

Code-switching Between Structural and Sociolinguistic Perspectives

linguae & litterae

Publications of the School of Language & Literature
Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies

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Volume 43

Code-switching Between Structural and Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Edited by
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DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-034354-0
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-034687-9
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-038394-2
ISSN 1869-7054

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2015 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Munich/Boston
Typesetting: Meta Systems Publishing & Printservices GmbH, Wustermark
Printing and binding: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
♻️ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com



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Acknowledgements

We are grateful for the financial and logistic support of the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS) at the University of Freiburg (Germany) which afforded the two editors the opportunity to hold the workshop *Code-switching at the crossroads between structural and sociolinguistic perspectives* during a fellowship in 2012, where the idea for the present volume was conceived. We are particularly indebted to Peter Auer, at the time director of FRIAS, as well as his staff who made the workshop and the realization of this volume possible.

A note of thanks also goes to the contributors to this volume who were exemplary in their collaboration with us editors, and for their timely delivery of revisions. We are also grateful to Pieter Muysken whose support via the “Traces of Contact” project of the Centre for Languages Studies of the University of Nijmegen was crucial for the two editors.

June 2014

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Elusive or self-evident? Looking for common ground in approaches to code-switching

1 Social factors in the study of code-switching

The study of code-switching has been undertaken from three distinct perspectives: linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. The linguistic perspective has been concerned with the search for universal grammatical constraints to code-switching. The psycholinguistic perspective has focused on how bilinguals' linguistic systems are stored and accessed in the cognitive system. Finally, the sociolinguistic perspective has paid attention to the social motivations behind code-switching. The methodologies employed in all three cases range from observation in naturalistic settings, more associated with the sociolinguistic perspective, to experimental elicitation, more associated with the psycholinguistic perspective. The linguistic perspective, in turn, does not necessarily identify explicitly with any methodology for data extraction. A need for bringing together these three perspectives has been increasingly felt, giving rise to a few multidisciplinary overviews of code-switching studies, among which the most recent is an edited volume by Isurin et al. (2009).

The present volume emphasizes commonalities of approaches to code-switching. Despite the theoretically and methodologically eclectic character of code-switching studies, it seems feasible to bring together various approaches to code-switching spanning all three perspectives as long as they meet the criterion of allowing for social explanations. This is the point of view that we took while editing this volume. This volume also seeks to widen the empirical basis of the study of code-switching by including a richly diverse range of contact settings encompassing countries such as Cameroon, Hong Kong, Suriname, Burkina Faso, Dutch Antilles, French Guiana, Netherlands, Papua New Guinea, United Kingdom, South Africa, Luxembourg and Australia, and using primary data from languages representing a broad variety of linguistic types and affiliations (Niger-Congo, Sinitic, Germanic, Indic, Austronesian, Pama-Nyungan, Celtic, as well as Afro-Caribbean and Pacific English-lexifier Creoles and Mixed Languages).

Capturing a phenomenon as old as bilingualism itself, the term code-switching was originally coined by Vogt (1954) in his review of Weinreich's

seminal work *Language in Contact* (1953). However, it is only from the 1970s onwards that code-switching began to receive sustained attention as an independent topic of study. As such, it has been the subject of a variety of scholarly perspectives, rooted in different theoretical outlooks, relying on different methodologies, and pursuing different goals. Against this eclectic background, it should be little wonder that code-switching has been given quite a few distinct – not to say contradictory – definitions. To complicate matters, it has been regularly set off against another concept, namely code-mixing – which again has been given very different definitions. For example, whereas in Muysken's view code-switching refers to 'the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event', code-mixing refers to 'all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence' (Muysken 2000: 1). By contrast, Bentahila and Davies (1983: 302) defined code-switching as the outcome of 'mixing (...) two codes together to produce something which might itself be called a third code'. The notion of a code defined communicatively rather than structurally underlies conversational perspectives on code-switching, which propose a distinctive set of definitions for code-switching and code-mixing. In the perspective taken by Auer (1998, 1999), 'code-mixing' (or 'language mixing') is opposed to 'code-switching' (or 'language alternation') on the ground of the degrees of pragmatic salience of structural switch points. Whereas the pragmatic salience of structural switch points is relatively low in code-mixing/language mixing – to the point that structurally distinguishable codes are not communicatively distinguishable, it is conversely relatively high in code-switching/language alternation, whereby speakers show awareness of alternating between two structurally distinguishable codes.

As a whole, this present volume deals with code-switching as conceived of in the broadest terms. Hence we use 'code-switching' as a generic term transcending the occasionally perceived opposition between code-switching and code-mixing, while potentially subsuming all definitions, both grammatical and conversational, that code-switching and code-mixing have been given. This implies that we provisionally subsume in the term 'code-switching' both the communicative and structural definitions of 'code', leaving it to individual authors in this volume to specify which of the two definitions is applicable within the framework of their respective contributions.

Giving centre stage to the social dimension of code-switching perhaps does justice to its historical beginnings as a topic of systematic study. Beyond Weinreich, historical overviews of the study of code-switching usually locate these beginnings in the research undertaken by Blom and Gumperz (1972) on the social motivations behind code-switching, producing the first conversational

typology of code-switching in the form of a distinction between ‘situational’ and ‘metaphorical code-switching’. Under the influence of Dell Hymes’ *Ethnography of Communication* (1972) as well as of Conversation Analysis as developed by Sacks et al. (1974), Gumperz (1980, 1982) subsequently went on to lay the foundations for a descriptive framework of social motivations behind code-switching behaviours observed in naturally occurring conversations. A defining factor in the maturing of Interactional Sociolinguistics – as his framework may be referred to – was its opposition to descriptive frameworks giving centre stage to the assumed social indexicality of code-switching. Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (MM) in particular (1993b) sought to provide an account of code-switching based on the assumption of one-to-one relationships between specific languages and specific social meanings. The notion of ‘language’ equating ‘code’ encapsulated in the concept of code-switching has been questioned increasingly, especially in the face of intensive and seemingly unconscious code-switching in certain settings such as in particular in the post-colonial world (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998). As a result, the idea that structurally identifiable code-switching patterns can constitute codes in their own right came to be reflected in the terminological apparatus used for describing code-switching. We will see that the distinction proposed by Auer (1998, 1999) between code-mixing (or ‘language mixing’) as a code in its own right and what he calls ‘language alternation’, in which social indexicality may be a factor alongside interaction-internal factors, is more or less directly relevant to describing phenomena that most contributions in this volume take an interest in.

2 Structural factors and constraints in code-switching

The competition between various structural accounts has been particularly influential in the study of code-switching. The search for universal linguistic constraints on code-switching has on a whole been unsuccessful. Poplack (1980) built the first theoretical model of structural constraints on code-switching by positing two specific constraints, namely the Equivalence Constraint (languages tend to be switched at points where the syntactic rules of both languages are similar) and the Free Morpheme Constraint (languages may be switched after any constituent that is not a bound morpheme). The universal validity of Poplack’s constraints was soon called into question in a theoretical fray that gave rise to a succession of ever more specified constraints, such as among other things the Government Constraint (Di Sciullo et al. 1986) or the Functional Head Constraint (Belazi et al. 1994). Still particularly influent is

Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (1993a) which postulates an asymmetric relation between the participating languages, among which one (i.e. the matrix language) is expected to set the morphosyntactic frame for the other, and to constrain the available range of function words and bound morphemes in the process (i.e. what Myers-Scotton calls 'system morphemes'). A more recent development in the search for universal structural constraints comes in the form of the Minimalist Programme, derived from the endeavour for a Null Theory of code-switching which avoids formulating a 'third grammar' specific to code-switching (McSwan 1999). However, an 'all-or-none' structural model of code-switching that stands the test of what seems to be an inexhaustible pool of problematic code-switching data has yet to see the light. That such a model might never see the light is what prompted an increasing provision for language-external factors – such as sociolinguistic factors in particular – as additional predictors for code-switching phenomena likely to override universal structural constraints.

Muysken (2000) has occupied a prominent position among structural approaches to code-switching in which sociolinguistic factors are provided for. His structural typology comprises three potentially overlapping types, namely insertional (whereby constituents from A are inserted in a morphosyntactic frame dominated by B), alternational (whereby A and B alternate without encroaching upon their respective morphosyntactic frames), and congruent lexicalization (where A and B converge in the morphosyntactic frame). 'Congruent lexicalization' accommodates much of the problematic code-switching data that 'all-or-none' structural models stumbled over. The dominance of one given type over the others is – according to Muysken – predictable on structural grounds: typologically close language pairs may privilege the insertional type or congruent lexicalization whereas typologically distant pairs may conversely favour the alternational type. Independently of these structural factors, sociolinguistic factors may privilege one type over the other: the alternational type may dominate in settings marked by puristic ideologies whereas congruent lexicalization may conversely dominate in (often postcolonial) settings where such ideologies are absent. Muysken leaves open to question the extent to which structural factors override sociolinguistic factors or vice versa. While accepting that grammatical regularities occur across code-switching data, we espouse the point of view that the question is indeed unsettled, and that looking for social explanations for code-switching patterns should be generally encouraged.

Stressing the need for social explanations need not imply that code-switching studies are condemned to 'fuzziness', as long as 'social' is clearly defined in relation to language. Language is by nature a social activity, which implies

interactional usage. As such, its functions are not only to convey factual information, but also to project identities, inherited or creatively shaped by the individual, as well as value systems – ideological and/or esthetic. The contributions to this volume intend to clarify the nature of social factors that have an impact on language variation in general, and code-switching in particular. Both diachronic and synchronic aspects are covered in order to shed new light on problematic code-switching data and a range of specific societal factors behind code-switching patterns are identified. These include individuals' positions in social networks (e.g. Beyer), language attitudes and language ideologies (e.g. Migge, Parafita Couto, Deuchar and Fusser). Interactional factors behind code-switching patterns are identified and mapped onto societal factors that are consequential for strategies of identity negotiation (e.g. Anchimbe). While the contributions to this book all address the relationship between social factors and code-switching in a general sense, they also explicitly or implicitly problematize 'ungrammatical code-switching' – a controversial notion that pervades structural accounts of code-switching.

3 'Ungrammatical code-switching' and the rise of mixed languages

Myers-Scotton is perhaps the scholar who has elaborated most on the notion of ungrammatical code-switching, which she loosely defines as those forms of code-switching that do not conform to the two main principles of grammatical well-formedness implied in the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF, 1993, 2002), namely the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. The Matrix Language Frame model rests upon a vast amount of data that falls under what Myers-Scotton calls 'classic code-switching'. By contrast, those code-switching data that do not conform to the MLF principles are considered to be indicative of 'composite code-switching', i.e. a form of code-switching that '... shows convergence in regard to the source of some frame-building procedures, as well as in the features of the abstract grammatical structure in some lexemes' (Myers-Scotton 2002: 8). Focussing on structural factors in her search for constraints to code-switching, Myers-Scotton provides little social background to the occurrence of composite code-switching. All that can be gathered from Myers-Scotton's comments is that it is a form of code-switching 'more common' than classic code-switching in certain communities, and that it typically occurs in contexts of language attrition or language shift that may or may not be conducive to 'mixed languages' such as Michif or Mednyj Aleut (2002: 8, 22, 105).

What Myers-Scotton calls composite code-switching is reminiscent of Muysken's notion of congruent lexicalization, even if the latter type is more restricted in its grammatical form than composite code-switching since, according to Muysken, it is typical for contact between closely related languages. This raises questions with respect to a language type referred to as '(bilingual) mixed language', 'split language' or 'intertwined language' like Michif – also discussed by Muysken (2000: 269) – a language type that emerges from the normalized and regularized combination of two matrix languages. Whether composite code-switching or congruent lexicalization (in this case between typologically distant languages, i.e. French and Cree) is the dominant factor in the emergence of a mixed language might be a secondary issue since the two phenomena overlap considerably.

A question of theoretical concern, however, is whether community-wide code-switching is necessarily or overwhelmingly indicative of ongoing language attrition and shift given that the transition zone between code-switching and mixed languages remains largely uncharted territory (cf. Meakins 2011: 142 ff.). The question whether extensive community-wide code-switching is an epiphenomenon of language shift is also asked in this volume, and is implicitly answered in the negative by Blaxter Paliwala when calling for a critical reexamination of the idea that extensive Tok Pisin-English code-switching in Papua New Guinea's urban middle-class be seen as diagnostic of 'decreolization'. The case of Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy) in fact shows that the rise of mixed languages does not necessarily coincide with language shift or attrition during nativization. The same question could indeed also be put to Amuzu, whose urban Ewe-English data reveals pervasive code-switching as well, while Yakpo appears to lean more towards attrition and shift in his analysis of the Surinamese scenario. In principle, the question can only be answered by deciding whether code-switching, no matter how pervasive, is a transitory phenomenon, with language loss as the ultimate outcome, or whether the resulting lect has reached a state of stabilisation. Unfortunately, only very few contact scenarios offer the kind of diachronic data that is required to make a case for the synchronic stabilization of the mixed lect. Where diachronic data is available (albeit usually of a shallow time-depth, e.g. Gurindji Kriol, cf. Meakins 2011), they bring forward certain structural criteria of code-switching between the languages involved that allow us to assign the status of "mixed language" to a given linguistic system, and specific social conditions provide the backdrop on which these structural factors can take hold.

Firstly, mixed language are characterised by systematic and pervasive mixing, i.e. rather than being optional, the occurrence of mixed structures in specific sub-systems is obligatory (cf. e.g. Stolz 2003), while the grammatical sub-

systems of the participating languages are left relatively intact (Thomason 1997b; Matras and Bakker 2003). Systematic use of code-switching certainly applies to those cases described in this volume that involve community-wide code-switching (e.g. Burkina Faso, cf. Beyer; Papua New Guinea, cf. Blaxter Paliwala; South Africa, cf. Stell; Suriname, cf. Migge, Yakpo), in which the alternation of two, even three languages in everyday interactions is a sociolinguistic norm for the vast majority of speakers. Such contact scenarios should be seen as distinct from those in this volume that involve bilingual individuals, their family networks and social or ethno-linguistic subcultures in an otherwise rather monolingual (albeit not monolectal) society (e.g. Wales, cf. Parafita Couto et al; Hong Kong, cf. Chen). The conditions for stabilization of a mixed lect are only given in the latter situation if the specific linguistic (sub)culture is socially (and often geographically) distinct, isolated or marginalized, often in combination with a process of ethnogenesis (e.g. Ma'a/Mbugu, cf. Mous 2003; Medial Lengua, cf. Muysken 1997).

The plethora of possible outcomes of language mixing, including the emergence of mixed languages *per se* invites us to rethink code-switching as a linguistic phenomenon embedded in a social context. Essential to a new perspective on what structural accounts of code-switching regard as ungrammatical code-switching is to observe code-switching – not just as part of decontextualized example sentences – but as part of usage in the holistic sociolinguistic and cognitive sense developed for it by Croft (2000) among other scholars. Taking as a point of departure the example of the distinction between loanwords and codeswitches made in the literature on code-switching, Backus (this volume) argues that the integration of code-switching into a given base language is more directly identifiable on the basis of frequencies of occurrence and speakers' acceptability judgments than on the basis of whether it complies with matrix language rules. What counts as ungrammatical code-switching in many grammatical models of code-switching can thus be accounted for in terms of 'altered replications' (whereby a new linguistic pattern is used) competing with – or sometimes superseding – 'normal replications' (whereby the established linguistic pattern is reiterated). In other words, grammatical 'irregularities' in code-switching – such as the use of morphosyntactic patterns foreign to the host language – may as well just form an instance of an altered replication, which may or may not be read as part of an ongoing process of language change leading to that altered replication gradually superseding the normal replication. Altered replications which – given their general sociolinguistic environment – need not be considered indicative of language attrition or shift, are exemplified by most of the Ewe-English and Akan-English data presented by Amuzu (this volume), and some of the Tok Pisin-English data

presented by Blaxter Paliwala (this volume), which count as composite code-switching in the perspective of the MLF. By contrast, the case of Light Warlpiri – discussed by O’Shannessy (this volume) – could serve as an example of composite code-switching, or – in the terms of Backus – of altered replications eventually turning into a norm to the point of laying the foundations to a conventionalized ‘mixed code’ that has cristallized into a new language. The code-switching data from Suriname (Migge; Yakpo, this volume), in turn, may be seen as intermediary between these two poles in that code-switching, rather than monolingual discourse, is the communicative norm in these societies, and may or may not be indicative of language attrition or shift.

4 Attitudes, ideologies, style and social networks

What causes code-switching to become conventionalized or not amounts to identifying which specific social factors cause code-switching in the first place. This book tackles the question of the relationships between code-switching patterns and socio-structural characteristics as they manifest themselves in attitudes, ideologies, and social networks. Yakpo, Migge and Blaxter Paliwala (this volume) relate unexpected structural features of code-switching in the form of congruent lexicalization involving typologically distant languages to multilingual practices in postcolonial environments. Parafita Couto et al. (this volume) experimentally test the correlation between self-reported speakers’ attitudes to code-switching forms, and find a positive correlation between disapproval of code-switching and the use or non-use of code-switching at syntactic sites where it could violate the Equivalence Constraint. Attitudes to code-switching as reported on by Parafita Couto et al. are a function of broader ideological environments, which Ehrhart (this volume) discusses from both a western perspective – in which the concept of language (and grammaticality) goes hand in hand with that of standardization and boundedness – and a non-western one – in which the notion of language is not assigned clear-cut boundaries and may thus favour code-switching, as in particular code-switching that could be counted as ungrammatical in the view of structural models of code-switching. Irrespective of attitudes or language ideologies, Beyer (this volume) demonstrates the merit of assessing the likelihood of code-switching as a function of speakers’ position within social networks, showing peripheral and geographically more mobile speakers in multilingual environments to be more likely to use code-switching.

Patterns of language variation need not be directly linked to societal factors, such as those subsumed in language ideologies and expressed in atti-

tudes. That fact has been established – also in specific relation to code-switching – by Conversation Analysis (CA), as elaborated on by Gumperz (1982), and later by Auer (1998), as well as by psycholinguistic research. Both Stell and Amuzu (this volume) look at structural patterns of code-switching and examine the degree to which they reflect conversational patterns of code-switching in the same terms as they reflect societal factors. We are reminded by Kootstra's (this volume) psycholinguistic approach that code-switching can be triggered by factors other than social. Detailing the principle of automatic alignment across pair parts as a cognitive mechanism, Kootstra comes to the conclusion that certain patterns of triggering across pair parts, including triggering causing 'ungrammatical' code-switching, can be the outcome of alignment strategies deployed by speakers, as such requiring an account in which interactional factors are given as much consideration as they are in orthodox versions of CA (see further Auer 1998). Stell, Amuzu and Kootstra generally illustrate a specific approach to code-switching whereby the causes of code-switching can be sought within the interaction itself. Another approach can be taken, however, whereby the causes of code-switching are sought simultaneously within the interaction and in the surrounding societal environment by focusing on the role of social identity in code-switching.

Stylistically-oriented studies of code-switching have already shown that the use of code-switching, including ungrammatical forms of code-switching in the view of structural accounts of code-switching, can be read as strategies of identity negotiation deployed by individuals in reaction to both their interlocutors and societal environments they find themselves in (see e.g. Auer 2007). Anchimbe (this volume) presents us with trilingual code-switching data from Cameroon, involving English, Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) and French, providing examples bordering on congruent lexicalization between the former two of which the function is to simultaneously signal identification with Cameroonian English-speakers and distance from Cameroonian French-speakers. In the same line, Migge (this volume) presents us with code-switching data from French Guyana which generally defy notions of grammaticality as proposed by structural models of code-switching. In that case, what could count as ungrammaticality in the perspective of those models seems to be more or less consciously dictated by the deployment of a general strategy of neutrality pervaded with a self-presentational concern for dis-identification from any salient social stereotype that the exclusive use of specific varieties might index. Avoiding negative social indexicalities could, therefore, constitute a potent factor in composite code-switching or congruent lexicalization. Both of the above-named case studies refer to code-switching between languages that are structurally related, i.e. English-CPE in the former case, and Eastern Maroon-Sranan

Tongo in the latter case, which can be seen as potentially favouring congruent lexicalization. The role of identity negotiation in the emergence of congruent lexicalization between typologically distant languages needs to be investigated further, as in the case of the patterns of Cantonese-English code-switching in Hong Kong, which Chen (this volume) describes as a style deployed by Hong Kong residents with a background of bilingual education for signalling distance from their more monolingually educated peers.

Ungrammatical code-switching is an ill-defined notion, and it seems clear at this stage that none of the grammatical models so far devised can lay a claim to universality. This implies that there may as well be as many sorts of grammatical code-switching as there are sociolinguistic settings. The perspectives presented in this book are favourable towards steering away from the search for grammatical universals in favour of a search for language-external regularities in code-switching practices, while providing a range of code-switching data that do not fit neatly into available grammatical models. As such, this volume will hopefully be a stepping stone on the way to a richly detailed social typology of code-switching practices to which future structural and psycholinguistic frameworks will refer in their hypotheses on code-switching.

5 Authors' contributions

The contributions in this volume are grouped into three thematic blocks that reflect the level of analysis of the authors and together demonstrate the possibilities of integrating structural and socio-linguistic approaches to code-switching.

The contributions in **Part 1** by Backus, Kootstra, Parafita Couto, Deuchar and Fusser, and Amuzu have in common that they dedicate (parts of) their analysis to the interaction of cognitive and socio-pragmatic factors in the creation of code-switched utterances by the individual mind. The articles constitute departures from classical structural approaches to code-switching by taking micro-sociological factors into account. The individual-level cognitive processes of frequency, entrenchment and replication (Backus) usher into community-level contact-induced language change only if they are cumulative. The importance of interlocutor alignment for the grammatical structure of code-switched utterances is shown (Kootstra) and evidence is provided for the effects of individual attitudes on the likelihood to use particular types of bilingual structures (Parafita Couto, Deuchar and Fusser). Equally, structural differences are identified between socio-pragmatically oriented, conscious 'marked' choices of code-switching versus 'unmarked' code-switching by default (Amuzu).

The articles in **Part 2** by Stell, Anchimbe, Chen, Migge, and Paliwala give centre stage to multilingual interaction in their enquiry. These authors link their analyses of individual code-switching patterns to broader socio-structural entities that speakers index and negotiate as they interact, i.e. ethnicity (Stell, Migge), local, regional and national identity (Anchimbe, Migge) as well as social class (Paliwala) and geographical mobility (Chen). The contributions in **Part 3** by Beyer, O'Shannessy, Yakpo, and Ehrhart show varying degrees of a macrosociological perspective in their analysis of code-switching. They cover the rise and stabilization of mixed grammars and lexicons via code-switching, by integrating diachronic and synchronic data, while incorporating the socio-historical context (O'Shannessy, Yakpo), making links with language policy and 'national' identity issues (Ehrhart), and underlining the role of local and regional social networks in the spread and consolidation of specific code-switching and contact features (Beyer).

Part 1: Code-switching between cognition and socio-pragmatics

Backus' contribution is rooted in usage-based approaches to language variation in which diachronic variation features as a central issue. The author shows that the use of the concepts of normal replication and altered replication can be extended to code-switching data, as a result of which the levels of entrenchment of foreign lexemes and morphosyntactic structures in a given host language can be determined. The author argues that a usage-based approach to code-switching is in a position to tackle the issue of the distinction between loanwords and codeswitches, a regular thorn in the side of code-switching studies.

On the basis of experimental techniques that simulate aspects of language use in dialogue (confederate-scripting technique), *Kootstra* investigates socio-pragmatic, structural, and lexical factors that may influence code-switching from a psycholinguistic perspective (most notably the interactive alignment model). The main conclusion from this research is that the choice to code-switch or not and syntactic choices during code-switching are driven by a dynamic interplay between socio-interactional mechanisms, and cross-language lexical and syntactic overlap.

Parafita Couto, Deuchar and Fusser's contribution aims to test the validity of two distinct structural models of code-switching, namely Myers-Scotton's MLF and McSwan's Minimalist Program (MP) against Welsh-English data, while simultaneously looking for correlations between these data and gram-

maticity judgments and self-reported attitudes to code-switching. The authors generally find on the basis of specific switch sites where the respective morphosyntactic frames of Welsh and English do not match (i.e. determiner phrases with adjectives) more support for the MLF than for the MP while also identifying a strong correlation between self-reported attitudes to code-switching and code-switching patterns.

Amuzu's contribution presents us with Ewe-English code-switching data which the author places in the perspective of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model and Markedness Model (MM). The author uses the data to first illustrate the distinction made by Myers-Scotton between 'classic code-switching' and composite code-switching on the one hand, and between marked and unmarked code-switching on the other. He then goes on to establish correlations between phenomena that the two models tend to account for separately, thus laying the foundation for a joint grammatical and conversational typology of code-switching compliant with Myers-Scotton's terminology.

Part 2: Multilingual interaction and social identity

Stell uses as a point of departure Muysken's grammatical typology of code-switching (in which a distinction is made between insertional code-switching, alternational code-switching, and congruent lexicalization) and Auer's conversational typology of code-switching (in which a distinction is made between language alternation and language mixing). On the basis of South African code-switching data extracted from different sociolinguistic settings and involving different language pairs, the author shows regularities in patterns of co-occurrence of grammatical and conversational types of code-switching. He eventually proposes a joint grammatical and conversational typology of code-switching governed by sociolinguistic factors.

Detailing in-depth some of the identity-related functions of code-switching is the purpose of *Anchimbe's* contribution, in which the geographical focus is placed on Cameroon. Investigating patterns of trilingual code-switching (involving English, Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) and French) in chatrooms, the author establishes links between the use of code-switching made by English-speaking Cameroonians and strategies of group profiling versus the French-speaking Other. Such strategies – which tend to imply the denigration of Cameroonian French-speakers – result in derogatory switching into French, as well as intensive code-switching between English and CPE – invested with strong ingroup values associated with Cameroonian English-speakers.

Code-switching between typologically distant languages is documented by *Chen* from the perspective of identity negotiation and style in the form of Cantonese-English code-switching in Hong Kong. To that end, the author focuses on the stylistic repertoire of one local individual with a US background and contrasts that stylistic repertoire with mainstream local stylistic repertoires. While that individual's stylistic repertoire involves multidirectional insertional and alternational code-switching, mainstream local stylistic repertoires only involve unidirectional English insertional code-switching. The author finally uses these contrasts, as well as the perceptions of these contrasts, as the basis for a reflection on practices of social profiling on the grounds of code-switching usage.

Migge takes us to French Guyana's Maroon communities, among which code-switching practices involve the joint use of Maroon creole, Sranan Tongo, French, Dutch and English. Pointing out that her code-switching data challenge the notion of a single matrix language, she analyzes them as a 'neutral' frame made up of material shared by typologically close Surinamese Creoles into which speakers variably insert 'marked' features from different linguistic sources. She concludes that the selection of 'distinctive' versus 'neutral' linguistic items appears to be governed by speakers' interactional and self-presentational concerns, possibility for lexical variation or distinction and/or the makeup of speakers' linguistic repertoires.

Paliwala's analysis of code-switching between a creole (Tok Pisin) and its lexifier (English) leads us to Papua New Guinea, where an urban mixed code has evolved in the past decades. The authors shows that in spite of how common this code now is, its concentrated presence in particular communicative contexts and its use by particular social groups (the urban middle class) still makes the code-switching highly indexical of specific social identities. *Paliwala* also contributes to the growing evidence that code-switching is central to the relationship between the lexifier and the creole much more than 'decreolisation' or the 'post-creole continuum'.

Part 3: Code-switching and social structure

Beyer employs the toolkit of social network analysis in the Burkina Faso and Mali border region to account for variation in the intensity of multilingual code-switching (involving the base language Pana and the contact languages Jula and French) and the degree of proliferation of contact-induced phonological change. He concludes that linguistic change is driven by socially less integrated actors, who code-switch more and are phonologically more innovative. In this linguistically pluralistic environment where normalising pressures are

comparatively low, such changes appear to percolate through the linguistic community relatively fast in spite of the peripheral position of the innovating speakers.

Yakpo describes the complex patterns of code-switching observable in Suriname, a postcolonial society marked by an extraordinary ethnolinguistic diversity. The widespread practice of code-switching in Suriname may involve languages with varying degrees of typological proximity/distance, yet the author finds grammatical forms of code-switching across language pairs to be surprisingly regular. This may imply that the occurrence of complex patterns of “fusional mixing” – characterized by complex calquing, congruent lexicalization, innovative approximations of donor structures and constant changes of the matrix language – is possibly more a function of the linguistic enactment of ‘Surinamese-ness’ than of typological factors.

O’Shannessy’s contribution focuses on Light Warlpiri, a new mixed language in Northern Australia, which combines elements of Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan) and varieties of English and Kriol (an English-lexified creole), and emerged from code-switching between these languages. The author describes unusual characteristics of Light Warlpiri, which involve morphosyntactic innovations that bear little resemblance with any of the co-founding languages. One of those innovations concerns the verbal auxiliary system, in which English/Kriol tense, aspect and mood forms are re-analyzed and overlaid on Warlpiri clitic structure, resulting in a formal future-nonfuture distinction in the auxiliary which is not made in the input languages.

Ehrhart takes an ecolinguistic approach to code-switching, emphasizing the constructive role it can play in the educational realm. The author uses case studies from Europe and the South Pacific to illustrate the variety of possibilities in the management of classroom ecologies. In the process, she situates multilingual strategies at school on a continuous scale from more implicit to more explicit language policies. She sheds light on the formation of certain creole languages – which go by the name of ‘school creoles’ – by presenting them as a linguistic outcome of the processes of learning and acquisition of a new language in a multilingual contact situation.

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Part 1: Code-switching between cognition and socio-pragmatics

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A usage-based approach to code-switching: The need for reconciling structure and function

Abstract: This chapter argues that the field of code-switching studies could be reinvigorated by the introduction of a usage-based approach. The perspective this approach brings to the study of linguistic competence allows a fresh look at the debate about how to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing, and also stimulates further unification of contact linguistics. Specifically, it calls for a unified account of code-switching, loan translation and structural borrowing. The outlines of such a unified model are sketched. Its chief feature is that all contact effects are seen as aspects of a general process of language change, some emphasizing a synchronic perspective and others a diachronic one. Both perspectives, however, are indispensable for a general account of change, itself a basic design feature of language. It is argued, finally, that adopting a usage-based approach also entails adopting new methodologies into contact research.

1 Introduction: Code-switching and its explanation

For many linguists, the goal of linguistics is to describe the mental representation of linguistic knowledge in the minds of individual speakers. While there is nothing wrong with that at all, I wish to draw attention to what I see as two problems with the way linguistic theorizing is generally conducted, and the specific shape they take in the code-switching literature. First, the concept of “knowledge” is often understood in a needlessly limited way, excluding knowledge about language use and practice, about the social life of language, and about its functions. I will argue that a broader concept of knowledge is not just more ecologically valid, but also allows asking questions which now rarely rise to the surface, or only do so in separate fields that don’t communicate much with each other. Second, the concept of “language” with which linguistics operates is relatively unclear. While linguistic knowledge resides in the individual speaker, we normally conceptualize language at higher levels of aggregation: what we generally describe is not really the knowledge of the individual speaker but the knowledge of clusters of speakers (e.g. the speakers of a particular dialect or language). Both problems are tackled by the currently ascendant usage-based approach in linguistics, and I will argue that adopting this approach in code-switching research can give the field a much-needed boost.

These two general problems are manifested in many different ways; here I will focus on three commonly made distinctions that are loosely related to them. Generally speaking, the issues all result from the tendency in modern linguistics to split rather than to lump. General linguistics as well as the study of code-switching (CS) has been characterized by a separation into sub-disciplines, while a lumping approach may at least be equally fruitful, or even, as I will argue, currently desirable. Each of the three distinctions I will focus on in this paper has helped advance knowledge, but at the same time has also held back further improvement. First, there is the separation of synchronic and diachronic issues. This has resulted in the strange dichotomy of “theoretical linguistics” versus “historical linguistics”, which suggests that historical linguistics is not theoretical. In the code-switching literature, this separation shows up as the notorious and much debated distinction between code-switching and borrowing. I will argue in section 4 that a model that integrates synchronic and diachronic aspects of contact-induced language change can help resolve this debate. The second separation that has had unintended negative effects on contact linguistics is between lexicon and syntax, which has encouraged the separate study of code-switching and grammatical contact effects, such as interference or transfer. This modular separation has of course been a hallmark of linguistics, and characterizes most folk views of language, but much recent work in linguistics and psycholinguistics suggests that the basis for the distinction may not be that strong, as I will try to show in section 5. Finally, there is the divide between structural and sociolinguistic accounts of language, giving us rival linguistic approaches that focus on “form” and “function”, respectively, and, in CS, two well established strands of research, one focusing on grammatical properties and constraints, the other on pragmatic functions. I will argue in section 6 that this presents a false choice: what we really need is an approach that doesn’t favor one over the other but instead sees form and meaning (including function) as the parts that any linguistic unit is made up of. Usage-based linguistics offers such an approach.

The next section introduces the usage-based approach, focusing on its application to language change. Section 3 reviews those aspects of code-switching that are relevant with respect to the value of the usage-based approach. Sections 4–6 then investigate three topics in more detail. Section 4 reviews the debate about code-switching versus borrowing from a usage-based perspective. In section 5, code-switching is compared to other contact effects: it will try to make the case that contact linguistics should study the phenomena together, and construct a unified framework for analyzing them. Rounding off the main body of the paper, section 6 makes a case for the partial unification of pragmatic and grammatical studies of code-switching. The last two sections draw two

types of conclusions. Section 7 extrapolates a research agenda from the foregoing sections, and section 8 is a general conclusion. The chapter is of a theoretical nature and will feature few examples; it is based, however, on many years of investigating language contact in the Turkish immigrant community in Holland and elsewhere in Western Europe.

