Otherwise,** Moussa got very angry! Moussa said that the **second mandate,** he will not finish it. And he told me that the **tournament** also will be stopped.”

(0.5)

G12 : Waati din, hayayan ma faala i se. “That time, they managed it easily.”

G1 : Hayayan ma faala i se. “They managed it easily.”

G12 : Hayayan ma faala i se. They managed it easily.”

(0.5)

FG2 : Woo no ma bay kaŋ **staryey** ti ir. (0.2) Ay nee **tellement que staryey** ti ir, a si hin ka šelen ya ne. “It is a fact that we are **stars**. I say we are **stars**, that’s the reason why she couldn’t talk with me.”

(0.5)

G1 : Jina, i nee kaŋ Wani hun **quoi!** (0.2) Moussa nee kaŋ ngi ga a haywana ... **mais ... parce que, matchoo woo première mi-temps, parait-il qu’ils ont joué 40 minutes, deuxième mi-temps 10 minutes.** “And then, they said that Wani is out of the competition. Moussa said that they ... **but ... because, during the first half of the match, it seems that they had played for 40 minutes, and during the second, 10 minutes.**”

FG2 : [Woo ti macin?] “What’s this?”

G1 : [**Bon**, woo din da no ay nee a se kaŋ woo hunday yah ... **c’est pas ...** “Well, That’s what I told him that this ... **this is not ...**”

FG2 : I nka **joué** hô? “Have they played today?”

G1 : Haa? “What?”

FG2 : Wani nka **joué** hô? “Has Wani **played** today?”

G1 : Ayyo! “Yes!”

FG2 : Ngi nda may? “They played against whom?”

G1 : Ngi nda Ha-Ko. “Against Ha-Ko.”

FG2 : Deh, may ka **but** dam? “So, who **scored**?”

G1 : I nee Ha-Ko ka **gagné un à zero.** “They said that Ha-Ko **won one to zero.**”

G7 : Ha-Ko ti maa? “What does Ha-Ko mean?” ((Abbreviation of Hawaa and Konkora))

G1 : Hawaa nda Konkora ... “Hawaa and Konkora ...”

G13 : Wey ti **villages** hinka ... “These are two **villages** ...”

G1 : Boncana toi, tu es secrétaire général, n'ga joué dans ton équipe, jina tu représentes ton équipe. (h) Ay si faham quoi! Je comprends pas. “You Boncana, you are the general secretary, you play with your team, moreover you represent your team. I don't understand, you know! I don't understand.”

G13 : Non, il peut jouer woh, mais seulement ... “No, he can play, but only ...”

G1 : Ayyo! Ba hanoo kaŋ ngi nda Mazaa borey joué là, i yenje. (h) “Yes! Even the day when they played against Mazaa people, they quarrelled.”

G13 : Mazaa borey là, i ga yenje parce que, (h) n' ga bay, c'est des villages contigus () “Mazaa people are quarrelsome because, you know, they are adjoining villages ()”

Conversation 14

G14 : Moussa ... k'ir gar Moussa goo terminale, waatidin ir wey, ir ti bleu, dixième n'ir goo. “Moussa ... when Moussa was in final year, we were novice, we were in tenth form.”

F2 : Ayyo! “Yes!”

G14 : Moussa a le Bac ... Moussa ... Moussa a le Bac 2000. “Moussa got the Baccalaureate ... Moussa ... Moussa got the Baccalaureate in 2000.”

F2 : Iri nka Bouba gar. “We came after Bouba.”

G15 : Donc, nda war na Bouba gar, donc on est parti ensemble au lycée. “So, if you came after Bouba, so we went to lycée together.”

F2 : Bouba, ir k'a gar. (0.2) Bouba, n'ti onzième n'a goo, ir goo dixième. “Bouba, we came after him. While Bouba was in eleventh form, we were in tenth form.”

G15 : Ma bay baa hanoo k'ir goo en huitième année, Bouba goo neuvième. “You know, even when we were in eighth form, Bouba was in ninth form.”

G13 : Ayyo! “That’s right!”

G14 : **Bouba ... Bouba ... Bouba ... Bouba est rentré en ... Bouba a le D.E.F 1996.**
“Bouba ... Bouba ... Bouba ... Bouba was enrolled in ... Bouba got the D.E.F diploma in 1996.”

FG2 : Woykayna foo, i ga nee a se () Ni maa? A ga ... eh, **les bananes-là**, nga no a ga haw nga ceewey ga. (0.2) Nda a dan nga **jeaney** nda nga **crêpey** kul a ga **banane** foo haw nga ceewey ga ! Woo din no ay g’a tee. “This is about a girl, her name is () Do you follow me? She ... eh, **bananas**, that’s what she tied around her feet. She first put on her **jeans** and wore her **crêpes**, and then she tied up one **banana** around her feet. That’s what I am doing.”

Heh heh

FG2 : Ay nee hah, kaŋ ay huru, ni maa? (.) Ay ga šelen i se, jina i g’ay guna deh. (h) Ay žee nda Irkoy! “I say, when I entered, do you follow me? I was speaking to them but they were only staring at me. Truly!

Heh heh

(0.5)

FG2 : Abba, ay nee, n’ga bay, ir **tempsŋoo** ga, ir ga aru tee, **mais** ir cine arey banda ir ga hanga. (0.2) **Mais** sohô da, woy ize buuney, aru beerey no ... “Abba you know, in our **times** we made friends with men of our like. **But** nowadays, small girls are making friends with elder men ...”

G15 : Aru beerey no ma bag’ey. “It’s the old who are fond of them.”

FG2 : Ay žee nda Irkoy! Eh, ir **tempsŋoo** ga, deh ka ... har ize buuney banda ir goo.
“Truly! Eh, in our **times** ... we made friends with small boys.”

(0.5)

FG2 : Agay woo, ya nka duu **chance** i ma n'ay **renvoyé**. (0.2) N'ga bay kaŋ ir **dixième** woo ra, ir **grinŋoo** kul no i n'a **renvoyé** kala ir nda ... ir nda Youba. (0.2) Youba **passé**, agay **redoublé**. Fifiyan kul, i n'i gaarey. "Me, I was lucky they didn't **expel** me. You know, when we were in **tenth form**, all our **grin** members were **expelled** except Bouba and me. Bouba **moved to next class** and me, I **repeated**. Fifi and all the others were expelled."

G14 : Ir na **Backoo** tee ... ir na **Backoo** tee cere banda woh. "We did the **Baccalaureate exam** ... we did the **Baccalaureate exam** together."

FG2 : Ayyo! "Yes!"

G14 : 2000-2002, no? "It was in 2000-2002, wasn't it?"

FG2 : Ni ga bay, ya nka mana duu ay haywanaa ... "You know, I didn't get my thing ..."

G14 : Ni nda Sam ... ni nda Samyan na **Backoo** tee? "You and Sam ... did you do the **Baccalaureate exam** together with Sam?"

FG2 : Ayyo! (.) Nda Ousmane Issoufi, nda ay si ... "Yes! With Ousmane Issoufi, and ... I don't remember ..."

G14 : Sam no nd'ay ... nd'ay **passé** nda cere [...] **Mais** Sam, nga mo a nka **dixième repris**, takaa woo nda ir na **Backoo** tee nda cere. [...] Waatidin, Sam nda ... nda Ousmane Issoufiwoo, nda Albaaşayan ... "Sam and me ... we **moved to the next class** together [...] **But** Sam also **repeated tenth form**, that's why we did the **Baccalaureate** together. [...] That time, Sam and ... and Ousmane Issoufi, and Albaasha and the others ..."

FG2 : **Dixième année** da ir ... ir ... i n'ir gaarey. (0.2) I cindi ir gaarey, ir wey **redoublé**. (.) Agay, 7 nda ay **redoublé**. "It was in **tenth form** that we ... we ... they

suspended us. They suspended us so many times that we **repeated** the class. Me, as I got 7 grade, I **repeated** the class.”

G15 : Ah, ya-ya! “Oh!”

F2 : Wallaahi! Ay goo Ghana ... (h) ... ay goo Ghana, i nee ya ne ye na **passé** hunday, amma ay cerey ya kul i n'i gaarey. I nee ... i nee agay hunday, i nee ay ga hin ka caw yeesi. “Truly! I was in Ghana ... I was in Ghana when they told me that I didn't **succeed**, but all my friends had been expelled. They told ... they told me that I could repeat next year.”

G13 : Nda Jean Jack. “With Jean Jack.”

F2 : Yeeh, Jean! Man'a? “Oh, Jean! Where is he?”

G13 : A koy France. “He went to France.”

F2 : Yaa ay Koyoo! [...] A ga hanse ka dolo haŋ, n'bay? Hala sohô ? “Oh, my Lord! [...] He used to drink alcohol too much, didn't he? Even now?”

G13 : Jean no baa **cocaine**, a g'a haŋ. “Jean takes even **cocaine**.”

