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Editorial

La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* (RILLiCC) est une revue à comité de lecture en phase d'indexation recommandée par le Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur (CAMES). Elle est la revue du Laboratoire de Recherche en Langues, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation Anglophones (LaReLLiCCA) dont elle publie les résultats des recherches en lien avec la recherche et la pédagogie sur des orientations innovantes et stimulantes à la vie et vision améliorées de l'académie et de la société. La revue accepte les textes qui cadrent avec des enjeux épistémologiques et des problématiques actuels pour être au rendez-vous de la contribution à la résolution des problèmes contemporains.

RILLiCC met en éveil son lectorat par rapport aux défis académiques et sociaux qui se posent en Afrique et dans le monde en matière de science littéraire et des crises éthiques. Il est établi que les difficultés du vivre-ensemble sont fondées sur le radicalisme et l'extrémisme violents. En effet, ces crises et manifestations ne sont que des effets des causes cachées dans l'imaginaire qu'il faut (re)modeler au grand bonheur collectif. Comme il convient de le noter ici, un grand défi se pose aux chercheurs qui se doivent aujourd'hui d'être conscients que la science littéraire n'est pas rétribuée à sa juste valeur quand elle se voit habillée sous leurs yeux du mythe d'Albatros ou d'un cymbale sonore. L'idée qui se cache malheureusement derrière cette mythologie est que la littérature ne semble pas contribuer efficacement à la résolution des problèmes de société comme les sciences exactes. Dire que la recherche a une valeur est une chose, le prouver en est une autre. La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* à travers les activités du LaReLLiCCA entend faire bénéficier à son lectorat et à sa société cible, les retombées d'une recherche appliquée.

Le comité spécialisé « Lettres et Sciences Humaines » du Conseil Africain et Malgache pour l'Enseignement Supérieur (CAMES) recommande l'utilisation harmonisée des styles de rédaction et la présente revue s'inscrit dans cette logique directrice en adoptant le style APA.

L'orientation éditoriale de cette revue inscrit les résultats pragmatiques et novateurs des recherches sur fond social de médiation, d'inclusion et de réciprocité qui permettent de maîtriser les racines du mal et réaliser les objectifs du développement durable déclencheurs de paix partagée.

Lomé, le 20 octobre 2020.

Le directeur de publication,

Professeur Ataféï PEWISSI,

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Ligne éditoriale

Volume : La taille du manuscrit est comprise entre 4500 et 6000 mots.
Format: papier A4, Police: Times New Roman, Taille: 11,5, Interligne 1,15.

Ordre logique du texte

Un article doit être un tout cohérent. Les différents éléments de la structure doivent faire un tout cohérent avec le titre. Ainsi, tout texte soumis pour publication doit comporter:

- un titre en caractère d'imprimerie ; il doit être expressif et d'actualité, et ne doit pas excéder 24 mots ;
- un résumé en anglais-français, anglais-allemand, ou anglais-espagnol selon la langue utilisée pour rédiger l'article. Se limiter exclusivement à objectif/problématique, cadre théorique et méthodologique, et résultats. Aucun de ces résumés ne devra dépasser 150 mots ;
- des mots clés en français, en anglais, en allemand et en espagnol : entre 5 et 7 mots clés ;
- une introduction (un aperçu historique sur le sujet ou revue de la littérature en bref, une problématique, un cadre théorique et méthodologique, et une structure du travail) en 600 mots au maximum ;
- un développement dont les différents axes sont titrés. Il n'est autorisé que trois niveaux de titres. Pour le titrage, il est vivement recommandé d'utiliser les chiffres arabes ; les titres alphabétiques et alphanumériques ne sont pas acceptés ;
- une conclusion (rappel de la problématique, résumé très bref du travail réalisé, résultats obtenus, implémentation) en 400 mots au maximum ;
- liste des références : par ordre alphabétique des noms de familles des auteurs cités.

Références

Il n'est fait mention dans la liste de références que des sources effectivement utilisées (citées, paraphrasées, résumées) dans le texte de l'auteur. Pour leur présentation, la norme American Psychological Association (APA) ou références intégrées est exigée de tous les auteurs qui veulent faire publier leur texte dans la revue. Il est fait exigence aux auteurs de n'utiliser que la seule norme dans leur texte. Pour en savoir

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La gestion des citations :

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Résumé :

- ✓ Pour Pewissi (2017), le Womanisme transcende les cloisons du genre.
- ✓ Ourso (2013:12) trouve les voyelles qui débordent le cadre circonscrit comme des voyelles récalcitrantes.