2 Usage-based approach

The three problems identified above featured in the general criticism of linguistic theory that led to the creation and development of the usage-based approach (Langacker 1987), which underlies a lot of work in Cognitive Linguistics, e.g. Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008), Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006) and Exemplar Grammar (Bybee 2010). Under this approach, mental representation (the domain of *general linguistics*) is based directly on usage (the domain of *sociolinguistics*) and on general human cognitive properties (the domain of *psycholinguistics*). Usage and cognition may further be interrelated in the sense that language use will at least partially be directed by the properties of human cognition. This view of how representation is built up inside every individual's mind implies that mental representation varies from person to person, and changes all the time (Croft 2010). The division of linguistics into the mentioned sub-disciplines has precluded an integrated explanation of this characteristic variability and changeability, and perhaps even general recognition of the fact that they are crucial design features of language to begin with, features that any linguistic theory needs to explain.

Such usage-based perspective forces the linguist to consider the relationship between the *synchronic* and *diachronic* planes of description. This relationship is relatively unimportant for generative approaches to linguistic theory, which assumes children are born with a linguistic competence they make use of all their life in generating synchronic utterances. Diachronic change is assumed to occur across idiolects, often at great time distances, but not within the competence of a native speaker. Under a usage-based approach, however, this competence is subject to constant change, and while the diachronic changes that the competence of each person undergoes may be unspectacular, they do need an explanation, and it is sought in synchronic usage. Basically, every synchronic act is assumed to have diachronic implications.

A fairly detailed articulation of the usage-based view of change is Croft (2000). Faced with the task of conveying a message, speakers have the choice between saying something new (“altered replication”) or something old (“normal replication”). A full utterance is virtually always new, since we rarely store

whole utterances with their specific meaning. This, of course, is the feature often referred to as linguistic creativity, another design feature of language, and one of the cornerstones of generative grammar. However, utterances contain smaller sequences, such as words and word combinations, and many of these are stored as such in the speaker's mental representation. Using them, therefore, is the result of an act of normal replication. What makes their selection possible is *entrenchment*: they are stored in memory and are retrieved when needed. To be sure, at these lower levels, too, new combinations are formed all the time, so that any utterance will combine instances of altered and normal replication. At the lowest level, though, there will be few cases of saying something new: we do not as a habit use new words all the time. One notable exception, and a very relevant one for us, is the use of loanwords from another language.

Whenever a new unit is used, it can be committed to memory by speaker and hearer, and repeated usage will entrench it ever further. If it is used often enough, the selection of such units will no longer represent altered replication: it has become normal replication. Its entrenchment level in any individual speaker may fluctuate, though, and it may well be in competition with one or more other established ways of saying the same thing. Selecting any of them will be a case of normal replication, but one is more "normal" than the other one: initially the older form will probably be better entrenched than the incoming one. Whenever we observe such alternation between units, we are looking at ongoing language change. If the process ever goes to completion, the older unit will have fallen into disuse, and the once new form has become the default option: its synchronic selection will then be a canonical case of normal replication.

The frequency with which a unit is used therefore plays an important role in language change. Full utterances tend to be unique and will often be used with an exact frequency of just one occurrence. This low frequency, but perhaps even more so its complex meaning (itself perhaps the ultimate cause for low frequency) and its long and complicated form, keeps it from getting entrenched very well, if at all. At the levels of individual words and combinations of two or a few morphemes, however, there are wildly fluctuating frequencies, and these are hypothesized to be responsible for fluctuating degrees of entrenchment as well. As a result, language change is conceptualized as mostly involving the constant waxing and waning of degrees of entrenchment for particular units. The limiting case may be such complete disuse of an old unit that it has effectively disappeared from the language: in such cases entrenchment for individual speakers has gone down to zero. Cases of completed change involve the complete discontinuation of the use of the older variant.

The above scenario is conceptually easiest to illustrate at the word level. Contact situations often figure competition between an inherited native word and an incoming loanword, and at some point the loanword may have completely replaced the native word. However, usage-based approaches tend to adopt the same mechanisms for all levels of language. If words and structures change in the same way, there is no need to make a strict division between lexicon and syntax, and indeed, Cognitive Linguistic theories tend to blur the distinction. Mental representation is seen as a matter of stored knowledge, and units that get stored may be of any level of complexity, and be specific or schematic or a combination of both. It is important to emphasize that the unit that gets stored is never simply a form: all linguistic units are combinations of a form and a meaning. Schematic structures, i.e. patterns, have meaning, too. As we will see later, these features of the usage-based approach make it possible to include *lexical and structural borrowing* in a single analytical framework. I will argue that it is important to keep a wide perspective on what “meaning” is: in particular, it needs to include both “grammatical meaning” as well as “pragmatics” and “social” meaning, in addition to semantics (cf. Eckert 2012).

The fact that people differ in the make-up of their individual mental representation, and that their competence is changing all the time, means that it is not so obvious at what cumulative level we should study language. The “individual speaker” is just the starting point: essential for language is that it also involves a cumulative picture. “Language”, as commonly understood, is a social norm. The usage-based approach as such has little to say about this issue, but it is very compatible with sociolinguistic models of normativity (e.g. Bell 2001). In fact, Cognitive Linguistics and sociolinguistics have so much in common that it is somewhat of a mystery why the field of Cognitive Sociolinguistics took so long in getting off the ground (Geeraerts & Kristiansen 2014; Zenner 2013; Backus 2014). I will build on this affinity, to argue, in section 6, that the functional and formal studies of code-switching should be seen as complementary rather than as just different. They study two sides of the coin, not two different coins, so to speak.

3 Approaches to code-switching

The three distinctions criticized in section 1 also characterize the research domain of code-switching. It logically follows that if a usage-based approach can help overcome them, it should also be useful to apply it to code-switching.

There is a sizable sociolinguistic literature on code-switching that investigates the functional motivations for why people switch between languages

(Gardner-Chloros 2009a). Much of this concentrates on *alternational code-switching*, in which a speaker alternates larger chunks, usually full clauses or at least stretches of language that represent some degree of grammatical construction. Analyses of the functions of *insertional code-switching* are much rarer, and tend to conclude that many but not all insertions are motivated by lexical need: the base language doesn't have a good enough word for the concept conveyed perfectly by the foreign word. In what follows, I will have little to say about alternational CS; I will focus on arguing that the motivations for insertional code-switching are worth investigating more. An equally impressive body of work takes a traditional linguistic perspective, detailing the various ways in which languages are combined in code-switching (e.g. Muysken 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002). Finally, there is a relatively separate psycholinguistic tradition, focusing on how speakers produce mixed speech, and how they manage to keep their languages separate (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009b). While these research traditions have each uncovered many interesting things, they more or less parted company in the early 1990's. A usage-based approach may necessitate that we reexamine to what extent they can inform each other.

The next two sections deal with two troubling issues for which the adoption of a usage-based approach holds significant promise. One, discussed in section 4, is that many issues in the grammatical literature rely on the ability to identify whether a particular other-language word is a loanword or a code-switch. Several solutions have been suggested; I will argue that none of them have been successful because of the lack of attention for the relationship between the synchronic and diachronic planes of description. Second, while the field of contact linguistics has terrific descriptions of the various contact phenomena, such as loan translation and grammatical interference, it has not been successful until recently in relating them to each other, and a lot of work remains to be done. Once again, a usage-based approach provides a natural drive to actively seek such integration. This will be illustrated in section 5.

4 Synchrony and diachrony: Code-switching and lexical borrowing

Contact Linguistics often appears to be separated into two branches that, by and large, have different domains of investigation but also differ in their orientation towards either a synchronic or a diachronic focus. The first, code-switching studies, at least those that investigate *insertional* code-switching, deals with lexical issues, and looks at them mainly from a synchronic perspective. The second is the study of *cross-linguistic grammatical influence*, which tends

to take a diachronic approach. In my opinion, there is too little communication across these research domains. From a usage-based perspective, this is not a happy state of affairs.

The synchronic bias of code-switching research has produced a long-standing debate about the distinction between code-switching and borrowing. From early on, a *synchronic* distinction has been suggested between the two phenomena, requiring that any actual occurrence of a foreign word has to be classified as either a code-switching or a loanword (e.g. Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanriarajan 1990). The distinction was deemed necessary for two reasons. First, it had been clear since the early investigations of Haugen and Weinreich in the 1950's that established loanwords and less established words of foreign origin behaved somewhat differently: established loans tended to show more phonological integration into the host language. The second reason is more problematic because it has a theory-internal rather than an empirical basis. For most of the time between 1980 and 2000, the literature was focused on formulating syntactic constraints on the phenomenon, trying to identify at what points in a sentence a switch could be made without the sentence becoming ungrammatical. Promising constraints were formulated that, however, didn't seem to hold for established loanwords, nor for many other foreign-origin single words, which were less likely to be established as widely accepted loanwords. The suggestion was that the constraints held for codeswitches, not for loanwords, even if they were used only sporadically. Thus, it became imperative to identify loanwords in a reliable way, but without the criterion of wide acceptance in the speech community. Furthermore, the criterion had to be independent from the way a word was used in a bilingual sentence, since otherwise the argumentation would be circular: the constraint would hold for codeswitches but not for loanwords, and a loanword would be a word that violates the constraint. Hence, the search was on for criteria that would unambiguously assign foreign words to either of two classes: codeswitches or loanwords.

This search has proved elusive. The code-switching community remains divided, as none of the suggested criteria have met with general acceptance. The main advocate of the distinction has been Shana Poplack, who has amassed impressive quantitative data on other-language single-word items in a variety of language pairs (see Poplack & Dion 2012). The data generally support the generalization that single-word insertions show the same morphosyntactic behavior as native words, whether or not they enjoy widespread use in the community (if they don't, they are called 'nonce borrowings'). If the base language has variable marking for a particular category, for example marking only a subset of direct objects with accusative case, single-word inserted object nouns tend to be variably marked in the same way, answering to the same

constraints (see again Poplack & Dion 2012). In Poplack's analysis, this means they are loanwords, not codeswitches, as she reserves the latter term for actual switches to the other language, i.e. for stretches of speech that are clearly built with the grammar and lexicon of the other language. The irony is that this also supports the rival view: both established and “nonce” words get inserted into base language clauses in the same way as native words do, in a pattern referred to as ‘insertional code-switching’, to be distinguished from ‘alternational code-switching’, in which there is no insertion of foreign material into a base language. That is, for the synchronic description of code-switching patterns, it doesn't seem to matter whether the other-language single-word items are called loanwords or insertions. The important generalization is that insertional code-switching and nonce borrowing are a phenomenon that is different from alternational code-switching, as only the latter involves an actual switch to a different language.

However, note that the diachronic nature of the borrowing process is left out of this discussion. Nonce loans and established loans, or insertional codeswitches, are all included in the same category because they behave in the same way synchronically: when used in an actual utterance, they are morpho-syntactically integrated into the base language. A different perspective on this state of affairs is that data on insertional code-switching allow us to track how loanwords come into a language, and then the distinction between nonce and established loans becomes more important. When a foreign word appears for the first time in the base language, it is a case of what was called “altered replication” in section 2, following Croft (2000): the introduction of a new unit. For example, the first time a Dutch Turkish speaker used the Dutch verb *lenen* ‘to borrow’ in Turkish, the unit [*lenen*–‘borrow’] entered the mental representation of speaker and hearer, including in its meaning that it is a Dutch word that can be used in Turkish. So far, Turkish equivalents, most likely *ödünç almak*, had been used, so that the unit [*ödünç almak*–‘borrow’] was much better entrenched than the Dutch-origin newcomer. At this point, *lenen* was a nonce-loan, or an insertional codeswitch. However, with increasing usage, its selection more and more becomes a case of normal replication, as the unit [*lenen*–‘borrow’] gets entrenched for any individual speaker next to [*ödünç almak*–‘borrow’]: the Dutch form is now not a nonce loan anymore. Typical for most code-switching settings will be that the entrenchment levels for the borrowed and native forms will be different from person to person, and may fluctuate across time. That means it is very difficult to assess, at any given moment, to what extent a particular word counts as an established loanword.

In fact, such assessment is probably impossible if we don't extend the methodological toolbox of code-switching research. Usage-based linguistics

tends to base assessments of entrenchment on two types of measurement: corpus frequency of the words or constructions in question, and response data from participants in linguistic experiments, such as lexical decision tasks or acceptability judgments. While frequency data are possible for all kinds of questions about the lexicon of English and other major languages, thanks to the availability of huge corpora, code-switching corpora tend to be way too small for this kind of analysis. Even the sizable French-English corpus used by Poplack and associates yields only 15 or so cases of the most frequent English loanwords in Canadian French (cf. Poplack & Dion 2012). Most words occur only one to three times. This means that in the case of bilingualism, corpus frequency is a relatively unreliable measurement for degree of entrenchment. However, experimental measurements, even simple acceptability judgments, may greatly increase the possibilities. If a representative sample of Dutch Turks provides judgments on how established they think the use of the Dutch word *lenen* is in Dutch Turkish, and how common the choice for *ödünç almak*, the empirical basis for distinguishing between loanwords at different stages or levels of being borrowed is significantly widened. However, such work has, to the best of my knowledge, not been done yet; we are currently piloting it in a number of studies on Dutch Turkish (see Doğruöz & Gries 2012; Backus, Demirçay, & Sevinç 2013).

However, it is important to recognize that in bilingual contexts, where speakers will usually be able to recognize from which language a particular word originates, a word can *be* an established loanword and at the same time *function* as a codeswitch. It is for this reason that I prefer to call single other-language items insertional codeswitches rather than nonce borrowings. To continue with the example just introduced, the Turkish-Dutch speaker *may* insert the Dutch verb *lenen* because of its Dutch provenance. If Dutch stands indexically for a particular symbolic meaning, e.g. a Western cultural attitude, the use of a Dutch word like *lenen* may be to allude to that symbolic meaning. We routinely attribute this kind of pragmatic function to instances of alternational code-switching, but insertional code-switching may convey such meanings too. It is in this sense that a single Dutch word like *lenen* may be an established loanword as well as an insertional codeswitch. The continua of borrowing (from nonce to established) and socio-pragmatic indexicality (from no allusion to communicative or language-associated pragmatic values to very clear pragmatic impact) are essentially independent, though it stands to reason that the more established a loanword is, the more diminished its potential to invoke indexical values associated with the language of its original provenance.

To summarize, approaching code-switching and borrowing from a usage-based perspective leads one to ask slightly different questions, and to concep-

tualize code-switching as a synchronic phenomenon and borrowing as its diachronic effect. Insertional code-switching is the use of other-language elements (often, but not always, single words) synchronically, in actual utterances. Borrowing is the diachronic process whereby these words, through their usage, get entrenched in individual speakers, and spread through the speech community as accepted and conventional words in the language. However, some important questions that are naturally raised by such an approach cannot easily be answered on the basis of the corpora of spontaneous conversation that form the empirical bedrock of code-switching research. There may, for instance, be a correlation between lack of morphosyntactic integration and low degree of entrenchment and/or conventionalization, but corpus data are not going to tell us much in this regard, because they cannot tell us much about degree of entrenchment. Other data are better at this, cf. section 7.

5 Lexicon and syntax: Code-switching, loan translation and interference

In my view, the study of code-switching has been isolated too much from the study of other contact effects. Code-switching is defined in strictly synchronic terms, as discussed in the previous section, and it is rarely linked to other synchronic phenomena, notably loan translation and grammatical interference, except as part of a general taxonomy of contact phenomena. To be sure, code-switching is of course a separate phenomenon that deserves an exclusive focus, up to a point. On the other hand, an exclusive focus blocks efforts to examine what code-switching has in common with those other contact phenomena, as well as in what ways it is truly different. Another reason for exploring the possibilities of an integrated model is that the various contact phenomena tend to co-occur. Bilingual speech, especially of the informal in-group type in communities exhibiting intense language contact and high levels of bilingualism, tends to include instances of insertional and alternational code-switching, loan translation and grammatical interference side-by-side, and sometimes interlocking.

However, times are changing: monographs on code-switching or language contact have started to integrate the various phenomena (especially Muysken 2000; Gardner-Chloros 2009b; Matras 2009; also see Yakpo, this volume). This trend is probably the result of increasing knowledge about language contact and decreasing influence from generative linguistics on theoretical frameworks, and it concurs well with a usage-based approach.

The main reason why insertional code-switching and interference tend to be studied separately is probably the traditional division between lexicon and

syntax. However, from a perspective in which lexicon and syntax are not seen as categorically different, this strict separation makes little sense. It makes *some* sense, to be sure, since lexicon and structure are not the same, and contact effects in the two domains *are* demonstrably different, but it makes equal sense that they will share more than has hitherto been shown. If we fail to find such similarities, of course, that would be a serious problem for the usage-based perspective.

The following table sketches how the different contact phenomena are related to each other. The horizontal dimension orders synchronic and diachronic perspectives per phenomenon. This dimension was discussed in section 4. The vertical dimension lists three categories of source element. These three types of contact effect will be discussed below, largely from a synchronic perspective, but what was said in section 4 about insertional code-switching and loanwords also holds for the relation between loan translation and semantic or collocational borrowing, and that between interference and structural borrowing. Alternational code-switching is missing from this overview, because it doesn't transparently lead to any borrowing: the overview is limited to asymmetrical influence of one language on another. That is not to say that alternational code-switching has no diachronic effects: perhaps trivially, it further entrenches whatever lexical and syntactic material from Language A and Language B is used, and, definitely not trivially, it further entrenches a discourse structure in which one can alternate between A and B. Exploration of this is beyond the scope of the present chapter, though.

Tab. 1: Language contact phenomena.

	Synchronic (selection)	Diachronic (change)
Lexical – overt	Insertional codeswitch/Nonce-loan	Lexical borrowing
Lexical – covert	Loan translation	Semantic borrowing/Collocational borrowing
Structural	Interference/Transfer	Structural borrowing

Borrowing of lexemes and of lexical and grammatical structure could be examined in a comparative perspective to see what they share and in what ways they are different. My ordering in the table suggests a continuum, but that has to be demonstrated first. If it is a continuum, there should be an underlying dimension on which the categories can be ordered, and it is not clear whether there is such a dimension. The most promising candidate would be semantic

specificity, since lexemes have more specific meaning than structures (compare [*workshop* – ‘workshop’] and [*SVO* – ‘unmarked declarative’]), but the covert lexical impact visible in loan translations is not easily placed on this continuum. The source elements in loan translation are just as specific as those of most loanwords, while some loanwords (such as borrowed function words) are less specific. More likely is that there are two mechanisms at work that together produce the framework sketched in Table 1. One is indeed semantic specificity, and it helps determine what gets borrowed *within* the separate categories. More specific words are borrowed easier than more general words; they may also be the source of loan translations more easily, and a relatively transparent meaning may also help a structural pattern to become more “attractive” (Johanson 2002). However, specificity is likely to play only a minor role in structural borrowing, relative to the second mechanism: interference through entrenchment. The term “interference” captures this mechanism quite well: the habit instantiated by an entrenched pattern in the source language at some point starts interfering with the rival native habit. This mechanism may play a role in lexical borrowing as well, but it is probably much more important in structural cases.

The idea behind the table is that the types of borrowing are different instantiations of the general process of change. The target of change may be any lexical or structural element in a language, and there are two kinds of lexical contact-induced change: overt borrowing of lexical items (lexical borrowing) and “covert” borrowing of meanings and ways of combining words (which Table 1 refers to as “semantic or collocational change”). Synchronically, loanwords enter the language through language mixing (insertional code-switching, to be precise); semantic and collocational changes through semantic extension or loan translation. But why do these two phenomena exist? That is: why do bilingual speakers sometimes take foreign words directly and other times go to the trouble of translating them? The usual explanation is that semantic extension and loan translation are more unconscious affairs, and thus arise as cases of interference, just like borrowed syntax. The scenario sketched for loanwords in section 4 suggests that at least initially foreign words are consciously selected, as the best unit to convey the intended meaning.

Any differences between lexical and structural change are likely to derive from properties that distinguish lexical and structural units in general. Structural change usually involves new uses for an existing structure, rather than the introduction of a completely new one. This difference lies at the heart of a controversy in the literature: can there really be syntactic change? Often, this is framed as a debate between the position that there are no constraints (e.g. Thomason 2001) and one that syntax proper cannot change (e.g. Silva-Corvalán 1994; cf. Muntendam 2013 for a recent review). The real issue in this debate is

not so much whether syntactic change occurs at all but how syntax is defined. Thomason's position reflects a view of syntax that takes surface structures at face value: if syntax is defined as the collection of surface patterns in a language, then obviously syntax can change: the evidence is overwhelming. There are entire monographs that document all the changes in a particular language (e.g. Aikhenvald 2002): each change is evidence for Thomason's position. However, the evidence fades away if these kinds of changes are interpreted as something else, for example as changes in preferences or frequency, as extensions of the constructional semantics, or as pragmatic change.

In line with the usage-based approach, my position here is like Thomason's: syntax is whatever is schematic in mental representation. The interesting question is not so much whether speakers can adopt new schematic patterns, but how they do this, and which changes are more common than others, and why. The explanations that the formalist camp advances for why the types of syntactic changes they would consider good examples do not occur are relevant for this enterprise as well. It is important, in this light, to note that our work on Immigrant Turkish has uncovered lots of non-lexical changes, but very little ungrammaticality. That is, speakers seem unlikely to add completely new patterns (e.g. to adopt a perfect tense with 'have', if it didn't have a word for 'have', nor auxiliary-main verb constructions, before the contact situation). Structural changes are much more subtle, involving shifts in pragmatic markedness, or shifts in variable marking or ordering patterns. Often, these can be interpreted as contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2005).

To summarize, looking at contact phenomena in the semi-structured way suggested by Table 1 allows some integration of disciplines. Relating synchronic and diachronic descriptions brings together modern contact linguistics and historical linguistics, and should allow the construction of a usage-based model of contact-induced change, along the lines of Croft (2000). The comparison between overt and covert sources of change lays bare the distinction between two mechanisms of change: conscious selection and interference through entrenchment. Each plays a role in both lexical and structural change, but interference is more important for units with more general meaning, as these are too much under the radar to invite conscious attention from the speaker during the process of producing synchronic speech. This holds for syntax, but also for the combinatorial patterns that underlie the production of loan translations. However, in order to understand the mechanism of conscious selection, we need to look at one further aspect of the code-switching literature: the study of functional motivations.

6 Sociolinguistics and grammar: Selection as mechanism of change

The above discussion has focused on integrating the synchronic and diachronic planes of description in one framework, and to apply it to overt and covert lexical contact effects, as well as structural ones. The claim is that this is possible because there is an overall perspective that unites all these ingredients: together they provide a model for contact-induced change. Both lexical and structural borrowed units enter a language through instances of altered replication, and will then be caught up in the long drawn-out process in which selection involves the choice between at least two rival cases of normal replication: selection of the native unit (or one of several native units) and selection of the borrowed unit. Until now, I have ignored the selection process as such, but it is clear that if we are to understand what drives change, we need to understand what drives selection. This was formulated over four decades ago as the *Actuation Problem* in Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog (1968). The sociolinguistic literature on *alternational* code-switching, characterized in section 3 as happily aloof from the grammatical literature on insertional code-switching and its battles over the borrowing issue, has a lot to contribute here; traffic in the other direction would be useful as well.

Space doesn't permit an overview of the motivations that have been uncovered for why people practice alternational code-switching (see Gardner-Chloros 2009a for a recent review). In general, though, speakers are said to switch for pragmatic reasons or to index their message with the values associated with the language switched to (such as modernity or local solidarity). Pragmatic functions often carried out by code-switching include drawing or directing attention, emphasizing or mitigating a message, expressing anger or emotion, etc. However, that is not all. Many switches actually seem to *lack* such social, pragmatic, or conversational motivations. This, now, also holds for the insertion of single words most of the time. At least, that is what the relative lack of discussion about the social motivations for insertional code-switching suggests.

This brings us to the second major engine behind selection: entrenchment. Many foreign words and collocations, but also quite a few longer expressions that show up as cases of alternational code-switching, i.e. as stretches from the other languages that are too long and internally complex to be inserted into a Matrix Language grammatical frame, are simply selected because they have reached a degree of entrenchment that stimulates automatic selection: their use is a case of normal replication.

An illustration may make clear that these two major types of motivation are not independent. The reason why the particular Dutch clause building ex-

pression and discourse marker *vind ik* ('I think', 'it is my opinion that') is used frequently in Dutch Turkish is probably threefold: 1) it is *semantically* useful: speakers often face the onomasiological task of having to select a form that conveys this particular meaning, thus raising the chances of the form to be used (the same holds, of course, for its Turkish equivalent); 2) it may be *pragmatically* useful because it indexes Dutch, the language in which speakers will have ample experience debating and discussing things, Dutch being the language of school and work; and 3) it is *entrenched*, by virtue of having been used many times before, so that its selection in a random stretch of recorded conversation may well have unfolded non-consciously, or at a very low level of awareness (Backus 1996). A high degree of entrenchment can of course only be reached if the meaning conveyed by the unit is sufficiently useful semantically to provide enough potential for the form to be used in the first place. As is typical for cases of alternational code-switching, pragmatic salience and indexicality add to this usefulness.

In order to get a handle on the division of labor between these kinds of motivation, and on the degree to which they interact, interdisciplinary work is needed in which functional and formal analyses are combined (also see the chapters by Amuzu and Stell in this volume).

7 Implications for the research agenda: New questions and new data

Most of the work on code-switching has been based on recordings of spontaneous conversation. Such data are synchronic: they show directly how a hopefully representative slice of the population spoke at a particular time and place. For the research questions that dominated the field until the last decade, these data were more than adequate, as it allowed researchers to mine the corpora for information on what occurs and what doesn't, what types of code-switching we should distinguish and what their distribution is, and what communicative functions code-switching fulfills. This has led to fairly robust models that outline the general characteristics of the phenomenon well.

However, it is not self-evident where code-switching research should go from here. Theoretical debate seems at the lowest level of intensity since work on the phenomenon began, and this may well be because while the available models do a more than adequate descriptive job, they do not easily generate new questions. Myers-Scotton's (2002) Matrix Language Frame Model has mostly been expanded in directions that seem of little urgency for most attest-

ed data (such as differential behavior of bridge and outsider late system morphemes). Poplack's nonce borrowing model has received a new articulation in Poplack and Dion (2012), but this is mostly a new treatment of old questions, with more and better data. The field appears to find it difficult to reinvent, and ask *new* questions. Obviously, this is just a personal assessment, and colleagues may well disagree. Be that as it may, I do think innovation is needed, and one source of inspiration could be the usage-based approach. Applying it to code-switching automatically leads to new research questions, some of which have been the subject of this paper. They deal with the interpretation of code-switching as the synchronic manifestation of language change, with code-switching as just one type of cross-linguistic influence that has systematic similarities to, and differences from, other contact phenomena. Given the embedding of code-switching into models of language change, the questions that the usage-based approach asks about change by definition also have to be asked about code-switching. This brings in the issues of selection (how does a change get started and how is it propagated?) and entrenchment (how far along is the change?). Corpus data give little information on entrenchment, at least the relatively small corpora we can obtain for bilingual speech. The coming years will probably feature the construction of larger corpora based on social media data, but it seems too early to say whether that will change the situation in crucial ways.

It was mentioned in section 5 that selection can be achieved intentionally or unintentionally. Investigating intentional selection presents a tricky methodological challenge. There are plenty of relevant "found" data: moments in conversations at which speakers can be said, either on the basis of their explicit metalinguistic comments ("as they say in X") or on the basis of sophisticated conversational analysis, to have consciously selected a particular word or expression. However, evaluating the claim that entrenchment plays a significant role in selection means we need reliable baseline data on the entrenchment of individual units (words, expressions, constructions, patterns). Corpus data are not going to give us that, but acceptability tasks and behavioral responses on experimental tasks might (see Kootstra, this volume, for illustration of the type of task one could imagine). First, they provide information on the degree to which units differ in their degree of entrenchment, and therefore on the degree to which the competence of individual speakers is characterized by differential degrees of integration of the various units that make up that competence. Second, depending on the degree of individual variation, and given a substantial sample size, they can tell us more about individual variation *between* speakers, and therefore about the consistency across speakers of what we routinely call "a language".

8 Conclusions

This chapter has been theoretical in outlook, though based on recent empirical work in which a usage-based perspective is taken on code-switching and on the methodology to investigate it (e.g. Doğruöz & Backus 2009; Onar Valk & Backus 2013; and Backus, Demirçay, & Sevinç 2013). It was an attempt to assess the current state of theory formation on the phenomenon, and to identify the main challenges ahead. I have focused on the three issues I consider most urgent, since I believe they hold back theoretical advancement. It is important, I argue, to embed an account of code-switching into a general account of contact-induced change, or even language change in general, since that will show the impact of code-switching in the long term, beyond the immediate pragmatic impact it has at the time of speaking. It may also lay to rest the long-running debate on how to separate code-switching and borrowing, by showing they are two sides of the same coin. The second issue was that it is equally important to integrate an account of code-switching into an overall account of contact phenomena. This road was wide open in the early years of code-switching research (Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; also see Muysken 1984), but was cut short by the synchronic bias introduced by generative linguistics. As a result, the relationship between code-switching, loan translation and interference or transfer has been neglected. In the light of the current interest of many linguistic theories in the relationship between lexicon and syntax, and the degree to which they should be seen as modular or as parts of the same continuum, interesting things are sure to come out of this investigation. I have argued that adopting a usage-based approach all but calls for investigation of these issues.

Section 5 outlined a model of contact-induced variation and change that unites the synchronic and diachronic perspectives for all three contact phenomena. The emphasis on change implies that the whole edifice in turn can be compared to other types of change, including internally induced language change, but perhaps also behavioral changes in other domains of human life. Any account of change needs to address how and why a change got started, and how it has been propagated. Contact linguistics has traditionally focused a lot of attention on the initial innovation, in attempting to explain the reasons for a particular act of borrowing, but interpreting code-switching as an aspect of change means that propagation needs an equal share of the attention. I have argued that the methodology that has dominated our work up to now is not up to that task.

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A psycholinguistic perspective on code-switching: Lexical, structural, and socio-interactive processes¹

Abstract: This chapter provides a psycholinguistic perspective on code-switching. After a short overview of some basic notions on the psycholinguistics of bilingualism, a number of experimental studies are discussed in which socio-interactive, lexical, and structural processes in code-switching and bilingual language production were investigated in monologue and dialogue situations. As will be argued, the findings from these studies can be accounted for by means of the mechanisms of cross-language activation in the bilingual mind and interactive alignment in dialogue. This account emphasizes the bilingual mind as fundamentally interactive, in which cross-language activation within and between speakers can influence the tendency to code-switch as well as the grammatical form of a code-switched sentence. This way, it is possible to bridge sociolinguistic, structural, and psycholinguistic perspectives on code-switching, and to provide a more complete view on bilingual speech in general. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research that go beyond the topic of code-switching.

1 Introduction

Although this book is mainly on the interrelations between structural and sociolinguistic aspects of code-switching, it is potentially insightful to make the connection with psycholinguistic research. This is by no means straightforward, as structural linguistic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic approaches differ widely in terms of research goals and theoretical and methodological paradigms (Gullberg, Indefrey, & Muysken 2009; Isurin, Winford, & de Bot 2009; Li Wei 2008; Moyer 2008; Myers-Scotton 2006; see also Stell & Yakpo, this volume). It is not impossible, though, as I will show in this chapter.

¹ This chapter is partly based on the author's (unpublished) doctoral dissertation, which can be found online: <http://dare.ubn.kun.nl/bitstream/2066/91346/1/91346.pdf>. The writing of this chapter was supported by an ERC-Advanced grant (ERC-2008-AdG, SH5; 'Traces of Contact: Language contact studies and historical linguistics'), awarded to Pieter Muysken.

The aim of this chapter is to connect psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and structural linguistic research on code-switching. I will present recent psycholinguistic studies on code-switching in monologue and dialogue, connect these to structural linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches, and discuss implications following from these studies. I will end with a number of suggestions for future research that also extend to other language contact phenomena.

It is important to first delineate the terms I use in this chapter. First of all, by means of code-switching I mean the use of elements (either single words or longer stretches of words) from more than one language within the same utterance. Being a reflection of cross-linguistic interaction in the bilingual mind, code-switching is clearly related to other forms of cross-language interactions, like transfer in second language learners, but differs from transfer in that it concerns the *overt* use of multiple languages in the same sentence, whereas transfer entails *covert* language interactions (see Stell & Yakpo, this volume; Backus, this volume; Marian 2009; Odlin 2009; Treffers-Daller 2009, for more discussion). A second terminological issue concerns what I mean with sociolinguistic and structural linguistic research. With structural linguistic research I mean research focusing on the *form* of code-switching; with sociolinguistic research I mean research focusing on social *functions* of code-switching (see also Backus, this volume). However, as exemplified in many chapters in this volume, form and function are not independent from each other. Moreover, sociolinguistic factors can be studied at many levels, ranging from the analysis of macro-level social factors of language choice to conversation analyses on code-switching as a contextualization cue in terms of sequences within a conversation (see also Stell & Yakpo, this volume; Gafaranga 2009; Gardner-Chloros 2009, for more information). In this chapter, when talking about sociolinguistics, I focus particularly on pragmatic/socio-interactive mechanisms in dialogue.

2 A psycholinguistic perspective on code-switching

In this section, I will present a number of psycholinguistic studies on code-switching in monologue and dialogue. Before doing so, however, it is important to introduce some core notions from the psycholinguistics of bilingualism.