F2 : **Mais** ni, n'si haŋ? (0.2) Ni nka s'a daŋ ni niiney ra? “**But** you, do you take? Don't you put some in your nose?”

G13 : Ay si haŋ, jina a si baa ... a mma wonji ya haŋ. “I don't take, and he doesn't want ... he refused to let me take.”

G1 : A ga **Biblo feuille** wey kortu deh a g'i bibiri. “He tore out the **sheets** of his **Bible** and rolled them up in pieces.”

G13 : Jean mma goo nda nga **Bible** foo kaŋ, wallaahi, **drogue** deh a n'i kul cendi hal'a ben. (h) A m'i kortu deh a g'i bilim-bilim, hal a ben. (0.2) **Mais**, nda ni nee ni ga a zaa, ‘**Non, non, laisse ma Bible, je lis là-dans, laisse!**’ “Jean got a **Bible** that he tore out till the last page because of **drugs**. He tore out all the pages and rolled up his drugs in. **But**, if you tried to take it, he said, ‘**No, no, leave my Bible, I am reading it, leave!**’”

Hehe heh

G15 : Hal'a go hun **lycée**, n'ga bay kaŋ a hasara. "Before leaving the **lycée**, you know, he had been spoilt."

G1 : Za a kaa **lycée** no a hasara. "Since he went to **lycée** he had been spoilt."

G13 : **Il a un petit frère-là**, Soumaila, nga hunday ga caw. "**He got a young brother**, Soumaila, that one, he studied very well."

G15 : Ayyo! "Yes!"

G13 : **Mais**, woo kaŋ mana caw, woo nga ti Lavieille ... Lavieille, nga ma hanse ka ... **elle est très paresseuse.** (.) Nda Fifi. (0.2) Fifi hunday, a nka si waani da. "**But**, the one who didn't study much, that is Lavieille ... Lavieille, she didn't much ... **she is very lazy.** And Fifi also. As for Fifi, she doesn't know anything at all."

F2 : Eh, ay gay nda Fifi sa! "Eh, I haven't seen Fifi for ages!"

G13 : Fifi, nga, a si waani. Lavieille cindi **lycée**. "Fifi, she doesn't know anything. Lavieille gave up studies at **lycée.**"

G15 : Ayyo! "Yes!"

F2 : Lavieille cindi ka hanse ka waani, **mais un moment-là elle a lâché.** "Lavieille used to study well, **but at a certain point she gave up.**"

G13 : **Elle est paresseuse.** "**She is lazy.**"

F2 : Lavieille da no ma boori. "Lavieille is the beautiful one."

G13 : Lavieille beeroo ... [...] a mma hew, a ga meeri... "Lavieille's elder sister ... [...] she is haughty and bad-looking."

F2 : A ga hanse ka hew deh! [...] I kul ga boori nd'a. "She is very haughty! [...] They all are more attractive than her."

G14 : Lavieille ... Lavieille kanba-izey, i si too takaa woo. "Lavieille ... Lavieille's arms are not as long as this"

FG2 : Eh, Fifi goo nda **forme!** “Eh, Fifi has a **graceful figure!**”

FG2 : Ay nee, woy kayna foo bay ka kaa ni do, eh ... yaa here ... “I say, once a girl used to come to your place, eh ... that place ...”

G15 : Man here? “Which place?”

FG2 : **I.F.Moo** ra, ay si bay **première année** wala **deuxième année**, côté woo ga taka. **Deuxième année** no ni goo? “In the **I.F.M** ((Institut de Formation des Maitres, Teachers’ Training School)), I don’t remember **first year** or **second year**, it looks like on that side. Were you attending **second year?**”

G15 : Ayyo! “Yes!”

FG2 : [...] Ibibi, hala nga mo ma nee **Anglais** n’a ga tee. (0.2) **Elle enseigne quand même.** (.) A kaa ni do hala kaŋ ay dii’a. Ir ... ir nd’a ka **lycée** tee, ay g’a bay. (0.2) Kaŋ ni farta deh ni nda a goo no war ga šelen, kur ay farta deh ay n’a foo. (0.2) Ma na maa šennoo ka a na har ya ne? “[...] She is black, and she was apparently studying **English.** **She teaches all the same.** She came to your place and I saw her. We ... we attended **lycée** together, I know her. When you got outside and you began talking with her, I stepped out and greeted her. Did you hear what she said to me?”

G15 : U-uh! “No!”

FG2 : Ni, ni si hin ka maa a se, agay kaŋ a n’ay **percé**, a nee yane «Daoulata, woo ti caw ... cawyon da hal sohô !», Zarma šenni n’a ... “You couldn’t hear, but it was me she **pierced**, she said to me «Daoulata, you are still studying so far!», Zarma dialect she ...”
Heh heh

FG2 : Zarma šenni no a ga tee **quoi**, «cawyon da hal sohô !» [...] Cawyan mma goo nda woo din? Nda ni caw, ni kaa k’ay cawandi. Aah! “She speaks Zarma dialect, «still studying so far! » [...] Is there any limit to studies? If you finished your studies before me, teach me! Aah!”

G15 : Il y a des gens, un moment-là, ils sont pas ... i šii disponible. (0.2) Waati fooyan goo no, i ga regretter ... “There are some people, at a certain point, they are not ... they are not available. After some times they regret ...”

FG2 : Agay binde, ya nka ... ya nka deux ans tee ... en même temps ... ay ... j’ai fait combien? ... quatre ans no ay tee ay ga Backoo (0.2) Quatre ans! En temps que C.I deux fois, régulière deux fois. “As for me, I ... I spent two years ... at the same time ...I ... how many times did I spend? ... four years I spent to get the Baccalaureate. Four years! Two years as a C.I ((Candidate libre, auditor)) and two years as regular candidate.”

G13 : Kaŋ ay goo deuxième année à la F.A.S.T-là, ay baabaa première année n’a goo FLASH ra. Mon Père, hein! “When I was in second year at F.A.S.T ((a University faculty)), my father attended first year at F.L.A.S.H. ((another University faculty)). My father, hein!”

Heh heh

G1 : Ahh ha! “Ahh ha!”

G13 : C’est pour dire que cawyan šii nda ... haywane ... “That’s to say that for studies, there is no ...”

G15 : A šii nda âge. “There is no age limit.”

G13 : Mais, a goo! Ay baabaa goo zankey gamey ra. “So, did you ever hear of such a thing! My father is there sitting among teenagers.”

Heh heh

G13 : Guna, hô da ay dii au décès là ... ay dii ay cere foo ka ay hongu ir goo compo, ir ga physique-chimie tee, a g’ay farandi quoi! [...] Donc, ay dii’a hunday, il est devenu policier. Mais, zankaa woo, c’est des ... bandits fooyan kaŋ si haywane kul. “Look, today I saw during the funeral ... I saw one of my classmates, I remember when we

were in **exams** doing **physics and chemistry**, he disturbed me **so much!** [...] **Then**, I saw him, **he became a policeman. But**, that boy, and many others ... **they are bandits** who don't know anything at all."

F_{G2} : I ši baa **intéressé** cawyanoo ga. "They are not **interested** in any studies at all."

G₁₃ : I ši baa **intéressé** cawroo ga. "They are not **interested** in any studies at all."

G₁₅ : **Mais** n'dii'a, hô, ngi da ga ti **les chefs d'entreprises**. "**But**, you see, today, these guys are **the company directors**."

G₁₃ : **En tout cas le ... en tout cas dans la fonction publique de l'Etat quand même, le Ministre en charge est en train de ... d'entreprendre des actions en ... dans ce sens là.** (0.2) Borey kaŋ **faux diplômes** bara i ga kul, i g'i gaarey! Manna foo, n' ti i nka **liste** foo kaa tarey jina i ... "**Anyway, the ... anyway, concerning the civil service, the Minister in charge is ... undertaking actions in this sense.** All the holders of false diplomas will be dismissed! Two years ago, a **list** was issued, but after they ..."

F_{G2} : Jina i yee ka ... "After, they ()"

G₁₃ : **Parce que ça vient d'en haut quoi**, woodin se i na cee daabu šennoo ga. "**Because the decision came from above**, that's why the issue was closed."

[...]

G₁₄ : **Maths cours** woo hunday, **il paraît que** nda ni g'a ra ... nda ni g'a ra, sohô da nda ni goo Bamako ra, ni ga hin ka duu nooru. (0.2) **Mais**, nooru kur kaŋ ni ga duu a ra, **tu vas te fatiguer**. [...] Ni ga duu nooru beeri a ra, **mais à un moment tu es obligé de laisser**. (0.2) Ni ma fara. "**Maths private courses, it appears that** if you have got some ... if you have got some at this moment in Bamako, you can get a lot of money. **But**, whatever money you get, **you will get tired**. [...] You will get a big amount of money, **but at a certain point you are obliged to stop**. You will get so tired."

G13 : Ni bonjoo hunday ga fara. “Your head will really get tired.”