Résumé ou paraphrase :

- ✓ Ourso (2013: 12) trouve les voyelles qui débordent le cadre circonscrit comme des voyelles récalcitrantes.

Exemple de référence

Pour un livre

Collin, H. P. (1988). *Dictionary of Government and Politics*. UK: Peter Collin Publishing.

Pour un article tiré d'un ouvrage collectif

Gill, W. (1998/1990). "Writing and Language: Making the Silence Speak." In Sheila Ruth, *Issues in Feminism: An Introduction to Women's Studies*. London: Mayfield Publishing Company, Fourth Edition. Pp. 151-176.

Utilisation de Ibid., op. cit, sic entre autres

Ibidem (Ibid.) intervient à partir de la deuxième note d'une référence

source citée. Ibid. est suivi du numéro de page si elle est différente de référence mère dont elle est consécutive. Exemple : ibid., ou ibidem, p. x.

Op. cit. signifie ‘la source pré-citée’. Il est utilisé quand, au lieu de deux références consécutives, une ou plusieurs sources sont intercalées. En ce moment, la deuxième des références consécutives exige l’usage de op. cit. suivi de la page si cette dernière diffère de la précédente.

Typographie

-La *Revue Internationale de Langue, Littérature, Culture et Civilisation* interdit tout soulignement et toute mise en gras des caractères ou des portions de textes.

-Les auteurs doivent respecter la typographie choisie concernant la ponctuation, les abréviations...

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Pour les textes contenant les tableaux, il est demandé aux auteurs de les numérotter en chiffres romains selon l’ordre de leur apparition dans le texte. Chaque tableau devra comporter un titre précis et une source propre. Par contre, les schémas et illustrations devront être numérotés en chiffres arabes et dans l’ordre d’apparition dans le texte.

La largeur des tableaux intégrés au travail doit être 10 cm maximum, format A4, orientation portrait.

Instruction et acceptation d’article

A partir du volume 2 de la présente édition, les dates de réception et d’acceptation des textes sont marquées, au niveau de chaque article. Deux (02) à trois (03) instructions sont obligatoires pour plus d’assurance de qualité.

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LINGUISTIQUE

Grammatical Issues in the Occurrence of Embedded Language Islands in Moba-French Code-Switching

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Abstract

This study aims to analyse the French language islands occurring in Moba-French bilingual multiswitches and find out the motivations for the occurrence of Embedded Language (EL) islands in bilingual speech. The methodology is based on data collection using interviews and participant-observation. The findings reveal that although the EL islands are in the exclusive regiment of the EL structure because of internal grammatical dependency, their internal relationship is not sufficient to overcome the resistance of the Matrix Language (ML). The latter still exerts maximal control as it is always active in the production of EL islands by assigning its system morphemes in VPs, NPs and PPs. Dealing with the motivations, the study indicates that, apart from the pragmatic reasons, the EL islands occur in bilingual speech due to structural mismatch and also the proficiency attained in the EL.

Keywords: code-switching, Matrix Language, Embedded Language, structural congruency, EL island.

Résumé

Cette étude vise à analyser les enclaves du français qui se produisent dans les alternances codiques bilingues moba-français et à découvrir les raisons qui sous-tendent la production des enclaves linguistiques de l'EL dans le parler bilingue. La méthodologie est basée sur la collecte de données à travers les entretiens et l'observation participante. Les résultats révèlent que bien que les enclaves linguistiques intégrées soient dans le régiment exclusif de la structure de l'EL en raison de leur dépendance grammaticale interne, cette relation interne n'est pas suffisante pour inhiber la résistance du ML. Cette dernière exerce toujours un contrôle maximal et est toujours active dans la production des enclaves linguistiques de l'EL en leur affectant ses morphèmes systèmes dans les syntagmes nominales, verbales et prépositionnelles. S'agissant des raisons, l'étude révèle que, outre les raisons pragmatiques, les enclaves linguistiques de l'EL apparaissent dans le parler bilingue en

raison des disparités syntaxiques et aussi de la compétence acquise dans l'EL.

Mots clés : alternance codique, langue matricielle, langue enchâssée, disparité syntaxique, enclave linguistique de l'EL.