2.1 Core notions from the psycholinguistics of bilingualism

Psycholinguistics focuses on the cognitive mechanisms and knowledge structures underlying language production, comprehension, and acquisition. These mechanisms are often specified in models describing the different stages of language processing and the interrelations between those stages (see e.g. Brown & Hagoort 1999; Gaskell 2007, for overviews). Language production, for example, is typically modeled as a multi-staged process: Based on the discourse situation, a speaker conceptualizes a preverbal message, activates and selects the words and sentence structure associated with this message, and subsequently retrieves the phonological forms to turn these words and sentence structure into a phonetic pattern that can be articulated (e.g. Levelt 1989; Levelt, Roelofs, & Meyer 1999; cf., Pickering & Garrod 2004). This process is based on connectionist principles, in which word meanings, phonological forms, and sentence structures are considered representations in a neural network, that are interconnected on the basis of inter-item associations (see e.g. Dell, Chang, & Griffin 1999; Goldrick 2007).

Models on bilingual language processing are often adapted versions of monolingual models to account for the basic questions of bilingual processing: To what extent do a bilingual's both languages interact during language use, and which linguistic and cognitive factors constrain or facilitate cross-language interactions during language use (e.g. de Bot 2004; Hartsuiker & Pickering 2008; Kroll, Bobb, & Wodniecka 2006; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994; see Kroll & de Groot 2005; de Groot 2011, for overviews)? In this chapter, I will limit my discussion to production processes (see e.g. Kroll & Dussias 2013; Kutas, Moreno, & Wicha 2009; van Hell & Witteman 2009; van Heuven & Dijkstra 2010 for overviews on code-switching and bilingualism in comprehension).

Probably the most important finding on bilingual language production is that during the production of an utterance, languages can never be completely 'turned off', leading to parallel activation (or: co-activation) of linguistic representations from both languages (e.g. Costa, Caramazza, & Sebastián-Gallés 2000; Hermans, Bongaerts, de Bot, & Schreuder 1998; see Kootstra, van Hell, & Dijkstra 2009; Kroll et al. 2006, for reviews). Models of bilingual language production account for these cross-language effects by assuming a cognitive architecture (i.e., neural network) that is shared for both a bilingual's languages, with interconnections between linguistic representations both within and across languages (e.g. de Bot 2004; Hartsuiker & Pickering 2008; Kroll et al. 2006; Poulisse & Bongaerts 1994).

This co-activation of languages is also assumed to be the underlying cognitive process that makes code-switching possible: If both languages would not

become simultaneously active during language production, it would be difficult to explain the effortless manner in which many bilinguals switch between their languages. Research on co-activation in bilinguals can thus provide insights into the cognitive processes underlying code-switching, and, vice versa, research on code-switching can provide insight into cross-language activation processes in bilingual language use (cf., van Hell, Kootstra, & Litcofsky, forthcoming; van Hell, Litcofsky, & Ting, forthcoming).

Given that code-switching is based on co-activation of languages, it can be assumed that code-switching is facilitated and/or constrained by factors that influence the degree of co-activation during language production. I will discuss studies on co-activation and code-switching with respect to two dimensions that are highly relevant for sociolinguistic and structural linguistic approaches to code-switching: (1) discourse-situational and socio-interactive factors and (2) lexical and syntactic similarity between languages.

2.2 Discourse-situational and socio-interactive factors in cross-language activation and code-switching

Psycholinguistic studies are typically based on experimental methods, in which participants perform a computer task in which they have to respond to a series of linguistic stimuli with a certain bilingual manipulation (e.g. a lexical decision response to a presented word or pseudo-word by pressing a yes- or no-button, or a verbal naming response in a specific language to a visually presented pictured object or scene). Such tasks are often not a one-to-one reflection of natural discourse situations: Instead of focusing on internally generated switches in natural discourse, they typically focus on externally induced switches that are mostly restricted to single words (see also Gullberg, Indefrey, & Muysken 2009, for more discussion). For example, experiments on language switching in picture naming (e.g. Christoffels, Firk, & Schiller 2007; Meuter & Allport 1999) are often based on a task in which bilinguals name pictured objects or numbers that are presented on a computer screen, in which external cues (e.g. the background color of the presented item) cue the language in which to name the item (though see Gollan & Ferreira 2009, for a language switching picture naming study in which the response language was not imposed upon participants). The stimulus lists in these experiments are created in such a way that participants must switch languages or not between the naming of one item and the next one. The cost of switching is measured by subtracting the naming latencies of switch trials from non-switch trials. Such picture naming studies only test single-word, externally imposed switches be-

tween trials in stimulus lists; the responses themselves are not code-switched. In fact, it can be argued that language switching experiments are more informative on the control mechanisms involved in keeping one's languages apart (e.g. Green 1998) than on the mechanisms of intra-sentential code-switching.

Despite its rather weak link with natural discourse, the setting in which an experiment takes place can still be seen as an operationalization of a real-life discourse situation (Green 2011). Discourse situations in real life can be more multilingual or more monolingual. Similarly, experiments can have a single-language context or a dual-language context. Single-language contexts refer to experiments in which only one language needs to be used to perform the task, like a task in which participants name objects in one particular language. Dual-language contexts refer to experiments in which participants need to use two languages to perform the task, such as a task in which participants name objects in multiple languages. Although cross-language effects have been observed in both single and dual-language contexts, they have been found to be more prevalent and/or stronger in dual-language contexts than in single-language contexts (see e.g. Christoffels et al. 2007; Dijkstra & van Heuven 2002; Hatzidaki, Branigan, & Pickering 2011). Dual-language contexts could be seen as an experimental parallel to a bilingual language contact situation.

Translating the role of dual versus single-language contexts to actual discourse situations, it can be argued that the bilinguality of a discourse situation can modulate the degree of cross-language activation, and can hence influence code-switching behavior. This has indeed been hypothesized by Grosjean (1998, 2001, 2008), who argued that interlocutors, the physical location, and the functionality of the discourse have an important impact on the state of activation of the bilingual's languages (i.e., the 'language mode'), thus affecting the tendency to code-switch. Treffers-Daller (1997) tested this hypothesis in a study on language choice patterns in a Turkish-German bilingual, and found that this person code-switched more when talking to a bilingual interlocutor than to a monolingual interlocutor. Likewise, Fokke, de Ruyter de Wildt, Spanjers, and van Hell (2007) found that Dutch-English bilinguals code-switched less often when retelling a movie fragment to a Dutch university student – who did not code-switch – than to an exchange student from the USA – who often code-switched between Dutch and English. This indicates that the discourse situation can cue different kinds of language information and can thus influence the likelihood to code-switch or not.

Kootstra, van Hell, and Dijkstra (invited for resubmission; see Kootstra 2012) focused on socio-interactive aspects of code-switching. They used the *confederate-scripting technique* to investigate the way in which dialogue partners adapt their linguistic behavior to each other. In the confederate-scripting

technique, two participants (one of whom is a confederate, an actor who is instructed beforehand by the experimenter and whose linguistic behavior has been scripted, unbeknownst to the real participant) sit opposite each other, both with a laptop in front of them, and perform a dialogue game in which they describe pictures to each other that are presented on their laptop. In Kootstra et al.'s study, the confederate uttered a code-switched picture description in 50% of the cases, and did not code-switch in the other 50% of the cases. The real participant was completely free to use whatever (combination of) language(s) (s)he wanted in his/her picture descriptions. The question of interest was whether the confederate's code-switching influenced the tendency in the real participant to code-switch or not. It turned out that the real participants' picture descriptions were significantly more often code-switched when the confederate had just code-switched in the previous turn, compared to when the confederate had not code-switched in the previous turn. This influence of the confederate's switching on the participants' tendency to code-switch shows the power of socio-interactive processes in code-switching. In addition, the successful use of the confederate-scripting technique shows that it is possible to study relatively unconstrained code-switching in an experimental way.

Kootstra et al. explained their findings in terms of the mechanism of *interactive alignment* in dialogue. The basic idea of interactive alignment is that language production does not merely include the encoding of a message into an articulatory output, as in many traditional models of language production (e.g. Levelt 1989; Levelt et al. 1999), but rather entails the communication of a message in a way that helps interlocutors to come to a common conception of what one is talking about (see Clark 1996; Pickering & Garrod 2004; Schober 2006). A corollary of this shared communicative goal is that interlocutors model their linguistic behavior to the ongoing conversation by repeating elements of each other's linguistic choices (i.e., interactive alignment). This process is assumed to be based on *priming* (i.e., influence of a prior stimulus on processing a subsequent stimulus) of linguistic representations between hearing and speaking in dialogue. Evidence of such repetition between dialogue partners has been found at the level of lexico-semantics (e.g. Brennan & Clark 1996; Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Garrod & Anderson 1987; Tannen 1989), syntax (e.g. Branigan, Pickering, & Cleland 2000; Gries 2005; Huttenlocher, Vasiljeva, & Shimpf 2004; Levelt & Kelter 1982; van Beijsterveldt & van Hell 2009), phonology (e.g. Bradlow & Bent 2008), and articulation (e.g. Pardo 2006). With their code-switching findings, Kootstra et al. showed that interactive alignment between dialogue partners also applies to language choice in bilingual dialogue: Upon listening to a code-switched sentence (from the confederate), the participant activates linguistic representations from both languages, which

will retain some residual activation when the participant then utters a sentence him/herself. Based on this residual activation of linguistic representations from both languages, the likelihood of code-switching will be relatively high.

The mechanism of interactive alignment can be related to socio-interactive theories of language use, such as theories on conversational maxims (Grice 1975), politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987), and speech accommodation (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland 1991). These aspects of language use have also been applied in sociolinguistic code-switching research, for instance by Myers-Scotton (1993) in her markedness model and by Auer (e.g. 1995) in his conversational-analytic approach to the pragmatics of code-switching (see also several chapters in this volume, e.g. Amuzu; Anchimbe; Stell). An important difference between these sociolinguistic studies and Kootstra et al.'s application of interactive alignment in code-switching is that sociolinguistic studies tend to emphasize strategic aspects of language choice in relation to the social meaning of language choice in conversations, whereas Kootstra et al.'s study emphasized automatic alignment processes (or rather did not explicitly distinguish between automatic and strategic forms of alignment). To further establish the link between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of code-switching, future studies should focus more on strategic alignment processes. This could be done by varying aspects of the discourse situation, such as the social identity, perceived sympathy, or the behavior of the confederate, to use the confederate-scripting technique in dialogue situations between more than two people (e.g. Branigan, Pickering, McLean, & Cleland 2007), or to compare alignment effects in non-interactive situations with alignment effects in interactive situations.

Kootstra, van Hell, and Dijkstra (in preparation) in fact made such a comparison between non-interactive and interactive situations in code-switching. They investigated alignment of grammatical and ungrammatical code-switched sentences in a monologue situation, in which the confederate's utterance is not uttered by a real confederate but simply presented auditorily through headphones as a 'prime sentence', and in a dialogue situation, in which a confederate performs the task jointly with the participant. Preliminary analyses suggest that, in the monologue task, alignment effects were about equally strong after grammatical or ungrammatical prime sentences, whereas in the dialogue tasks, alignment was stronger after the confederate had uttered a grammatical sentence compared to an ungrammatical sentence. These findings suggest that alignment is not only the result of automatic mechanisms (which would have led to the same results in both monologue and dialogue), but also of strategic mechanisms (see also Garrod & Pickering 2007, for more information on strategic and automatic alignment). Apparently, the goal in dialogue to be under-

stood by your dialogue partner – and therefore to not produce ungrammatical sentences – caused the participants in the dialogue experiment to not blindly align with their dialogue partner.

2.3 Lexical and syntactic factors in cross-language activation and code-switching

In addition to discourse-situational and socio-interactive effects, code-switching and cross-language activation processes are also influenced by high degrees of lexical and syntactic overlap across languages (see e.g. de Bot, Broersma, & Isurin 2009; Kootstra et al. 2009, for reviews). At the lexical level, cross-language activation is often investigated by studying the processing of *cognates* (translation equivalents with the same or a highly similar lexical form, such as the Dutch-English ‘hotel’ – ‘hotel’ or ‘tomaat’ – ‘tomato’). It has been found in experimental studies that cognates are generally named quicker and more accurately than matched control words (Christoffels et al. 2007; Costa et al. 2000; Hoshino & Kroll 2008), cause fewer tip-of-the-tongue states (Gollan and Acenas 2004), and are easier to associate to than matched control words (van Hell & de Groot 1998). The common conclusion from these cognate-facilitation effects in bilinguals is that the activation of cognates leads to an increase of cross-language activation in language production (see e.g. Dijkstra 2007).

Given that cognates lead to an increase in cross-language activation, it is likely that cognates facilitate switching between languages. This influence of cognates on code-switching is reflected in the *triggering hypothesis*, which holds that cognates can trigger a switch to the other language (e.g. Broersma & de Bot 2006; Clyne 1967, 1980, 2003). Corpus studies have indeed found evidence supporting this hypothesis. Broersma and de Bot (2006), for instance, counted the co-occurrence of trigger words (operationalized as cognates, false friends, and proper nouns) and code-switches in utterances spoken by Dutch/Moroccan-Arabic bilinguals, and found that code-switches occurred more often in sentences with a trigger word than in sentences without a trigger word. Later studies by Broersma and colleagues yielded similar findings of lexical triggering in different language pairs, namely Dutch-English (Broersma 2009; Broersma, Isurin, Bultena, & de Bot 2009) and Russian-English (Broersma et al. 2009).

A strong aspect of this triggering evidence is that it is based on corpus data from relatively uncontrolled discourse situations, in which code-switches constitute free choices in natural conversation. However, in the eyes of a psycholinguist, the data are also relatively uncontrolled, which makes it difficult

to control for the influence of possibly intervening variables or to test the triggering hypothesis in interaction with other factors possibly influencing code-switching. Kootstra et al. (invited for resubmission) therefore experimentally studied the role of triggered code-switching in combination with interactive alignment of code-switching, using the earlier-discussed confederate-scripted picture description dialogue task. They manipulated the confederate's prime sentences and participants' target pictures in such a way that they contained a cognate or a non-cognate. They found that participants indeed tended to switch more often when the stimulus contained a cognate, but only when the confederate had just code-switched in the preceding turn. When the confederate had not just code-switched, participants' tendency to code-switch was low in general. Apparently then, trigger words do not actually cause code-switching, but rather enhance the likelihood of code-switching when it is already quite likely to occur (cf., de Bot et al. 2009; van Hell, Kootstra, & Litcofsky, forthcoming), such as when a dialogue partner has just code-switched.

In addition to the lexical level (cognates), cross-language activation has been observed at the syntactic level. In language production, this has most notably been studied by means of *cross-language structural priming* experiments. Cross-language structural priming is what happens when the processing (either production or comprehension) of a sentence in one language is influenced by the syntactic structure of a recently processed sentence in another language². This process can only be explained by assuming cross-language activation of syntactic structures. In one of the first studies investigating this phenomenon, Loebell and Bock (2003) asked German-English bilinguals to describe a picture in one of their languages after they had reproduced a sentence with a specific syntactic structure in their other language. The sentences and pictures employed surface syntactic structures that either overlapped between German and English or that were language-specific. The critical question was whether and if so, in which conditions, the participants would describe the pictures using the same structure as in the sentence they had just reproduced (i.e., priming). Priming effects were found for overlapping structures, but not for non-overlapping structures. These effects indicate that overlapping structures facilitate cross-language activation processes that lead to cross-language priming. Similar results have been obtained in other cross-language structural priming studies with different language pairs (Bernolet, Hartsuiker, & Pickering 2007; Hartsuiker, Pickering, & Veltkamp 2004; Kootstra & Doedens, submit-

² Note that this kind of priming is highly related to interactive alignment in dialogue. Indeed, priming (between interlocutors) is assumed to be one of the core mechanisms underlying interactive alignment (Garrod & Pickering 2007; Pickering & Garrod 2004).

ted; Meijer & Fox Tree 2003; Schoonbaert, Hartsuiker, & Pickering 2007; Weber & Indefrey 2009, see Hartsuiker & Pickering 2008, for a review).

Based on these shared word order effects in cross-language structural priming, which indicate that syntactic cross-language activation is strongest in shared word orders, it can be predicted that code-switching is easiest in syntactic structures that are the same across languages. This prediction is consistent with the equivalence constraint on code-switching (Poplack 1980), which has been supported in a number of corpus studies (e.g. Deuchar 2005; Meechan & Poplack 1995; Poplack 1980; Poplack, Wheeler, & Westwood 1989). A shared word order advantage is also implied in the Matrix Language Frame model on code-switching (e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002; see Parafita Couto, Deuchar & Fusser, this volume; Amuzu, this volume, for more information), which holds that in code-switched sentences all morphemes carrying grammatical information should come from one language only (i.e., the matrix language), and that the word order should always be the word order of the matrix language. When the word order of the matrix language happens to be equivalent to the word order of the embedded language, it will be less difficult to comply with the principle that the word order should be the word order of the matrix language.

To test this predicted shared word order advantage in code-switching, Kootstra, van Hell, and Dijkstra (2010) had Dutch-English bilinguals perform a task in which they read aloud a Dutch sentence fragment that cued either the SVO, SOV, or VSO word order in Dutch and then completed this sentence fragment by describing a picture of a simple transitive event, using at least one word of English (i.e., they had to code-switch from reading aloud the Dutch sentence fragment to using at least one word of English in the target picture description). The participants were free to choose the word order and sentence location of switching in their target picture description. In a second experiment, the order of languages was reversed (i.e., English sentence fragments with the use of at least one Dutch word in the target picture description). Based on the idea that the shared word order is preferred in a code-switched sentence, Kootstra et al. predicted that participants would have a strong tendency to use the SVO word order in the code-switched target picture descriptions, even when the sentence fragment cued the SOV or VSO word order, because the SVO word order is shared between Dutch and English (the SOV and VSO word order are only possible in Dutch). This is exactly what they found. Kootstra et al. further found that the syntactic flexibility of code-switching was higher in sentences with the (shared) SVO structure than in sentences with the (non-shared) SOV or VSO structure: When participants used the SVO structure, they code-switched at various sentence locations irrespective of whether the code-switch was from Dutch to English or from English to Dutch, and they

used both English and Dutch for verb inflections; when participants used the SOV or VSO structure, however, the sentence location of switching was highly dependent on whether the code-switch was from Dutch to English or from English to Dutch, and the inflected verb was nearly always in Dutch (since English does not support SOV and VSO structures).

This combination of results in which code-switching was more frequent and more flexible in the shared syntactic structure than in the non-shared syntactic structure provides evidence for the predicted shared word order advantage in code-switching and is consistent with both the equivalence constraint (code-switching was more frequent with the shared word order) and the MLF model (language of the inflected verb nearly always matched grammatically with the chosen word order, but this grammatical matching did not constrain linguistic choices in shared word orders). Thus, different principles and constraints on linguistic structure in code-switching can be brought together with theoretical notions and methodological techniques from psycholinguistics.

In addition to this ‘monologue’ version of this picture-driven sentence completion task, Kootstra et al. (2010) tested code-switching patterns and word order choices in a confederate-scripted dialogue situation, in which the confederate’s picture descriptions were pre-scripted in terms of word order choice and sentence location of code-switching. It turned out that, in addition to the shared word order effects that were already observed in the monologue task, the participants had a strong tendency to use the same word order and code-switching patterns as the confederate did in the previous turn. These alignment effects were strongest in the case of shared word orders, but they also occurred when the confederate produced a code-switched utterance in a non-shared word order. That is, the confederate sometimes produced code-switched utterances that were grammatically unexpected, but the participants still tended to align with parts of the confederate’s utterance. This shows that socio-interactive forces on syntactic choice in code-switching can interact with purely structural forces on syntactic choice.

3 Implications of the reported studies for research on code-switching

The studies discussed above provide implications for theory and methodology on code-switching and bilingual language use in general. I will now elaborate on these implications in terms of (1) the relation between socio-interactive and lexical/structural forces on code-switching, (2) psycholinguistic research and

models on bilingual language processing, and (3) methodology in code-switching research.

3.1 The relation between socio-interactive and lexical / structural forces on code-switching

Bilinguals' choice to code-switch or not was based on the interaction between the presence of a trigger word and the code-switching of a dialogue partner, and bilinguals' syntactic choices in code-switching were based on the interaction between cross-language word order equivalence and the syntactic choices of a dialogue partner. These findings show that lexical and structural forces on code-switching are not independent from socio-interactive forces on code-switching. The implication for code-switching studies is that these lexical and structural factors should always be interpreted as situated in a discourse context, and that this discourse context itself can modulate the extent to which these lexical and structural factors influence linguistic choices and code-switching patterns. Such a view on code-switching in which language-form-related factors are integrated with the environment in which the language is uttered is consistent with recent advances in the area of situated and embedded language processing (e.g. Zwaan & Kaschak 2008), and will result in a closer connection between structural linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches to code-switching (see e.g. Amuzu, this volume; Stell, this volume, for other examples of how socio-interactional and structural patterns are intertwined in code-switching).

The presented findings can also inform the issue of whether structural constraints on code-switching are absolute (i.e., constraints universally apply, irrespective of the context in which they occur) or probabilistic (i.e., constraints are graded, context-sensitive, and open to interaction with other constraints). As also discussed by Stell and Yakpo (this volume), there is somewhat of a division between researchers who argue that the syntax of code-switching is governed by absolute principles that universally apply (e.g. MacSwan 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002; Toribio 2001) and researchers who argue that the syntax of code-switching is the product of probabilistic constraints, leading to general tendencies of language behavior (e.g. Muysken 1995, 2000). The reported finding that effects of shared word order interacted with effects of alignment in dialogue suggests that syntactic constraints on code-switching are probabilistic and amenable to interaction with other constraints on code-switching from other levels of language processing. This notion of probabilistic constraints is consistent with studies from other areas of language processing, including

language production in monolinguals (e.g. Goldrick 2007) and sentence processing in monolinguals and bilinguals (e.g. MacWhinney & Bates 1989; Seidenberg & MacDonald 1999).

The point that syntactic constraints on code-switching are not absolute has implications for the kind of data that can be considered evidence in code-switching research. From an absolutist perspective on syntactic constraints in code-switching, the mere presentation of counter-examples would suffice to falsify a constraint. Bentahila and Davies (1983), for example, came up with ten examples of code-switches that violated the equivalence constraint from a 7.5 hour long corpus of Arabic-French conversation, and concluded from this that “the requirement of equivalence of surface structure between the two languages does not seem to hold” (Bentahila & Davies 1983: 319). Similarly, MacSwan (2000) argued on the basis of wellformedness judgments from two Spanish-Nahuatl code-switched sentences that “the operative principle in code-switching cannot [...] be Poplack’s Equivalence Constraint” (MacSwan 2000: 38). Following a probabilistic perspective, such an ‘all-or-none’ approach to falsification is replaced with an approach in which different factors affecting code-switching are combined and evaluated in terms of statistical probability. In other words, the equivalence constraint is not seen as *the* operative principle in code-switching, but as *an* operative mechanism in code-switching, in addition to other mechanisms. The reported interactions between syntactic forces on code-switching with interactive alignment forces on code-switching suggest that a probabilistic analysis of code-switching leads to a more complete understanding of syntactic choice in code-switching.

Another hypothesis on code-switching that benefits from a probabilistic account is the triggering hypothesis. Until recently, the triggering hypothesis had only been tested in corpus studies in which the interaction of triggering with other factors, such as alignment with a dialogue partner, was not taken into account (Broersma 2009; Broersma & de Bot 2006; Broersma et al. 2009). Thus, although these studies indeed found a facilitative effect of trigger words on code-switching, the importance of this lexical triggering relative to other factors remained unexplored. The finding from Kootstra et al. (invited for re-submission) that lexical triggering is driven by interactive alignment with a dialogue partner indicates that lexical triggering depends on other factors that may influence code-switching. This is in line with a probabilistic-constraints account on language behavior.

Similar views on triggered code-switching have been put forward by de Bot et al. (2009). Taking dynamical systems theory as their theoretical framework, de Bot et al. (2009) argued that lexical triggering should not be interpreted in isolation, but in terms of a system of multiple factors of code-switching that

build up the tendency to code-switch. In such a system, a trigger word can be a “final grain of sand” (de Bot et al. 2009: 87) that prompts people to switch from one language to the other. Thus, while trigger words themselves could be the immediate cause of a particular code-switch, this causal effect is based on a pile of other factors that have already built up the tendency to code-switch. The reported effect that lexical triggering of code-switches only occurred when a dialogue partner had just code-switched, support this ‘grain-of-sand’-argument.

3.2 Implications for psycholinguistic research

The findings presented in this chapter also lead to new insights into the psycholinguistics of bilingual language use. The finding that cognates facilitated code-switching only in specific situations enriches current knowledge on the cognate facilitation effect in bilingual lexical processing. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, many studies have found that cognates facilitate performance on bilingual tasks (e.g. Christoffels et al. 2007; Costa et al. 2000; Hoshino & Kroll 2008). Importantly, however, cognate effects have been found to depend on the linguistic context in which the cognates are presented. When cognates are embedded in semantically highly constraining sentence contexts, for example, cognate effects are reduced or sometimes even eliminated (e.g. Libben & Titone 2009; Schwartz & Kroll 2006; van Hell & de Groot 2008). The cognate findings presented in this chapter are consistent with this context-sensitive effect of cognates. But what is perhaps most important is that the triggering effects indicate that cognates not only influence task performance in terms of reaction times and accuracy scores in lexical tasks (which are the most commonly used ways to measure cognate effects), but also influence actual language choice in tasks that come much closer to natural language production than the single-word tasks in most other studies.

The reported findings also have implications for models of bilingual language production. The fact that code-switching was influenced by both socio-interactive and lexical/structural variables cannot be fully accounted for by a model of language production as an individual action. Rather, code-switching seems to be best explained by a model in which both intra- and inter-individual forces on language use interact. One model that could be used in this respect is the interactive alignment model on dialogue processing (Pickering & Garrod 2004). This model assumes that dialogue (and not monologue) is the basic situation from which language production should be explained. It specifies the levels of linguistic processing involved in dialogue, and assumes that these

levels of processing interact with each other within and between individuals. This leads to a resonance of intra- and interpersonal processes in which speakers do not formulate utterances from scratch, but rather copy elements from each other's utterances. This is, by its very nature, an interactive and probabilistic process, in which processes at one level of processing (e.g. lexical level, structural level) are influenced by processes at other levels of processing (e.g. socio-interactional level). The code-switching studies presented in this chapter have extended the interactive alignment model, as they have provided evidence that interactive alignment does not only apply to monolingual settings, but also to bilingual settings, in which interlocutors activate linguistic representations from both languages in the same utterance.

3.3 Methodological implications and innovations

The findings reported in this chapter are mainly based on experimental data. For many linguists and sociolinguists, experimental data may be regarded as artificial and compromising the phenomenon of interest (Gullberg et al. 2009). Still, experiments can have important advantages. They make it possible to exclusively tap into specific (combinations of) variables while controlling for possibly intervening variables (i.e., strong internal validity) in a large sample of participants in controlled situations that are repeatable across experiments and allow for quantitative inferential analyses (i.e., strong generalizability / external validity). Moreover, in recent years more and more psycholinguists have made a move from externally induced responses in artificial settings towards more internally generated responses in settings that are slowly beginning to resemble real-life discourse situations (see e.g. Trueswell & Tanenhaus 2005, for an overview of psycholinguistic experimental techniques in which language processing is tested in more natural settings; see Gullberg et al. 2009, for an overview of research techniques for the study of code-switching). The experimental findings reported in this chapter are consistent with this move towards more ecologically valid testing situations, and can thus provide a bridge between research methods in sociolinguistics, structural linguistics, and psycholinguistics.

A crucial aspect of the experimental data presented in this chapter is that the dependent variables in the experimental tasks (i.e., the participants' responses) always constituted an internally generated response, that is, a free choice. This is most directly reflected in the study on lexical triggering and interactive alignment, in which participants were completely free to code-switch or not, and in which code-switching was merely promoted by the code-

switching of a confederate. In the study on shared word order in monologue and dialogue, a procedure was used in which participants were indeed forced to switch, yet free to switch the way they wanted to. Because the manner of switching and not the actual choice to code-switch was the variable of interest in these experiments, the responses in these experiments can still be regarded as internally generated. The advantage of combining internally generated responses with external cues to switch is that it provides a means to study relatively spontaneous code-switching in a controlled situation that guarantees a sufficient sample of code-switched responses per condition.

A noteworthy asset of the experimental research techniques presented in this chapter is their flexibility. Especially the confederate-scripting technique offers ways to combine independent variables from different levels of processing in a well-controlled situation. It is, for instance, possible to manipulate the confederate's social identity in combination with a linguistic manipulation (cf., Fokke et al. 2007), to use the confederate-scripting technique in situations with more than two people involved (Branigan et al. 2007), or to vary the amount of scripting of the confederate. In fact, it is even possible to use a dialogue task in which both interlocutors are naïve with respect to the aims of the experiment (so there is no confederate at all) and the discourse partners are entirely free in terms of turn-taking and the possibility to interrupt each other (e.g. the director-matcher task; Gullberg et al. 2009). What is more, the confederate-scripting technique is not only suitable for the study of language production, but also for the study of language comprehension, for instance by measuring eye-movements in real-time dialogue (e.g. Kreysa & Pickering 2011; see also Huetig, Rommers, & Meyer 2011). This array of methodological possibilities is in line with another suggestion made by Gullberg et al. (2009) to validate code-switching in the laboratory with free code-switching, namely by using a range of techniques to study code-switching, from more naturalistic to more experimental, measuring comprehension data, production data, and conversational data. The confederate-scripting technique could play a key role in creating this range of techniques.

4 Future directions

The present chapter has reported evidence on how lexical and structural effects on code-switching are modulated by socio-interactive effects. Future code-switching studies could focus on cross-language activation processes at other levels than the lexical (triggering) and syntactic (shared word order) level. One such level is the phonetic level. That is, bilingual interlocutors have been

found to align their articulatory patterns in conversations (Pardo 2006). What is more, Ju and Luce (2004) found that the activation of words in a bilingual context can be biased towards one of the two languages depending on language-specific voice-onset times. This indicates that phonetic processes carry important language information that could potentially trigger linguistic choices. It would be interesting to investigate to what extent the use of language-specific acoustic-phonetic information (i.e., foreign accent) fuels the production of code-switches in dialogue, and whether there are cross-speaker processes involved in this foreign-accented code-switching. One can, for instance, think of a confederate-scripting experiment in which the accentedness and code-switching behavior of a confederate is manipulated to investigate whether these factors influence the code-switching behavior of a real participant. In a first exploration of such a set-up in German-Dutch bilinguals, Untiedt (2010) showed that it is possible for a confederate to learn to adopt a heavy or light accent without the real participants being aware of the fact that the confederate is performing an act. This is an important outcome that can be implemented in future research.

Another avenue for future research would be to investigate the role of participants' daily language use. It may of course well be that the tendency to code-switch or to align with the code-switching of a dialogue partner is dependent on how 'normal' it is for the participant to code-switch in real life. People from communities in which code-switching is a socially established discourse mode (e.g. in Suriname; see Yakpo, this volume) may be less aware of the fact that they are code-switching. This may be cognitively reflected in terms of relatively vague mental boundaries between languages. Indeed, Green (2011) proposed that the community context of bilinguals' daily language use (e.g. non-code-switching communities vs. code-switching communities) may have an impact on the brain structures known to be associated with bilingual language processing (e.g. language control networks). It is therefore important to take individual variability in daily language use into account in future studies.

Going beyond code-switching, it would be interesting to extend the framework of cross-language activation processes within and across speakers (i.e., interactive alignment) to other language contact phenomena. According to Pickering and Garrod (2004), interactive alignment is a product of *priming* of linguistic representations between speakers. Besides short-term functions of this priming (namely alignment processes in conversations), priming can also have long-term functions, such as implicit learning of syntax in first and second language acquisition (e.g. Chang, Dell, & Bock 2006; Ferreira & Bock 2006; Shin & Christianson 2012; Trofimovich & McDonough 2011), and routinization in linguistic communities (Pickering & Garrod 2004; Garrod & Pickering 2013).

Based on this idea, it has been argued by a number of researchers that priming in natural discourse could stimulate language change (e.g. Chang 2008; Jäger & Rosenbach 2008; Luka & Barsalou 2005; Luka & Choi 2012). Translating this idea to cross-language situations, it could well be that cross-language priming fuels contact-induced language change (e.g. Kootstra & Doedens, submitted; Loebell & Bock 2003; Torres Cacoullous & Travis 2011). With respect to code-switching, this could in the long run for instance lead to mixed languages, such as discussed by O’Shannessy (this volume).

Given that bilingual priming effects were most prevalent at points of lexical and structural similarity between languages (i.e., cognates and syntactic equivalence), it can be expected that language change due to cross-language priming will be most probable when there is a high degree of lexical and structural overlap between languages. This role of between-language overlap and convergence is also emphasized by Muysken (2000) with his notion of congruent lexicalization, a form of code-mixing that shows many signs of convergence between languages. According to Muysken, congruent lexicalization particularly takes place between related languages, in which syntactic equivalence and lexical triggering play a major part (see Stell, this volume; Yakpo, this volume, for more discussion on congruent lexicalization). This notion of cross-language convergence on the basis of a high level of lexical and syntactic overlap across languages is consistent with the idea that cross-linguistic priming, which is strongest in the case of a high degree of cross-language overlap, can lead to language change, for instance in the form of convergence and congruent lexicalization.

Nevertheless, cross-language overlap is not *required* for cross-language priming to occur. Kootstra and Şahin (in preparation) investigated cross-language effects in the production of dative structures in Papiamentu by speakers of Papiamentu in Aruba compared to speakers of Papiamentu in the Netherlands. In Papiamentu, dative sentences are typically produced with only one structure, namely the double object structure (subject–verb–indirect object–direct object). In Dutch, however, many dative sentences can be produced with either the double object structure or the prepositional object structure (subject–verb–direct object–preposition–indirect object), just as in English. We found that speakers of Papiamentu in the Netherlands use more prepositional-object constructions in their Papiamentu than Papiamentu speakers in Aruba, who hardly used these constructions for dative sentences. Based on subsequent cross-language priming experiments, Kootstra and Şahin found that cross-language structural priming from Dutch to Papiamentu could well be an underlying mechanism of this shift in structural preferences in Papiamentu as spoken in the Netherlands. This is an important finding, because it shows that

cross-language priming even occurs when the primed structures are not or hardly used in the target language. See also Chen, Jia, Wang, Dunlap, and Shin (2013) for related evidence that cross-language overlap is not strictly necessary for cross-linguistic structural priming to occur.