G14 : Mohamed woo, nga **couroo** woo, a si ... nga nda zankey si **cours discuté**, nga nda zankey baabaa no ma **discuté**. (0.2) Jina, nda a sinti ka **couroo** tee ma ne, nda ni si **effortourni** deh a ga ni **couroo** kayandi. “Look at Mohamed, his **courses**, he doesn’t ... he doesn’t **argue about** the **courses** with students, he **argues** with the students’ father. Moreover, if he begins your **course**, and you don’t **make** any **effort**, he stops your **course**.”

G13 : **Mais, c’est clair!** “So, that’s right!”

G14 : Nda a dii kaŋ n’ si **avancé** deh a ga ni **couroo** kayandi. “If he noticed that you don’t **improve**, he stops the **course**.”

Section 5: Timbuktu

Conversation 15

F12 : Biifo, ay guna a ga **telephoned**, a go cii kuna ... “The day before yesterday, I saw the **telephone** with him, he was calling ...”

T1 : Boro yaadadi wala? “The little devil?”

F14 : Uhh hu! “Yes!”

F16 : Ahh ha! Ay t’ay guna **telephoned** a ga, a hime yane **telephone** k’ay bay ka may. “Ahh ha! I saw the **phone** with him, and it’s very like the **phone** I used to have.”

F12 : Yer gay ka guna ga, a go may handu booboyo ka yer guna ga. “We saw it long ago, a very long time ago.”

F16 : Wala war ta, war gay ka guna? “Did you really see it long ago?”

F12 : Yer gay ka guna ga. Harkayna foo ga ne a din ga a beene. “We saw it long ago. He got it from a young man.”

(0.5)

ƒT8 : A' may **un mois** ka yer guna ga () “We saw it **one month** ago ()”

ƒT2 : A day ga boro ga. “He bought it with someone.”

ƒT4 : Nda a day ga, a ma koy kate woodi ka ga ne ngu day ga. “If he bought, he has to come with the person who sold it to him.”

(0.5)

ƒT6 : M'bonji nono, (h) man ne m'bonji'o jay? “He is a physically handicapped man, so how could a crippled man steal?”

Heh heh

T1 : Nga ta, a na ti misedi nono. (0.2) Boro si daabundi miso. “Well, it's not like that. A person can not be imprisoned like that.”

ƒT8 : A si daabundi miso, war'o kaati gi ya. “He can not be imprisoned like that, you have to go to the police.”

T1 : Boro si daabundi miso; war na dam **declaration**, war na dam haya foo. “A person can not be imprisoned like that; you didn't make any **notification**, you did nothing.”

ƒT8 : War'o cii **quoi!** (.) Ngaah, i na dam **déclaration**. “You should talk! Of course, they didn't make any **notification**.”

ƒT6 : Woo ti, (h), **procédure normale**. “That's, you see, **the normal procedure**.”

ƒT2 : **Témoins**yo go dooti. (0.2) **Il y a des témoins**. N'o kate **témoins**yo ka ... “There are **witnesses**. **There are witnesses**. You have to come with **witnesses** to ...”

T1 : Maa **témoin?** (.) **Témoindi** ka ni hajje ... “What **witness?** The **witness** you have ...”

ƒT6 : **Papiers**diyo g'i ga? “Did they get any **documents?**”

T1 : **Papier** foo s'i ga. “They didn't get any **document**.”

[...]

fT2 : Hervé mo g'i ra ya? (.) Wooyo ka fatta biifo. “Is Hervé among them? The new recruits who ended their term yesterday.”

T1 : Hervé gay ka fatta. (0.2) Hervé na ti **gendarme**, nga ta ti **garde**. (.) **Garde** nono. “Hervé finished long ago. Hervé is not a **gendarme**, he is a **guardsman**. He is a **guardsman**.”

fT4 : Maa ne Hervé go batu? (.) A si koy Sévaré ya? “What is Hervé waiting for? Isn't he going to Severe?”

T1 : Ah, ay si hungu wala a' koy Sévaré. “Ah, I don't think he's going to Severe.”

fT4 : A si koy maase? A baa boro foodiyo ya, wala a duu **arrangement**, wala maa? “Why doesn't he go? Is he more important than the other people, or has he got an **arrangement**?”

T1 : Ah, aywa! “Ah, I don't know!”

fT4 : Kala **arrangement** n'a duu. “Maybe he's got an **arrangement**.”

T1 : A kur go kuboy! “That's possible!”

fT4 : Haya kur **arrangement** g'a ra. “Everything is made by **arrangement**”

fT2 : Eh maa ne i' ta dam? “Eh, what are they going to do?”

fT4 : Sévaré, i g'i **préparé** gi ka koy yenje. “In Severe, they are getting **prepared** to go to fight.”

T1 : Sanda woodiyo, i si koy nongu foo. “Actually these ones, they won't go anywhere.”

fT6 : Iboboyo har ngiyo si koy... “Many of them refused to go ...”

fT8 : I har i jaw **cent personnes**, **mais** Tumbutu boro boboyo' koy. “It is said that a **hundred people** have been enrolled, **but** many people from Timbuktu have joined.”

fT6 : Afooyo har ngiyo'o koy, afooyo har ngiyo si koy. “Some people accepted to go, others refused to go.”

ƒT2 : Néné, **Gao, ça chauffe, hein!** “Nene, **in Gao things are getting heated, hein!**”

ƒT8 : Gao? “In Gao?”

ƒT2 : Ahh ha! Gao **jeunes**diyo ta, yer naanay gi. (0.2) **Leur nom sera gravé dans l’histoire.** “Yes! The young **people** of Gao, we trust them. **Their name will be engraved in history.**”

T1 : Ma si har! “Really!”

ƒT2 : Eh! Wala ... wala **RFI** cindi ka **félicité** gi hô , ma na mom **partiedi?** “Eh! Even ... even **RFI** ((**Radio France Internationale**)) has congratulated them today, didn’t you listen to the related **part?**”

T1 : Ay na. “No, I didn’t.”

ƒT2 : **Communauté internationale**, i **jété** i ga **fleurs**yo. Hey, ngi ta, i noo ... **guerrewo**, hah, i wane maadi go ta cindi a kuna ... “The **international community** has showered **praise** on them. Hey, they, they gave ... through this **war**, their name will be engraved on memories ...”

T1 : Maa ne **fleur** ga nafa? (.) I ma warra i ga njoɾfu nin. “What do they do with **praise?** They should shower them with money instead.”

ƒT2 : Aah way! **Ce sont des hommes!** (0.2) Wooyo, **est-ce que** hah, Gao ije wooyo ... ye hâa ni da, Gao ije wooyo ... tuur’ay ... (h) ... ni mom wala? **Est-ce que** hah, Gao ije wooyo, nda a gar ngi ne i koynda Sévaré, i **formé** gi, i gay ka yee. Wallaahi, i gay ka yee! “Truly! **They are men!** These ones, **you know** hah, these young men of Gao ... I ask you, these young men of Gao ... listen ... do you follow? **Tell me** hah, these young men of Gao, if they are taken to Sevaré and **trained up**, the rebels will soon back out. Really they will soon back out!”

ƒT4 : I g’i’ **formé** gi. “They are being **trained up.**”

T1 : Afooyo ga’a dam **formation** ... “Some are being **trained up** ...”

FT2 : Boroyo ka yenje nda ton-diyo nda hayayo... i ma fur **armée**, i ma jaw gi. (0.2)
Après, nda i benndi **guerrewo**, i ma **gradé** afooyo; (.) i ma dam gi nda **colonelyo**. (0.2)
Wooyo da go hima ka kaa **colonelyo** ... nda hajjajo. “People who fought with stones and other things ... the **army** must be dismissed, and these young people must be enrolled instead. **Later**, after this **war**, most of them must **be promoted**; they must be promoted to the rank of **colonels**. They are the right people to be promoted **colonels** ... and others.”

T1 : Wallaahi! Ay bay ka guna gi **télé!** “That’s right! I saw them on a **TV programm!**”

FT2 : Wooyo ne i go hima ka **gradé**, Gao **jeunes** wooyo. (.) **Puisque** i too ngiyo hiney, bor’ka yenje malfakoy. (0.2) **Et puis** wala hah, ay ta n’o bay handidi ka ay naanay gi, handidi ka hayadi sinti, ka borodiyo’ o jur ka kaa ... Tubumtu **jeunediyo**’o jur ka kaa, ngi t’o jur ka yee ya, i har ngiyo’o koy ngiyo **parentdiyo** jere. (0.2) Guna **la différence**. (.) **Il y a une grande différence entre eux**. “They are the right people who deserve **to be promoted**, these **young men** of Gao. **Because** they did their best, braving gunmen. **And besides**, you know, I really have trusted them since the beginning when people began to run away ... when the **young men** of Timbuktu began to run away, these ones, they ran back instead, to take care of their **parents**. You see **the difference**. **There a big difference between them.**”

FT4 : Gao ijediyo bisa Tumbutu ijediyo bine. ... “The young men of Gao are braver than the young men of Timbuktu.”