Introduction

One of the most exhibited phenomena in bilingual interactions is code-switching (CS henceforth). Referred to as a hybrid code of the bilinguals (Maldja, 2018), CS is the alternate use of at least two languages or varieties in the same sentence. This bilingual code requires a great deal of competence at least in one of the participating languages since the grammars of two languages are in contact in the same clause. However, there is unequal distribution of the two languages in mixed constituents. Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) stress this asymmetry and label the two languages 'host code' and 'guest code'. Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) presents a definition of code-switching in which she labels the host code (dominant language) the Matrix Language (ML) and the other language (guest code) the Embedded Language (EL). For her, code-switching is "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton (1997, p. 3)). The ML, also known as the base language (Poplack, 1988) is the language that sets the morphosyntactic structure that is the main language in code-switching, whereas the EL provides only content morphemes that are inserted into the grammatical slots of the dominant language (ML). Such insertions may be single or more, morphologically coded with the ML system morphemes or not. The EL structure is only seen in EL islands where the whole phrase projection is under the regiment of the EL. Myers-Scotton (2002, p. 9) explains this asymmetry as follows: "Within the bilingual clause framed by the Matrix language, Embedded Language structures appear only in Embedded Language Islands." Following Myers-Scotton's postulate, embedded language islands always show internal dependency in accordance with the EL grammar. This postulate does not apply to all instances of mix constituents. The corpus-based analysis of Moba-French bilinguals' data reveals that the Moba language is still active in the production of the French EL islands although they show internal

dependency. The objectives of this study are twofold and aim to (1) examine the behaviours of the EL islands in Moba-French CS and (2) determine the reasons why bilinguals in general and Moba-French bilinguals in particular produce EL islands in their interactions.

1. Basic syntax of French and Moba

According to Gledhill (2003, p. 4), “syntax is the study of how words and phrases combine to form meaningful units in a language.” Syntax deals with the way words are structured at surface level in a language. My concern in this paper is not to give a complete illustration of word order in French and Moba but to familiarize the readers with some basics related to the word order of the two languages relevant to the study, especially the grammatical implications for the occurrence of EL islands.

1.1 Word order in French

French is one of the Romance languages spoken in West Africa, especially in ex colonial countries like Togo. Today, it coexists with Togolese languages across many domains of language use. Many Togolese are bilingual in a local language and French because it is the official language mainly used in education and administration.

Basically, French has a SVO (subject, verb, object) order. However, there may be other types of word order in other constructions like imperatives with VO order. It is a language where nouns and adjectives are coded for gender, and number features are overtly marked. A basic NP can consist of only one noun. Complex NPs may contain a determiner, a noun, an adjectival phrase (AdjP) and a prepositional phrase (PP) as in the example below.

1. Les grand-e-s commerçant-e-s choyé-e-s de la ville
 Det big-Agr-Pl trader-Agr-Pl pamper-Agr-Pl Prep Det town
 ‘The pampered big traders of the city’²

² The abbreviations in this paper are as follow: Det Determiner, Sg Singular, Pl Plural, Agr Agreement, Prep Preposition, Dem Demonstrative pronoun, Foc Focus

2. J'ai mangé une pomme verte vs. J'ai une gros-se
 pomme dans ma main
 1Sg.have eat Det apple green 1Sg.have Det big-Agr
 apple Prep. 1Sg hand
 'I ate a green apple.' 'I have a big apple in
 my hand.'

The NP in (1) consists of a determiner, an AdjP and a PP. Gender is marked on both the noun and the adjectives. In this example, there are two adjectives occurring before and after the noun.

The above examples illustrate two main positions of adjectives in an NP in French. Some adjectives occur pre-nominally and others post noun. In French, all attributive adjectives agree with their head noun while predicative adjectives agree with the subjects.

Adjectives in French vary in meaning when they are used before or after the noun; that is the same adjective used pre or postnominally can have different meanings. For example, the meaning in "*un très grand homme*" is different from "*un homme très grand*". In the first case, the adjective "*grand*" is used before the noun and means the morale value of the person. In the second expression, "*grand*" relates to the physical aspect of the person as a big person. Adjectives used before the nouns connote a subjective meaning whilst postnominal adjectives indicate objectivity, that is literal meaning.

In general, adjectives in French occur after the noun they modify in the attributive use. There are some other adjectives that occur prenominally. Most of these adjectives are monosyllabic, or short adjectives. According to Ludvíková (2014), four factors influence the positioning of adjectives in French. Such factors are syntactic, morphological, semantic and rhythmic.

PPs are headed by prepositions. A PP can take in addition to a preposition, other elements such as AdjP and NP.

marker, Prt Particle, PostP Posposition, ACC Accusative, Pst Past tense, QP Question particle, Fut Future tense, Inf Infinitive, Pro Pronoun.

3. Mon école est situé-e derrière le petit marché de Sokode
 1Sg school be locate-Agr behind Det mosque principal Prep
 Sokodé
 ‘My school is situated behind the small market of Sokode.’

In this example, the PP consists of a preposition as the head of the phrase plus another NP and PP. This denotes a complex NP and the other elements that can go together.