The idea of cross-language priming potentially leading to contact-induced language change is related to Backus' usage-based approach (this volume), in which "every synchronic act is assumed to have diachronic implications". According to Backus, continuity from synchrony to diachrony is based on actions of linguistic replication leading to entrenchment of linguistic constructions that are dynamically created on the basis of language usage (see also Beckner et al. 2009). This 'replication' may well be driven by priming, as has also been lucidly described by Jäger and Rosenbach (2008) in their statement that "what appears as diachronic trajectories of unidirectional change is decomposable into atomic steps of [...] priming in language use" (p. 85). What is more, when comparing the usage-based approach with psycholinguistic theories, the usage-based approach is automatically implied in the principles and mechanisms assumed in current psycholinguistic models of language production and comprehension. That is, as touched upon earlier in this chapter, language processing is assumed to take place on the basis of activation of linguistic representations in a neural network. In such a neural network, words and sentences are represented as mappings between a certain form and a certain communicative function, created on the basis of co-occurrence and inter-item associations (e.g. Dell, Chang, & Griffin 1999; Goldrick 2007; MacWhinney & Bates 1989; Seidenberg & MacDonald 1999). Activation of these representations (i.e., during language production and language comprehension) will lead to a continuous updating and adaptation of these associations between form and function on the basis of the linguistic environment, thus resulting in implicit language learning and in the long run in language change (e.g. Dell & Chang 2014). Now if the linguistic environment is multilingual, then this can lead to multilingual language change. Thus, both the usage-based approach and connectionist notions in language processing (including priming) lead to a similar view on multilingual language use, which, as Backus (this volume) also points out, may help unify the field of contact linguistics.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reported evidence from experimental tasks that approximate aspects of code-switching in real life that the production of code-switched sentences is a dynamic process in which constraints from different levels of

processing (e.g. socio-interactive, syntactic, lexical) interact. I also argued that the notion of cross-language activation in combination with the interactive alignment model of dialogue processing seem to provide an elegant and quite complete way to account for the underlying cognitive mechanisms and knowledge structures involved in this process. The basic idea of this account is that the mind of a bilingual person is fundamentally interactive, leading to cross-language activation processes at multiple levels of processing, both within and between speakers. This account on bilingual language use in context is conceptually very similar to a usage-based approach to language (Backus, this volume), and could serve as a framework from which other language contact phenomena (e.g. contact-induced language change) can be studied. Thus, a full plan of the crossroads between structural linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches in language contact would benefit from the addition of a psycholinguistic road.

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How do Welsh-English bilinguals deal with conflict? Adjective-noun order resolution

Abstract¹: The best theoretical account of grammaticality in code-switching is still a hotly debated topic. There are contrasting predictions about what happens at “conflict sites” where the grammars of the two languages have conflicting rules. Compare for example *red wine* in English with Welsh *gwin coch* (*wine red*). In Welsh-English bilingual speech the nominal construction is a potential “conflict site”: do we expect e.g. *gwin red* or *red gwin*, and *coch wine* or *wine coch*? Different theories make conflicting claims on what switches are acceptable. According to the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 2002) word order has to be compatible with the language of the matrix verb. For Cantone and MacSwan (2009), “it is the language of the adjective that determines the position of the NP relative to the adjective”.

We designed a study to evaluate conflict sites within Welsh-English mixed nominal constructions by using a multi-task approach comprising (1) naturalistic corpus data, (2) an elicitation task, and (3) an auditory judgment task. We discuss the relation between the choice of mixed vs. nonmixed nominal constructions and extralinguistic factors. Our results call into question the usefulness of judgment data for code-switching research and add impetus to the suggestions by Backus (this volume) and Kootstra (this volume) that researchers need to adopt a wider range of methods in this area.

1 Introduction

In many communities, speakers use more than one language in the same situation. Sometimes they will use elements from various languages in a single sentence. This is called code-switching. The linguistic study of code-switching

¹ We would like to acknowledge Caroline Piercy for her work on the statistical analysis and Kevin Donnelly for data extraction. This work was funded in part by a British Academy Small Research Grant. The work presented in this paper was part of the programme of the ESRC Centre for Research on Bilingualism in Theory and Practice at Bangor University.

shows that code-switchers do not switch languages at random: they do not simply mix the languages together in unpredictable ways, but seem to follow specific patterns and rules. Much research into code-switching is dedicated to finding out what these patterns are. In early, pioneering work on code-switching, Poplack (1980) suggested that bilinguals can combine their languages in the same sentence only if the juxtaposition of elements from two languages would not violate a syntactic rule of either language. This condition is known as the “equivalence constraint”. This proposal was challenged on empirical grounds in the same decade (Bentahila & Davies 1983; Berk-Seligson 1986), but it has nevertheless remained highly influential. One reason for this is that it provides a common sense solution to the problem of how bilinguals deal with so-called “conflict sites”, i.e. instances where the grammars of the two languages have different rules. Although various researchers have put forward different solutions to this problem, none of the approaches so far can provide a full account of the data. This may be because solutions have been sought based on a single type of data rather than using data from a wider range of sources.

Given this context, this paper addresses the following fundamental question: What are the mental mechanisms that allow for combining the grammars of more than one language in the same sentence? The empirical focus will be on “conflict sites” where the grammars of the two languages have different rules. Data will be drawn from Welsh-English bilinguals, combining different research methodologies (naturalistic, elicited, and judgments), and yielding the following two complementary research questions:

- a) Which theoretical model makes the best predictions regarding what happens when there is a word order conflict in code-switched nominal constructions?
- b) What is the relationship between speakers’ attitudes and their behavior in production or their judgments of grammaticality in code-switching?

2 Theoretical background

It is well known that bilinguals “mix” languages in the same sentence when they communicate with one another (see Deuchar 2005; Deuchar & Davies 2009; Herring et al. 2010). The following is a naturalistic, attested example, with the “code-switched” word in boldface:

- (1) *pa bryd ti am ailgychwyn efo dy* [Welsh-English]
 which time PRON.2S for restart.NONFIN with POSS.2S
lessons dreifio ta?
 lessons drive.NONFIN then
 ‘When are you going to start your driving lessons again then?’
 (davies5) (<http://www.siarad.org.uk/>)

In work on code-switching in linguistics it is generally agreed that the “mixing” of two languages in the same sentence does not happen in a random fashion but follows specific regularities. However, scholars do not agree on the best theoretical account of these regularities. Theories of the regularities governing these conflict sites are therefore in need of resolution and better understanding.

Various theoretical models have been proposed to account for the “competition” between the languages involved in code-switching. Myers-Scotton’s (1993) *Matrix Language Frame* (MLF) model differentiates the languages involved; one language is known as the matrix language (ML), the other as the embedded language (EL). MacSwan criticizes Myers-Scotton’s model arguing that the grammatical principles responsible for defining the distribution of code-switching explicitly refer to the separate languages involved in it (see the debate between MacSwan and Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 2005). The Matrix Language Frame model predicts that (1) finite verb morphology and (2) word order within a clause that contains code-switching will all be sourced from the same language (the matrix language). If the bound morphology of the finite verb is from Language A, then it is predicted that the word order of an adjective and noun in a noun phrase containing code-switching in the same clause will also be from Language A. Previous studies of Welsh-English code-switching (Deuchar 2006; Davies & Deuchar 2010; Davies 2010) indicate that Welsh-English bilinguals produce code-switching sentences that show a match between the language of the finite verb morphology and word order in the clause. However, owing to the infrequency in natural speech of mixed noun-adjective constructions, it has not yet been possible to adequately examine this specific conflict site for Welsh-English. Following the general prediction outlined above, the Matrix Language Frame model prediction is that the noun-adjective order in a mixed (code-switched) nominal construction will match the language of the finite verb morphology, i.e., the matrix language. Cantone and MacSwan (2009) follow Cinque’s (1990, 1995, 1999, 2005) proposal that a universal base underlies adjectives, with adjectives universally preceding the noun. On this view, differences in word order between the Universal Base and the noun-adjective surface

order in some languages (including Welsh) follow from overt movement of the noun to a position above the adjective, resulting in the surface word order. The consequence of this is that the language of the adjective determines the word order.

2.1 Welsh-English conflict sites

In Welsh (2a), the adjective follows the noun, whereas in English and Dutch (2b), adjectives precede nouns.

- (2) a. *gwin coch* [Welsh]
 wine red
 ‘red wine’
- b. *red wine* [English]
 ‘red wine’

In Welsh-English speech, the nominal construction is therefore a potential “conflict site”: what happens when an adjective from one language is combined with a noun from the other? Do we expect Welsh-English bilingual speech to produce *gwin red* or *red gwin*, and *coch wine* or *wine coch*?

Cantone and MacSwan (2009) would predict *wine coch* and *red gwin* (where the language of the adjective determines the word order), and would exclude *gwin red* and *coch wine*. Myers-Scotton (2002), on the other hand, would expect the word order to follow that of the morphosyntax in the rest of the sentence, predicting *wine coch* and *gwin red* when the rest of the sentence is in Welsh, but *red gwin* and *coch wine* when the morphosyntax of the rest of the sentence is in English. Hence, Welsh-English mixed nominal constructions are an ideal testing ground for these theories of code-switching in conflict sites.

3 Relationship between attitudes and behavior

The link between attitudes and behavior frequently constitutes the focus of inquiry in sociolinguistic research (Coupland et al. 2005: 18). While there are doubts on a straightforward connection between attitudes and behavior, attitudes are often studied because of a belief that they can be at the origin of behavior (Böhner 2001: 270). One tool which is useful for collecting quantifiable data on language attitudes, language abilities and self-reported language behavior is self-completion written questionnaires (Codó 2008: 158). However,

while common-sense views about the connection between attitudes and behavior typically lead people to believe that a change in attitude will automatically result in a change in behavior, research often fails to unequivocally establish such a link (Garrett et al. 2003: 8–9).

Regarding code-switching, it has been observed that although language users may hold negative views about code switching, they continue to switch between the two languages (cf. Montes-Alcalá 2000). A parallel finding from the study of variation in English had already been noted by Labov (1972) who found that negative attitudes towards low prestige forms did not prevent speakers from using those forms themselves. Montes-Alcalá (2000) investigated how attitudes towards code-switching affected the type of code-switches produced in both oral and written narratives among Spanish speakers in California. She expected those subjects who had positive attitudes towards code-switching to code-switch more and in a more complex mode than those who have a negative attitude. Her findings however showed that attitudes towards code-switching are not a determining factor in the type of code-switching that bilingual individuals produce. Intrasentential code-switching was produced more often than intersentential switching, even among those subjects that held negative attitudes towards code-switching.

However, attitudes are shown to have an effect in code-switching behavior by Redinger (2010), who conducted a sociolinguistic investigation of language attitudes and code-switching behavior in Luxembourg's multilingual education system. Through a large-scale questionnaire study of language attitudes and an ethnographic study of attitudes and multilingual classroom behavior, he examined the role of socio-psychological, socio-political and socio-pragmatic factors in the production of language. The study establishes a statistical link between language attitudes and language behavior in both the large-scale questionnaire study and the ethnographic investigation of classroom code-switching. However, attitudes emerge as only one of many factors that influence language choice in multilingual contexts. Language choice inside the classroom is heavily influenced by the context in which it appears as students and teachers code-switch in order to achieve various context-bound goals such as clarifying curriculum content and/or managing classroom discourse and interpersonal relationships.

4 Data and analysis

To answer our research questions we used a multi-task approach, with tasks of varying degrees of spontaneity and restrictiveness. From these we derived

three sets of data, which will each be discussed in turn in the following sections:

1. Naturalistic data: Spontaneous corpus data (section 4.1).
2. Semi-experimental data: Director-matcher task (section 4.2).
3. Experimental data: Acceptability judgment task (section 4.3).

In addition participants were asked to fill in a background questionnaire which included questions about their attitudes to code-switching. The relationship between the participants' attitudes and their behavior during the experiments will be discussed in section 4.4.

4.1 Naturalistic data

For this part of the study we used an existing corpus, the *Siarad* corpus², which was collected at Bangor University. It consists of 40 hours of informal conversations between pairs or groups of Welsh-English bilinguals. From this corpus we automatically extracted all instances of adjective-noun or noun-adjective groups where adjective and noun differed in language³. 137 examples were found, each of them in an utterance with Welsh matrix language. Table 1 shows the different language and word order patterns found. The columns show the order of adjective and noun, with a column for absolute numbers followed by one for percentages each time. The rows show the order of the languages the two elements come from. Thus the top left cell gives the number of examples where a Welsh noun is followed by an English adjective, and so on.

Which theoretical model describes these data most adequately? Since the matrix language is Welsh for all examples, the Matrix Language Frame model

Tab. 1: Bilingual determiner phrases in the *Siarad* corpus.

	N-Adj	N-Adj %	Adj-N	Adj-N %	Total	Total %
Welsh + English	36	26.3 %	1	0.7 %	37	27 %
English + Welsh	93	67.9 %	7	5.1 %	100	73 %
Total	129	94.1 %	8	5.8 %	137	100 %

² www.bangortalk.org.uk

³ All instances of Welsh adjectives that can be used prenominaly and their English equivalent were excluded from the sample.

would predict that all adjectives within bilingual phrases would be postnominal. The results for this position are shown in the first column with numbers in Table 1. Indeed 94.1% of the examples fall into this category. The Minimalist Program on the other hand would expect all examples to fall into the category represented by the second row of Table 1, i.e. either to have a postnominal Welsh adjective or a prenominal English adjective. 73% of examples fall into this category, giving the Minimalist Program a lower level of accuracy than the Matrix Language Framework in this part of the study.

It is interesting to notice that the most frequent combination is English noun – Welsh adjective, which is compatible with both approaches and makes up 67.9% of the data. This will be taken up in the discussion.

4.2 Semi-experimental data

For this and the following experiment we recruited 50 Welsh-English bilinguals aged between 18 and 77. 67% of them had grown up with Welsh as their home language, 9% with English and 24% with both.

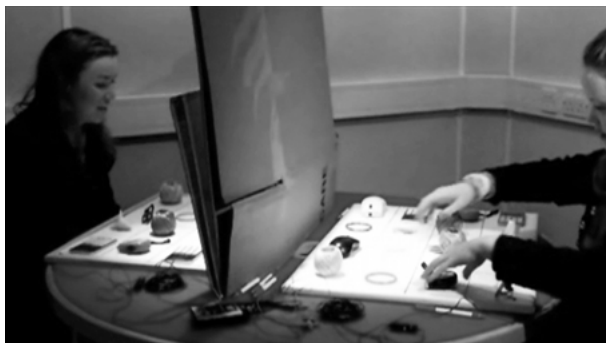


Fig. 1: Participants completing the director-matcher task.

Participants were asked to work in pairs to complete a game-like task as shown in figure 1⁴. A screen was put between them, and both had in front of them a grid with 16 everyday objects differing in size, shape and color. Below is a list of the objects used in the task:

⁴ We would like to thank Arfon Rhys for the picture.

Black mouse
 White mouse
 Triangular tea bag
 Square tea bag
 Round tea bag
 Blue tape measure
 Orange tape measure
 Green string
 Yellow string
 Blue string
 Orange glasses
 Blue glasses
 Blue calculator
 Black calculator
 Orange bracelet
 Purple bracelet

The objects were identical on both sides of the screen, but were arranged differently on the grid. One participant, the “director”, had to give instructions to the other, the “matcher”, on how to rearrange the objects so that they would come to sit in the same order on both sides of the screen. Participants were told they could use any language or other means of communication they liked as long as the screen remained in place, and they were asked to complete the task as quickly as they could (with a prize for the quickest pair).

From the recordings of these director-matcher tasks we extracted all bilingual DPs that minimally included an adjective and a noun (and optionally an overt determiner and/or other modifiers). 168 of these mixed DPs were recorded.

All of the mixed DPs occurred either in utterances that had Welsh as their matrix language or isolated in bare enumerations. As with the corpus data, we did not find any data with English matrix language. Except for English ‘embedded language islands’, in which an English adjective + noun phrase was inserted in an otherwise Welsh utterance, all adjectives were postnominal. Three main patterns were observed⁵ (in order of frequency):

⁵ The remaining 8 DPs had more complex syntactic patterns.

English noun + Welsh adjective (132 of 168)

- (3) *y calculator glas*
 the blue
 DET N ADJ
 (speaker 19D)

Welsh noun + English adjective (15 of 168)

- (4) *rhaff green*
 string
 N ADJ
 (speaker 25D)

English noun + English adjective (13 of 168)

- (5) *y bracelet orange*
 the
 DET N ADJ
 (speaker 02M)

The Minimalist Program would not predict pattern (4), where an English adjective is used postnominally, to occur, nor (5) which means that 28 (17%) of the 168 examples are not accurately predicted by the Minimalist Program.

The Matrix Language Framework Model's predictions however accurately predict all of the examples, as postnominal adjectives are expected in a Welsh matrix language context.

4.3 Experimental data

The participants who took part in the director-matcher task described in 4.2 then went on to complete an acceptability judgment task, for which each participant worked individually on a computer. Participants were presented with oral stimuli over headphones and had to give their judgment by pressing one of four buttons. For analysis these buttons were translated into numbers. Table 2 shows the buttons, their interpretation as presented to the participants, and their score for analysis.

Participants were presented with 84 bilingual utterances in total, which included 36 fillers and practice examples. The 48 experiment stimuli were complete permutations of two sentences which showed the same determiner phrase in subject or object position, with Welsh or English matrix language, with Welsh or English determiner, Welsh or English adjective, Welsh or English noun, and all of these with the adjective in pre- or postnominal position. Examples (6) and (7) below show two of the stimuli:

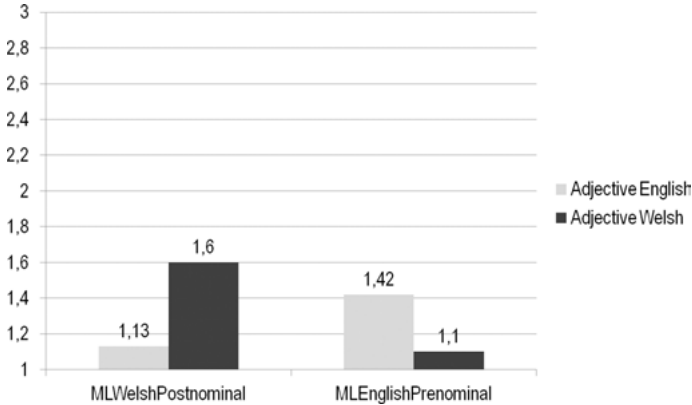


Fig. 2: Acceptability judgments: matrix language and adjective position (1 = unacceptable, 3 = acceptable).

Figure 2 appears to provide support for the MLF in that adjectives appear to be more acceptable in postnominal position when the matrix language is Welsh, but in prenominal position when the matrix language is English. However, there appears on the face of it to be support for the prediction of the Minimalist Program that the language of the adjective determines word order. Where the adjective is in English (left hand bar in each pair above) it is the DPs with prenominal adjectives which are more acceptable, whereas when the adjective is Welsh (right hand bar in each pair above) the DPs with postnominal DPs which are more acceptable. However, before we conclude that both theoretical frameworks are equally successful, we may note that this result may simply reflect people's preference for the switched words in an utterance to be nouns rather than adjectives, and therefore for the adjectives rather than the nouns to match the ML. In other words, we expect participants to prefer *horse arall* ('other horse') to *other ceffyl* ('other horse') when the ML is Welsh. If the ML is English, on the other hand, we would expect the reverse preference, with the DP containing the switched noun *ceffyl* to be preferred to one containing a switched adjective like *other*. This preference would correspond to the relatively greater frequency of switched nouns as compared to any other category in most bilingual corpora (cf. e.g. Poplack 1980: 602; Deuchar 2005: 250).

4.4 Attitudes and behavior

The questionnaire the experiment participants filled in included the following two questions about their attitudes to code-switching:

- a) To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “In everyday conversation, I keep the Welsh and English languages separate.”
- b) To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “People should avoid mixing Welsh and English in the same conversation.”

Table 3 shows the possible answers, together with the score into which we converted the answers for our analysis.

Tab. 3: Response options to attitude questions.

Answer	Score
“I strongly disagree.”	-2
“I disagree.”	-1
“I neither agree nor disagree.”	0
“I agree.”	1
“I strongly agree.”	2

Figure 3 and 4 show the answers given by the participants.⁶

We wondered if there was any significant correlation between speakers’ reported language use and attitudes and their behavior during the director-matcher task and the judgment task. In order to assess the quantity of code-switching during the director-matcher task we calculated the percentage of determiner phrases uttered during the task that were bilingual.⁷ Figure 5 shows the relation between this percentage and the speakers’ reported language use (question a). Figure 6 shows the relation between the percentage of mixed determiner phrases and the speakers’ reported attitude to code-switching (question b).

The figures show strong negative correlations between the percentage of switched DPs and both reported language use (Spearman’s $\rho = 0.47$; $p = 0.01$)

⁶ The two figures look so similar that one might think that most speakers have ticked the same for both questions. This is not the case: only 22 out of 50 ticked the identical answer.

⁷ The matchers were excluded from this exercise as the number of determiner phrases produced by them tended to be too small for any meaningful statistics. This is also the reason why we didn’t do the same kind of analysis for the corpus data. The directors however were forced to produce at least 15 determiner phrases by the nature of the task.

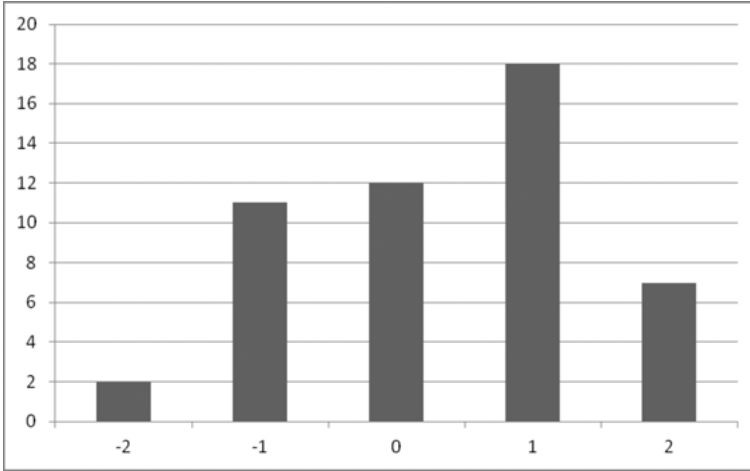


Fig. 3: “To what extent do you agree with the following statement: ‘In everyday conversation, I keep the Welsh and English languages separate’” (Average: 0.34).

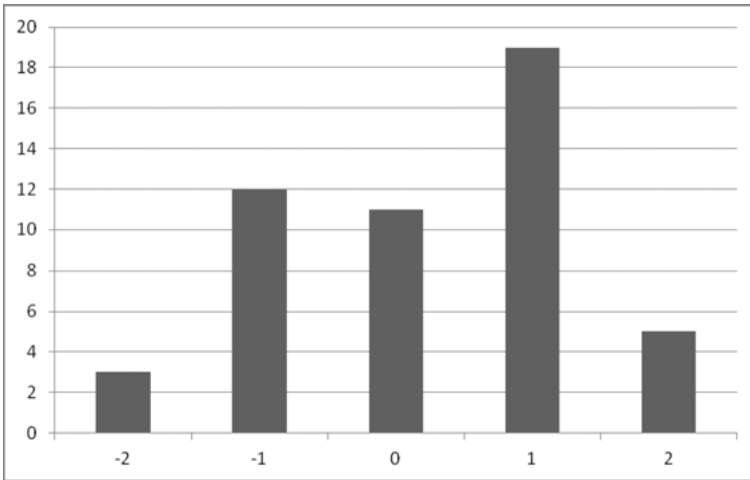


Fig. 4: “To what extent do you agree with the following statement: ‘People should avoid mixing Welsh and English in the same conversation’” (Average: 0.22).

as well as attitude to code-switching (Spearman’s $\rho = 0.47$; $p = 0.01$) respectively. Both correlations are statistically significant. This suggests that speakers actually tend to do as they say. Speakers who most strongly agree that they keep Welsh and English separate and speakers who most strongly agree that

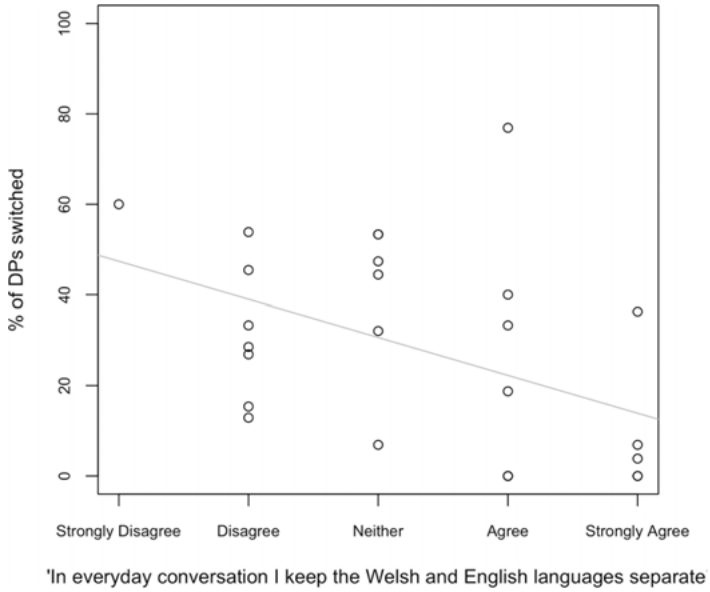


Fig. 5: Relation between reported language use and percentage of switched DPs in the director-matcher task.

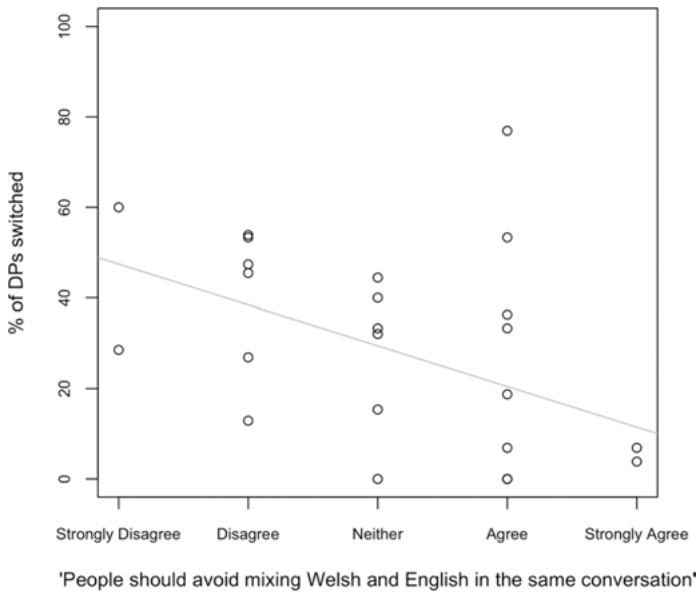


Fig. 6: Relation between attitude to code-switching and percentage of switched DPs in director-matcher task.

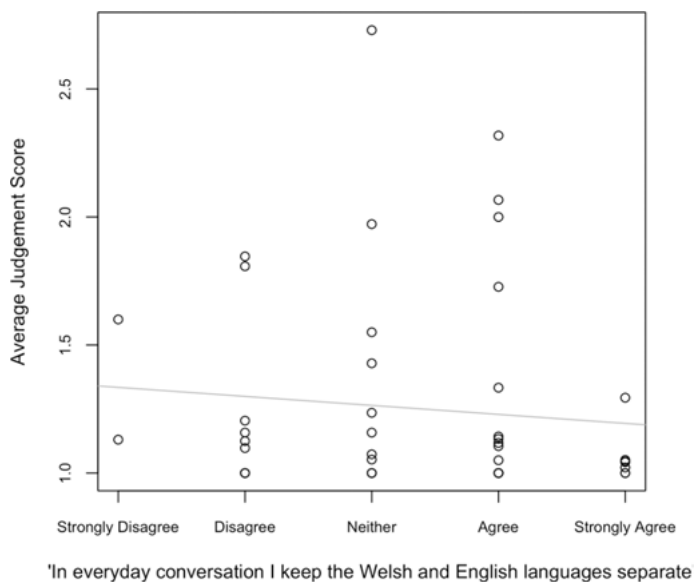


Fig. 7: Relation between reported language use and acceptability judgments.

the languages should be kept separate use fewer mixed determiner phrases than speakers with different attitudes.

But what about the relation between speakers' acceptability judgments and (a) their language use and (b) their code-switching behaviour? We computed an average score for each speaker⁸ from all their judgments. Figure 7 shows the relation between this score and the speakers' reported language use, while Figure 8 shows the relation between the judgment scores and attitudes to code-switching.

There is no significant correlation between speakers' acceptability judgment scores and their reported language use (Spearman's $\rho = -0.13$; $p = 0.36$) or between the judgment scores and attitudes to code-switching (Spearman's $\rho = -0.27$; $p = 0.08$).

Thus while we did find correlations between language use in the director-matcher task and both attitudes and reported language use, there is no such correlation with speaker judgments.

This suggests that speaker judgments of the acceptability of code-switching may not be a useful source of data. Overall, then, our data suggest that

⁸ For this analysis we used both the directors' and matchers' data, as the judgment task was exactly the same for both groups.

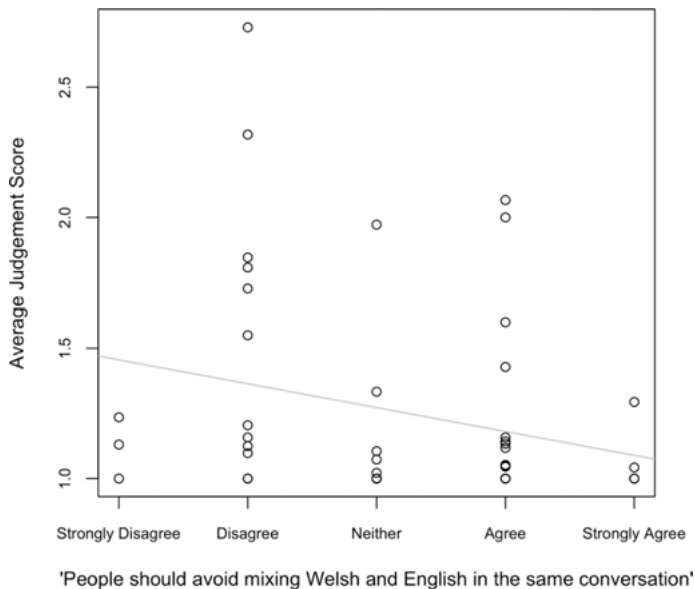


Fig. 8: Relation between attitude to code-switching and acceptability judgments.

speakers' attitudes to code-switching is more closely related to their language production than to their grammaticality judgments.

5 Discussion

In this study, we investigated the contrasting predictions of the Matrix Language Frame model and the Minimalist Program (specifically, the proposal of Cantone & MacSwan 2009) regarding the mechanisms responsible for the relative word order of adjectives and nouns in code-switched nominal constructions using a multi-task approach. As indicated, our production data (both the corpus data and the elicited director-matcher task data) all had Welsh as its matrix language, and had a predominance of inserted English nouns rather than adjectives. We noted in section 4.1 that the most frequent combination in mixed determiner phrases was an English noun followed by a Welsh adjective. Since Welsh is the matrix language in all utterances this type of DP is compatible with both the Matrix Language Frame model and the Minimalist Program. It is compatible with the Matrix Language Frame Model because the word order matches that of the matrix language, and it is compatible with the Minimalist Program because the word order matches that of the language of the adjective,

Welsh. DPs with non-matrix language nouns are in fact less useful to distinguish between the two frameworks than DPs with non-matrix language adjectives. This is because the Matrix Language Frame Model predicts the non-matrix language adjective to follow the order of the matrix language, whereas the MP predicts all adjectives to follow the word order of their language source. Out of a total of 43 DPs with English adjectives, Table 1 shows that only 7 support the predictions of the MP whereas 36 support the MLF.

We do not have any utterances with English as the matrix language, but if we did it would be the position of Welsh (non-matrix-language) adjectives which would be of interest to help distinguish between the two frameworks.

In the data from the director-matcher task it is again the utterances with inserted English adjectives which particularly interest us. As we have seen, they are all postnominal (with Welsh as matrix language), thus supporting the predictions of the Matrix Language Frame Model rather than the Minimalist Program. This means that the results from our semi-experimental data point in the same direction as those from the naturalistic data, which is encouraging.

However, the results from the judgment data turned out not to relate to other data, suggesting that they are of limited value in the study of code-switching. Because of the often stigmatized nature of this phenomenon it may be useful to adopt techniques which measure less conscious reactions. In a recent study Parafita Couto, Boutonnet, Hoshino, Davies, Deuchar and Thierry (submitted) further tested the predictions of the two models with event-related potential (ERP) measurements, which are not under speakers' conscious control. The Matrix Language Frame model predicted a violation when the adjective position was incompatible with the word order of the sentence's matrix language, while the Minimalist Program predicted a violation when the adjective position was disallowed by the language of the adjective. Parafita et al. (submitted) found an anterior negativity for the violation predicted by the Matrix Language Frame model and, since the contrast was the same, a positivity for the violation predicted by the Minimalist Program. Since anterior negativities in the 280–340 ms time window are traditionally seen to index syntactic violations, the authors interpret this finding as validating the predictions of the Matrix Language Frame model (e.g. Jake, Myers-Scotton, & Gross 2005), where the grammatical properties of the matrix language frame of a bilingual sentence determine the positioning of items inserted into it from another language. They do not find support for the prediction of the Minimalist Program (Cantone & MacSwan 2009) that it is the language of the adjective that determines word order in mixed nominal constructions. These results support the evidence of our production data discussed above. They also offer a way of adding to the 'methodological toolbox' for code-switching research which ac-

ording to Backus (this volume) and Kootstra (this volume) urgently needs extending.