FT2 : Guna hah, nda **marche** go bara, Gao ijediyo da n’go koy kay. (.) I kur ti Gao ijeyo. E:h, i too ngiyo hiney haya woo ra deh! “You see, when there is a **march**, the young men of Gao actively participate. Most of the participants are the young men of Gao. Eh, they are doing their best in thist case!”

T1 : **Est-ce que** Tumbutu ijediyo, **ils sont informés**? “**Do you know if** the young men of Timbuktu **are informed?**”

F12 : Wallaahi, **ils sont informés**. (.) I si koy da. Ay woo ka ay har mane, ay duu **messages** bobo, ay na koy. “Truly, **they are informed**. They really don’t go. I myself, I’ve been sent many **messages**, but I didn’t go.”

T1 : War ta do, maase ... maase Timbutu ijediyo si **participé**? “According to you, what’s the reason why ... what’s the reason why the young men of Timbuktu don’t **participate?**”

F12 : Gao ijediyo, guna, i go baa cere. (0.2) Wala yer ma ... haya kur ma hun a ra, Gao ijediyo i gay, **ils s’entraident entre eux**. (.) Ay gay ay korosi. (0.2) Nda afoo wane boro go **en tête** hah, n’o kaa’gar wala a wane ije wane cereyo, i’**branché** gi, ay gay ay korosi. “The young men of Gao, you see, they like each other. We ... above all, the young men of Gao, **they mutually help one another**. I noticed it long ago. If one of them is in the head of a business, he would **launch** even the friends of his children, I noticed it long ago.”

T1 : E::h? “Really?”

F12 : Uhh hu! I’ hinse ka **aidé** boro ja han k’a na ti hano. ”Of course! They really **have been helping** one another since long time.”

T1 : Ngiyo nda cere, wala ngi nda ...? “Each other or them and ...?”

F12 : Ngiyo nda cere da! Ngiyo nda cere baatal! “Each other, of course! Each other, of course!”

T1 : Saadi, n’o baa ka har i’baa ... “So, you want to say that they are better than ...”

F12 : I baa Tumbutu ijediyo. (0.2) Nga ta, bine n’go goy me. (.) Ngi binediyo ra ne haya woo go . Guna **réaction**wo! (0.2) Nda a na ti ngi binediyo ra a go, **est-ce qu’ils vont réagir comme ça?** (.) Guna hah ... wala waajukoydi, a ga har **tant que** yer bine wooyo

si cere se, ka baa cere, wala yer gaara, **guerre** woo si ben. “They are better than the young of Timbuktu . You see, one must take things to heart. They take this issue to their hearts . Look at their **reaction!** If they were not so brave, **would they react like that?** (.) You see hah ... you see, the preacherman said that **as long as** we are not sincere and don’t love each other, this **war** will not be over.”

FT8 : Gao, **ils sont unis** dah. “Gao people **are** really **united.**”

FT2 : War nda Gao ijediyo na ti afoo. “You are different from the young men of Gao.”

Conversation 16

T1 : Salaamu aleykum! “Peace on you!”

T3 : Ay hase::y! “My uncle!”

T1 : Aywa, mise foo? “So, how are you?”

(0.5)

T5 : Woo ti ay beere, yer babadiyo ti baakoyyo. “This is my elder brother, our fathers are friends.”

T7 : Ngaah, **mais**, sanda ... a huu borodiyo jaati, nga ya kaa i kuna haya ... “That’s right, **but** really ... he is the only one among his family who succeeded ...”

T5 : Ye bay ga jaati! Ye bay ga! “I really know him! I know him!”

T3 : Mahalmdane wala? “Do you mean Mahalmdane?”

T7 : Ngaah! “Yes!”

T9 : Ay har mane, n’ga go ... a na ti ni guna **Commune maillots complets** wooyo? “I tell you, he ... do you see the **sets of shirts of Commune ((football team))?**”

T5 : Ifirjidiyo wala? “The green ones?”

T9 : Ifirjidiyo, wooyo ka wala biifo i dam kate, nga da ga samba gi i se, ngi nda **cramponsyo.** (.) Nga da n’go **financé Commune.** “The green ones that they put on the

day before yesterday, he offered them to **Commune**, with some **crampons**. He is **the sponsor of Commune.**”

T1 : Woodi ka bayka samba **Commune** se jiiri woodi **équipements** ... “The one who had sent **a set of equipment** for **Commune** that year ...”

T9 : A ben, nga da nono! “Yes, that’s right!”

T1 : Woodi ti yer huu boro da ! “He is from our family!”

T7 : Dra woo ga baa huu boro. (.) May ga ti ni huu boro? “You Dra, you are fond of family ties. Who is your from family?”

T1 : **Ministredi** n’i har ... **le ministre des sports**. “It’s about the **minister ... the minister of sports.**”

[...]

T1 : Ay na bayka mom **dix sept à zéro woo** gaah! “I have never heard this before, **seventeen to zero!**”

T9 : Vieux Halley ka koy, ay nda ga go goro ... a kaa hô , subadi ra kur, yer cindi i huudi mee, yer’o goro ka wannasu. (0.2) Wallaahi, **dix sept!** “Vieux Halley who went with them, I was sitting with him ... one day after they came back, we were sitting in front of their house and chatting. Truly, **seventeen!**”

Heh heh

T1 : Wallaahi bara, ay ta, ay mom ga; ay har woo ti horay. I har ga ka hasara hajjadi maadi, jaka ... jaka ciimi nono, **dix sept** hiraw i ra. Ay hâa wala **gardien**, i’may **gardien**, wala i si. “Well, I heard about it; but for me it was a joke. I think it was to disgrace the thing, but ... but, that’s true, they lost by **seventeen** to zero. I asked to know if they had a **goalkeeper**, or not.”

T5 : Papou! “It’s Papou!”

T7 : A na, woo ga kay, har yane a maadi ... bellafarandi ijedi ... Alhabib! “No, it was this man, tell me his name ... that boy from bellefarandi ... Alhabib!”

T1 : Man ne i **joué**? “Where did they **play**?”

T5 : Mopti. ”In Mopti.”

(0.5)

T9 : Momo’o may ... a’may jiiro **quarante ans**. (.) Abba’o may **quarante ans**. “Momo is **forty years old** this year. Abba is **forty years old**.”

T5 : Abba foo? “Abba, which one?”

T9 : Abba, **gardiendi**. “Abba, the **goalkeeper**.”

T1 : **Quarante ans** na ti haya foo. “**Forty years** is not so much.”

T7 : Abba, nda ni har yane a bisa **quarante ans** jaati ye yadda. “Concerning Abba, if you tell me that he is more than forty years I will agree with you.”

T9 : Heh heh

T5 : **Tu le connais?** “**Do you know him?**”

T7 : **Joueur**yo ka ja ngi ηaa hay gi hal more i’g’i goro **banc de touche** ... “These **players**, since they have been playing till now, they are still sitting on the **substitutes’bench** ...”

Heh heh

T11 : Ay ta, **Avenir**wo, wallaahi ay ta, ay guna ngi wane **équippedi**, ay har **Avenir**wo gaah, ay har ka haya kur si ta kamba gi. “You know, this **Avenir** ((a football team)), truly speaking, I saw their **team**, nobody could stop them.”

T11 : **Non, au début-là, vraiment** i dam ... i dam ... “No, **in the beginning**, really they made ... they made ...”

T5 : I dam **faux-pasyo** ka kaa ... “They made **foolish mistakes** in the beginning ...”

T7 : **Leur premier match** ... i dam a ra **faux-pasyo** ta. “**During their first match** ... they made some **foolish mistakes** of course.”

T9 : [**Championat**di kay m’bay?] “The **championship** is interrupted, isn’t it?”

T5 : [Haya foo na kamba gi]. “Nobody stopped them.”

T1 : Kala Alfarouk woodi go bara gaah? “Does AlFarouk still exist?”

T7 : Alfaaruk, i kaw a bomodi. “Alfarouk has been beheaded.”

T3 : **Avenir équipé**di ka i **aligné**, nda i **joué ball**, i cille si dooti. “The **team** that **Avenir has selected**, if they **play foot ball**, they don’t have any equal there.”

(0.5)

T5 : Abba n’ga koynda gi. Abba n’ga kaa ... guna, Abba, handidi ka a’ ta **commenté** yer se haya woo, a har yer se ka i’**habiller tout le monde avec deux paires et deux jeux de maillots. (.) QUARANTE JOUEURS!** Woo ti haydi ka Abba lawal ka har yer se. “It’s Abba who brought them! When Abba came ... you see, the day when Abba began to **comment** that thing to us, he told us that they will **provide** everybody **with two sets of shoes and two sets of shirts. Forty players!** That’s what Abba first told us.”