1.2 Word order in Moba

Moba is one of the gur tonal languages spoken in the northern part of Togo. It belongs to a subset of Oti-volta languages in Niger Congo language phylum (Manessy 1975). Moba has five varieties distributed throughout the savannah region and also spoken in the north of Ghana (Gangue, 2008). In terms of demographics, Moba is the fourth largest language in Togo among the 33 languages (Gblem-Poidi and Kantchoa, 2018).

Moba has a basic word order similar to that of French, that is, subject + verb + object (SVO). The differences in terms of word order are exhibited in the internal structure of NPs, VPs, AdjPs and PPs. NPs can contain one single noun or may take more elements including AdjPs and PPs. Moba has a fixed ordering of adjectives. Consider the following examples.

4. sipààn gbèŋ-a banle bààl sìŋaaɔg nè
 lady big-Pl two come morning Dem
 “Two big ladies came this morning”
5. t na gùò duo-pien-ì kuá-ì
 1Pl mother breed pig-white-Pl only-Foc
 “Our mother breeds white pigs only.”

The data above show the use of adjectives in Moba. In (4), the adjective is used attributively whereas in 5, the adjective occurs in the predicate. In both cases, adjectives occur after the nouns they modify. Similar to French, adjectives in Moba take plural morphemes if the noun they follow is plural. Contrary to French, the plural morpheme is not marked

on both the noun and the adjective when they occur together in Moba. Only adjectives bear the plural marker when they occur with plural nouns in Moba. Gender agreement does not matter in Moba. This does not mean that Moba is a genderless language but only natural gender is mostly distributed in Moba.

PPs are treated in Moba not as PPs but postpositional phrases since prepositions occur last. This suggests that Moba has postpositions while French has prepositions.

6. Sampol gán lígl-ì sɔnu-pò
 Sampol find money-Pl road-PostP
 “Sampol found money on the road.”
7. n portable ba nyúm níng
 1Sg mobile phone fall water PostP
 “My mobile phone fell down in water.”

The above examples illustrate the occurrence of postpositions in Moba. While French and other languages like English will position prepositions before nouns, they rather occur head first in Moba. When the two languages come together in a single clause, there are some morphosyntactic implications.

2. Overview of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model

The MLF model is one of the competing theories used to analyse the structural implications of classic code-switching and was introduced by Myers-Scotton’s (1993b) researches on Swahili-English code-switching. It comes from psycholinguistic research on speech production (Bock, 1991; Garrett, 1990; Levelt, 1989, 1992) in monolinguals and bilingual speakers. The model has been refined later in her later works (Myers-Scotton, 2013; Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; 2017). The model draws its rationale from the fact that the languages or varieties used in code-switching have unequal distribution of morpheme types. This difference in morphemes distribution is often raised in literature regarding the participation of the languages in every instance of CS. The dominant language is labelled the ML and the other one is the EL. It is the language

that has the overall control in the sentence. The ML plays the dominant role in language production and its grammar sets the morphosyntactic frame of the CS utterances (Chun, 2001). The EL is the marked choice of the speaker in conversation. It is known as the guest code as opposed to the host code in language alternation (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980) and plays lesser role compared to the ML.

At the beginning, the first unit of analysis of the MLF model was discourse. This received a lot of criticism and was later refined in Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) as CP (projection of complementizer). CP is considered as a clause and a complex sentence can contain two or more CPs. In the sentence [“Paman did not go to work yesterday] [because he was on paternity leave”], there are two CPs. Then, CS takes place within CPs although we may have other types of CS (intersentential and tag switching). In this study, the CP is analysed because the grammars of the two languages used in any discussion are in contact in CPs only (Myers-Scotton, 2001) as illustrated in the following data. This type of CS exhibits intrasentential CS because the switching takes place within the clause and not at clause boundary. In the following examples and hereafter, all the EL islands are in bold. Other single inserted elements are in italics, leaving Moba only in normal case.

8. t nà sá t yà bùòl **semaine prochaine**-à
 1Pl mother go 1Pl grandmother PostP week next-Foc
- sinon* n bì sa *organisé* t *famille* tíntáán-à
 otherwise 1sg Fut Prt organise 1Pl family meeting-Foc
 ‘Our mother goes to our grandmother’s next week otherwise I
 would organize our family meeting.’

In this example consisting of two CPs, the unit of analysis is the CP and not the whole sentence because CS takes place within the CPs.