Even though judgments were not related to behavior we found that attitudes towards code-switching were. Speakers with negative attitudes to code-switching also tended to avoid it, unlike in the study by Montes-Alcalá. Our findings have recently been replicated in a study by Deuchar, Donnelly & Piercy (under review) of the entire Siarad corpus. However, there are few studies which directly link attitudes with code-switching behavior, so further research is needed on this topic.

6 Conclusion

We designed a study to evaluate the predictions of different theoretical models regarding conflict sites in code-switched nominal constructions. We focused on Welsh-English mixed nominal constructions and used a multi-task approach comprising (1) naturalistic corpus data, (2) an elicitation task, and (3) an auditory judgment task. The data from the judgment task suggested that this kind of task is not very useful in code-switching research.

The data from the naturalistic corpus and the elicitation task were compatible with one another, yielding support for the relative superiority of the MLF model in terms of word order predictions. However, only a small proportion of the data could distinguish between the two models and we suggested that neuroscientific evidence among other innovative methods can make a useful contribution here.

Finally, our data on attitudes and code-switching showed that attitudes and behavior were surprisingly well related.

Abbreviations

ADJ	adjective
DET	determiner
DP	determiner phrase
ML	matrix language
N	noun
NEG	negative particle
NONFIN	nonfinite
NP	noun phrase
PAST	past

POSS	possessive pronoun
PRES	present
PRON	personal pronoun
PRT	particle
1S	1 st singular
2S	2 nd singular
3S	3 rd singular

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Combining the Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Frame Model in Analysing Bilingual Speech

Abstract: This paper responds to calls to end the current trend whereby sociolinguistic and grammatical analyses of code-switching (CS) are divorced. It demonstrates ways in which the two models developed by Carol Myers-Scotton – i.e. the Markedness Model (1993a) and the Matrix Language Frame model (1993b) – may be combined to elicit the sociolinguistic and grammatical factors that jointly explain the CS of members of a given speech community. Data analyzed come from Ewe-English CS, spoken in Ghana.

Two interrelated points emerged from our combination of the two models in data analysis. The first is that although codeswitchers may be unconscious of what they are doing, they do have the capacity to monitor the sociolinguistic decisions they make and how those decisions shape the grammatical character of the bilingual expressions they produce. We note that clearer evidence that they exercise this potential can be found in their use of *marked* CS (CS employed to convey some social or discourse message). The second point is that whether CS is marked or is *unmarked* (not employed to fulfil much social and discourse intentions beyond indexing mutual solidarity) depends basically on sociolinguistic considerations and not so much on whether the CS is insertional or alternational; it is indeed demonstrated that both insertional and alternational types of CS may be treated alike as either marked or unmarked during even the same conversation. The two points throw light on the future of Ewe and languages like it in third world settings that are in intensive contact with English or French.

1 Introduction

It has become clear that there have emerged three major strands in the study of code-switching – the structural, the sociopragmatic, and the psycholinguistic – with each strand responding to a different set of research interests, recognizing quite a different set of research questions, and having a different definition of what counts as relevant data. Bullock and Toribio (2009: 14), for instance, bemoan the fact that the papers in the handbook on CS that they edited fall into the three mutually-exclusive categories mentioned above “although,

in principle, a full account of CS cannot be achieved without the integration of findings from each of these strands”. Earlier, Winford (2003: 10–11) expresses a similar sentiment in his introduction to his book on contact linguistics, which is the general field to which the study of CS belongs. He observes that “The goal of contact linguistics is to uncover the various factors, both linguistic and sociocultural, that contribute to the linguistic consequences of contact between speakers of different language varieties”. Yet his review of works done on CS underscores the fact that CS scholars have operated largely within the confines of one or the other strand of research on CS.

The cardinal cause of the emergence of the three strands of research is the absence of a robust research tool that offers links across the different strands. Indeed, attempts are being made to map out the relation between sociopragmatic factors and structural characteristics of CS by practitioners of the Conversation Analysis approach (see for example contributions in Auer’s 1998 edited volume on CS). This approach is basically structural – as serious effort is made by the analyst to elucidate speakers’ motivation for CS from the patterns in which they alternate codes during conversation – but sociopragmatic factors, specifically extra-linguistic details in the conversation situation, are also factored into the analyses. However, the approach is handicapped by the fact that practitioners are controversially reluctant to consider sociopragmatic factors which are macro-sociolinguistic in character, i.e. even when such factors may be shown to be have motivated CS. This paper reports a less restricted exploration of sociopragmatic factors and their relation to structural characteristics of CS. It demonstrates ways in which Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model (MM) and her Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model may be used complementarily to uncover details of how sociopragmatic and structural factors jointly nurture CS in West Africa, in particular in Ewe-English CS, spoken in Ghana. Some psycholinguistic aspects (e.g. speakers’ monitoring of their own speech production) will also be taken care of.

In the next section, I explain major tenets of the two models and the interface between them. In section 3, I outline the methods that I used in collecting the data discussed. In section 4, I demonstrate with illustrative examples from Ewe-English CS how the MM and the MLF model may be paired to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the CS phenomenon than is available in studies which relied exclusively on only one of them. The final section, section 5, contains concluding remarks.

2 The two frameworks

2.1 The Markedness Model

The basic fact about the Markedness Model is that it emphasizes the social and pragmatic context as well as speaker-orientation in the kind of explanation it offers for bilingual CS. The key theoretical concept, ‘markedness’, is understood as synonymous with the concept of ‘indexicality’, i.e. linguistic varieties are assumed to be always socially indexical. Through accumulated use of linguistic varieties in particular social relations they come to index or invoke those relations (also called rights-and-obligation sets / RO sets), thereby taking on an air of natural association (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 85). According to Myers-Scotton, “as speakers come to recognize the different RO sets possible in their community, they develop a sense of indexicality of code choices for these RO sets” (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 88). Because of this, a speaker who is a socialized member of his multilingual speech community is aware of an underlying set of rules that determine why he should choose one code rather than another to the extent that whether he follows the rules or breaks them, he is in effect making a statement about the RO set that he wishes to be in force between him and the addressee(s). In other words, according to this model, the linguistic choices speakers make in CS situations are motivated by the social consequences that (they know) may result from making those choices. The said rules, called “maxims” (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 114–120), are:

1. The unmarked-choice maxim: “Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set”.
2. The marked-choice maxim: “Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange”.
3. Exploratory-choice maxim: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour”.

The unmarked choice occurs under certain conditions (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 119). First, the speakers must be ‘bilingual peers’, i.e. speakers who see their mutual bilingualism as a marker of their solidarity. Second, the interaction must be of an informal type (in that the speakers are only in-group members). Thirdly, the speakers must be relatively proficient in the languages involved in the CS. Finally, if proficiency in the languages used in CS is not sufficient, the participants must possibly evaluate the social values attached to those lan-

guages. In discussing the unmarked-choice maxim, Myers-Scotton makes a distinction between sequences of unmarked choices and CS itself as an unmarked choice. Sequences of unmarked choices concern the inter-changeable use of two or more codes which are, in their respective right, unmarked or expected for the given interaction type. If CS itself is an unmarked choice, it means that the bilingual language variety in itself is the default medium of the given type of interaction. If speakers make unmarked choices there are chances that they will succeed in invoking only the expected social relations (RO sets) between them and their addressees.

In contrast to the unmarked variety, the choice of a marked variety makes a statement with respect to the expected RO set, consciously pushing addressees into recognizing newly negotiated RO sets which the marked choice represents. That is to say that marked varieties are employed to “negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it” (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 132). Specifically, “the use of marked choices can clarify social distance, provide a means for ethnically based exclusion strategies, account for aesthetic effects in a conversation [i.e. highlighting a certain creativity in language choice] or emphasize a point in question through repetition” (Losch 2007: 28).

Exploratory CS is the least common form of CS. It occurs when neither a marked nor an unmarked choice is appropriate for an interaction. Speakers are compelled to resort to the alternation of codes as a means of searching for the right one to use. It is thus the product of search in situations of social uncertainty. It may occur in exchanges between strangers as well as in exchanges between acquaintances who meet in unconventional or unfamiliar settings.

CS itself as an unmarked code is illustrated in the extract below from the Amuzu (1996) database, which are recordings of speakers’ informal in-group interactions (see section 3.1 below for a discussion of how these data are collected). The speakers in the extract, A and B, are brothers in early twenties who are ‘permanent’ residents of Accra. The discussion took place in Accra in October, 1996, less than two months before the general elections in Ghana that year. Both were university students but would like to earn some income by serving as polling assistants for the Electoral Commission. The discussion revolved around the fact that the upcoming elections were going to clash with the examinations at school.

In this interaction, the two brothers routinely used English temporal adjuncts in what are Ewe-based clauses. There is no sign that the speakers attached any special significance to any of the switches to English. From the perspective of the Markedness Model, the speakers used CS so routinely because it was their default (i.e. unmarked) code. The view, in other words, is

Example (1)

A: Nukae dzɔ hafi?

B: Oo, nyemegblɛ na wɔa? Wova dam ɔe keke nu yi **sixth December** ɔe.¹

A: **Sixth December** (laughter).

B: Eɛ, **seventh** ko wo **vote** ge.

A: **That's seventh**, uũ.

B: Eya matso dɔme.

A: Ke megate ŋu ewɔ ge o.

B: E-**disturb**-nam lo. Ne mawɔe ɔe ke ɛnya ale yi mawɔa, ele be magbɔ **immediately after the paper** alo magbɔ **dawn**, uhũ.

A: Ne ɛgbɔ **dawn**-a, mewɔ tukaɔa?

B: Ewɔ tukaɔa vɔa gake ega nyae.

A: Eganyaɛ, ne ga nya gbe le asiwò koa

B: Ehẽ. **It's only one day job**.

A: **One day job!** Nyitsɔ meyi nu yi, **Mister** Karikari gbɔ.

B: Ee.

A: Ebe ee wobe yenedze **orientation**-a gɔme kaba ta **middle of October** ne mava.

B: Eɛ?

A: Ta **middle of October** mava ne ye-woadze nu ya gɔme, **orientation**-a gɔme.

B: Uũ, uu. **October middle?**

What happened?

Oh, didn't I tell you? They've put me as far away as this thing, **sixth December**.

Sixth December (laughter).

Yes, **seventh December** and we will **vote**.

That's seventh, yes.

And I will be coming from work.

Then you can't do it.

It **disturb**-s me. If I want to do it, do you know what I will do? I will come back **immediately after the paper** or I will come back at **dawn**, yes.

If you come back at **dawn**, won't it be hectic?

It will be hectic but this has to do with money.

It is money issue, if only you have money.

Yes, **it's only one day job**.

One day job! The other day I went to this thing, **Mister** Karikari.

Yes.

He said yes they said he should start the **orientation** early so by **middle of October** I should come.

Yes?

So **middle of October** I should come so they can start this thing, start the **orientation**

Yes [in reflective mood]. **Middle of October?**

¹ Of course, some of the English items in this above excerpt may properly be termed borrowings; e.g. the English names of months and the numerals. Preference for such English items is not uncommon in the speech of post-colonial Africans, bilingual or monolingual.

- A: **Middle of October.** Abe **sixteen** **Middle of October.** About **six-**
 mawo. **teenth** or so.
- B: Oo, ke mate ɲuti ayi **orientation-a.** Oh, so I can go to the **orientation.**
 Eẽ, me... me **orientation-a** yige. Yes, I... I will go to the **orientation.**
 cited previously in Amuzu
 (2012: 6)

that the speakers are not engaged in this kind of CS without a reason: they are engaged in it because they recognize a shared social identity, of being Ewe speakers who are educated and therefore speak English.² The excerpt captured in (15) in section 4 exhibits an example of a sequence of unmarked choices that exhibits a similar social function.

The utterance in (2) below on the other hand exhibits instances of marked CS. It is also from the Amuzu (1996) database. Barbara's mother returned home (in Accra) to find that all the outside doors were left open while Barbara slept soundly in her bedroom. The family used English and Ewe, but Mother must have settled for English in order to show the level of seriousness she attached to what she was saying and to, therefore, assert authority over her daughter. Notice, however, that she repeated the Ewe subject pronoun (*e*)wo (2sg) three times:

Example (2)

Mother: Barbara, get up! So you are sleeping! I see. So because **ewo** [you] Barbara, you are at home, armed robbers can't come into this house. Hasn't it occurred to you that if **ewo** Barbara, you were not at home, the doors would have been locked? Why do you think that because **ewo** Barbara, you are in the house sleeping with the doors unlocked, no armed robbers can come in here? Aã? Tell me.
 (Amuzu 2012: 16)

By repeating *ewo* and juxtaposing it each time to Barbara's name, Mother seems to be directing Barbara's attention to herself so that she can evaluate the appropriateness of her behaviour. Each use of the pronoun is thus a marked singly-occurring codeswitch.

Example (3) further illustrates marked CS, but this time it is a longer code-switch is that is involved. John and Victoria, who are fellow workers, had been

² We regard a speaker as being educated (following Forson 1979) if he/she has completed senior high school. The assumption is that he/she would normally have had enough exposure to the English language by this stage since it is the medium of formal education and of government business.

talking about a mutual friend when Victoria's phone rings (it is her brother calling). Three languages are involved: Ewe shown below in normal font, **English** in bold, and Krobo underlined.

Example (3)

- | | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| John: | Nye hã me se nya ma but I | I also heard about that issue but |
| | couldn't ask him about it ... | I couldn't ask him about it ... |
| | (Victoria's phone rings) | (Victoria's phone rings) |
| | Me nɔ bubu-m be ... | I was thinking that ... |
| Victoria: | (to John) Me gbɔna sia. Nye kid | (to John) I am coming, please. |
| | brother -e ma. | That is my kid brother . |
| | (to caller) Egba katã me pick nye | (to caller) The entire day you did |
| | call -wo o. | not pick my call -s. |
| Caller: | (inaudible reply) | (inaudible reply) |
| Victoria: | Eke mini be? De le kã imi læɛ, pɔ | He said what time? Tell him that |
| | tɔ mi ... | as for me, I am tired ... |
| | (Amuzu 2012: 15) | |

Note that the first two turns were in Ewe-English CS, which John and Victoria share as their unmarked code and language of solidarity. Victoria initially addressed the caller in this code. But after the caller's response, Victoria switched to Krobo, a language John did not understand. When I consulted Victoria later about this exchange, she explained that she and her siblings frequently used Krobo in addition to Ewe and English because they learned it (Krobo) when they were growing up at Kpong, a Krobo dominant town. Two things therefore happened when Victoria switched to Krobo: (i) it marked her unique solidarity with her sibling and (ii) it marked exclusion of John from her world with her brother (note that she used unilingual Krobo).

When CS is undesirable in an on-going discourse, it may be deemed as marked CS, as we shall find in examples (12) and (14) below.

I have not seen any case of exploratory CS in both Amuzu 1996 and 2002 databases; the methodology for collecting each dataset is discussed section 3 below. The reason for the dearth of exploratory CS is that the speakers whose interactions I recorded knew one another, at least some time before the recordings.

2.2 The Matrix Language Frame model

The central claim in the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 2002) is that there is a *matrix language* (ML) in all bilingual intra-sentential constructions and that

this ML is the source of the abstract grammatical frame for the constructions. It distinguishes two types of ML: an ML informed by the abstract grammatical structure of only one of the languages in CS contact and an ML informed by a composite of abstract grammatical structures from the languages involved. Myers-Scotton refers to CS involving the one-language ML as “Classic CS”³ and to the one involving the composite ML as “Composite CS”.⁴ However, it is argued in Amuzu (2005a [2010], 2005b, 2014a, and 2014b) that a different kind of Composite CS from the one Myers-Scotton has outlined occurs in Ewe-English CS and other cases of CS in West Africa, e.g. Akan-English and Ewe-French CS. In this paper, the original composite CS is referred to as “Composite-1 CS” and the newly identified type is referred to as “Composite-2 CS”. A discussion on the differences between Classic CS, Composite-1 CS, and Composite-2 CS appears farther below.

Three basic assumptions underpin the MLF model: assumptions concerning types of morphemes in human languages and assumptions about the nature of lexical structure and about language production.

The assumptions concerning the types of morphemes are spelt out in Myers-Scotton’s 4-M model, which stipulates the existence of four types of morphemes in a human language (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002: 72). They are:

1. **content morphemes:** nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and some prepositions.
2. **early system morphemes:** grammatical elements that have conceptual affinity with their content morpheme heads, e.g. verb satellites (e.g. into in look into meaning ‘to consider’), noun plural markers, demonstratives, intensifiers.
3. **late bridge system morphemes:** elements that provide grammatical links between two units, e.g. copulas and possessive linkers.
4. **late outsider system morphemes:** critical grammatical or functional elements, e.g. tense, modal, and aspect (TMA) markers, agreement inflections, case markers.

The assumptions concerning lexical structure, expressed in the Abstract Level model (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, 2001 and Myers-Scotton 2002), stem from

³ The other language involved in Classic CS, called the Embedded Language (EL), plays a restricted role.

⁴ Unlike Classic CS users who are supposed to be competent in at least the grammar of their L1 (= ML), e.g. Swahili-English bilinguals in Kenya, speakers of Composite CS (also known as Convergence) are often found to be migrants who lack full grammatical competence in at least their L1 (see e.g. Bolonyai 1998 and Schmitt 2000).

the view that the basis of syntax is the abstract representations underlying lexical items. They are called “lemmas”. Briefly put, a lemma is the non-phonological set of information about a lexical item which informs the lexical item’s distribution as a surface-level element. It is stored in speakers’ mental lexicon of a language. It consists of three subparts:

1. **lexical-conceptual structure**, i.e. details about the lexeme’s semantic and pragmatic properties (e.g. does a noun encode Agent, Patient, or Experiencer?; does a verb encode Action, State, or Process?)
2. **predicate-argument structure**, i.e. details about the lexeme’s syntactic properties (namely details about its thematic structure to be mapped on to grammatical relations), e.g. whether a noun conceptualized as Patient is to be expressed as Subject or as Object.
3. **morphological realization pattern**, i.e. specifications about language-specific devices, like word order restrictions, agreement, tense/aspect marking system, etc., for realizing the lexeme’s grammatical relations with other lexemes in surface configurations, e.g. Must a Subject come before its verb or may it occur elsewhere? Are case-markers required on the Subject? Etc.

The assumptions about types of morpheme and about their underlying lemmas characterize how language production is conceptualized. Language production is perceived as being modular, involving four stages or levels of operation: the conceptual, lemma, functional, and surface/positional levels. See Table 1 below; it is adapted from Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001), Myers-Scotton (2002), and Amuzu (2005a).

To begin with, the assumption is that for a bilingual constituent to be produced, the speaker must enter what Grosjean (2001) calls “bilingual mode” at the conceptual level (ostensibly because the social setting motivates – à la Myers-Scotton 1993 – the interchangeable use of two or more languages).⁵ (CS is likely to be inhibited if the codeswitcher is in “monolingual mode” because his addressee speaks only one of his languages.) It is also assumed that if insertional CS is intended as a by-product of being in bilingual mode, then the speaker must select an ML at the conceptual level. Whether the insertional CS turns out to be Classic CS or Composite-1 CS or Composite-2 CS will depend on the type of ML that is selected, because each ML type will prompt slightly dif-

⁵ As will become clear, the analyst will be able to explain this aspect of the language production using the Markedness Model. That is, it will be made clear that this is where the MLF model interconnects with the Markedness Model.

Tab. 1: The language production model in bilingual CS.

Conceptual Level	<p>At this level, speakers make selections encapsulating the conceptual structures they wish to convey. In other words, pre-verbally speakers make decisions regarding their intentions. Such pre-verbal speaker-intentions (which consist of universally available semantic and pragmatic information) are conflated as specific semantic/pragmatic (SP) feature bundles, which are necessarily language-specific.</p> <p><i>Speaker goes into “BILINGUAL MODE”</i> (Grosjean 2001).</p> <p>Information is sent to the Lemma Level.</p>
Lemma Level	<p>The language-specific SP feature bundles activate entries in the mental lexicon called lemmas, which support the realization of actual surface-level lexemes. For a bilingual construction to result later at surface structure, the SP feature bundles should trigger the activation of lemmas supporting content morphemes from both languages.</p> <p>The content-morpheme lemmas may also point to lemmas supporting early system morphemes.</p> <p>The lexical-conceptual structure of each content morpheme becomes salient at this level.</p> <p>Information is sent to the Functional Level where a control centre known as <i>Formulator</i> operates.</p>
Functional Level	<p>The formulator interprets the language-specific lemma information about each content morpheme, which comprises the already salient lexical-conceptual structure and the two other sub-parts of lemma information: the predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern. Concerning predicate-argument structure, the formulator maps thematic structure onto grammatical relations. For instance, it detects how many arguments a verb takes and what thematic role the verb assigns each argument; it then maps the grammatical relations among all these elements. Concerning the morphological realization pattern, the formulator detects what language-specific devices for word-order, agreement, tense/aspect/mood marking, case marking, negation, etc., are suitable for expressing the content morpheme’s grammatical relations with one another. Appropriate language-specific morphosyntactic processes are activated to direct how the content morphemes from both languages are to co-occur in surface structure.</p> <p>Information on the processes is forwarded to the final level.</p>
Positional/ Surface Level	<p>Phonological and morphological realizations take place.</p>

ferent linguistic processes to take place at the lemma level and later. All this will be discussed below.

For Classic CS, it is assumed that two inter-connected actions take place at the lemma level: (i) EL specific SP feature bundles activate lemmas in the EL

mental lexicon that support given EL content morphemes and (ii) processes are automatically triggered for the activation of lemmas in the ML mental lexicon that support ML counterparts of the EL content morphemes. The essence of the co-activation of the cross-linguistic lemmas is to “match” them for congruence across the three subparts of lemma (cf. Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995). The outcome of the matching of lemmas determines the morphosyntactic environment in which the EL content morpheme is realized. If the EL and ML content morphemes are determined to be sufficiently congruent, the EL content morpheme is expected to be directed into a slot which its ML counterpart projects. Two principles of the MLF model, the System Morpheme Principle (SMP) and the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP), are activated to direct the EL content morpheme into the slot of its ML equivalent. The SMP states:

In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e., which participate in the sentence’s thematic role grid) will come from the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993: 82).

And the MOP states:

In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface relations) will be that of the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993: 82).

The occurrence of **come** in (4) below, from Swahili-English CS in which English is the EL, illustrates how the two principles are supposed to determine that sufficiently congruent EL content morphemes occur in the slots that their respective ML counterparts project. **Come** is analyzed as having been inserted into a slot projected by the Swahili verb counterpart *-j-* ‘come’ (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106):

- (4) *Leo si-ku-come ma-o-book-s z-angu*
 today 1s/NEG-PST/NEG-come with-CL10/PL-book-PL CL/PL-my
 ‘Today I didn’t come with my books’
 (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2001: 106)

According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001: 106),

... English **come** occurs because it is projected from an EL (English) lemma in the mental lexicon that matches with an ML counterpart (Swahili *-j-* ‘come’) *sufficiently at all three levels of abstract lexical structure* (italics added).

If the EL content morpheme is not sufficiently congruent with its ML counterpart, it is expected to be blocked from being integrated into a slot that its ML

counterpart projects. A compromise strategy is instead used for the realization of that EL content morpheme. Either it occurs as a “bare form” (a form that lacks required ML late system morphemes in its occurrence in a bilingual construction) or it occurs as part of an “EL island” (a multiword EL construction that is placed in a larger ML construction).

In the Composite-2 CS proposed for Ewe-English CS and related cases in West Africa, no stipulations are made to the effect that it is ML equivalents of fully integrated EL content morphemes that project CS slots. Also, no lemma matching is assumed to take place before EL content morphemes are integrated fully into ML-based structures. Rather, it is stipulated that on the basis of their underlying lemma information EL content morphemes project their own slots in the ML-based structures. This stipulation is formalized as follows:

- (i)⁶ *The EL* provides, from the lemma level, all lemma information (lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization pattern information) about this language’s content morpheme, while
- (ii) *The ML* provides, at the functional level, the morphosyntactic means (i.e. morpheme order and late system morphemes) by which a grammatical frame is created to satisfy the lemma requirements of the content morpheme from the ML.

The SMP and MOP jointly ensure that ML morphosyntactic frames are used in bilingual constructions.

Amuzu (2005a [2010], 2005b, 2014a, and 2014b) provide evidence to show that English (i.e. EL) content morphemes indeed enter Ewe_as_ML-based morphosyntactic frames on the basis of their own English-origin lemma information / subcategorization features. It is shown in those works that because of this, the slot in which an English content morpheme occurs may or may not correspond to the slot in which its Ewe equivalent occurs, i.e. as should be the case were Ewe-English CS a case of classic CS. The CS slot of an English content morpheme will only correspond to the slot in which its Ewe equivalent occurs if the Ewe equivalent has similar subcategorization features. In cases where English content morphemes do not share subcategorization features with their Ewe equivalents, their CS slots differ from those of their Ewe equivalents. We find this to be the case for instance in the distribution of English possessed nominals in Ewe-based possessive constructions (cf. Amuzu, 2005a [2010], and 2014a) and in the distribution of English predicative adjectives in Ewe-based bilingual copula constructions (cf. Amuzu, 2005a [2010], and 2005b).

⁶ The composite ML hypothesis (adapted from Amuzu 2005a: 40 [Amuzu 2010: 50]).

There are two types of possessive constructions in Ewe: (i) an [NP poss NP] structure in which the possessive linker *fe* connects a possessor nominal to a non-relational possessed nominal, and (ii) an [NP NP] structure involving the juxtaposition of NPs where a relational possessed nominal is the second NP. However, in Ewe-English CS, English possessed nominals occur consistently in the [NP *fe* NP] structure. For example, both **doctrines** (5a), an English non-relational possessed nominal, and **elder sister** (6a), an English relational possessed nominal, occur in the [NP *fe* NP] structure despite the fact that only the Ewe counterpart of **doctrines** may occur in this type of structure; compare the acceptability of *nufiafiawó* ‘teachings’ (5b) in the slot of **doctrines** with the unacceptability of *daa tsitsito* (6b) in the slot of **elder sister**:

- (5) a. *church-ha ádɛ́ -wó fe doctrines-wó la ...*
 church-group INDEF-PL POSS doctrines-PL TOP
 ‘As for the doctrines of some churches ...’
 (Asilevi 1990: 49)
- b. *Asɔleme ádɛ́-wó fe nufiafia-wó la ...*
 church-group INDEF-PL POSS doctrine-PL TOP
- (6) a. *Sukudzíkɔ-lá fe eldest sister vá sra-e.*
 head.teacher-DEF POSS elder sister come visit-3SG
 ‘The head teacher’s eldest sister came to visit him.’
 (Amuzu, 2014a)
- b. *Sukudzíkɔ-lá (*fe) daa tsitsito ...*
 head.teacher-DEF POSS sister older-one

Amuzu (2014a) explains that the occurrence of both **doctrines** and **elder sister** in the [NP *fe* NP] structure has nothing to do with the distribution of their respective Ewe equivalent. Rather, their entry into this structure is in fulfilment of their identical English-origin subcategorization. Whether relational or non-relational, an English possessed nominal requires a possessive linker (either **s** or the genitive **of**) to link it to its possessor nominal; thus, we have **the church’s doctrines** vs. **the doctrines of the church** and **the head teacher’s eldest sister** vs. **the eldest sister of the teacher**). In accordance with the Composite-2 ML in use in Ewe-English CS, the SMP ensures that only the Ewe *fe* is used to fulfil the requirement for a possessive linker. The Ewe equivalent of **eldest sister** is unacceptable in (6b) because, as noted, Ewe relational possessed nominals do not require the possessive linker in their distribution.

A similar picture emerges with the distribution of English predicative adjectives in mixed copula constructions. English predicative adjectives consistently occur in the complement slot of the Ewe ascriptive copula *le* ‘be.at’ de-

spite the fact that the Ewe equivalents of many of them cannot occur in that slot. For example, the Ewe equivalent of **important** (7a) is the adverbialized adjective **vevi-e** ‘important-AdvS’ which does occur in the slot (see 7b).⁷ In contrast, the Ewe equivalent of **necessary** (8a) is a verb, i.e. **hĩa** ‘to need’ (8b), which cannot occur in that slot:

- (7) a. *Eyata as for asige lae, e-le* **important**
 So as for ring TOP, 3sg-be.at.PRES important
 ‘So, as for the ring, it is important’
 (Amuzu 2005b: 136)
- b. *Eyata as for asige lae, e-le* **vevi-e**
 So as for ring TOP, 3sg-be.at.PRES important-AdvS
 ‘So, as for the ring, it is important’
 (Amuzu 2005b: 136)
- (8) a. *Mé le* **necessary** *be ...*
 3sg.NEG be.at.PRES necessary COMP
 ‘It is not necessary that ...’
 (Amuzu 2005b: 131)
- b. *Mé hĩa* *be ...*
 3sg.NEG need COMP
 ‘It is not necessary that ...’

The subtle differences between classic CS processes and the composite-2 CS processes from the lemma level onward are summarized below in Table 2.

As observed, the label “Composite CS” being used here to describe Ewe-English CS conflicts with Myers-Scotton’s (original, e.g. 1993, 2002) use of it to designate another kind of CS. This is why we refer to the kind Myers-Scotton describes as “Composite-1 CS”. Composite-1 CS is characterized by a “splitting” of abstract grammatical roles by the languages during bilingual language production. Ultimately, the two languages exert semantic as well as morphosyntactic influences on the distribution of EL content morphemes. For one thing, the SMP and the MOP are not observed strictly in favour of the ML in the manner stipulated for Composite-2 CS (see functional level processes of composite-2 CS in Table 2 below). Example (9) below, from Bolonyai (1998), cited in Myers-Scotton (2001), illustrates the said splitting of grammatical responsibilities. It

⁷ The attributive adjective **vevi** ‘important’ in **nya vevi** ‘an important issue’ occurs predicatively when it is adverbialized by the derivational suffix **-e** / **-de** as in **nya-a le vevi-e** ‘the issue is important’.

Tab 2: Producing *classic CS* vs. *composite CS*.

	Classic CS Processes	Composite CS Processes
Conceptual level	Same processes as in Table 1	Same Processes as in Table 1
Lemma level	When EL specific SP feature bundles activate a lemma supporting a content morpheme in the EL mental lexicon, <i>the lemma supporting the corresponding ML content morpheme is also activated.</i>	EL specific SP feature bundles activate a lemma supporting a content morpheme in the EL mental lexicon. <i>(There is no co-activation of the lemma supporting the corresponding ML content morpheme)</i>
	The two lemmas are matched for congruence (at this level, in terms of information on lexical-conceptual structure they contain about the content morphemes they support).	The lexical-conceptual structure subpart of the lemma supporting the EL content morpheme becomes salient (i.e. independently of whatever the ML content morpheme equivalent is).
Functional level	Lemma matching continues: (a) in regard to predicate –argument structure and (b) morphological realization patterns. The <i>Morpheme Order Principle (MOP)</i> and the <i>System Morpheme Principle (SMP)</i> apply to ensure that the CS slot that is projected is governed by ML morphosyntactic procedures.	Also, predicate-argument structure and morphological realization patterns subparts of the lemma supporting the EL content morpheme becomes salient. The <i>MOP</i> and <i>SMP</i> apply to ensure that a CS slot is projected for the EL content morpheme (i.e. in terms of its own lemma information) in a well-formed ML structure in accordance with ML morphosyntactic procedures.
Surface level	If the EL content morpheme and its ML equivalent are sufficiently congruent, then the EL content morpheme is inserted into a slot projected for its ML counterpart (see example 4 above).	EL content morpheme is placed in a slot projected directly for it in an ML structure. (This slot would be analogous to the slot where ML content morphemes with similar lemma information also occur as shown in the examples in 5 to 8 above.)

was produced by “a Hungarian child whose L1 is Hungarian, but who is growing up in the United States, with English becoming her dominant language” (Myers-Scotton 2001: 52). The monolingual Hungarian equivalent of the child’s CS expression appears in (10a) and the adult Hungarian-English CS version appears in (10b), which has been analyzed as Classic CS:

- (9) *játsz-ok* *school-ot* (Child’s Composite-1 CS)
 play-1SG/PRES/SUB.CONJ school-ACC
 I’m playing school.’

- (10) a. *iskolá-s-at játsz-ok* (Standard Hungarian)
 b. *school-os-at játsz-ok* (Adult Hungarian-English CS)
 (Myers-Scotton 2001: 53; Bolonyai 1998: 34)

In (9), according to Bolonyai, the child mapped the English argument structure of **school** (= Locative) onto Hungarian instead of conceptualizing it as Actor, i.e. in terms of its Hungarian equivalent, **iskolás** ('schooler' Bolonyai 1998). The result is that two things happened in (9): (i) verb placement is in accordance with English, not Hungarian (see the Hungarian model in example 10a), and (ii) the Hungarian suffix for Actor **-s** is missing before the accusative marker on the codeswitched form **school**. Note that in the adult CS version in (10b), **school** is duly conceptualized as Actor and carries the suffix **-s** and precedes the verb and subject in accordance with Hungarian grammar.