T1 : Woodi ti nee wala? “Here?”

T5 : Woodi ti nee da k’a har yer se. (.) Yer na guna ga. (0.2) **On n’a pas vu ça.** “It’s here that he told us. We didn’t see it. **We didn’t see it.**”

(0.5)

T7 : Ay har, mañ ga ti a maa, hey? (.) **Afrique du Sud** ga may **joueur** foo, ... mañ ga ti a maa? ... Hah, Dra? “Tell me, what’s his name, hey? A **player** of **South Africa** ... what’s his name? ... Tell me, Dra?”

T1 : Huu? “What?”

T7 : Afrique du Sud go may ngi **joueur** foo ka saa kur a' **marqué contre son camp**, man ga ti a maa? "There is a player in the football team of South Africa who always **scores against his team**, what's his name?"

T5 : Afrique du Sud? "From South Africa?"

T7 : Uhh hu! "Yes!"

T1 : Tchabalala. "Tchabalala."

T7 : C'est un Sud Africain. (.) N'ti **dix sept** n' a'porté, non? "He is from South Africa. Doesn't he **wear seventeen?**"

T1 : Ni tangari! **HUIT!** "That's a lie! **Eight!**"

T7 : Le Sud Africain! "The South African!"

T1 : Morayda ta **huit** ne ... "Now it's **eight** that ..."

T7 : **Dix sept** ne a cindi a'porté. (.) Coupe d'Afrique passédi ra, **dix sept** ne a cindi a'porté. Coupe du monde contre France, **dix sept** ne a'porté. "He used to wear **seventeen**. During the last Cup of Africa he wore **seventeen**. During the World Cup against France, he wore **seventeen**."

(0.5)

T7 : Est-ce que nga ta ... est-ce que a si **joué France** wane **division** foo ra? "Tell me, he ... **tell me**, isn't he **playing** in one of the **divisions** in France?"

[...]

T5 : Hey, war ma si **dérangé ga quoi!** (.) Nda **apparemment il est occupé** de war ma si kaati ga. (.) Le **dimanche passé-là** boro kur'o bay ka **il ya le match**. (.) **Après, à la dernière minute-là il faut appeler ça, ça et ... C'est pas obligatoire** oh! (.) Si tu viens pas, **il faut dire que tu viens pas**. (0.2) **C'est pas obligatoire**, horay da nono. "Hey, don't **disturb** him! If he seems to be busy, so don't call him. (.) **Since last Sunday** everybody knows that **there is a match**. Then now, we have to call that and

that ... **It's not compulsory oh! If you don't come, you have to say that you don't come. It's not compulsory, it's just a game.**"

T13 : Har a se a ma kabay kate boro foo. "Tell him to bring one person with him."

T7 : Wa har a se a ma kabay Handa. (.) Handa mo g'a a jere dooti; a ma kabay kate alharam ngu banda. "Tell him to come with Handa. Handa is just next to him; tell him to bring that bastard with him."

T1 : Handa g'a jere? "Is Handa next to him?"

T7 : Handa goo à zéro kilomètre de lui! "Handa is **at zero kilometers far from him!**"
(0.5)

T1 : **Non, c'est pas facile!** (.) **Matchdi** ga dam, deh ma **informé** boro **directement** a ma kaa. (0.2) **C'est pas facile!** "No, it's not easy! **Just the moment when the match begins, you inform someone to come at once. It's not easy!**"

T7 : **Non, ni cum, mais ...** "No, you're right, **but ...**"

T1 : **Les gens sont programmes.** "People work to a very tight schedule."

T5 : **Nous aussi on est programmés.** "We also work to a very tight schedule."

(0.5)

T1 : ((Calling)) **Allo!** Salaamu aleykum! (0.5) **Ça va?** Alhabar? (0.5) Aywa, alhabar? Maa n'ga taawo? (0.9) **Ça va!** Ni go man? (0.5) Ah, ni go à **la maison.** Ay har, yer'o may **match** kayna foo Alassaneyo do **quoi**, nda n'o may **temps** kayna **quoi ...** wiciro. (0.4) Ngaah. (0.9) Ah, **OK**, a boori. **Mais**, ni si may boro foo ka n'o samba yer se **quoi?** **Comme** yer **effectif**di na timme **quoi!** (0.9) **Juste**, yer go Alassaneyo do da, **je suis là avec les amis.** (0.5) Ngaah! (0.4) Ahah! (0.4) Ah, **OK**, **problème** s'a ra, yer'o kubay ga dooti. (0.4) **OK**, **problème** s'a ra. **OK!** ((Hanging up)) A har ng'o samba yer se boro, a har ngu ta, mise ka ng'o baa ka fatta. "Allo! Peace on you! **How are you?** Is there any news? So, is there any news? What's the news? **Alright!** Where are you? Ah, you are **at**

home. Listen, we are going to play a mini **football match** at Alassane's place, if you have got a little **time** ... this evening. Yes. Ah, **OK**, alright. **But**, haven't you got anybody to send us? **As** our **number** is not complete! **Just** we are at Alassane's place, **I am here with the friends!** Yes! Alright! Ah, **OK**, there is no **problem**, we'll go and fetch him there. **OK**, there is no **problem**. **OK!** ((Hanging up)) He said that he will send someone, but he is just on the point of leaving!"

Conversation 17

T5 : Har kayna woo ka a har ngu ti waner ber ... "That little boy who said he is a great winner ..."

T11 : Ay ti waner! (.) Ay har ga, ay ti waner ...ay si jumbu noŋ ka **Juan** goo. (0.2) Noŋ ka Juan goo, ay si jumbo. (.) Noŋ ka Juan goo **moi, je vais pas descendre, ça je le dis.** "I am the winner! I said I am the winner ... I don't go down where there is **Juan**. Anywhere there is **Juan**, I don't go down. Anywhere there is **Juan**, **I won't go down, I said.**"

T12 : **Joue trèfle! "Play club!"**

T11 : **Je le dis!** (.) Ye har ga hô, ye har ga suba! (0.2) **Je le dis**, noŋ ka ni goo ...noŋ ka Oumar goo, **moi je ne vais pas descendre!** "**I said it!** I say it today, I will say it tomorrow! **I said that** anywhere you are ...anywhere Oumar is, **I won't go down!**"

T12 : N'o may **combien?** "**How much** do you get?"

T11 : **Neuf-neuf.** "**Nine to nine.**"

T14 : Ni si guna a'dam jerediyo ngu jiiyadi ra? "Don't you see that he is putting the rest into his pocket?"

Heh heh

T11 : Yer, nee na yer dam war se **cent cinquante un à zéro**. “We, we beat you here **hundred fifty one to zero**.”

T15 : Ay ta gaah, ay ta war, haawi da ne war si haawi. (.) Nda a gar war’o haawi gaah, nonj ka yer goo gaah, war si cii gaah. “You, you are really shameless. If you feel ashamed, you shouldn’t say anything where we are present. Of course, you are shameless.”

T12 : Maa se? “Why?”

T15 : Yer dam war se **cent ... cent (h) deux à zéro** nong’o ... “We also beat **hundred ... hundred (h) two hundred to zero** here ...”

T11 : Anah, yer na dam war se **cent cinquante un à zéro**? “But, didn’t we beat you **hundred fifty one to zero**?”

T14 : Trèfle! “Club!”

T15 : Aywa! “Let’s go!”

T14 : A **neuf** hinka, wala ay si bay a **neuf** hinja ka g’a a ga, ye hima ka **joué**, a hungu **neuf** g’ay ga, hal a din ngu hinhaadi. “He’s got two **nines**, or I don’t know three **nines**, as it’s my turn to go, he thinks that I’ve got a **nine**, he is so worried that he stops breathing.”

T12 : May ti woo? “Who’s that?”

T14 : Ni! “You!”

T12 : Saa foo ti woo? “When?”

T14 : **Tout de suite!** “**Just now!**”

T11 : Hey, **joué** nin! “Hey, go!”

T12 : **Jeu** nin nono! **Qui joue?** [...] Nda a baa, a si **joué**, yer ma koy! “It’s just a **game!** **Whose’s turn is it to go?** [...] If he doesn’t **go**, let’s go!”

(0.5)

T12 : Qui joue? “Whose’s turn is it? to go”

T11 : Ni! “You!”

T12 : Ay ta, wallaahi, Dra **traumatisé** ay ... wallaahi, Dra **traumati** ... “You know, truly, Dra has **traumatized** me ... truly, Dra’s **traumati** ...”

T11: Ni tangari! “You are lying!”

Heh heh

T10 : Non, mon cher, franchement ... “No, my dear, to be frank ...”

T15 : Maa ne ka war’o dam? “What are you doing?”

T11 : Ay n’ay har yer ta, yer wan’di, **problème** foo s’a ra. “I say, as for us, there is no **problem** at all.”

T1 : Hajje foo s’a ra! “No problem at all!”