The MLF model offers two criteria in language distinction in CS. The first criterion is the morpheme order principle. It states that, in mixed constituents, the order of the morphemes at surface level will be provided by one language and this language is the ML. The second criterion, known as the system morpheme principle stipulates that “in ML + EL

constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b, p. 83; 2002, p. 59). Following the two postulates, the ML is the unmarked code in conversation and provides (1) all the system morphemes that have grammatical functions external to their head constituents and also (2) sets word order. The EL provides only content morphemes.

9. *problème* bɪdbɪd nè *retardé* tɪm bɔciɛn t tuɔn-a níng
 problems small.RED Dem delay 1Pl lot 1Pl work-Pl Prep
 ‘These small problems slow down our work.’
10. t bu *discuté*-l **en group de cinq**-ì
 1Pl Fut. discuss-ACC Prep group Prep. five-Foc
 ‘We will discuss that in group of five.’

In the above data consisting of Moba and French morphemes, the syntactic order is that of Moba. The inserted word (*probleme*) follows the noun phrase order of Moba. In Moba, all adjectives occurring attributively always follow the noun they modify whereas this is not the case in French which has some slight flexible positioning of adjectives. Here, *problème* is modified by ‘bɪdbɪd’ making French the EL according to the morpheme order principle.

In (10), the French constituents occur with the Moba inflections *bu*, *l*, and *i*. This illustrates the system morpheme principle which states that all system morphemes which have grammatical function external to their head constituents will come from one language and this language is the ML. However, insertions consisting entirely of EL morphemes and show internal dependency as *en groupe de cinq* in (10) are known as EL islands. They are accessed as single lexical unit according to Backus (2003).

2.1 Note on Embedded Language islands

In classic CS, there are two main languages: ML and EL. ML is the unmarked code of the conversation in which intrasentential CS occurs (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 1995) and the EL is the inserted language into

the ML frame. Each participating language in CS has islands where phrasal elements show grammatical dependency relationship. An EL island is a phrase consisting entirely of embedded language morphemes. This phrase exhibits internal grammatical dependency because it retains the EL word order with regard to hierarchical structure. EL islands are considered as prime examples of CS because they are not morphologically integrated in the base language and also meet the well-formedness condition in the EL (Khan et al., 2022). They function as single units of analysis within the ML frame and that is why Myers-Scotton (1993b) considers single word switch as CS. EL islands are full phrases. Myers-Scotton (2006) identifies three features of EL islands in CS. The first feature is that they are phrases occurring within a bilingual clause. The second one deals with their structural dependency relationship and this dependency makes them meet the well-formedness condition of the EL. They function as adjunct playing the role of adverbial. The third feature considers EL islands to be collocations. Collocations are made up of two or more words and they frequently occur together. Some EL islands are more set than simple collocations and are referred to as formulaic expressions. They are fixed phrases and do not vary. Most of the formulaic expressions are idioms. In the French sentence “Palabé a du pain sur la planche”, the idiom is “*a* (from *avoir* ‘have’) *du pain sur la planche*” meaning to have a lot to do. This expression, while used in mix utterances stands as an island and is treated as a single unit.

3. Methodology

Two main techniques were used to collect the data for this study. The first procedure was interviews. In total, 15 fluent Moba-French bilinguals were interviewed with an approximate time of 20 minutes per interview. This technique allowed me to gather many instances of CS utterances. The second data collection procedure was carried out via participant-observation. This yielded many data. As indicated by Labov (1972, p. 209) “the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.” This technique

implies observing anonymously people in their various speech activities without being noticed and then write down any linguistic variable under investigation. The disadvantage of this technique is the observer paradox. However, the observer paradox was mitigated by the fact that the informants were not tape-recorded and also did not realise that their mix utterances were the object of study. Additionally, my presence as a native speaker of the same speech community was an asset. The purpose was to obtain data as they occur naturally. As Milroy & Gordon (2003) observe, participant-observation is an efficient tool for collecting sociolinguistic data because the “investigator seeks to elicit a set word or phrase in entirely naturalistic conditions.”

All the data gathered were transcribed orthographically for the purpose of the analysis. In the two techniques, I used only relevant data to illustrate the occurrence of EL islands in speech and their behaviour as inserted in the grammatical frame of Moba. The qualitative analysis permitted to figure out the reasons why Moba-French bilinguals recourse to EL islands in their mix utterances. The transcription of the data followed a three-layer process: the first layer represents the data elicited from the informants, the second layer represents the gloss level and the third one is the translation of the data. After the transcription, the data was sorted out according to the purpose of the study.

4. Results and discussion

In this part, I present the behaviours of the EL islands as occurring in the grammatical slots of the ML and the motivations for the production of these EL islands in the everyday casual and careful interactions of bilinguals.