It is important to draw attention to the Myers-Scotton's distinction between *late system morphemes* (e.g. the copula) and *early system morphemes*. An example of English early system morphemes is the verb satellite **out** in **knock out** (11). Such morphemes contribute to the *lexical meaning* of the content morpheme they accompany.⁸ The absence of such a morpheme will alter the meaning of the content morpheme it should accompany; e.g. while **knock out** – in boxing – means 'to defeat by flooring an opponent with punches', **knock** simply means 'to punch, bang, tap'. The crucial difference between morphemes like **out** and late system morphemes like the copula is that in bilingual speech the SMP applies to only the late system morphemes. It does not block early system morphemes from accompanying the content morphemes they are connected to. This is why **out** occurs with **knock** in the bilingual serial verb construction in (11):

- (11) *Azumah use é-fe experience tsɔ knock-é out.*
 Azumah use 3SG-POSS experience TAKE knock-3SG out
 'Azumah used his experience to knock him out.'
 (Asilevi 1990: 34)

2.3 Interface of the MM and the MLF model

In table 1 above, I have indicated that for the bilingual to use CS he must, at the conceptual level, go into bilingual mode (Grosjean 2001) and that for him

⁸ In other words, such forms do not convey grammatical relations information about the verbs in ways outsider system morphemes do.

to use the insertional type of CS he must, as part of the conceptual level procedures, select an ML. It is considerations of sociolinguistic factors that characterize the speech context which would prompt speakers to go into bilingual mode and to if necessary select an ML. It is the MM which equips the analyst to explain why speakers in a given speech situation opt for bilingual speech and where necessary an ML. That is, the analyst may use the MM to explain why speakers resort to the use of CS, whether the CS is the insertional type or the alternational type (where well-formed constructions, e.g. phrases and clauses, from two languages are juxtaposed) or a mixture of both. It is with the insertional type specifically that there is an interface between the ML and the MLF model. The MLF model takes over where the MM ends with regard to explaining insertional CS. The MLF model equips the analyst to explain how the ML, which as noted is selected at the conceptual level, operates at the lemma level through to the functional level to determine the nature of surface level morpheme distribution in insertional CS constructions (i.e. whether the mixed constructions are instances of classic CS or composite-1 CS or composite-2 CS).

In other words, the analyst may use the MM to take care of the sociolinguistic dimensions of CS generally but fall on the MLF model to explain the structural dimensions of insertional CS constructions used. The MLF model is not meant to be used for analyzing the internal structure of unilingual expressions from one language that are juxtaposed to unilingual expressions from another language. Structural aspects of those expressions can be discussed, of course, from the perspectives of the grammars of those languages.

3 Methods of data collection

Unless otherwise acknowledged, examples of CS analyzed in the paper come from two sets of data that I collected over time using slightly different methods.

3.1 Amuzu (1996) database

The Amuzu (1996) database, first utilized in Amuzu (1998), comprises naturally-occurring conversations documented through surreptitious taping, i.e. tape-recordings that were made while interlocutors were unaware that their conversations were being recorded. In choosing this method of data collection, I followed the example of three Ghanaian CS researchers – Forson (1979), Nartey (1982), and Asilevi (1990) – who saw in it the obvious gain of securing

natural utterances. A tape-recorder would be concealed in a pocket, a bag or anywhere nearby while a conversation transpired. Even at moments when most of the interlocutors already knew that they probably were being tape-recorded – as was the case with recordings other than the very first involving members of my family at home in Accra, great care was taken not to let them know exactly when the recorder was on or off. The method helped secure naturally-occurring conversations that exhibit characteristics of Ewe-English bilinguals' language use in informal in-group contexts. As will become clear, there is preponderance of unmarked CS (cf. section 2.1) in these conversations. Conscious of ethical problems with this method, I always informed interlocutors after each recording session and duly sought their approval for my use of their utterances for the specific purpose of sociolinguistic research. A few did refuse to let me use specific utterances, and sometimes whole conversations, when they learn about what I did. I have always respected the wishes of those people and never used any such rejected portion of the recordings.

3.2 Amuzu (2002) database

This database was used in Amuzu (2005a [2010]) and in later publications. The method used may be described as semi-formal or experimental. Tape-recordings were made during interviews designed to verify a by then familiar assumption that bilinguals in Ghana who use CS involving English hardly used it with members of their out-group, i.e. Ghanaians who speak very little or no English (cf. Forson 1979).

Each of fifteen interviewees had at least high school education, was therefore bilingual in Ewe and English, and was aged between 18 and 50. Two interviewers alternated. One was a well-known Ewe-medium talk show host and the other was a renowned Ewe poet and orator. The peculiarity of the context created for the exchanges was the directive that everyone was to stick to unilingual Ewe. In each interview session four people were present and participating. The main interaction was between the interviewer and interviewee. I was there as well and sometimes entered into the conversation. Crucially, the fourth person was a member of the out-group, an elderly Ewe man or woman (dubbed in Amuzu 2005a [2010] as 'collaborator') who spoke little or no English. The presence of the collaborator was intended to ensure compliance with the Ewe-only language policy for the exchanges. Each interviewee was to try to 'educate' the collaborator on topics that ranged from domestic affairs, types of marriage ceremony and their socio-economic implications on modern marriages, national issues (mainly current affairs), and the relevance of science and tech-

nology in our life. The interviewer guided the discussions with questions and even rebuttals. I sometimes assisted him in this.

In essence, the Ewe-only policy for the interviews sought to make Ewe the unmarked code choice and CS (of any kind) the marked choice; indeed, there were many instances where the interviewer prompted interviewees to repair their CS with unilingual Ewe translations. The approach may be criticized on the ground that it reified Ewe even before the analysis begins. But that is precisely the effect intended, for, as already noted, the backdrop was the received opinion that code-switching bilinguals in Ghana have the capacity to restrict their use of CS involving English to only their in-group interactions. So, the interviews allowed us to find out whether and to what extent Ewe and English form discrete systems in the perspective of the bilinguals.

4 Data analysis

Two interrelated points will emerge when we combine the MM and the MLF model (i.e. as it applies to composite-2 CS) in the data analysis.

4.1 The first point

The first point is that although codeswitchers may be unconscious of what they are doing, they do have the capacity to monitor the sociolinguistic decisions they make and how those decisions shape the grammatical character of the bilingual expressions they produce. Clearer evidence that they do this kind of monitoring comes from their use of marked insertional CS, especially those found in the Amuzu (2002) database (section 3.2), which as noted are recordings done in interviews designed to discourage the use of CS and make unilingual Ewe the unmarked code.

One such example is the utterance presented in (12) below in which the speaker twice aborted what would have been, for him at least, a dispreferred instance of marked insertional CS. The utterance is an extract from an interview recorded as part of the Amuzu (2002) database. The speaker, the INTERVIEWER,⁹ had duly made it clear to the INTERVIEWEE that because of an old

⁹ The INTERVIEWER (dubbed 'Accra INTERVIEWER' in Amuzu 2005a [2010]) was a 35 year old host of a radio (phone-in) talk show that he conducted in Ewe. He could speak four dialects of Ewe fluently and actually used the dialect of the INTERVIEWEE (i.e. Anlo) in this following example. He was pursuing a post-graduate degree in Theatre Arts at the time of the interviews.

lady participating in the interview as COLLABORATOR, they should all endeavour to use Ewe unilingually. He had prior to this utterance been busy prompting the INTERVIEWEE to stick with this language policy. They have been discussing a chieftaincy dispute in Northern Ghana that had left many people dead. Crisis loomed large over the region and became a topic of hot debate in the media. The INTERVIEWER was arguing that he thought that the minister of interior (the ‘he’) ought to investigate the matter thoroughly and act promptly:

- (12) *E-le* *be* *wo-a-nɔ* *very* (...) *wo-a-nɔ* (...) *lé*¹⁰ *ŋku*
 1sg-be.at.PRES COMP 3sg-POT-be.at very 3sg-POT-be.at fix eye
ɔe *nya-a* *me* *nyuie elabe* ...

ALLAT word-DEF inside well because ...

‘He ought to be very (.) ought to be (...) he ought to look closely into this matter because ...’

(Amuzu 2005a: 240 [2010: 271])

There are two instances of hesitation after *nɔ*, the inflection bearing form of *le* ‘be at’ (see details of the *le*-construction discussed with examples (7) and (8) above). Evidently, the hesitations were prompted by the speaker’s unwillingness to verbalize an English adjective after *very*. The first brief hesitation represents a self-check to avoid the dispreferred English adjective. The second, longer hesitation was a deliberate attempt by the speaker to find a suitable Ewe lexeme to insert into the *le*-construction that still lingered in his short-term memory. Notice that this time he did not produce the English intensifier again. He, however, failed to find the Ewe word that he wanted (ostensibly because there is no Ewe adverbialized adjective equivalent) and so had to expand his search beyond the narrow field he had begun with. The result was an introduction of entirely different Ewe construction, i.e. *lé ŋku ɔe nya-a me* ‘look closely into the matter’.

One may say from the perspective of the MM that this speaker was conscious of Ewe being the unmarked code and was self-willed to ensure that it retained that role. Despite this determination, he slipped into Ewe-English bilingual mode albeit temporarily (probably because of the INTERVIEWEE’S identity¹¹). It was while in that mode that he activated the ML at the conceptual

¹⁰ *Lé* (with high tone) is not the copula *le*, it is the verb meaning ‘to fix/hold’.

¹¹ The interviewee, KOFI, was 30 years of age. He indicated in a questionnaire he filled prior to this interview that he was not confident that he could ever speak Ewe unilingually. He also indicated that he thought that his use of CS has to do more with his inability to “express myself freely” in Ewe than with whether CS was preferred by others. Indeed, he used CS pervasively

level. What happened in (12) shows that while he may have unconsciously activated the ML and got committed to producing an insertional CS construction, he ‘recovered’ consciousness in time to check the move. Thus, the MM explains the sociolinguistic underpinnings of the hesitation while the MLF model explains the structural as well as the psycholinguistic dimensions of it.¹² Had this speaker’s orientation toward the incoming English adjective been different (=positive), he would have gladly allowed it into the slot after **very**. The old man in the following example would definitely have done so.

Example (13) below is an instance of marked CS. It contains a singly-occurring English verb in an Ewe grammatical structure that was used to convey a desired social identity. According to Asilevi (1990: 77), the utterance was made by “a fairly elderly man [middle school drop-out] ... in the ritual settings of libation to the ancestors”. Asilevi observes that the old man decided to use CS “in his bid to identify himself with us [six of us – university students and other folks of high social status resident in Accra, on a visit to the village]”.

Example (13)

Old man: *Enye mia vi ... Wo **choose-m** I your child ... I have been **chose-n**
be ma fo tsi qi na mi to pour libation to you.
 (Asilevi 1990: 77)*

Unmixed Ewe is the unmarked code for this village setting because it is the language ancestors and gods of Ewes ‘understand’. Thus, the old man, who certainly knew this fact, could not have intended his bilingual utterance directly for the ancestors’ ears. He obviously used the English verb, as Asilevi rightly observes, to identify himself with the young educated people who were his out-group. Asilevi’s interpretation of (13) was corroborated in interviews with twelve consultants who were contacted in early 2012. As reported in Amuzu (2012: 16), the consultants were separately interviewed about what they thought about this old man’s use of the verb **choose** in this specific context: i.e. they were to say whether they thought the old man’s use of this verb was an instance of CS or that of lexical borrowing. The consultants, four of whom are above fifty, were unanimous in the view that the old man would have used the Ewe equivalent verb, *tia*, if he did not have other ideas. The significance

in the interviews (see full text of which appears in Appendix 4 in Amuzu 2005a). He was unmarried. Although he had a postsecondary professional qualification in Marketing dating at least two years, he was still unemployed.

¹² The monitoring of one’s speech is a psycholinguistic process; and it will be recalled that the MLF model was born out of Levelt’s (1989) that processing model.

of this corroboration lies in the fact that it arrives almost two decades after Asilevi wrote. It means that not much has changed in the conventions that guide Ewe speakers in their interpretation of the kind of marked CS that this old man resorted to.

It has to be pointed out that it is not all codeswitchers who are capable of monitoring their speech with the intension of speaking unilingually in Ewe when CS is undesirable (= marked), as it is in the interviews that constitute the Amuzu (2002) database. Many of the codeswitches in those interviews were, arguably, the result of speakers' inability to find the right Ewe words instead of English words (cf. Amuzu 2005c). Such switches become marked without signalling any social or discourse message. This issue is discussed extensively in Amuzu (2005c). In the extract numbered (14) below, the interviewee, KOFI (see footnote 11 above), wanted to say in his first turn that (Tsatsu) Tsikata, whose trial case was the topic of discussion in that portion of the interview, was the boss of a petroleum company, GNPC. In conformity with the 'rules' of the interview, KOFI wanted to *not* say **petroleum company** but found in that first turn that he had already uttered **petroleum**. He then hesitated with **e-nu yi** 'this thing', ostensibly in search of an Ewe substitute for company. Noticing KOFI's predicament, the INTERVIEWER (the speaker in example 12 above) came to his rescue with the Ewe expression for 'petroleum company' (i.e. **amikudɔwɔfe**). However, although KOFI acknowledged the intervention by using this Ewe expression on resumption of his speech, he probably felt more comfortable sticking to the word **company**, which, presumably, was first and foremost on his mind: he used it seven more times in his second turn. Notice that he even produced the mixed compound **ami company** 'petroleum company' in this turn.

Example (14):

Kofi: Tsikata'a, wogbɔgbɔ be wonye ...
wodaɛ ... wole **GNPC** nu ya, enye
Petroleum enu yi ...

Tsikata, they are saying he was ...
they put him ... he was at the head
of **GNPC** that thing, he was the **pe-**
troleum this thing ...

INT: ... amikudɔwɔfe.

... petroleum company.

Kofi: amikudɔwɔfe. Ye nye amegã le afi-
ma godzi, nɔ ... ebe lém ne tefea.
Ye wovadzɔ be eva **contract**
loan ... evado ga le **company**-aɖe
gbɔ kɔ ne **company** aɖe le Ghana
'fi godzi wobe enye **Valley** nuka
Farms, be woakɔ wɔdɔ. Ye **com-**

petroleum company. He was the
head (boss) there ... was taking
care of the place. It happened that
he **contracted loan** ... he bor-
rowed money from a **company**
and gave it to another **company**
here in Ghana, which they say is

pany-a evadzɔ be **company**-a me-
vakpo ega **pay**, ta Tsikata dze ag-
bagba tso ga le **company**-a **oil**
company ya wolea, ami – **compa-**
ny ya wole, kɔ xe fe'a. Ke fifia
dziɖuɖu ya va, dziɖuɖu ya va
gbɔgbɔm fia be ɖɔ enu'i wowɔ,
mewoe nyui o. Ta emɔ yiwo dzi
woto hafi va do ga na **company**-a
mewɔ ɖe ... menyɛ emɔ nyui dzi
woto o ta ɖɛ elebe woto tefe aɖewo
hafi wo atɛnu awɔ ɖɔ ma. Eye esi
dziɖuɖua gbɔgbɔm be ɖɛ mewɔ ɖe
ese dzi ta ɖɛ ele be woasabae ɖe
enu'i, ɖe vɔnudɔɖe alo ... Ye wova
dzɔ be dukɔ hã ese miekɔ dukɔ
kplɔ mee. Ye yi hã tso enu ɖe wo
ɲu ... ko nu aɖewo le me be ale...
ale ta ... **but ... but** ese aɖe li, ese
aɖe li wobe... wobe ese aɖe va
keke **nineteen ninety three**, gake
eva **July** me. Ye Tsikatae gbɔgbɔm
be ɖɛ ... ese ma ... yewɔ, yewɔ,
yewɔ ye- **contract loan** ma hafi
ese ma va ... ehe, ta ɖɛ ...

called **Valley** something **Farms**,
for investment. The **company**, it
happened that the **company** did
not find money to repay, so Tsika-
ta endeavoured and took money
from the **company** the **oil compa-**
ny he works for, to clear the loan.
So now this government, this gov-
ernment is saying hat ... this
thing ... what he did was wrong, il-
legal. That is, the way the loan was
contracted for the **company**, he
did not ... it was not good, because
he should have followed some pro-
cedure before the loan was grant-
ed. And the government is saying
that because he did not abide by
the law he must be summoned be-
fore ... er this thing ... court or ...
And it happened that constitution
governs the running of the coun-
try. So he (Tsikata) too is making
a case against them (government).
Some things are true that ... **but ...**
but there is a law, there is a law ...
they say, they say there has been a
law since **nineteen ninety three**
but it came into effect in **July**
(1993). Tsikata is saying that ...
that law ... he did, he did, he **con-**
tracted that **loan** before the law
was promulgated, yes, so that ...

(Amuzu 2005c: 36)

It can be said that although KOFI did not plan to use CS (i.e. although he would have liked to use Ewe unilingually as he was being encouraged to), he found himself using it regularly because he was unfortunately trapped in Ewe-English bilingual mode. Because of this, he readily deployed the ML to frame insertional CS constructions that popped up. Notice that it was not only **company** that surprised him: other English morphemes did, namely **pay**, **but**, **July**, **con-**

tract, and **loan**. However, it can alternatively be argued that the words listed above have already become part of the Ewe lexicon of people like KOFI (i.e. they are for them borrowed forms) although this can hardly be the case with people like the INTERVIEWER.

4.2 The second point

The second point about Ewe-English CS that emerges from our combined use of the MM and the MLF model is that whether CS attracts social/discourse meaning (is a marked choice) or is merely meant to symbolize mutual solidarity between speakers (is an unmarked choice) depends principally on the sociolinguistic considerations that the speakers make at the relevant point in their conversation. The markedness or otherwise of the use of CS is not a function of the patterns in which the codes are switched. In other words, both insertional and alternational types of CS may be treated alike as either marked or unmarked during the same conversation. A related point is that from the point of view of the MLF model the grammatical processes that build insertional CS constructions are the same whether the constructions are used as marked CS or as unmarked CS. The extract numbered (15) below illustrates the details of this point.

The extract is taken from the Amuzu (1996) database, which, as noted, comprises recordings of speakers' informal in-group conversations in which CS was generally the unmarked code choice. The conversation took place in Accra in late 1996 between a different set of brothers, i.e. from those encountered in example (1) above, who are also bilingual in Ewe and English. Speaker A, who was then a twenty nine years old postgraduate student of Sociology in Norway, had just returned home for holidays and was being briefed by B about a building that the siblings, including another brother, Seyram, were putting up for their mother. Speaker B (a Bachelor of Business Administration student at the University of Ghana, aged twenty three) was the project manager. The interaction was at the point where the two were trying to work out details of the financial contributions which A and Seyram had made. They had before them a statement of account that B had prepared. The first three turns in the extract were in unilingual Ewe followed by a switch to Ewe-English CS from turn 4. In the CS in turns 4 to 6, Ewe is the more dominant language. However, English's lexical input increases from turn 7 and by turn 10 to turn 14 the speakers resorted to unilingual English. This situation however changed in turn 15 with a return to Ewe-English CS only for unilingual Ewe to monopolize turn 18.

Example (15)

- 1 A: [Looking at the statement of account.]
Ke mega nyi fe de.
- 2 B: [Non-verbal communication showing agreement.]
- 3 A: *Ehe mako nu yia de, eko deka tso afia loo.*
- 4 B: *Nu ka ee, mia kple Seyram fe nu yi **agreement-a** de? Nenie wohia be mia **contribute** hafi?*
- 5 A: ***Finally-a?** Ao de! **we are just ... nyemenya be megagbɔna five hundred ...***
- 6 B: *Ao la, me eya gbɔm mele o.*
- 7 A: *Ao, **we are just doing it.***
- 8 B: *Menye **thousand thousand dollars** ye mie **contribute this last time** oa?*
- 9 A: *Ee.*
- 10 B: ***But** ur ... **I noticed you didn't pay all your money.***
- 11 A: ***How much did I pay? I don't know, I ... I paid. The only thing that you owe me now, I owe you, you owe me now ye nye twenty dollars***
- 12 B: ***Twenty?***
- 13 A: ***Yah twenty dollars***
- 14 B: ***Twenty alo seventy?***
- 15 A: *Ega dee, meva ne de me afi adea? **Seven hundred** ya meɔo da, **earlier on** ade ... nyemedo ga ade da?*
- 16 B: ***You sent one hundred and fifty first time.***
- 17 A: ***One eighty** ade dee? **One eighty** ya meko ne Gavivi dee?*
- Then I am in debt again.
- Okay. Let me take some of this; you have taken one from here. What is it? What about the **agreement** between you and Seyram? How much does each of you have to **contribute**?
- You mean **finally**? No! **We are just ...** I didn't know that I will come to [contribute] **five hundred** again...
- No, I am not talking about that. No, **We are just doing it.**
- Is it not **thousand dollars** apiece that you **contributed this last time**?
- Yes.
- But** ur ... **I noticed you didn't pay all your money.**
- How much did I pay? I don't know, I ... I paid. The only thing that you owe me now, I owe you, you owe me now is twenty dollars.**
- Twenty?**
- Yes **twenty dollars**
- Twenty** or **seventy**?
- The money, isn't there a short fall somewhere? The **seven hundred** I sent **earlier on ...** didn't I send some money?
- You sent one hundred and fifty [the] first time.**
- What about some **one eighty**? Where is the **one eighty** I gave to Gavivi?

18 B: *Ee; mele afima oa?*

Yes; isn't it there? [*pointing at a figure in the statement of account.*]

(Amuzu 2012: 10)

Notice that after three turns in which unilingual Ewe was used, speaker B's insertion of English content morphemes in Ewe grammatical frames¹³ in turn 4 did not attract any social/discourse interpretations from speaker A, who in turn 5 simply produced his own insertional CS.¹⁴ Speaker A's Ewe version of 'no' (i.e. *ao*) in turn 7 is in response to speaker B's unilingual Ewe remark in turn 6. But in what constitutes an instance of alternational CS, A juxtaposes *ao* to a unilingual English remark that also did not seem to attract any special social/discourse interpretation from speaker B, who in turn 8 simply resumes his insertional CS.

This trend of using CS routinely (i.e. as an unmarked code choice characterised by usages of unilingual Ewe, unilingual English, and insertional Ewe-English) continues up till turn 10 when as noted the speakers commenced a four-turn run of almost unilingual English. Upon careful scrutiny, one finds that this sustained use of English coincides with the most emotionally charged turns of the interaction – the content of the exchange in those turns and the presence of several false starts and reformulations display the speakers' heightened emotional involvement. At that stage in the interaction, then, English seems to function as a marked choice which indexes the tension and hence the increased emotional distance between the speakers.¹⁵ This aspect of the extract therefore illustrates the embedding of a marked choice within a sequence of unmarked choices. What happens in turns 10 to 14 demonstrates that unpredictable changes in the sociopragmatics of an ongoing discourse

13 Like any English possessed nominal would (cf. section 3.2), **agreement** occurs as NP2 in the Ewe-based [NP1 *fe* NP2] structure. **Contribute** (see example below) occurs in the nominal clause introduced by the Ewe complementizer *be* 'that' following Ewe-based morphosyntactic procedures in WH-question formation by which its object *neni* (WH: how.much) is moved from post-verb position before *hafi* 'before' to superordinate clause initial position where it is focus-marked.

Neni-e wo-hĩ [be mia **contribute** hafi]?
How.much-FOC 3sg-need COMP 1PL contribute before
'How much did we really need to contribute?'

14 For example, the yes/no question involving the English adverbial **finally** is Ewe-based; note the use of the Ewe question marker *-a* after **finally**.

15 English may indeed be said to be marking this kind of tension because it is the default language of formality among the educated in Ghana.

(e.g. mood changes) can prompt speakers to re-evaluate the social/discourse values they have been attaching to the codes they are mixing or alternating.

A slightly different scenario presents itself in example (3) above: CS involving two languages is treated as unmarked but a switch to a third language is treated as a switch to a marked code. In that extract, John and Victoria had been using as their unmarked codes unilingual Ewe, insertional Ewe-English, and alternation of Ewe and English expressions until Victoria received a phone call. After using Ewe-English with the caller in her opening turn, she switched unceremoniously to unilingual Krobo. The switch to Krobo is evidently a marked choice because Victoria used it successfully to distance John. It is possible that Victoria did not activate an ML when she intends to switch to Krobo because doing so could have lured her into using English words that may give away to John bits of the content of the message she intends for her brother's ears; recall that John did not understand Krobo.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored the possibility of combining the Markedness Model (MM) and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model in our account of patterns of CS in Ewe-English bilingualism. It is shown that while the MM may be used to explain the sociolinguistic aspects of given instances of CS, the MLF model may be used to explain the grammatical aspects of the instances of CS that are, in particular, insertional in character.

The paper concentrates on mapping the interface of the two models, something it captures in table 1. The table outlined the four stages of language production: conceptual, lemma, functional, and surface. It is shown that the MM covers what happens at the conceptual level: e.g. why a bilingual would operate in bilingual mode, why he would use CS with his interlocutors, and why he would activate a given ML to constrain the distribution of morphemes from different languages in given constructions (i.e. account for the insertional type of CS). The MLF model on its part covers that happens from the lemma level through to the functional level which culminates in the surface-level insertional CS constructions speakers produced (what obtains in composite-2 CS, e.g. Ewe-English, is captured in the left column in Table 2). Thus, there is interface between the MLF model and the MM only with regard to insertional CS. What happens in the expressions of two languages that are juxtaposed (= alternated) lies outside the scope of the MLF model. Structural aspects of those expressions can be discussed, of course, from the perspectives of the grammars of those languages.

Two interrelated points emerged from our combination of the MM and the MLF model in analyzing data. The first point was that although codeswitchers may be unconscious of what they are doing, they do have the capacity to monitor the sociolinguistic decisions they make and how those decisions shape the grammatical character of the bilingual expressions they produce. We noted that clearer evidence that they exercise this potential can be found in speakers' use of marked CS; see the discussion of INTERVIEWER's utterance in (12) in which he succeeded in NOT producing CS because he was monitoring his own speech production keenly. But as is also noted with KOFI's utterances in (15), not all speakers can exercise this kind of monitoring ability. The second point was that whether CS is marked or is unmarked depends basically on sociolinguistic considerations and not so much on whether the CS is insertional or alternational. It was demonstrated that both insertional and alternational types of CS may be treated alike as either marked or unmarked during the same conversation.

The habitual use of marked and unmarked CS involving Ewe and English in everyday speech is nevertheless a familiar phenomenon in postcolonial West Africa. For instance, Onumajuru's following observation could as well have been made about Ewe-English codeswitchers in Ghana: 'every Nigerian speaker (literate, semi-literate and non-literate) is involved in the phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing of English and the native language' (2007: 67, quoted in Obiamalu & Mbagwu 2008: 28); recall that even the illiterate Oldman in example (13) was involved in it. However, the presence of people like KOFI as well as others like the INTERVIEWER in our data suggests that there is variation in the Ewe-English CS community when it comes to the question whether people are using the bilingual variety as CS or as a mixed code (i.e. as a separate code apart from Ewe). In other words, although 'everyone' may be involved in using CS presently,¹⁶ Swigart's following description of speakers of Urban Wolof (i.e. Wolof-French CS) applies specifically to the KOFIs and not to the INTERVIEWERS in the Ewe-English speech community: "[they] had little notion of code-switching at all. That is, when more than one language was used in the course of the same conversation in a mixed way, they tended to

16 Indeed, writing about CS among the Ewe more than two decades ago, Asilevi observed that "this linguistic symbiosis has increasingly become a communicative praxis, socially accepted as a feature of daily conversational discourse in all aspects of informal interactions of the Ewe-English bilinguals. In essence this speech habit has become an integral part of their communicative performance and has so permeated the informal speech of the bilingual youth that one can rightly speculate that it will be no distant time when an Ewe native speaker ought to have some knowledge of English before he can function in his own speech community (Asilevi 1990: 2)."

view this speech as a variety of one of the constituents, Wolof or French, depending on which language was dominant” (Swigart 1992: 7). Getting to fully understand the dynamics of such a variation, and its impact on the ongoing CS contact phenomenon, will, however, require extensive periodic analyses of data along lines demonstrated in this study.

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Part 2: **Multilingual interaction and
social identity**

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Towards an integrated approach to structural and conversational code-switching through macrosociolinguistic factors

Abstract: The study of code-switching has been mostly undertaken from two perspectives that have developed apart from one another, i.e. the grammatical perspective and the conversational perspective. I attempt in this chapter to join these two perspectives by testing the hypothesis that grammatical and conversational forms of code-switching can be jointly predicted via macrosociolinguistic factors. To that end, I first show on the basis of sociolinguistically diverse data from South Africa, featuring language with different degrees of typological distance (i.e. Afrikaans, English, Sesotho), that macrosociolinguistic factors by themselves can predict specific grammatical CS patterns irrespective of linguistic factors. I then proceed to show that under certain conditions, there is evidence in these data of one-to-one relationships between specific patterns of grammatical code-switching and those conversational code-switching patterns which Auer (1999) refers to as language mixing and language alternation.

1 Introduction

The study of code-switching (CS), a term which I am adopting here for broadly referring to any phenomenon involving bilingual speech, has been mostly undertaken either from a structural angle or from a conversational angle. Even though the structural angle tends to see language as an idealized entity undetermined by social factors, it has more or less unintentionally produced structural typologies of CS in which macrosociolinguistic predictors are allowed for, such as Muysken (2000). Even though conversational approaches to CS elaborated within the paradigm of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982), such as Auer (1999), regard CS as the manifestation of conversation-specific strategies, they do not entirely dismiss the possibility that its forms and functions can be determined by macrosociolinguistic factors. On that basis, I argue that there is scope for joining structural and conversational CS typologies around the macrosociolinguistic factors which both more or less explicitly acknowledge.

This chapter is organized as follows. I first draw comparisons between the grammatical CS types described in Muysken's typology of CS (2000), i.e. insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalization, and the conversational CS types described in Auer's typology of CS (1999), i.e. language alternation and language mixing. I then present the data and the methodology I use to prove or disprove the general hypothesis that these grammatical and conversational code-switching types co-occur in specific patterns determined by macrosociolinguistic factors. The analysis successively focuses on alternational CS, insertional CS, and congruent lexicalization, examining in each case the conversational CS types that these grammatical CS types co-occur with. Finally, I discuss the extent to which the findings can provide a cornerstone to a joint grammatical and conversational typology of CS.

2 Typologies of CS and macrosociolinguistic factors

Social factors impacting on the occurrence of CS have from an early stage been a topic of interest to students of language contact phenomena. Poplack (1980, 1988), who initiated the still on-going debate on grammatical constraints on CS, can be credited with laying the foundations of a comparative sociolinguistic approach to CS (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 102–104). Her two-way comparison of CS patterns in sociolinguistically distinct settings established different types of CS, defined by differing proportions of a set of (grammatical or pragmatic) switch types, and reflecting distinct macrosociolinguistic factors. After Poplack, the next typology of CS acknowledging macrosociolinguistic factors came in the form of Muysken (1997, 2000).

Muysken defines three main grammatical patterns of CS, i.e. insertional CS, alternational CS and congruent lexicalization. In the insertional pattern, Language A sets the grammatical frame into which constituents from Language B are inserted. In (1), the English prepositional phrase (underlined) is an insertion by virtue of being embedded in an overall Spanish structure.

- (1) Yo anduve in a state of shock para dos días.
 'I walked in a state of shock for two days'
 (Muysken 1997: 361)

In alternations, both languages occur alternately, each with their own structure. Alternations are generally marked by their syntactically peripheral occurrence. The underlined English segment in (2) is clearly an alternation since it is peripheral and internally displays an English syntactic structure.

- (2) Andale pues and do come again.
 ‘That’s all right then, and do come again’
 (Muysken 1997: 361)

Finally, congruent lexicalization is a type of relatively frequent CS whereby the grammatical structure of the bilingual clause is shared by the two participating languages (both showing linear/categorial equivalence), and filled in ‘randomly’ with elements from either language (3). As such, congruent lexicalization proves difficult to demarcate from insertions when the language pair involves closely related languages. In that case, the only distinctive features of congruent lexicalization are the presence in the bilingual utterance of triggering (which brings about non-constituents) and function morphemes (especially finite verbal inflections) from the two participating languages (Muysken 2000: 230, 362).

- (3) Bueno, in other words, el flight que sale de Chicago around three o’clock.
 ‘Good, in other words, the flight that leaves Chicago around three o’clock’
 (Muysken 1997: 362)

According to Muysken (2000: 249), the dominance of one of the three CS patterns over the others may be ascribed to macrosociolinguistic and linguistic factors. Among the macrosociolinguistic factors, the notion of symmetry/asymmetry in language prestige is dominant. ‘Colonial settings’ and ‘recent immigrant communities’, whereby one language is socially dominant and the other confined to L-functions, favour insertions. Extreme patterns of asymmetry in language prestige in these same environments result in congruent lexicalization. By contrast, traditions of language separation, whereby both languages enjoy equal prestige, favour alternations. Among the linguistic factors, typological distance between languages favours insertions and alternations, while typological proximity conversely favours insertions and congruent lexicalization. In all cases, there may be a question of a primary CS pattern, as well as of a secondary CS pattern: Insertional CS and alternational CS can as such form primary CS patterns, which, depending on their specific features, may or may not tend towards congruent lexicalization (Deuchar et al. 2007). Importantly, Muysken leaves open the question whether linguistic factors override sociolinguistic factors or vice versa in the occurrence of specific grammatical CS types.

Besides leaving the question of grammatical constraints for a large part unsettled, the grammatical study of CS has been plagued by disagreement over the distinction between borrowings and switches. There is one reason for me to dwell on that distinction: The idea – expressed, among other things, by

Myers-Scotton (1988: 160) – that borrowings cannot be distinguished from switches otherwise than from the perspective of the relevant speech community's norms, suggests that an emic perspective ought to systematically second etic perspectives usually taken in grammatical approaches to categorizing CS.