T12 : Sans souci! “Don’t worry!”

T11 : Kambadi ka haw’ ay, da ng’o feer’ay! “The hand that tied me will untie me!”

T10 : Quinze! “Fifteen!”

T14 : Ay har seize! “I said sixteen!”

T10 : Ngaah, **quinze** ... ngaah, kaabu nin ... “Yes, **fifteen** ... yes, so count ...”

T12 : Aywa, ay ta, wa kaabu, war kamba nin. (0.2) Yer ta gaah si ... yer ta gaah si ...

On n’a pas le souci de régarder vos mains. “So, you know, just count what you have in your hands. We don’t ... we don’t ... **We don’t care about looking into your hands.**”

T14 : Uuh? “What?”

T12 : **Nous, on ne prend pas le souci de régarder vos mains.** (0.2) Hay’ka war har da nono. “**We don’t care about looking into your hands.** It’s whatever you say.”

T14 : Walidi hasara ay ga da. (0.2) Ye baa ay ma **racheté.** (0.2) **La vie c’est comme ça.**

“Honestly, I lost the game. I want **to redeem my honor.** **Life is like that.**”

T12 : Boro si nee ka' hin ka kar' ay **dame** ra. "There is nobody here who can beat me in playing **draughts**."

T10 : Nda ay kaa, morayda ye kar ni. "If I come, at one go I will beat you."

T12 : May? "Who?"

T10 : Ay! "Me!"

T12 : Wala **dame** ne ni si bay. "You even don't know **draughts** at all."

T10 : May? "Who?"

T12 : Ni! "You!"

T10 : Hey, **dame** woo ... hajje woo, wallaahi ye **joué** ga da. "Hey, **draughts** ... that thing, I **play** it very well."

Conversation 18

T12 : **Bon, écoutez!** Salaamu aleykum! "**Well, listen!** Peace on you!"

((All together)): Wa aleykumma salam! "Peace on you, too!"

(0.5)

T12 : Alhamdu lillaahi, yer filla guna cere koyne. (0.2) Handidi yer guna cere, yer cii sanda, handu wooyo ka ta kaa, handu kur yer'o cindi ka guna cere boro do. (0.2) Woodi ra, yer har ka ne boro woodi do ka ne yer'o hima ka koy, yer'o may ka jisi jangu hinka-hinka ka faaba ga nda ga, hal a'ma hin ka tonton ga ngu kamba ga. "Thank God, we meet again. The last time when we met, we talked about the coming months, and we said that we should meet every month at the home of each of us. And we said also that we should give two hundreds to assist the person whom we are going to."

T1 : **Donc**, ay ta, ay guna aljamaadi go bow kayna **quoi, donc**, handu foo-foodi, saa foo ne boro kur ... a'ta too borodiyo kur do? "**So**, I noticed that we are a bit numerous, **so**,

with a monthly meeting, when should everybody ... when should we reach the number size?”

T12 : Woodi mo yer cii, yer har ka ne ... a'ta gay a na kaa boro do. (0.2) Morayda woodi ra yer har yer ma guna ka dam ga nda **quinzaine, quinzaine-quinzaine, chaque deux semaines** yer goo boro foo do. “We talked about this too, and said that ... of course, it will take long before reaching the number size. So now, let's do it for a **fortnight, a fortnight's time, and each two weeks** we meet at the place of one of us.”

T1 : **Mais, quinzainedi, est-ce que c'est voté?** “**But, the fortnight, has it been voted?**”

T12 : Ngaah, woodi da ... woodi da ne ay har ka morayda yer'o cii a ga nee **quoi!** (0.2) Sanda, handidi yer cii a ga, **mais** yer na waafaku a ga. (0.2) Ay har hal yer ma kaa Dra do hô , yer'o waafaku sanda ... **chaque deux semaines** yer'o koy boro foo do. (.) Yer ma dam ga. (0.2) **Mais**, yer'o ta **enchainé** ga à **partir de** sanda hawme handudi banda. “Well, that's ... that's what I said, we are going to decide about it right now! The last time we only talked about it, **but** we didn't agree on it. I said as we meet at Dra's place today, we will make up our minds ... in a **fortnight's time** we meet at the place of each of us. Let's do that. **But**, we should start after Lent.”

T15 : **Bon! ... bon! ...** “**Wel! ... well! ...**”

T13 : **Mais, c'est-à-dire, après** hawme handudi, mañ ga ti a maa, bor'ka **prêt**, akoydi'o hin ka hajje ... “**So, that is, after** Lent, you know, any person who **is ready** can ...”

T5 : A hin ka jaw ga. “He can take the turn.” (.)

T14 : **Jourdi** ti **chaque jeudi** wala? “About the **day**, is it **on thurdays?**”

T12 : **Non, samedi.** “**No, Saturday.**”

T1 : **Non**, hano wane woo **c'est exceptionnel quoi!** (0.2) **Bon, comme** hawmedi kaa, **donc** a'ta jaw **temps** ber, **donc il n'y avait pas de volontaire, mais** nda ay t'o jaw ...

“**No**, for today, **it’s exceptional! Well**, as Lent is coming, **so** it will take long to meet, **and there wasn’t any volunteer, but** when i twill be my turn ...”

T14 : Sanda, **mille francsdi**, ay ta, ay guna ka yer ma noo akoydi se **mille francsdi**.(0.2)

Mais yer ma **choisi** hay’ka yer hin ka dam, **même si c’est deux cent cinquante** wala **cent francs**, sanda yer’o koy yer **moyendi** ga nin. (0.2) Saa ka kur ka yer kaa akoydi do, **mille francsdi** ti a wane, **mais**, yer’o dam **dépense** kayna ka yer’o dam jere ga, sanda yer si bay, **en cas des cas**, haya kaa boro ga, **ou en cas des cas** ... “Well, the **money**, I think it’s a good idea to give the person one **thousand francs**. **But** we should **choose** something we can do, **for example two hundred fifty** or **a hundred**, just according to our **means**. When we meet to a person’s place, he gets **one thousand francs** per person, **but** we can club together some **amount** to put aside in order to face, **if need be**, urgent cases, **or in case of absolute necessity** ...”

T13 : L’idée est bonne! “**It’s a good idea!**”

T1 : L’idée aussi est bonne. (0.2) L’idée est bonne, **mais**, ça reste à approuver par les uns et par les autres. “**It’s a good idea really. It’s a good idea, but it still has to be approved by everybody.**”

(0.5)

T12 : **Non**, nda n’o may ciini, ma cii! “**No**, if you have something to say, you have the floor!”

T14 : **Non**, wa cii! (.) Ay ta, **ce que moi j’ai dit là**, ay har ka ne ... ay har ka ne sanda **chaque samedi**, borodi yer’o fur akoydi se **mille-mille**, ay har **c’est bien**. (0.2) **Mais après les mille-milles-là**, nda a ti **soit deux cent cinquante** wala **cent francs**, sanda yer’o dam ga **selon nos moyens quoi!** “**No**, go on speaking! So, **what I said**, I said that ... I said that every Saturday, we club together **one thousand** for that person, **it’s a**

good idea. But besides that money, let's club together either two hundred fifty or a hundred francs, and that is according to our means!"

T13 : Ah, woo mo ti ... woo ti hajje boyro wallaahi! "Ah, this also ... this is a good thing truly!"

T14 : Yer'o dam alla **caisse** taka **quoi!** (0.2) **En cas où**, sanda **on ne sait jamais**, nda boro too haya ga, wala ... **autre chose**, wala yer'o hin ka **organisé** ga nda haya foo **quoi!** "Let it be like a **fund!** **If need be, one never knows**, in an emergency, or ... **something else**, or it can help can **organise** something!"

T7 : Ay har a boori! (0.2) **Franchement**, a na ti Ablo wane **idée** woo foo, **puisque** war mara woo jaatindi ka ye guna, **c'est vraiment très intéressant!** (.) Yer'o hima ka foo war a ga! (0.2) Ablo wane **idée** woo, **c'est quelque chose de plus!** (.) May n'go hin ka **contesté** ga? (0.2) **Franchement elle est salutare!** (.) Yer kur go hima ka tun ka kobi ga! (.) **C'est intéressant!** (0.2) **Mais ... mais c'est qu'il y a**, yer ma waafuku **prix** ga ka ta si hin ka dooru boro foo. (0.2) Ay ta, ay na ti kala ay wane **écoléije**, hô jaaro ay si duu haya. (0.2) **Alors**, yer ma kaa ta honno ... "I say, well done! **Honestly**, in addition to Ablo's **idea**, the meeting itself, **it is really very interesting!** You deserve to be congratulated! Ablo's idea is an extra! Who can contest it? **Honestly, it is salutary!** We all must stand up and applaud it! **It's interesting! But ... but the problem is** to agree on an **amount** that can not harm any body. As for me, I am a **schoolboy**, and for the time being I don't have anything. **So**, we have to see ..."