4.1 Grammatical implications in the occurrence of EL islands

This section deals with the French EL islands occurring in the grammatical frame of Moba, the ML in all the instances of CS in this study. EL islands are said to exhibit the morphosyntax of the EL. However, their occurrence in Moba shows that at production level, the

ML is still active as it assigns them with its system morphemes, making them dependent regardless of their structural congruency to the EL. This is in line with what has been observed so far in a Western and an African language pairs where the African language plays the role of the ML and the European one as the EL (Essizewa 2007). The resistance of the ML is seen at different levels, whether plural marking, tense assignment or focus construction.

4.1.1 Plural marking

The ML still exerts maximal control on the EL islands although they show internal dependency. The persistence of Moba is seen through the marking of its plural morpheme on the nouns in EL islands.

11. l nyɔ́gú móg **effet-s indésirable-s-nbá**
 Det drug have effect-Pl unwanted-Pl-Pl
 ‘That drug has some side effects.’

12. T sa fít kǎān **point-s foc-aux-nbá** ban ki tién tím
 village nouvelle-s-nba
 1Pl Prt can establish point-Pl focal-Pl-Pl 3Pl Prt give 3Pl
 village news-Pl-Pl
 ‘We can choose some focal points who will give us the village
 news.’

The examples above illustrate the occurrence of French EL islands in Moba. Following the two principles of the MLF model (Morphemes order principle and system morpheme principle), Moba is the ML. The EL islands *effets indésirables* and *points focaux* occur with the Moba plural morphemes. These islands meet the well-formedness condition of the EL but the ML still projects its plural morpheme ‘nba’ to these phrases by modifying the morphosyntactic patterns of the islands and making the EL island elements incorporated into the ML. As a matter of fact, the internal dependency relation of the EL islands elements is not sufficient enough to inhibit the resistance of the ML in CS.

The phenomenon of double morphology (Bokamba, 1988) is stressed in (11) and (12) where Moba assigns its plural morpheme although the

island occurs already with the French plural morpheme. This can be explained by the fact that these islands denote a formulaic string of words (Khan et al., 2022).

For a phrase to be considered an island in a given language, it has to consist of at least two morphemes. When a phrase does not conform to the syntactic order posited by a given language, this phrase cannot be considered an island. In (12), the phrase *village nouvelles* is not an island because it does not respect the syntactic order of French. This construction is typical of Moba and the phrase is syntactically intergraded although it appears to be an insertion from French. This evidences the fact that EL can lose its structure in mix utterances and then making one language having the overall control in the projection of the mix CP.

4.1.2 Tense assignment in EL islands

The resistance of the ML in EL islands is also observed at the level of VPs forming the French EL islands in Moba-French CS.

13. Yi daan **se rencontrer dimanche** daal-í ?
2Pl Pst. Pro meet.Inf Sunday day-QP
'Did you meet on Sunday?'
14. T bu **se limiter** t zone ninj kuá-ε
1Pl Fut Pro limit.Inf 1Pl zone PostP alone-Part.
'We will limit only in our zone.'

Here again the ML is Moba although it seems to have contributed with less morphemes. The structure in this sentence is framed by the ML with its question particle marked at the end of the sentence in (13). In Moba, calling the name of the day is not enough to talk about that day. The speaker has to call the name of the day and add again the word 'day'. This is illustrated in this example where the speaker adds 'day' (daal) to *dimanche* and it reads the 'day of Sunday' which is a typical way of saying it in Moba. The French EL island *se rencontrer dimanche* occurs with the Moba past tense marker. In Moba, tense marking morphemes are mostly separated from the verb. That is the reason why the past tense marker in (13) and the future tense marker in (14) occur independently

from the verbs. However, in French the future tense is generally marked on the verb. Some past tenses are marked on the verb while others occur as separate morphemes from the verbs in French.

4.1.3 Focus constructions

Another French EL islands where the ML is still active at word production level is focus constructions. Focus, according to Ameka (1992, p. 2), is “a choice the speaker makes with respect to the piece of information that she/he wants to present to the addressee as the most salient” (cited in Essizewa, 2011). There are many forms of focus constructions in Moba, but here I want to show how the ML is still active in the production of EL islands through the marking of its focus morpheme on the EL island noun. Focus is marked morphologically with the particle “i” depending on the variety of the inserted nouns. Consider the following examples.

15. **pour le moment, n dá géré une classe d'enfant-i**
 Prep Det moment 1Sg Prt. manage Det class Det.child-Foc
 ‘It is Kindergarten I am taking care of for the mean time.’