Taking an emic perspective, however, has generally been the preserve of conversational approaches to CS. Proceeding from an emic definition of what a 'code' and a 'switch' constitute, the conversational typology of CS developed by Auer (1998, 1999) – for a significant part rooted in Conversation Analysis as are other conversational approaches to CS elaborated within the paradigm of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) – makes a general distinction between 'language alternation' (LA, i.e. a relatively infrequent type of CS whereby 'the switch is perceived as locally meaningful by the participants'), and 'language mixing' (LM, i.e. a relatively frequent type of CS whereby 'the use of two languages is only meaningful to participants as a recurrent pattern', see Auer 1999; Auer & Eastman 2010: 87). As a result, switches in LA patterns tend to perform conversational functions (i.e. as talk-organizing devices) and social functions (as identity markers), while switches in LM patterns tend to do neither (Auer 1999).

Perhaps in reaction to variationist 'language reflects society' accounts – which are widely criticized by the proponents of Conversation Analysis – Auer (1999: 311–312) only indirectly provides a macrosociolinguistic typology of conversational CS types. LM is – on the basis of the examples Auer (1999: 314–318) adduces – implicitly associated with bilingual settings where one language holds more prestige than the other¹. Such settings are those which Muysken describes as conducive to insertion/congruent lexicalization. By contrast, LA occurs in contexts 'in which speakers orient towards a preference for one language at a time', i.e. contexts reminiscent of those characterized by language separation, which Muysken associates with symmetry in language prestige and alternational CS.

It would be unfair, however, to conclude that Auer's lack of explicitness regarding macrosociolinguistic factors in conversational CS means that he seeks to divorce the 'emic perspective' from the broader social context as do orthodox proponents of Conversation Analysis. He does regard speakers as agents who 'actively construct their social identities within the larger macroso-

¹ Auer (1999: 314) draws a parallel between LM and the frequent type of Spanish-English CS among New York Puerto Ricans which Poplack described (1980), as well as 'CS as an unmarked choice' which Myers-Scotton described in eastern and southern Africa (1993). New York Puerto Ricans and eastern/southern Africa fit Muysken's description of 'recent immigrant communities' and 'colonial settings', respectively.

ciological context', but hastens to emphasize that that context simultaneously acts as a constraint on processes of identity construction (Auer & Eastman 2010: 93). In other words, macrosociolinguistic factors are allowed for in Auer's conversational typology. Therefore, there could be a case for articulating his typology with Muysken's along macrosociolinguistic factors which both more or less explicitly acknowledge.

This seems problematic at first glance, as some of the examples Auer uses to illustrate LM – associated with asymmetry in language prestige – structurally reflect the examples that Muysken uses to illustrate alternational CS – associated with symmetry in language prestige. However, the gradual, rather than categorical, distinction that Muysken often makes between insertional CS, alternational CS and congruent lexicalization (as evidenced by his acknowledgement of secondary CS patterns) still warrants the hypothesis that macrosociolinguistic factors can at least predict correlations between LA/LM and yet to be specified grammatical CS types straddling the notional boundaries between insertional CS, alternational CS and congruent lexicalization. I present below the data against which I want to test this hypothesis.

3 Corpus and predictions

The data against which I intend to test the above hypothesis consist of a multilingual corpus of informal speech involving three languages, i.e. Afrikaans, English and Sesotho. These data were collected in South Africa between 2005 and 2009 among three distinct racial/ethnic groups, i.e. White Afrikaans-speakers (commonly referred to as Afrikaners), Coloureds and Blacks. Before describing the corpus in more detail, it is in order at this point to briefly describe South Africa's sociolinguistic environment.

South Africa's society still bears the marks of Apartheid, whereby systematic socio-economic separation was implemented between four officially designated racial groups, i.e. the Whites – who nowadays make up 9.2% of the population, cf. Statistics South Africa 2001), Coloureds (8.8%), Blacks (79.4%), and Asians (2.6%). The label 'White' refers to mostly Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers. The label 'Coloured' refers to a population group of mixed descent, whose native language is overwhelmingly Afrikaans. Finally, the label 'Black' refers to various African population groups whose common feature is to mostly have Bantu languages as native languages. Apartheid was systematically codified during the reign of the National Party (1948–1994), and it became as such associated with Afrikaner nationalism (Giliomee 2003).

Apartheid involved a distinctive language policy, which honoured the principle of compulsory mother tongue instruction. That principle was conceived of

mostly as a strategy to counter the spread of English not only among Afrikaners themselves, but also among Nonwhites, for whom English had possessed the symbolic value of social advancement ever since the late 19th century (Malherbe 1977). The demise of Apartheid in 1994 and the accession to power of the Black majority led to English becoming the de facto dominant language at the expense of all other South African languages (Webb 2002).

Historical attitudes to language vary starkly across South Africa's White/Nonwhite divide. The historical attachment to English among Blacks and Coloureds shows at a linguistic level in the strong tendencies to code-switch into English in a manner reminiscent of LM (Finlayson & Slabbert 1997; McCormick 2002). On the other hand, the Afrikaner population, which has historically insulated itself from English influence (Malherbe 1977), tends to identify with 'pure' Afrikaans (Webb et al. 1992: 39–40; Webb 2002: 30). This suggests that Afrikaans-English CS in the form of LA might prevail among the Afrikaner population.

The data used in this study were collected among university students and high school students who self-identified as White Afrikaans-speakers, Coloured Afrikaans-speakers and Black Sesotho-speakers, respectively. Members of these groups were requested to record themselves in informal group conversations, in which the researcher did not take part in order to reduce the Observer's Paradox. The largest part of the corpus involves White and Coloured Afrikaans-speakers recorded in two sets of locations, i.e. urban and rural locations. The number of sampled Afrikaans-speakers is roughly 180, and the total number of words they produced is roughly 145,000. Smaller in size, the Sesotho sample was collected in the city of Bloemfontein. It comprises six speakers and roughly 29,000 words.

The frequencies of CS involving English vary across the White, Coloured and Black samples: The proportion of recognizably English lexemes in the total of lexemes ranges in the White samples from 1.56% (in the rural subsample) up to 3.37% (in the urban subsample), while, in the Coloured sample, it ranges from 2.26% (in the rural subsample) up to 9.46% (in the urban subsample). In the Sesotho sample, the proportion of recognizably English lexemes amounts to 22.13%.

The general hypothesis that I formulated in section 1 is that symmetry/asymmetry in language prestige causes specific conversational and grammatical CS types to co-occur, and more specifically, that symmetry/asymmetry in language prestige causes LA/LM to co-occur with grammatical CS types variously located along the continuum between insertional CS/alternational CS and congruent lexicalization. The validity of this hypothesis seems at first sight questionable for one specific reason: Whereas the correlation between LA/LM

and symmetry/asymmetry in language prestige seems uncontroversial (cf. section 1), it is open to question to what extent grammatical CS types can be accounted for as the product of macrosociolinguistic factors rather than of linguistic factors (cf. section 2). Based on Muysken's linguistic and macrosociolinguistic predictions for the grammatical form of CS, hypotheses in this respect are as follows:

- (i) Linguistic factors override macrosociolinguistic factors in the grammatical form of CS. Therefore, the relatively large typological distance between Sesotho (i.e. a Bantu language) and English (i.e. a Germanic language) gives rise to only English insertions in Sesotho matrix clauses and Sesotho-English alternations. By contrast, the relatively small typological distance between English and Afrikaans (i.e. both Germanic languages) gives rise to congruent lexicalization, whereby the matrix language could be either English or Afrikaans.
- (ii) Macrosociolinguistic factors override linguistic factors in the grammatical form of CS. Therefore, the high prestige of English at the expense of other languages in the eyes of South African Nonwhites gives rise to congruent lexicalization – or at least patterns of CS tending towards congruent lexicalization – involving their native languages and English regardless of typological distance. By contrast, the legacy of purism among White Afrikaans-speakers only permits English insertions in Afrikaans matrix clauses and Afrikaans-English alternations without tendencies towards congruent lexicalization.

If (ii) is shown to be true, correlations can be sought, on the one hand, between asymmetry in language prestige and the features [+congruent lexicalization] and [+LM], and, on the other hand, between symmetry in language prestige and the features [–congruent lexicalization] and [–LM]. By contrast, if (i) is shown to be true, grammatical and conversational CS types can be predicted only by separate sets of factors, i.e. linguistic factors and macrosociolinguistic factors, respectively. I describe in the following section the methodology I use for testing these hypotheses as well as the general hypothesis formulated in section (2).

4 Methodology

My methodological approach to data analysis involves first of all the grammatical categorization of CS according to Muysken's typology. It subsequently in-

volves categorizing the established grammatical CS types as either tending towards LA or towards LM. One important issue to be tackled for the purpose of the grammatical categorization of CS is the definition of the concept ‘matrix language’ (ML).

The grammatical categorization of switches requires identifying a ML. For that purpose, Muysken (2000: 67) favours using structural criteria, among which feature the origin of finite verbal inflections, as well as the presence/absence of linear equivalence between language A and language B. The use I make of the criterion origin of finite verbal inflection is illustrated in (4). In that sentence, the English verb stem *like* appears as the last element of a stretch (bracketed) which could seem English². Any doubts as to whether that stretch is English or Afrikaans are dispelled by the fact that *like* is inserted without assuming the English 3rd person ending -s, in reflection of the Afrikaans verbal paradigm in which verbs remain mostly invariable in the present tense. Therefore, I consider (4) to be an Afrikaans matrix clause, in which *cousin* and *like* form English insertions.

- (4) [My cousin like] om te bestuur.
 ‘My cousin likes to drive.’
 (Urban Coloured sample)

Besides establishing matrix languages, an important aspect of the grammatical analysis revolves around establishing secondary CS patterns (cf. section 2). Establishing secondary CS patterns generally involves identifying distinct CS patterns within insertional CS, alternational CS and congruent lexicalization on the basis of features which each type happens to display more often in a given sample than in another. It also more specifically involves categorizing instances of insertional or alternational CS according to whether they display secondary features of congruent lexicalization, such as, in particular, [+/-morphological integration] and [+/-syntactic peripherality] (cf. Muysken 2000: 230). I also pay specific attention to those instances of CS that display the primary features of congruent lexicalization, namely, the occurrence of triggering, the prevalence of linear/categorical equivalence between the switched elements and the corresponding elements in the other language, and the presence of finite verbal inflections from the two participating languages (cf. Muysken 2000: 67, 230).

² The possessive pronoun *my* is a homophonous diamorph in the Afrikaans-English pair. *Cousin*, on the other hand, is an English substantive.

The grammatical analysis precedes the conversational analysis, during which the established grammatical CS types are tentatively correlated with either LA or LM. The conversational analysis is conducted from a sequential and a holistic perspective. The sequential perspective, whereby speaker turns are used as the unit of analysis, is aimed to identify specific conversational functions of CS linked to talk organization (Auer 1998). By contrast, the holistic perspective tests CS for its potential to perform social functions, such as especially the function of projecting social identities.

The notion of salience is essential to identifying both talk-organizing and social functions of CS: If a switch into language B takes place against the background of an interaction dominated by language A, the individual switch is likely to perform a talk-organizing function or a social function, as a result of which a pattern of LA rather than LM is suggested. More specific criteria which Auer (1998: 16–17, 1999: 328) puts forward for distinguishing between LA and LM are:

- (i) Position of switch within the turn. If the switch occurs at the periphery of the turn, LA is suggested. If it occurs turn-internally, LM is suggested.
- (ii) Presence/absence of triggering across turns. The presence of triggering suggests LM, while its absence suggests LA.
- (iii) Co-extensivity or lack thereof between switches and frames/footings. Co-extensivity suggests LA, while the lack thereof suggests LM³.

I identify the social functions of CS, such as, in particular, identity-related functions, based on the general micro- and macrosocial context of the on-going exchange, making reference to ‘episode-external knowledge’.

The findings will be placed in the perspective of South African societal divisions as described in section 3. As a result, any specific grammatical or conversational CS type that is established as more characteristic of the White sample will be linked to the factor symmetry in language prestige. By contrast, any specific grammatical or conversational CS type that is established as more characteristic of the Nonwhite sample will be linked to the factor asymmetry in language prestige.

5 Alternations and conversational CS types

The share of English alternations in the Afrikaans samples ranges from 1% (Rural White sample) up to 8.2% (Urban Coloured sample) of all switches,

³ An example of frames/footings is quotations. If a switch is co-extensive with a whole quotation, then that switch fits the description of LA (see further Alfonzetti 1998: 198–207).

while they form 56% of all switches in the Sesotho sample. This pattern of distribution seems to confirm hypothesis (i) that linguistic factors override macrosociolinguistic factors in the grammatical form of CS: Maximal typological distance (i.e. between Sesotho and English) favours alternations, minimal typological distance (i.e. between Afrikaans and English) does not (cf. section 3). However, the relatively high concentration of secondary features associated with congruent lexicalization in the Sesotho sample seems to disconfirm (i) in favour of (ii). The validity of (ii) is even more strongly suggested by the fact that these secondary features of congruent lexicalization – as well as other features not mentioned by Muysken as distinctive of any CS type – are unequally distributed across the Nonwhite and White samples.

A feature not mentioned by Muysken as distinctive of any CS type, and which I call ‘syntactic integration’, is unequally distributed across the Nonwhite and White samples. English clausal units in the Sesotho and Coloured Afrikaans samples tend to be explicitly connected to the preceding or following Sesotho/Afrikaans clause, such as in (5), where the English clause is connected to the preceding Sesotho clause by means of the complementizer *hore* ‘that’, and in (6) where the English clause is connected to the preceding Afrikaans clause by means of the conjunction *if*. By contrast, there is a strong tendency in the White samples for English clauses to occur without any syntactic connection to the preceding Afrikaans clause, as illustrated by (7).

- (5) Akere ene as the big boss o na le batho ba o eleng gore o na ba-designate [hore] they should take care of this and that and that.
 ‘As the big boss he had people that he had designated to take care of this and that and that.’
 (Sesotho sample)
- (6) Jy kan nie vir iemand stem if you don’t really know the person.
 ‘You can’t vote for someone if you don’t really know the person.’
 (Urban Coloured sample)
- (7) Maar dis jou eie besluit of jy dit sal toelaat maar ek weet nie ek het geen probleem met enige swartmense bruinmense pienkmense nie. Live and let live.
 ‘But it’s your own decision whether or not you will allow that but I don’t know I have no problem with any black people brown people pink people. Live and let live.’
 (Urban White sample)

Syntactic peripherality is the next point of contrast between the White and Nonwhite samples. Whereas – in conformity with the [-syntactically peripheral]

feature associated with congruent lexicalization (see Muysken 2000: 230) – clausal alternations tend to occur in all syntactic positions in the Nonwhite samples (8, 9), they tend in the White sample to be confined to utterance-final positions (7).

- (8) Ha ke tsebe excuse ea bona e bile eng, but now from what I
 ‘NEG I know excuse theirs was COMP, but from what I
realise ke hore the pressure ya this whole thing ya
realize it is that the pressure of this whole thing of
 ntho e etsahetse -ng kwale ko nthong, ke yone e put more
 thing happened COMP that thing, it is that which put more
 pressure on him ya hore a tsamaye.
 pressure on him of that he should go.
*‘I don’t know what their excuse was, but now from what I realize, it is the
 pressure of this whole thing that happened that put pressure on him to
 leave.’*
 (Sesotho sample)

- (9) Dis hoekom ek sê as die as die as die government êrens rêrig iets wil doen,
 start by grass roots level by primary schools (...) sê van standerd vyf af (...)
 maar nou ek meen dis’n futile exercize jy kan geld mors geld mors geld
 mors if you cannot change the mindset dan kan jy nie die practices verand-
 er nie.
 ‘That’s why I say if the if the government really wants to do something
 somewhere, start at grass roots level at primary schools say from grade five
 onwards but now I mean that’s a futile exercize you can waste money
 waste money waste money if you cannot change the mindset then you
 cannot change the practices.’
 (Urban Coloured sample)

In summary, there is in the data evidence of a [+syntactically integrated/–peripheral] and of a [–syntactically integrated/+peripheral] type of alternational CS. The former – which shows tendencies towards congruent lexicalization by virtue of the [–syntactically peripheral] feature – is more characteristic of the Nonwhite White sample, while the latter is more characteristic of the White sample. As I explain below, there is evidence that the [+syntactically integrated/–peripheral] subtype co-occurs with LA, and the [–syntactically integrated/+peripheral] with LM.

Among the symptoms of LA that were mostly found in the White Afrikaans sample are English alternations which are clearly used as conversational devices with a talk organizing function. One such alternation is shown in (9), where

it brings the speaker's turn to a close in the form of a 'closing sequence' (Alfonzetti 1998: 188–189). By contrast, English alternations with similar functions could only rarely be detected in the Nonwhite samples.

Another symptom of LA mostly found in the White Afrikaans sample is English alternations coinciding with specific frames/footings, such as quotations in particular (see section 4). An example is (10), where the English alternations (underlined) encapsulate the entire quotations while the surrounding narrative structure remains Afrikaans.

- (10) En sy eet tuna en erm sy vra haar man wat dit is (.) En hy sê: 'It's tuna. It's fish'. Of nee? Wat. 'It's tuna'. Toe sê sy: 'I know, but is it chicken or fish because it says chicken of the sea'.

'And she eats tuna and erm she asks her husband what it is (.) And he says: 'it's tuna'. Is that right? 'It's tuna'. Then she goes 'I know, but is it chicken or fish because it says chicken of the sea'.

(White Urban sample)

By contrast, co-extensivity of alternations and quotations is not systematic in the Coloured Afrikaans and Sesotho samples. In (11), the fragment of reported speech is in English and could by itself constitute an alternation. However, English is maintained in the stretch following the quotation, in keeping with the logic of 'triggering' typical of LM (Auer 1998: 17).

- (11) My ma het altyd gesê learn baby learn so you can earn maybe earn so it was economically driven maar dit was nie dit was nie net economically driven nie.

'My mum has always said learn baby learn so you can earn maybe earn so it was economically driven but it wasn't it wasn't just economically driven.'

(Urban Coloured sample)

Alternations are not necessarily deprived of any salience in the Nonwhite samples. For example, a distinct social function is suggested in the isolated occurrence of Sesotho single element alternations in English matrix clauses in the Sesotho sample. Example (12) features an English matrix clause in which the peripheral emphatic pronominal form (1st person *nna* 'I/me'), as well as the conjunction *hore* 'that'⁴, seem to carry salience as markers of Sesotho identity by symbolically limiting the monolingual character of the English-dominated sentence.

⁴ Conjunctions are considered to be syntactically peripheral in Muysken's typology. On this account, switched conjunctions are considered to be alternations (Muysken 2000: 97–99).

- (12) Nna, I really did not think hore it was his fault.
 ‘As for me, I really did not think that it was his fault.’
 (Sesotho sample)

Except in English-dominated utterances such as (12), which I will describe as part of a specific register within the Sesotho sample in section (7), LA and LM seem to coincide with specific types of clausal alternations. LA coincides with [–syntactically integrated/+peripheral] alternations, associated with the White sample, while LM coincides with [+syntactically integrated/–peripheral] alternations, associated with the Nonwhite samples. I discuss in the following section whether this contrast between alternational types is also reflected at the insertional level.

6 Insertions and conversational CS types

The insertions found in the data overwhelmingly consist of English lexemes inserted into Afrikaans and Sesotho sentences, respectively. The share of insertions in the total of switches in the Afrikaans samples ranges from 64.7% (Rural Coloured sample) up to 82.4% (Urban Coloured sample), while it only amounts to 44% in the Sesotho sample. This pattern of distribution seems to confirm hypothesis (i) (see section 3) that minimal typological distance (i.e. between English and Afrikaans) favours insertions more than does maximal typological distance (i.e. between English and Sesotho). However, the again relatively high concentration of secondary features associated with congruent lexicalization in the Sesotho sample seems to undermine the validity of (i), while their unequal distribution across the Nonwhite and White samples seems to confirm the validity of (ii).

Insertions in the corpus can be described in terms of the feature [+/–morphological integration], whereby cases of [–morphologically integrated] insertions indicate tendencies towards congruent lexicalization, since they suggest the co-existence of two matrix languages within the same sentence. The feature [+/–morphological integration] manifests itself through distinct insertional strategies. Altogether, the insertional data show English insertions exhibiting double morphology, all-English morphology, or ML morphology only. All three types are clearly represented in the Nonwhite samples, whereas only ML morphology is clearly represented in the White sample.

English insertions exhibiting double morphology are found primarily in the Sesotho sample, mostly in the form of English nouns to which both a Sesotho plural prefix and an English plural suffix are appended: *di-victims* ‘victims’,

di-supporters ‘supporters’, *di-results* ‘results’, where *di-* is the prefix appended to nouns falling into class 8, in which most loanwords in Sesotho belong. Double morphology is found to a marginal extent in the Coloured sample. An example is the form *ge-registered* ‘registered’, where the English verbal stem *register* simultaneously assumes the Afrikaans past participle prefix *ge-* and the English past participle suffix *-ed*.

ML morphological marking is widespread in all samples, especially in the Sesotho sample, where English insertions mostly assume Sesotho morphological markings. An example is English nouns used in the plural, to which is appended only the Sesotho class 8 prefix *di-*, such as in *di-party* ‘parties’, *di-group* ‘groups’, *di-tjhommie* ‘chummies’. In the Afrikaans samples, ML morphological marking is mostly observable in the use of English verbal stems, such as English verbal stems used in past participle function in Afrikaans matrix clauses: These assume the Afrikaans past participle prefix *ge-* to the exclusion of any other bound morpheme (e.g. *ge-drop* for *dropped*). Unambiguously English morphology is rarer. It manifests itself in the Sesotho sample through mainly English plural forms, such as *challenge-s*, *contrast-s*, and also in the form of English morphology in finite verbs (see section 7).

Unambiguously English morphology cannot be found in the White sample. In all cases, English nouns appear with the suffix *-s*, such as *boyfriend-s*, *partie-s*, *cousin-s*. It is open to question, however, whether *-s* may not be considered Afrikaans since it is the next most frequent Afrikaans plural suffix after *-e* (Combrink 1990: 384).

A common insertional strategy in all samples is to insert English lexemes where they do not need to assume any morphological markings. An example is English adjectives in the Afrikaans samples. Polysyllabic adjectives should – according to the rules of Standard Afrikaans – be inflected when occurring in attribute position. Polysyllabic adjectives are mostly found in inserted English constituents consisting of an adjective and a noun (e.g. *Dis organized religion*, ‘this is organized religion’), or in predicate position (e.g. *Dink jy ek was unfair?* ‘Do you think I was unfair?’), where they are not governed by an Afrikaans head and may thus remain uninflected. Cases of uninflected English adjectives occurring at sites where they should assume ML morphological markings are rarer, and in any event more frequent in the Sesotho and Coloured samples. (13) forms one such case: As an insertion, *sure* could be expected to assume a Sesotho concordial prefix⁵. In (14), the English adjective *different* should

⁵ An example of an English adjective assuming Sesotho morphological marking can be found in the sentence *I hope hore ba kra motho o-right* (‘I hope they get the right people’), where the English adjective *right* assumes the class 3 adjectival concord prefix *o-*.

theoretically assume the Afrikaans ending *-e* on account of its being polysyllabic.

- (13) Ba re ba dula somewhere mona ka masaeteng anee, ha ke sure.
 ‘They are said to live somewhere in that direction ... I am not sure’.
 (Sesotho sample)
- (14) Baie mense studeer in different velde nè.
 ‘Many people study in different fields don’t they’.
 (Urban Coloured sample)

To summarize, insertions fall into two types, i.e. a [+morphologically integrated] type, more characteristic of the White sample, and a [–morphologically integrated] type, more characteristic of the Nonwhite samples. The contrast between the two insertional types seems to reflect a conversational subdivision within insertional CS patterns. The White sample is where insertions in general tend to individually perform social functions. An example is found in the language use of a White Afrikaans speaker of whom I quote an utterance in (15). When quizzed about her feelings about certain Afrikaans stereotypes, this speaker takes a clear disaffiliative stance versus these stereotypes. She does so, among other things, by using English insertions, which have a clear social function by virtue of occurring against a largely monolingual Afrikaans background.

- (15) Dit is regtig ... jy kry ... dis net jou hardcore uhm AP Kerk Afrikaner wat sou Kyknet kyk reg deur die dag oordat hulle nog vasgevang is in die voor ninety four era en dis al hoekom hulle Kyknet kyk uhm want Kyknet se programme is up to shit en daar is nie genoeg nie so jy sien hulle ses keer’n dag.
 ‘This is really ... you get ... that’s just your hardcore AP Church Afrikaner who would watch Kyknet all day long because they are still stuck in the pre-ninety four era and this is why they watch Kyknet erm because Kyknet’s programmes are up to shit and there isn’t enough so you see them six times a day.’
 (Urban White sample)

In this excerpt the informant casts in a derogatory frame the stereotypical conservative ‘A.P.K. Afrikaner’, characterized by Christian radicalism. Not only for its English origin but also for its alternative pop-rock connotations does the label *hardcore* clash with the A.P.K. imagery and the old-fashioned values it implies. The conflict between the A.P.K. Afrikaner stereotype and modernity is

emphasized again in the use of the expression *ninety four era*, whose English form accords with its symbolic connotation as the end of Afrikaner dominance. Finally, the derogatory expression *up to shit* manifests a disparaging Anglophone judgment on one of the cultural mouthpieces of the A.P.K. Afrikaner, i.e. the all-Afrikaans channel *Kyknet*, as not only qualitatively low but also as hopelessly out of place in a South African modernity dominated by English-speaking media.

Inferring conversational or social functions from individual insertions in the Nonwhite samples is not as straightforward. The African National Congress political register used by the Coloured participant in (16) illustrates this point well: The use he makes of CS is too frequent for individual switches to carry any salience, and CS in the reproduced excerpt can for that reason be described as LM.

- (16) Err die challenge van local government remain om effective services te deliver aan communities but die key objective is (.) is dat ons die mindset moet change van councillors en (.) en officials om te kyk na die developmental aspek soos uitgewys in die constitution van die country.
 ‘Err the challenge of local government remains to deliver effective services to communities but the key objective is ... is that we must change the mindset of councillors and ... and officials to look at the developmental aspect as set out in the constitution of the country
 (Rural Coloured sample)

In summary, alternational CS and insertional CS generally fall into macrosociolinguistically determined subtypes. One subtype is more characteristic of the White sample, and thus reflects the factor symmetry in language prestige. The other subtype is more characteristic of the Nonwhite samples, and thus reflects the factor asymmetry in language prestige. These subtypes co-occur with either LA or LM, depending on whether they display tendencies towards congruent lexicalization. In the following section, I take a closer look at these instances of CS that display primary (rather than secondary) features of congruent lexicalization (see section 2) while examining their possible correlations with either LA or LM. I ascertain in the process whether these patterns of congruent lexicalization occur more as a function of linguistic factors or of macrosociolinguistic factors (see section 2).

7 Congruent lexicalization and conversational CS types

Triggering and linear/categorial equivalence between the switched elements and their equivalents in the other language form primary features of congruent

lexicalization (see section 2). Triggering in the form of English non-constituents displaying linear/categorial equivalence with their Afrikaans or Sesotho equivalents is negligible. When such non-constituents do occur, they tend to do so in the Afrikaans-English pair, i.e. the pair comprising the typologically more similar languages. This observation implies that the occurrence of congruent lexicalization is determined by linguistic factors, in keeping with hypothesis (i) (see section 3). An example of such English non-constituents is found in (17), where the ML could be either Afrikaans or English throughout the underlined stretch. The verbal form *is* is the same for the 3rd person of the auxiliary ‘to be’ across the Afrikaans-English pair. There is also a case for arguing that the SVO word order within the clause headed by *because* is not necessarily English: There is a tendency in spoken Afrikaans to implement SVO to the detriment of SOV in subordinate clauses (Conradie 2004).

- (17) Hulle is almal swart politically because politics is contested in snaakse ways.
 ‘They are all black politically because politics is contested in weird ways.’
 (Urban Coloured sample)

Irrespective of linear/categorial equivalence, triggering remains most frequent in the Nonwhite samples. An example of triggering in the form of a switched English non-constituent displaying no linear/categorial equivalence with the equivalent element in the other language is the first bracketed English element in (18).

- (18) [Why is it that] [eena e tlamaha ho patala] [the whole thing]?
 PN.3SG PN.3SG has to pay
 ‘Why is it that he has to pay the whole thing?’
 (Sesotho sample)

Altogether, non-constituents mostly occur in the Sesotho sample (7.05 % of all switches), followed by the Coloured sample (2.34 %) and the White sample (less than 1 %)⁶. In other words, triggering in general correlates with symme-

⁶ For the purpose of calculating general frequencies of CS, I analyzed the underlined switch in (18) as well as other similar instances of CS as a combination of an insertion and an alternation. Therefore, the frequencies of non-constituents worked out for this present section do not necessarily add up with the frequencies of insertions and alternations presented in the previous sections.

try/asymmetry in language prestige rather than with typological proximity/distance, again suggesting that hypothesis (ii) is more valid than (i).

Switched English non-constituents in general can be broken down into two subtypes defined by their syntactic peripherality, i.e. one of the secondary features of congruent lexicalization (see Muysken 2000: 230). Example (17) features an utterance in which the bracketed English non-constituent is utterance-medial, while in example (19) the bracketed English non-constituent is utterance-final.

- (19) Jy is'n [*daily obviously*].
 'You are a daily obviously'
 (Urban White sample)

The type of switched non-constituent featured in (19) is characteristic of the White sample. Besides always being utterance-peripheral, it always consists of two consecutive elements, the first being a single word constituent, the second a discourse marker. By contrast, switched English non-constituents in the Non-white samples do not systematically occur in utterance-peripheral position, while their composition is more diverse.

Another indicator that congruent lexicalization is macrosociolinguistically rather than linguistically determined in the corpus is the distribution of a specific primary feature of congruent lexicalization, namely, mixed morphology in finite verbs (see section 4). It is striking in the Afrikaans samples that English verbal inflections in general are limited to adjectivally used English past participles (in the Coloured sample), or absent (in the White sample, cf. section 5). By contrast, English finite verbal inflections occur in the Sesotho sample. In (20), the inserted English verbal stem *form* assumes the English past suffix *-(e)d* instead of its Sesotho equivalent *-ile*, which would be expected within an utterance otherwise exhibiting a consistent Sesotho morphosyntactic frame.

- (20) Di *formed* mokgahlo ke COPE.
 They formed association it is COPE.
 'They formed that association called COPE.'
 (Sesotho sample)

In sum, congruent lexicalization as a primary CS pattern in the data can be described in terms of the features presence/absence of linear/categorial equivalence, frequency of triggering, presence/absence of mixed (finite) verbal morphology, and [+/-syntactic peripherality]. As discussed above, only the feature presence/absence of linear/categorial equivalence is determined by linguistic

sertions that tend to lack salience on account of their high frequencies. In other words, the Sesotho elements that the English-dominated stylistic register is occasionally interspersed with tend to display the properties of LA more as a result of their low frequency than of their position.

In sum, I adduced evidence of two subtypes of congruent lexicalization defined in terms of the features [+/-triggering], [+/-syntactically peripheral], and [+/-mixed (finite) verbal morphology]. The [+triggering/-peripheral/+mixed (finite) verbal morphology] type correlates with the Nonwhite samples, while the [-triggering/+peripheral/-mixed (finite) verbal morphology] type correlates with the White sample. I further adduced evidence that the former type tends to correlate with LM while the latter type tends to correlate with LA, subject to directionality of CS (i.e. from English or into English).

7 Discussion and conclusion

Each of the racial/ethnic groups represented in the data is characterized by distinct sociolinguistic histories, which entail different types of perception of English. Whereas White Afrikaans-speakers historically show a predisposition for anti-English purism, Coloured Afrikaans-speakers and Sesotho-speakers tend to identify with English to the detriment of their native languages. As such, symmetry in language prestige between English and the L1 characterizes the White Afrikaans speech community, whereas asymmetry in language prestige between English and the L1 characterizes the Coloured Afrikaans and Sesotho speech communities. Those distinctive sociolinguistic backgrounds seem reflected in different frequencies of CS into English, higher in the Nonwhite samples, lower in the White Afrikaans sample.

At a grammatical level, the Sesotho sample showed at first sight an alternational tendency, while the White and Coloured Afrikaans samples showed an insertional tendency, seemingly confirming the hypothesis that typological factors impact most upon the grammatical form of CS. As a result, the possibility seems undermined of jointly predicting grammatical and conversational CS types. However, a qualitative perspective on data reveals that insertional and alternational CS in the Sesotho and Coloured Afrikaans samples exhibit secondary features of congruent lexicalization more often than it does in the White Afrikaans sample. Besides, more of the primary features of congruent lexicalization were found in the Sesotho and Coloured Afrikaans samples than in the White Afrikaans sample.

The qualitative analysis of the data revealed a White grammatical type of CS characterized by the features [+peripheral/-syntactically integrated/

+morphologically integrated], and a Nonwhite grammatical type of CS characterized by the features [-peripheral/+syntactically integrated/-morphologically integrated]. It also showed that the former tends to co-occur with LA, whereas the latter tends to co-occur with LM. This finding suggests that the macrosociolinguistic factor symmetry/asymmetry in language prestige underlies one-to-one relationships between specific types of grammatical CS and either LA or LM.

However, the type of CS which is found in English-dominated utterances in the Sesotho sample suggests that the correlation between the features [-peripheral/-morphologically integrated] and LM only holds for utterances lexically dominated by a low status language. As it turned out, it is quite frequent in the large number of English utterances contained in the Sesotho sample to come across isolated switches into Sesotho, which seem to individually perform the social function of projecting a Sesotho identity, forming as such instances of LA. Therefore, one could conclude on the basis of the data presented in this chapter that grammatical and conversational CS patterns can be simultaneously predicted via the macrosociolinguistic factor symmetry/asymmetry in language prestige subject to patterns of directionality of CS when asymmetry in language prestige prevails.