T14 : **De faire la politique de nos moyens quoi.** "According to our means."

(0.5)

T13 : Ay har ka ne **la fois dernière là**, ay na hin ka kaa. (.) **Bon, cette fois-ci on est là.** (.) **Bon, ce que je tiens à dire c'est que d'ici la semaine prochaine je devrai voyager ... maintenant ... c'est pour vous informer quoi...** "I said the last time I didn't

come. **Well, this time, we are here together. Well, What I wanted to say is that next week I will be travelling...**

T14 : Ay ta, **je suis quelqu'un qui me déplace beaucoup.** (.) Morayda, ay har, sanda, **en cas où** boro ka do ne yer goo, akoydi si nee, **si c'est possible** yer ma ... sanda ka noo akoydi se **une somme** ka akoydi ma bana, yer'o dam ga dans la caisse. "As for me, **I am particularly always on move.** So now, I propose, **in case** of absence of the person who must take the turn, **if possible of course**, that the person should pay a **fine** that we shall put in the **fund.**"

T1 : **Comment ça? "What do you mean?"**

T14 : **Soit**, sanda, nda akoydi si nee **quoi! (0.2) Parce que ces gens-là**, i na ti gorokoyyo. (0.2) **Donc, maintenant en cas où** sanda akoydi si ta kaa, yer'o koy boro foo do, kur akoydi'o may **somme** ka a'dam **caissedi** kuna. "Whether, for example, the person is absent, **you see! Because these guys, they are always on move. So, now, in case** the person is absent, we go to another person's place, but he has to pay a **fine** to the **fund.**"

T12 : **Bon! (.) C'est pas forcément** bara akoydi ma bana njerfu. (0.2) **Laissons ça!** "Well! **It's not compulsory** that the person should pay a fine. **Forget it!**"

T7 : Ni mom ... boro foo kur ma jaw boro kur ka go nee **numérodi.** (0.2) **D'ici ... eh ... la fin de ...** mañ ga ti a maa? "Listen ... Let everybody take the **phone number** of each of us present here. **By the ... eh ... by the end of ...** how do you call it?"

T13 : **Du mois de careme! "Lent!"**

T7 : **Du mois de careme, quelqu'un qui est prêt, il n'a qu'à faire signe par message à tout le monde.** "By the end of Lent, if someone is ready, he could let us know by **sendind a message to everybody.**"

T9 : **Bon, écoutez! "Well, listen!"**

T12 : Bon, vas-y! “Alright, go ahead!”

T9 : Bon, il y a quelque chose aussi. (0.2) Il y a quelque chose aussi. (0.2) Sanda woo, **au moins** wa taasi ... yer ma taasi ka dam **plus d’organisation quoi!** (0.2) **Parce que**, haya woo ... maɲ ga ti a maadi ? (0.2) **Sécrétaire d’organisation** si nee, **sécrétaire à l’information!** (0.2) Sanda woodi ti nin ... sanda woodi ti nin, nda yer’o wir ka **passerndi message quoi!** (.) Bor’ka ... bor’ka ... bor’ka yer ma hâa. “Well, **there is something else to add. There is something else to add.** That is, **at least** you need ... we need **more organisation! Because**, this thing ... how do you call it? There is no **secretary in charge of organisation, no secretary in charge of information!** That is ... that is in case we need to **pass a message!** Someone ... someone ... someone to address.”

T15 : Motokoy! “A motorcyclist!”

T9 : Bon, a’n ti motokoy. (.) A hin ka jan ka kaa motokoy. (0.2) Non, **téléphone’o** bara, yer’o taasi nin **quelqu’un de sérieux.** (0.2) Non, **il faut chercher qelqu’un de sérieux.** ”Well, not a **motorcyclist.** Not necessarily a **motorcyclist.** No, everybody has got a **telephone.** So we need **someone reliable.** No, we have to **designate someone reliable.**”

T7 : Haydi ka yer’o dam ... **sécrétaire à l’information**, yer’o **désigné** boro foo. (.) Tuur’ay nin! (0.2) **Celui qui est prêt, il n’a qu’à faire signe au secrétaire à l’information.** Ni faham? (0.2) **Donc, le secrétaire à l’information va passer le message à tout le monde.** (0.2) **Il n’a qu’à prendre le numéro de tout le monde.** “My suggestion is ... **for the secretary in charge of information, let’s designate someone.** Listen! **He who is ready must inform the secretary in charge of information. Do you get me?** So, the **secretary in charge of information will pass the message to everybody. He also must take the phone number of everybody.**”

T3 : **Sécrétaire à l'information là, ce n'est pas bien approprié.** (0.2) Sanda, yer si may nda **sécrétaire à l'information.** (0.2) **Comme ... c'est comme si ... c'est une sorte d'association.** “**The term ‘secretary in charge of information’ is not appropriate.** As a matter of fact, we don't need to have **a secretary in charge of information. That is ... it's as if ... it's a kind of association.**”

(0.5)

T11 : **Bon, explicitement, explicitement il y a certains points qui ont été mal expliqués.** (0.2) **Non, non, en réalite qu'on soit clair là dessus quoi!** (0.2) **C'est-à-dire, a na ti association nono, a na ti mara nono, a na ti hajje.** (0.2) **Puisque, quelque part, war dam a ra hajje-hajjeyo.** (.) Nga ta, **liste s'a ra!** “**Well, explicitly, explicitly there are some points which were not explained correctly. No, no, really, we must be clear about it! That is, it's not an association, it's not an assembly , or something else. Because, somewhere, you have included that and that. And there is no list at all!**”

T12 : **Non, liste foo s'a ra!** “**No, any list at all!**”

T11 : **Ja handidi, j'ai réclamé ça.** (.) War har yane **liste** si hin ka hiraw a ra. (0.2) Wa bayndi boro ka ... mise ka ne hah ... **c'est-à-dire** mise foo ne hayadiyo' **déroulé** nda. (0.2) War har woo g'a ra, woo g'a ra ... **ce que** ... haya foo go dooti ka ne hah, yer si **considérer ga, mais ça peut être un probleme.** (0.2) Daadi do here, nda **financement** woo do here, **ça peut être un problème.** (0.2) **Mais** yer'o dam sanda ... **on fait semblant de ne pas considérer ça.** (.) **Attention!** (0.2) Yer **nombredi, peut-être** yer'o hin ka bow, yer'o hin ka jan ka bow. (0.2) **Mais, je crois que,** njorfudi, nda i hiraw misedi ka borodiyo kaa nda, hayadi'o **organisé**ndi. (.) Issa si nee hô , Abou si nee, i wane njorfu na sambandi. (0.2) **Donc, maintenant, je crois que** nda n'o ta **programmé** boro, n'o ta **progrmmé en fonction de ceux qui ont payé.** (0.2) **Donc, imprévu,** nda a kaa, **c'est que cela peut endommager la situation.** (0.4) Woo mo, **éclairci** ga borodiyo

se. (.) **Est-ce que** ni faham? (0.4) **Concernant** Ablo wane **idéedi** ... “Since that day **I have been clamouring it**, but you told me that there can not be any **list**. You have to make everyone know that ... **that is**, how things are going **to take place**. You said that you are going to include this and that ... **then** ... there is something we don’t **consider**, **but it can be a problem**. In terms of food, and in terms of **money**, **it can be a problem**. **But**, we pretend ... **we pretend not to consider that**. **Be careful!** Our **number may** vary, sometimes it can be more, sometimes it can be less. **But, I think** if we pay correctly the money as it should be, the thing will be **organised**. Today Issa hasn’t come, Abou also, they didn’t send any money. **So, now, I think that** if we have to **plan** the number of people for a meeting, we must **take into consideration those who had payed**. **So, if an unexpected one** comes, **that will do damage to the situation**. You have to **clarify** that also to everybody. **Do** you hear me? **As for** Ablo’s **idea ...**”

T7 : Woo, yer gay ka cii wooyo kur ciini. “We have already talked about all that.”

T11 : **Non**, batu! (0.2) **Concernant** Ablo wane **projetdi**, **c’est une très bonne idée**, **mais il est clair aussi**, a na ti haya nono ka ... **c’est-à-dire** ... **puisque** boreyo go yer ra ka hah ... hô akoydi, **par exemple Poker qui... qui n’est pas du tout dépendant de lui**, **c’est un chauffeur** ... **Ablo**, il est **guide**, il **n’est pas dépendant de lui**, à **tout moment il** ... Ay har hah war na har ga i se. (0.2) Ablo woo, a’hin ka koy à **tout moment**, **est-ce que tu vois**, a’hin ka yee kate. (0.2) Boreyo go yer ra ka, a g’a ra, nda i koy, i si yee kate mo. Woo mo war har ga? **Je veux parler clairement de Bekam**. (0.2) Bekam, nda a duu goy morayda nongu foo, nda a koy, **il va plus révenir ici que par occasion**. “No, wait! **As for** Ablo’s **proposal**, **it’s a good idea**, **but it’s clear also that** ... It’s not a problem that ... **that is** ... **because** there are some people among us who, **for example Poker**, who ... **who is not depending on himself**, he is a driver ... **Ablo**,

he is a guide, he is not depending on himself, at any moment he ... I want to notice that you didn't tell them about it. Ablo can move **at any time, you see**, and then he will be back. There are some people among us who, when they move, don't come back. Have you talked this also? **I want to speak specifically about Bekam.** If Bekam gets a job somewhere now, when he goes, **he will come here only from time to time.**"

T3 : Ma guna woodiyo k'a koy, guna woodiyo mo ka ta kaa. "Consider those who leave, consider also the new comers."