16. **t bu travailler en group-i**
 1Pl Fut work.Inf Pep group-Foc
 ‘It is in group that we will work.’

In the above examples, the Moba focus morpheme is marked on the French nouns to signal the presence of the ML in EL islands although the elements exhibit internal dependency relationship. The focus morpheme *i* is marked on the nouns. These islands are preceded by another particle *da* marking the focus in (15) and *bu* standing for the future marker in (16). These morphosyntactic patterns align with Myers-Scotton’s (2005, p. 16) who indicates that “languages are not citadels of such rigid morphosyntactic structures as many have thought. Instead, as long as those features that are critical to a specific language are realised, morphosyntactic patterns can be modified.”

4.2 Motivations for the occurrence of EL islands

Languages, in contact, “color one another” (Kamwangamalu, 2000) in different ways. One of the modes of this “interlingual contagion” (Haugen, 1972) resulting from language contact is CS. It was reported by speakers to span from an imperfect mastery of the two languages (Grosjean, 1982). But today, CS has been seen as enriching the bilingual mode of communication style rather than impoverishing it (Essizewa, 2007).

Many researches have been conducted on the motivation behind the occurrence of CS in bilingual speeches. Some of these studies approach it from psycholinguistic perspective (Kroll and Stewart, 1994; Heredia and Altarriba, 2001; Riehl, 2005; Belyayeva, 2009). Other studies view CS from sociolinguistic perspective (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Auer, 1984; Bentahila, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Mahsain, 2014). This study focuses on the syntactic and sociolinguistic aspects of CS, especially on the grammatical implications in the occurrence of EL islands and the rationale behind their occurrence in CS. For an EL island to occur, it requires some degree of competence in the second language because, although treated as a single unit of entry, in essence, it is more than that. For any speaker to produce a phrase consisting entirely of one language elements suggests the speaker is fluent in that language. All the informants interviewed for the study are fluent and this fluency was exhibited in their alternate use of the two languages without producing any ungrammatical combination.

Today, many bilingual speakers consider the second language as an additional style (Myers-Scotton, 2005). Saying something in one language rather than the other has an impact in the conversational style of bilingual speakers because this allows them to convey their intent. This suggests that CS takes into account semantic, social, psychological and pragmatic realities because these realities are better expressed in two or more languages.

The analysis of the Moba-French corpus-based bilingual data reveals three main reasons why bilinguals produce EL islands in their careful and casual interactions.

One of the motivations why bilinguals recourse to EL islands in their speech production is for pragmatic reason. People code-switch in order to achieve better their communicative intents. Some EL islands cannot be better expressed in the ML; paraphrasing them will lose their pragmatic force. As a matter of fact, speakers produce those entire multiword phrases in the EL to give the same ‘pragmatic force’ (Myers-Scotton, 2006) as expressed in the EL.

17. u tié **technicien de surface**-ì hotel-n nìnn
 3Sg be technicien Prep surface-Foc hotel-Prt PostP
 ‘He/she is a cleaner in a hotel.’

18. dinne b suól-ó **en flagrant délit**-ì
 today 1pl catch-ACC Prep. flagrant offence-Foc.
 ‘Today, he was caught red handed.’

In the above examples, *technicien de surface* and *en flagrant délit* are formulaic EL islands because they are fixed phrases with internal structures that cannot be altered. Switching between the elements of these islands will yield ungrammatical combinations. These islands do have their equivalents or can be expressed in Moba, but they are better expressed as switches with their pragmatic or semantic impact. Here, since the speakers share the same language repertoire with some degree of fluency, they prefer producing these islands in EL to signal that they really mean what they say; this justifies the verbatim use of these expressions while speaking another language. As pointed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, p. 57), “speakers do not use language in the way they do simply because of their social identities or because of other situational factors. Rather, they exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature.”

Another motivation for the use of EL islands in CS is the structural mismatch between the languages involved in CS. Researches in CS focus much on the structural implication of two languages used in mixed

utterances. The results revealed that one of the participating languages provides the syntax at surface level in CPs and this language is considered the dominant language in CS. What happens if the speaker switches to a word which shows structural incongruence with the ML? These conflicting sites where switching is impossible between the two languages trigger the production of EL islands.

19. wón n wùn cénd n **ancien-s camarade-s de classe**-nbá
Wólǵ pò

today 1Sg Pst meet 1Sg old-Pl comrade-Pl Prep class-Pl
Wolǵ PostP

‘I met my old classmates in Wolǵ yesterday.’

20. a yi saan **tout droit**, a bu là l jaandiòǵ à **gauche**
santiid-i buòl

2Sg prt go whole straight 2Sg Fut. see Dem. Church Prep. left
mango.tree-Pl PostP

‘If you go straight, you will see that church on your left under the mango trees.’