T11 : Ay har hah... "I said that ..."

T3 : Boroyo' koy, boroyo'kaa. "Some people leave, and some others come."

T11 : **Je voulais résumer, c'est tout!** (0.2) Ay har, Ablo wane ciinidi ga ... "**I wanted to summarize, that's all!** I said, concerning what Ablo has just said ..."

T1 : Wa nan a ma cii! "Let him speak!"

T11 : Ay har Ablo wane ciinidi ga, **vous avez tous ...** war har **c'est une bonne idée. (.)** **Vous avez accompagné sans autant éclaircir certaines choses.(0.2)** **Entre nous ici,** haya fooyo go dooti ka yer'o dam ka si boori. (.) Nda yer har yer mara, **bon,** a na ti ŋaadi se ne, wala hajje, **ça c'est une diplomatie. (0.2)** **Il faut éclaircir les choses. (0.2)** **Ah, en réalite il faut éclaircir les choses.** "I said, concerning what Ablo has just said, **you all have ...** you said that **it's a good idea. You have approved it without clarifying some points. All of us here present,** we are doing some things that are not good. If we said that we should meet not for food or something else, **that's a diplomatic way to speak. We have to clarify things. Ah, really things have to be clarified.**"

T7 : A cum! "He's right!"

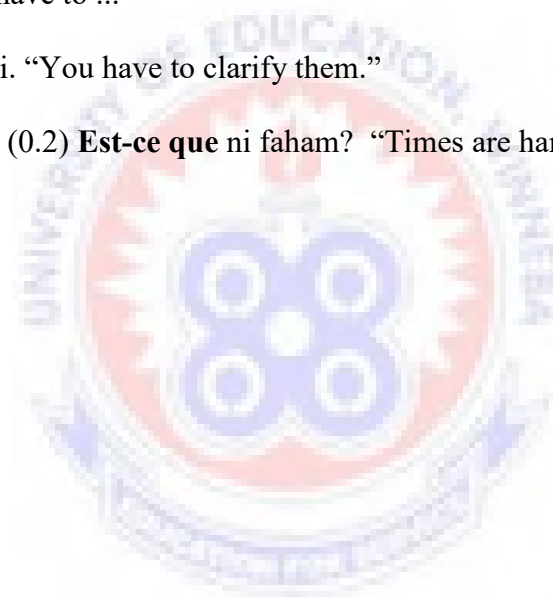
T11 : Yer ta **programmé.** (0.2) Yer **programmé** boro way cindi hinka ka **payé** nee njorfu. "We have **planned.** We have **planned** for twelve people who had payed here."

T3 : Yer **programmé** hay'ka bisa ga. “We have **planned** for more that.”

T11 : **Ecoute moi!** (.) Nda ye ta **programmé**, ye **programmé** wooyo nda **peut-être** borodiyo ka ye bay i se haya. (0.2) **S'il ya d'autres ... peut-être il peut y avoir dix personnes** ka yer jaatindi ga kaati, wala haya foo. (0.2) **C'est des imprévus!** (.) **Il faut être clair là-dessus.** (0.2) **Pointyo** go dooti ka kala war ma hajje ga da ... “**Listen!** If I have to **plan**, I will **plan** for these ones and **maybe** the people I know. If there are some others ... maybe there can be ten people that we have invited or something like that. **These are unexpected ones! You have to be clear about it.** There are some **points** which you have to ...”

T10 : War ma tar gi. “You have to clarify them.”

T11 : Haya si bara. (0.2) **Est-ce que** ni faham? “Times are hard. **Do** you understand?”



Appendix E: Transcription Symbols

¹⁵Table 15: Symbols used in the transcription of the Oral Corpus

Symbol	Meaning	Example
(.)	Short untimed pause	1B1 : Non! On est en 2012. (.) Mise foo n'o ... "No! We are in 2012. How do you ..."
(0.2)	Numbers indicate timed pause in seconds. In this case, 2 tenths of a second	1B1 : Aah, a ma kaa cotistion? (0.2) Ayyo, a boori. "Ah, is that for your subscription ? OK, fine."
()	Empty parentheses indicate that the transcriber was unable to get what was said	1B11 : Non! C'est bon! Nda () kur ay nda g'o koy kuboy. "All right! If () I'll play with him."
(())	Additional comments from the transcriber	1B2 : La tonne ((de ciment)) est à combien? "How much is a tonne ((of cement))?"
...	Interruption	2B2 : Lazone, n'ti fort ne a go fort mo ... "Lazone, he is not only smart but... "
[]	Start and end of overlapping speech	G5 : [Aziz, woo volume ka s'a ra?] "Aziz, does this have any volume control ?" G3 : [Cijin here mo war koy goy?] "Do you work by night?"
[...]	Material deliberately omitted	G13 : Lavieille beeroo ... [...] a mma hew, a ga meeri... "Lavieille's elder sister ... [...] she is haughty and bad-looking."
(h)	Laughter within speech	1B6 : Nga siibidi (h) "His pants ... (h)"
Heh heh	Voiced laughter	1B9 : Heh, hey! "Hey, hey!"
CAPITALS	Speech that is hearably louder than surrounding speech	T1 : Ni tangari! HUIT! "You're a liar! eight! "
Uhh hu	Breathy sound	1B1 : Uhh hu, yer ma koy! "Go on, let's go on!"
Ahh ha	Breathy sound	FT6 : Ahh ha! Ay t'ay guna telephoned a ga, a hime yane telephone k'ay bay ka may. "Ahh ha! I saw the phone with him, and it's very like the phone I used to have."
::	Colons within words show elongation of the prior sound. The more colons, the more elongation	T3 : Ay hase::y! "My uncle!"
" "	Inverted commas indicate the translation into English of the speech	FT8 : A' may un mois ka yer guna ga () "We saw him one month ago ()"

^{15*} The symbols used in the transcription of our data are based on the system of transcription developed by Gail Jefferson, and taken from Jefferson (1985, 2004), Potter and Wetherell (1987), Have (1999), Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998), Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001).

¹⁶Table16: The Alphabet of the Songhay Language

Letters	Corresponding sound in I.P.A	Examples in Songhay	Meaning in English
A	[a]	Askia	Askia
B	[b]	Bundu	Wood
C	[tʃ]	Cerkaw	Sorcerer
D	[d]	Deene	Tongue
E	[e]	Cere	Friend
F	[f]	Farikoy	Farmer
G	[g]	Gaabibi	Black person
H	[h]	Hari	Water
I	[i]	Isa	River
J	[dʒ]	Jiiri	Year
K	[k]	Kuuru-bibi	Black-skinned
L	[l]	Lolo	Street
M	[m]	Mee	Mouth
N	[n]	Nooru	Money
ŋ	[ŋ]	ŋaa	Mother
ɗ	[ɗ]	Soŋay	Songhay
O	[o]	Boro	Person
P	[p]	Poti	Pot
R	[r]	Bari	Horse
S	[s]	Saaray	Cemetery
š	[ʃ]	Šenni	Language/Speech
T	[t]	Tuuri	Tree
U	[u]	Hugu/Hu	Home
W	[w]	Wa	Milk
Y	[j]	Yagga	Nine (9)
Z	[z]	Zarma	Zarma
ž	[ʒ]	Žee	To swear

¹⁶ * In 1966 an expert meeting was held in Bamako, under the aegis of UNESCO, to elaborate and unify the alphabet of different African languages. From this conference, in Mali four languages considered as lingua-franca in western African, have been provided with an official alphabet by the decret n°85 PGRM du 26 Mai 1967 of the Republic of Mali: Bambara (or Bamanan), Songhay (or Soŋay), Fulani (or Fulfulde), and Tamasheq. The alphabet of the Songhay language consists of 27 letters, 22 consonants (b c d f g h j k l m n ŋ ŋ p r s š t w y ž and z) and 5 vowels (i u o a e). The Songhay consonants and vowels are doubled when long: adabba “animal”, yagga “nine”, jiiri “year”, guuru “iron”, boori “good”, gaani “danse”, deene “tongue”. The nasal quality is written with a tilde (^) above the syllable: fi “dark”, hêe “cry”, hû “take” (imperative), sohô “now”, hô “today”, cahâ “quick”, hâa “ask”.