In (19) and (20), the morphemes that trigger the occurrence of the EL islands are the adjectives *anciens* and *tout*. French positions its adjectives before and after the noun in an NP. In Moba, all attributive adjectives occur after the noun they modify in an NP. Then, at word processing, once an adjective is accessed first in mix utterances, the whole projection has to be completed in the EL therefore producing an EL island. A switch between French nouns and adjectives and Moba nouns and adjectives is possible but when French adjective is accessed first, Moba noun cannot occur following the adjective in that NP. The reverse is possible since Moba positions adjectives postnominally. In the illustrations above, switching is not possible and the speaker has to finish the processing in the EL, therefore producing an EL island.

Structural incongruency is also observed in the production of pronominals and prepositions.

21. juo a **se lamenter** fám-ì. C’est déjà fait
man 2Sg Pro bemoan nothing-Prt Dem.be already do

‘Man, you are bemoaning for nothing. It is already done.’

22. n kan fit **s’apitoyer** **sur leur sort** yogkul, bán ki gbà
 1Sg Neg can Pro.fell.sorry over 3Pl fate any.time; 3Pl Prt
 manage

‘I cannot feel sorry for them all the time. They have to manage.’

In these examples, the trigger for the occurrence of the French EL island is the pronominal *se* or *s’*. Whenever this pronoun is accessed at word retrieval in language alternation, the whole phrase has to be entirely produced in the EL therefore producing an EL island. A switch is not possible between the pronoun and the verb in the two cases. However, there can be a switch between the verb *apitoyer* in (22) and *sur leur sort*.

Prepositions also trigger the production of EL islands in Moba-French mix constituents. They are used before a noun or a pronoun to show place, time or position.

23. cénd-n **en face de la pharmacie**
 meet-1Sg Prep before Prep Det pharmacy
 ‘Meet me in front of the pharmacy.’

24. n ɲapuò dakuòd buòl be à **côté de** Bar la Collin-ì
 1Sg wife drink.sell PostP be Prep side Prep bar Det Collin-
 Foc
 ‘My wife’s local drink selling place is next to Bar la Colline.’

The prepositions *en* and *à* in (23) and (24) respectively are the triggers of the production of the entire phrase. Contrary to French, Moba has only postpositions. So, if the preposition is produced first by a speaker, a switch between it and a noun or pronoun will not be possible. Therefore, speakers have to produce the entire phrase in the EL.

EL islands are complex phrases treated as single units in CS. Their use in CS shows that the speaker is competent in the EL. Based on that, I argue that proficiency in the EL is also another factor which favours the occurrence of EL islands in bilingual speech. Higher proficiency in the second language leads often the speakers to feel comfortable in that language and therefore produce EL islands in their mix utterances.

Conclusion

This study has provided some insights into the occurrence of EL islands in Moba-French CS, a hybrid code used by bilinguals in their communication. The purpose was to investigate the behaviours of the French EL islands as they occur naturally in the interactions of Moba-French bilinguals. The study has shown that in classic CS, the use of the EL islands is not exempt from the assignment of the ML system morphemes. In all the switch instances, the internal structures of the EL islands have always followed the syntactic relations of the EL. However, the occurrence of these EL islands have not proved themselves to be sufficient to inhibit the production of the ML which continues to play a significant role in CS. At word processing, and contrary to the prediction of the MLF model that all the content and system morphemes come from the EL in bilingual clause, the results of the study have shown that when the EL island is projected completely, the frame-building of the ML is not inhibited. The ML still exerts maximal control at morphological level over the EL islands by assigning its system morphemes before and after these phrases. Counterexamples in Moba-French bilingual clauses show that the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme Principles still apply. My study has shown that contrast to African-European studies on CS, in Moba-French CS the EL islands take the ML affixes.

The findings have revealed that the production of EL islands is motivated by several reasons. Apart from the pragmatic force conveyed by these islands, their occurrence in bilingual casual and careful conversations is also grammatically conditioned and are triggered by prepositions, pronominals and adjectives. In Moba, many of these multiword switches occur in areas where there are conflicting sites between the two languages, i.e. the switch is not possible in these slots. Another reason explaining the occurrence of the EL islands is the fluency attained in the EL because the production of these multiword expressions requires some grammatical competence and performance in the EL.

The level of activation of the morphemes during language production in bilingual brain is complex as they raise the problem of word processing. Further researches especially in psycholinguistics can delve deeper into

the production of these islands to confirm if they are really accessed as single unit or complex components.

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