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Code-switching: Between identity and exclusion

Abstract: This chapter describes, from a postcolonial pragmatic perspective, the illocutionary intents behind Cameroonians' code-switching from English to French and Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) in written online interactions. Taking into account that colonialism brought into contact foreign and local languages and cultures, it is illustrated how the choice of these languages in given contexts by members of the online forums studied here is motivated by the desire to denigrate, insult, exclude and challenge – when the switch is to French – or to consolidate in-group cohesion and raise the public esteem of the in-group – when the switch is to CPE. The approach adopted here enables us to factor in (colonial) history, demography, ethnicity, and culture in the analysis of code-switching.

1 Introduction

Although code-switching has been studied exhaustively from its structural, grammatical, and functional sociolinguistic properties (cf. Poplack 1980; Heller 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Milroy & Muysken 1995; Auer 1998; Isurin et al. 2009, etc.), it also embodies certain pragmatic motivations and intents that multilingual speakers make use of in their daily interactions. Exhaustive as the sociolinguistic and grammatical investigations of code-switching are, there is an apparent dearth of studies that factor in the illocutionary forces as well as the perlocutionary impacts of the code-switch chunks in speakers' utterances. A number of studies have discussed pragmatic aspects of code-switching, e.g. viewing code-switching as a discourse mode or conversational option (Gumperz 1982), explicating its functions in speech acts and speech styles (Sánchez 1983), treating it as indexical of social negotiations (Myers-Scotton 1988), investigating its sequential environments from a conversationalist perspective (Auer 1995) or construing it as an avoidance or mitigating technique in bilingual discourse (Barredo 1997).

In some of the previous studies on code-switching, especially those on the structural and grammatical aspects, code-switching is sometimes closely linked to second language acquisition (SLA); which might explain the limited pragmatic focus. Because of this SLA link, code-switching, especially at intra-sentential level, has generally been treated as a “grammarless language mixture or gibberish by semilingual speakers” (Grosjean 1982: 157), perhaps also

because Weinreich (1953: 73) defined an ideal bilingual as someone who “switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence”. A pragmatic analysis that limits itself to code-switching as a facet of second language learners, which only occurs at inter-sentential and not also intra-sentential level runs the risk of not adequately explaining the micro-linguistic choices competent multilingual speakers make during interactions, and their strategic use of the many languages in their repertoire. However, Weinreich’s reference to “appropriate changes in the speech situation” as possible triggers of code-switching opens the door for worthwhile pragmatic investigations of code-switching; some of which have been carried out in the past, e.g. Gumperz (1982) and Sánchez (1983).

Taking into account the structural and functional definitions of code-switching but also focusing on speakers’ intentions and meaning – the core of this study – I conceive of code-switching in this chapter as, quite often, a conscious activity by multilingual speakers who switch to other languages in order to perform a certain action, e.g. insult, warn, reproach, exclude, include, or denigrate, through the choice of words or expressions they use and the social ramifications attached to them within the society.¹ The question I ask is: does switching signal any pragmatic intent of the speaker, e.g. showing closeness or distance, solidifying in-group relations, or insulting an out-group? Or, does switching have a certain impact on the listener, e.g. signalling in-group membership, abiding by politeness, respect and other social codes of the society, or emphasising exclusion? While the former question can easily be answered by studying the form and framing of speakers’ or writers’ code-switch discourses in given contexts for illocutionary intents, the latter requires listeners’ input either through metadata interviews or in conversational exchanges.

This chapter focuses on the former. It investigates code-switching across three languages; English, French and Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), by (multilingual) Cameroonian interlocutors in online written interactions. The aim is to illustrate how switching to each of these languages represents a specific communicative and pragmatic intent whose roots can be found in the historical and contemporary relationship between these languages and their normative

¹ For a discussion of how code-switching, code choice, or code alternation enable interlocutors to take up and perform societal roles and responsibilities in Cameroon, see Anchimbe & Janney (2011a: 1455–1457) and Anchimbe (2013: 180–183).

speakers in the country. An important element that I stress here is the possibility to switch between three languages within the same utterance or conversational turn. As shown in example (1) below, the highlighted parts are from French and CPE; and given the relationship between the languages in Cameroon and also especially between the anglophones and francophones, the writer has a strong socio-pragmatic message to pass on through these switches.

- (1) Not surprisingly, this French **sous-prefet** [*district officer*], the **tif man** [*thief*] Paul Biya, did not mention the independence day of his country: January 1. (Tagro 2008: Text 1)²

At the end of French and British colonialism in the 1960s, Cameroon reunited into a republic with French and English as official languages besides over 270 indigenous languages and a lingua franca, CPE. These languages carry with them various coats of identity and imply various social relationships when used in given contexts. As English and French dominate in their respective former colonial contexts, their normative speakers treat them as in-group and out-group languages: French is in-group and English is out-group language for the francophones while English is in-group and French out-group language for the anglophones.³ The indigenous languages are ethnic group icons while CPE is more or less linked to the anglophones even though it is also used in certain French-speaking towns (e.g. Mbouda, Bafoussam, and Douala). As explained below, switching to each of these languages often bears strong illocutionary intents which qualify speakers as competent members of the society. In (1), the switch to French is intended to insult and denigrate not only the president, Paul Biya, who is referred to as a French district officer “sous-prefet” but also members of his francophone in-group (see 10). Calling him “tif man” (a thief) in CPE also serves as an insult but one that is transmitted in a language identified with the in-group.

The data used here are from online interactions mostly by anglophone or English-speaking Cameroonians on two forums which have English as default

² The information in brackets refers to: the forum member who posted the comment, the year in which it was posted, and the news story on which it is based. A link to the news stories is provided in the references.

³ Several studies have succinctly described the relationship between the anglophones and francophones in Cameroon (e.g. Konings & Nyamnjoh 1997, 2003; Eyoh 1998; Wolf 1997, 2003; Anchimbe 2006a, 2010, 2013, etc.).

language: *The Post* newspaper (www.postnewsline.com) and Dibussi Tande's blog *Scribbles from the Den* (www.dibussi.com) between 2004 and 2010. The forums are, therefore, a platform for members to express their anglophoneness. Code-switching to French and CPE is one of the ways through which they do this. Switching to French is often motivated by the need to show distance to the out-group represented by the francophones, the desire to insult, denigrate, and mock that out-group using expressions from their language. On the contrary, switching to CPE is a means of consolidating their identity as anglophones and voicing insults to, and exclusion of, the francophones in a language not normally linked to them.

The rest of the chapter is structured as follows: Section 2 emphasises the need for an emic approach like postcolonial pragmatics for the study of pragmatic phenomena in postcolonial communities; section 3 is a brief sociohistorical overview of Cameroon; and section 4 presents the data. Section 5 is the core of the chapter, and explains the illocutionary intents of code-switching from English to French, CPE or both in the same communicative event. The conclusion calls for more studies in this direction.

2 Code-switching: Factoring in a (postcolonial) pragmatic perspective

Previous studies on the pragmatics of code-switching have adopted different pragmatic approaches. From a socio-pragmatic perspective, Gumperz (1982) treats code-switching as a discourse mode or a communicative option which bilinguals make use of in similar ways as monolinguals switch between dialects and styles in their language. This study advances the concepts of transactional (situational) and metaphorical (non-situational) code-switching proposed by Blom and Gumperz (1972). The transactional focuses on the illocution, the communicative strategy, speakers' intentions, topic, and context while the metaphorical deals with perlocution and communicative effect on the addressee. As said above, I concentrate here only on the transactional type.

Auer (1995) uses a conversationalist framework that prioritises the sequential appearance of code-switches as indicator for their pragmatic relevance. Using contextual environment as the deciding factor in conversational (inter)action, he holds that "bilingualism provides specific resources not available to monolingual speakers for the constitution of socially meaningful verbal activities" (Auer 1995: 115–116). While this is true of bilinguals and monolinguals, limiting the expanse of intended meanings only to the sequential environment, i.e. co-text, and not also the external (societal) context deprives us of speakers' intended meanings which may not be explicitly stated in the conversational sequences.

Another study that focuses exclusively on a postcolonial community is Myers-Scotton's (1988) investigation of code-switching as indexical of social negotiations in East Africa. Her markedness model "focuses on social consequences as motivating code choices and how speakers use conversational implicatures to arrive at the intended consequences" (Myers-Scotton 1988: 151). Expanding on a markedness model of code-switching initially proposed by Myers-Scotton (1983), Myers-Scotton (1988: 156) describes switching as constituting simultaneously a tool (cf. transactional or illocutionary) and an index (cf. metaphorical or perlocutionary): "For the speaker, switching is a tool, a means of doing something (by affecting the rights and obligations balance). For the listener, switching is an index, a symbol of the speaker's intentions. Switching, therefore, is both a means and a message". This perspective fits well with the postcolonial pragmatic premise that in most postcolonial communities, multilingual speakers often ascribe strategic meaning to their use of different languages in specific contexts. I would not refer to some languages as marked and others as not, as Myers-Scotton (1983, 1988) does, but rather say speakers use languages to achieve various intents since these languages index specific relationships both in their multilingual repertoire and society.

The postcolonial pragmatic approach adopted in this chapter places emphasis on the communicative strategies and the sociolinguistic and historical identities constructed by various socio-historical in-groups based on colonially-introduced languages and patterns of social and linguistic behaviour. Postcolonial pragmatics (see Janney 2009; Anchimbe & Janney 2011a, 2011b; Anchimbe 2011) operates on the premise that postcolonial speech communities are multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual and that speakers are also multilingual, hence constantly alternating between languages. These communities present a unique encounter of colonially-introduced social patterns and indigenous ways of interacting. Due to this specific kind of heterogeneity, they develop complex hybrid forms of interaction in which pragmatic practices from different languages, cultures, and ethnic groups are subtly combined. Though these different forms vary from society to society (depending on the length and type of colonial mixtures), they are significantly similar in the extent to which indigenous social norms reoccur in interactions. Postcolonial pragmatics, therefore, studies these different forms, functions, and effects of mixed, hybridic patterns of interaction in these complex multilingual speech communities (see Anchimbe & Janney 2011a).

Anchimbe (2011) applies this approach to situations of offering in Cameroon and Ghana. He illustrates how strangers immediately construct asymmetrical relationships in their discourse that suit societal norms of respect, deference, and social cohesion. In the dialogue in example (2) between a female Cameroonian (35–45 years) and an older female, a parent-child relationship is

constructed through the choice of address terms. Offering her seat to the older person and calling her 'Ma' places the speaker in the role of a child. And within such a family context, offer refusals tend to be less harmful to the offerer's desire to respect societal rules – in this case surrendering one's seat when an older person enters.

- (2) Female: **Ma**, please sit here.
 Older person: No, thanks. I'd rather stand.
 Female: **Ma**, there aren't any seats, besides, I'm younger. Please!
 Older person: It's ok **my daughter**. Don't worry.
 Female: Well, if you insist.
 Older person: I'm ok **my child**.

The indigenous social system is transferred into English – making this not only a pragmatic strategy for social cohesion but also indicating the emergence of a complex hybrid system of interaction that can be best understood using an approach that takes into account the social, linguistic, and historical ramifications of the society – postcolonial pragmatics aims to achieve this.

3 Cameroon: A brief socio-historical account

The colonisation of Cameroon by France and Britain after WW1 introduced new languages and subsequently new avenues for identification through the creation of social elite groups typified by their acquisition of top employment and high level education. It also redistributed roles and functions to the languages that now coexist in the country. English and French are official languages and are the sole medium of education while the indigenous languages and CPE play no substantial role in the official domain. Besides, the predominantly youth bilingual mixed language, Camfranglais, has spread substantially among urban youths in the last decade.

What this extensive multilingualism involving written and oral languages and cultures implies is a high level of individual multilingualism and the propensity for people to belong to different social, linguistic, and cultural groups whose patterns of social interaction they abide by. With their multilingual repertoires, speakers easily move from one identity group to another according to the demands of the context of interaction and the stakes therein. Anchimbe (2006a) defines this as identity opportunism. Language is an important tool for identity opportunism, and as illustrated below, the choice of a language, even if only through an intra-sentential switch, embodies a specific strategic intention of the speaker.

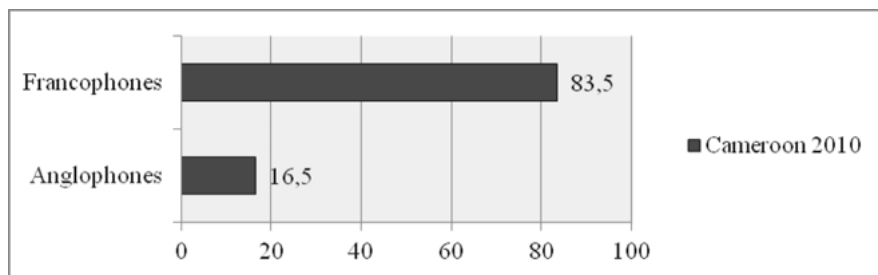


Fig. 1: Population of anglophones and francophones in 2010.

The most visible socio-historical and linguistic groups that have been involved in various forms of social conflicts in Cameroon are the anglophones and the francophones. The official 2010 population estimates based on the 2005 national census put the population of the anglophones at 3.2 million (16.5 %) and the francophones at 16.4 million (83.5 %) of a total of 19.4 million people (figure 1). The extent to which these groups defend their in-group languages, i.e. French and English, is high. Often, people feel they are first of all either anglophone or francophone before being Cameroonian. For Wolf (2001: 223), for instance, “the feeling of unity is so strong that ‘being Anglophone’ denotes a new ethnicity, transcending older ethnic ties”. This unity and the need to counter the other group is played out discursively and through the use of various linguistic tools, among them code-switching, and is not limited to spoken language but is increasingly also being played out in online forums and other virtual communities (see Anchimbe 2010).

An interesting element, which brings into the spotlight postcolonial pragmatics, is the consistent link that is drawn between the francophones and France on the one hand and the anglophones and Britain on the other. Whereas the anglophones attribute to themselves the so-called Anglo-Saxon heritage of morality, order, and discipline, they clip the francophones to France which they describe as vain, lazy, talkative, and unprogressive. The use of French in an anglophone online forum in which English is the default language immediately refurbishes this derogatory link of the francophones to France as in example (1).

4 The data: Online written interactions

The examples used in this chapter are from a corpus of online interactions in English by Cameroonians covering the period 2004–2010. As mentioned above, the excerpts are from two interactive websites: *The Post*, a prominent English-

medium newspaper in Cameroon, and the blog *Scribbles from the Den*. In all, the corpus consists of over 60 news stories and blog entries by *The Post* reporters and Dibussi Tande respectively and about 800 readers' comments, yielding more than 65,000 words. It is a raw corpus with no tags. It is used here as a qualitative support rather than as quantitative evidence. The readers' comments are either on the news stories, blogs or on other readers' comments. This gives a two way type of interaction: between the reader and the reporter/blogger and between readers themselves. A strong community has emerged on these forums, with members taking on tasks similar to those in offline communities, e.g. tracking down non-members (e.g. francophones) who often oppose the common ideology on the forums; rejecting and castigating ideas that represent views contrary to the so-called 'anglophone problem', and emphasising the common values they share.

The five news stories and blogs entries from which the examples are taken were political or had some potential issues of disagreement between the anglophones and francophones. For instance, the president's end of year address to the nation (Text 1), the appointment of new ministers into the government (Text 2), the organisation of the Mount Cameroon race from Yaounde instead of Buea (Text 5), etc.

How relevant are written interactions to a pragmatic analysis of code-switching? Choosing this written medium as a source of data was motivated by two reasons: 1) writing generally gives interactants the chance to re-think, re-read, and edit what they have written before posting online, so certain decisions and choices in the use of language are conscious and motivated, and 2) the interactions have dialogic structures (figure 2) since forum members respond to issues and comments from the reporter/blogger and other members. Although a strict sequential environment in the conversationalist sense is not evident in the data, the readers' comments are always clearly directed at specific people, e.g. other readers, and are on specific topics raised in the news story, blog entry, or other readers' comments.

As figure 2 shows, members of the forum (M1, M2, M3, etc.) are involved in dialogue at different levels in their written interventions. This dialogue is not synchronous and is not strictly conversational. Readers post responses to comments posted even two years back. However, as long as it is determinable who the comment is addressed to, and if the topic is consistent, then I consider it dialogic. The comments are often either directed at one person, i.e. in response to a reader's comment, or are intended for everyone on the forums, and could trigger subsequent responses, as illustrated in figure 2. The topics are always known to the members and they project various intentions through the comments they write – and as discussed below, code-switching helps them to achieve these illocutionary intents.

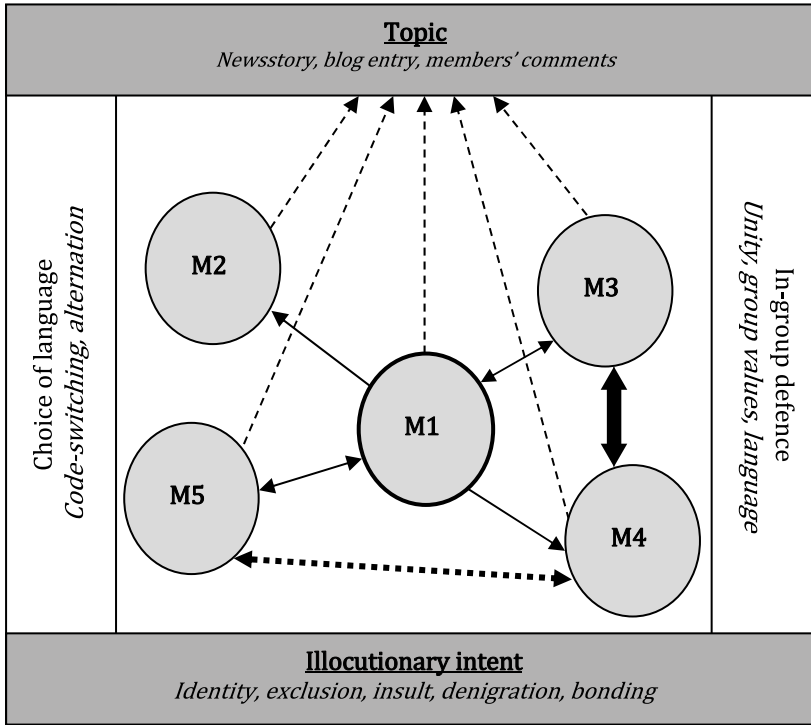


Fig. 2: Interaction formats and bonding on the forum.

5 Illocutionary intents in code-switching: Between identity and exclusion

Contrary to Myers-Scotton's (1988: 154) observation of code-switching behaviour in Kenya that "English is a frequent unmarked choice in such speech events", in Cameroon, English and French, i.e. the ex-colonial official languages, are almost always marked. This is because, besides identifying the two main groups of anglophones and francophones, these languages mark social class through education, elite social stratum of society, and white collar employment. With these go various patterns of social communication; both verbal and written. The three languages involved in the code-switching studied in the online forums carry social, linguistic, and political implications for their speakers. I hesitate to treat them along a markedness continuum as Myers-Scotton (1983, 1988) does but rather prefer to plot them into an onion-like identity coat with various layers. The decision to take off one identity coat by

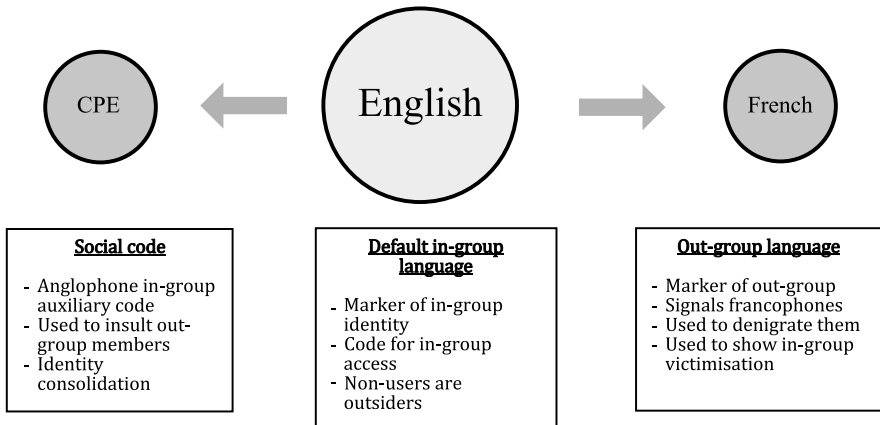


Fig. 3: General code-switching schema in data.

switching to another language is motivated by the need to accomplish an illocutionary intent.

The choice of one language rather than another suggests the speaker's intended or supposed closeness or distance to the addressee or another illocutionary intent. As illustrated in figure 3 based on interactions on the forums, each of these languages has a default group of speakers, a historical mark, e.g. colonial origins, a range of functions, and likely contexts in which it is used or expected to be used. English is the default language on the forums since the newspaper and the blog are also in English. From the tone of the reports and blog entries, a strong anglophone feeling is pervasive and signals that the forums are in-group platforms for the anglophones. In example (3), rexon orders Janvier Chando Tchouteu, who is suspected to be a francophone, to leave the forum and go to 'francophone' forums like camerooninfo.net and icicemac.

- (3) Janvier Chando Tchouteu, Go and preach your rhetoric above to citizens of your country at www.camerooninfo.net and icicemac. This is a Southern Cameroonian forum and nobody will buy that your stupid rhetoric. Bamilikies were recently asked to live [sic] Yaounde by their Beti masters and that is the problem you should be concerned about ... Cheers.⁴
(rexon, 2009: Text 1)

⁴ I have made only very limited changes to the comments, e.g. correcting typos that altered the meanings of sentences. This is to stay close to the readers' comments and intentions as much as possible.

If the forums are supposedly only for anglophones, then switching to French must be loaded with meaning. French is, as shown in figure 3, the language of the out-group francophones. The general presupposition is that an insult to a group in its own in-group language hurts even more. Switching to French in order to denigrate a member of the francophone group is particularly effective in a collectivist cultural community like the Cameroonian where individual prosperity and face are guaranteed as long as that of the group is.

Since CPE is spoken mostly in the anglophone areas, it is an auxiliary code through which they show solidarity with one another and build bridges over indigenous language barriers. A switch to CPE could be intended to cement in-group closeness or insult the out-group. The following sections explain the pragmatic intents of switching to these languages.

5.1 English to French code-switching

Given the sociolinguistic conflicts between the anglophones and francophones, a switch to French on anglophone-dominated online forums certainly invokes the differences between these groups. The forum contributors express four main illocutionary intents when they switch from English to French: 1) switching to create distance to the out-group; 2) using French to construct the anglophones as victims, i.e. through expressions used by or identified with the francophones; 3) switching in order to mock or denigrate the out-group and its members; and 4) switching to castigate the francophones as arrogant oppressors.

The desire to create a social and political distance to the francophone out-group is achieved on the forums by naming the out-group in their language (French) as in (4) and (5) where the francophone part of the country is referred to as “La Republique du Cameroun” and its inhabitants derogatorily as “Camerounese”. Excerpt (4) is a reader’s comment on a news story on the appointment of a new government by the president in 2004 with only a few anglophone ministers. The forum members, therefore, felt the need to protect and defend their in-group. In (4), for the writer, the former French and British colonies no longer belong together – seen in the pre-independence use of the name ‘Southern Cameroons’.

- (4) In a society where representative democracy is practiced, no one will give a hoot if all the Presidents Men/Women come from the same womb, if they perform, he gets re-elected, if not, he’s out. These cries of primitive tribal and “regional” representations from **Camerounese**, wanna-be, or the still mentally colonized Southern Cameroonians is an indication of the fact that

there is no representative democracy in this French-owned bordello called **La République du Cameroun**. Their rule of brute law lies in the hands of elevated individuals and not institutions, so everyone wants the “kontri man” to be elevated. This is a sign of ongoing decay! This is good news for me who anxiously waits the collapse of this house of cards called **La République du Cameroun** (the Cameroon Republic) – born on January 1, 1960, without the SOUTHERN CAMEROONS.
(Mount Fako, 2004: Text 2)

In (5), the news story was on Kumba (an anglophone town) and the accusation that the elites were hindering the development of the town. The writer in this excerpt reacts to a comment by another forum member, which s/he describes as “france afrique thinking” in contrast to “traditional anglosaxon thinking”. The former is directly attributed to the francophones and is discredited as useless and isolated while the latter is identified with the anglophone in-group which boasts of a so-called ‘anglo-saxon heritage’ from British colonisation.

- (5) the **france afrique** thinking is isolated analysis, but the traditional anglosaxon thinking is the consideration of the whole picture, seeing the connection between things, hope kumba and others who have been completely brain washed in 45 yrs by **la republique du cameroun**, should, not the the force of the argument consider the whole picture, not just a piece at a time as the french masters, soo you cannot talk about kumba without talking about southern cameroons, without talking scnc, its only, mental blindness not to see the connectivity between politic and development.
(dango tumma, 2006: Text 3)

The illocutionary intent of the forum members above, i.e. creating social, political, and historical distance to the out-group is achieved through the switch to French. To accentuate this distance, the writers use indexical expressions such as “france afrique” (5), “Southern Cameroons” (4, 5), and “La République du Cameroun” which within Cameroon have strong connotations and implicatures. These indexicals also project certain stereotypes and biases onto the out-group hence further insulting them, e.g. “france afrique thinking” implies neo-colonial subjugation to France in almost every aspect of national administration. Elsewhere (see 10), the francophone part is referred to as “La République Française du Cameroun” (the French Republic of Cameroun) with the intention of emphasising the neo-colonial mentality.

The second illocutionary intent behind switching to French is to amplify the position of their in-group, i.e. anglophones, as victims of the out-group’s

actions. Here, the out-group language is used to construct the in-group as victims, the minority – a collective identity which then makes the need to repost the francophones a necessity. This is through French expressions supposedly used by the francophones to victimise the anglophones. The intent of the switch is to show disgust and to repulse the francophones by establishing that the two groups belong to two extremes: the in-group being the better and the out-group the worse. In (6), the expression “La Bamenda la” portrays the anglophones and their in-group as naïve, foolish, and submissive. Bamenda is a major town in the anglophone area.

- (6) Mr. Nkem, when we overcome this regime what happens? will our problems just magically go away? what happens? will neo-colonialism by France vanish? will the division in Southern Cameroons end? will South Westerners stop calling me (Cam no go”? will the Francophones stop calling me “**La Bamenda La**”? will corruption end?

(United states of Africa 2009: Text 1)

Contrary to (6) where the switch is effected to capture and criticise the francophones’ conceptualisation of the anglophones’ behaviour, in (7), the focus is on the anglophones’ marginalisation through the (dominant francophone government) policy of “*équilibre régional*” (regional equilibrium). By switching to French to attack this attitude and policy, the writer’s intention is to expose the negative impact of the out-group’s actions on them and their in-group.

- (7) Citizens of **La République du Cameroun** have never had any problem when projects like the Limbe deep sea port are abandoned for a little unknown kribi⁵ deep seaport, when UB students are shot and Francophones imposed on them through a mundane theory of “**équilibre regionale**” [*regional equilibrium*], how comes we are so interested in their problem with regime change. Let them be honest with us.

(rexon, 2009: Text 1)

The two excerpts above, (6) and (7), were comments on the president’s end of year address to the nation in 2008. The onion-coat identity layers of Cameroonians described above are visible in (6) where historical, political and linguistic identity markers are invoked. Colonial history is revisited through the reference to France; the conflict between the anglophones of the North West and South

5 Kribi is a town in the francophone part of Cameroon.

West regions is problematised through mention of the “*cam no go*” issue; and the discord between the anglophones and francophones is captured in the switch to French. These complex relationships only heighten the importance of creating distance to, insulting, or denigrating the out-group as a strategy of boosting in-group esteem.

In (8), the bad practices listed are encapsulated in the French word “*controle*” (police control) and immediately signals that they are perpetrated only by the francophones.

(8) Thanks a lot Janvier for your thoughtful comment. Ndzana Seme has similar comment posted on his web site ... The only thing I can think of is that they blockade the highways, take bribes from commercial drivers, and harass innocent citizens in the name of ‘**controle**’. I hope and pray that the struggle to rid the country of this dangerous neopatrimonial and gross kleptocratic regime goes into high gear.

(nebafuniba 2004: Text 2)

The third illocutionary intent that motivates switching to French on the forums is to mock, denigrate, and despise the out-group and its members. In examples (9) and (10), the chunks from French present the francophones as being gullible, easy to manipulate, and controlled by France. In (9) which is a comment on an article about the new criminal procedure code decreed in 2007, the negative attributes about the president are extended to his in-group, the francophones. As in (5) above, the chaotic and despotic system ascribed to the francophones is contrasted to the common law system claimed by the anglophones. The switch to French, e.g. in expressions like “*chef de l’etat*” and “*l’etat c’est supreme*”, resonates with declarations made in France by Louis XIV. Such a strong political and historical implicature is replete with social distance and disdain which help the writer pass on his intent. For instance, the francophones are mockingly referred to as “*french men of black skin*”.

(9) look at Victoria fuel shortage. fuel is refine right there, then it have to be transported, across 100 miles to another country. stored. then when we need fuel for our cars they will come and give us a bit of it, (**vous les anglos,⁶ prenez ce petit**) [*you the anglophones, take this little bit*]. freedom is everything, it’s independence, it’s the law, that’s what common law is about. under the heaven and the earth man must not bow to man

⁶ A derogatory, insulting reference to the anglophones generally used by the francophones.

but to his creator, but french men of black skin sees it the other way around, man must bow to the **chef de l'état, l'état c'est supreme** [*head of state, the state is supreme*]. every thing is **l'état**, then the **chef de l'état** is the one who controls all, he even has the spell of death on every one, no justice, no law court, no bank president, no doctor, he is the living god on earth, well common law doesn't says that.

(Paolo Laurent 2007: Text 4)

The denigrating neo-colonial link to France is exploited in (10) to construct the president simply as a district administrator “sous-prefet” in a French territory. It is extended to all francophones who are referred to as “the people of la Republique Francaise du Cameroun”. Again, such a collectivist insult damages the self-esteem of not only individual members of the group but also their identity and will to self-attribute to themselves and their in-group certain positive values and prerogatives.

- (10) Not surprisingly, this French **sous-prefet** [*district officer*], the tif man Paul Biya, did not mention the independence day of his country: January 1. Well, exactly 1 year from today, January 1, 2010, will la Republique du Cameroun continue to deny reality on her 50 years of a very French African independence? Through out this year, let us begin a campaign to remind and teach the people of **la Republique Francaise du Cameroun** [*the French Republic of Cameroun*] their true history. I will provide their map on that day subsequently.

(Tagro 2008: Text 1)

There is no limit to the type of extra-linguistic and contextual information that is employed during code-switching in order to threaten the group and individual faces of the out-group. Colonial history, postcolonial political structures, and postcolonial religious beliefs are salient referents used to create distance, insult, denigrate, and deconstruct opponents. The centrality of colonialism to postcolonial pragmatics resurfaces constantly in the number of references to France, anglo-saxon, france afrique, etc.

The desire to castigate the out-group and its members as arrogant oppressors is another illocutionary intent that motivates some of the switches to French on the forums. The French switches in (11) and (12) are intended to capture the arrogance with which the president and by implication his francophone in-group treat the anglophones. Interestingly, in (11) taken from a comment on the news story about the appointment of new ministers, the writer

creates a collective identity for the president and the 65 ministers: “Mr. Mbia⁷ and his 65 thieves”. This group is submerged into the bigger francophone out-group and castigated as part of the arrogant “*allez dire*” oppressors.

- (11) If you are not pleased, “go and create your own Cameroon” says Mr. Paul ‘Beer’ or better still, ‘*allez dire*’ [*go and tell*]. What do we want? who voted him in the first place? ghost voters isn’t it? a corpse’ll win any election against the CPDM in that country. We want freedom and democracy, but we want to have it served on a platter of gold and silver, that’s why Mr. Mbia and his 65 thieves would rob and molest us with impunity. Almighty God, where are You? release that country from the grip of those enemies of our fatherland, whose prime objective is to milk it to dead, Amen.
(M. Mbangha Christian 2004: Text 2)

An element in (11) of relevance to postcolonial pragmatics is religion. The notion of prayer introduced along with foreign religions before and during colonialism reminds of the postcolonial link to the West. The reliance on religion for solutions to real life problems is deep-rooted in most contemporary postcolonial communities. Studying these communities also requires engaging with the impact of religion. The prayer in (11) illustrates this reliance, and also the esteem in which God is held. A typographical feature, trivial though it may be, which adds to this religious theme in (11) is the use of capital letter in ‘You’ in the sentence “Almighty God, where are You?” It is significant because the writer’s use of capital letters in the rest of the excerpt is inconsistent.

- (12) If we could harness our dislike for the Biya regime, channel our grievance of his half-century of fraudulent occupation and tyrannical misrule, and translated our anger into concrete action, that jelly-bellied sow would have been dragged off to the ICC for his crimes against the country. Biya has consistently told Cameroonians “**Foutez-moi le camp!**” [*get lost*] He dares Cameroonians with his brazen decrees, dismissive of legitimate opposition, and arrogant towards other African leaders.
(Samira Edi 2009: Text 1)

The examples (11) and (12) adopt the one-to-many dialogue format in which the writers address the whole forum and not a specific member as in (6) and (8) above. The switch to French in (12) addresses a plural object and though the writ-

7 A sarcastic phonological distortion of the president’s surname: Biya. See also Mr. Paul Beer.

er says it is directed at all Cameroonians, it is still applicable to the anglophones, especially as the writer makes reference to “fraudulent occupation” which resonates with certain anglophone pressure groups that the francophones are an occupation force in Southern Cameroons. Since these interactions take place asynchronously online and in writing, a strict pragmatic analysis is only possible through the inclusion of extra-linguistic and social and historical contextual clues and triggers in these discourses, as I have tried to do here. Postcolonial pragmatics allows for this since it studies all forms of hybridic social and linguistic behaviour whose roots could be traced to colonial contact. The next sections also adopt this perspective in searching for illocutionary intents in the switch to CPE in the written dialogic exchanges on the forums.

5.2 English to CPE code-switching

Whereas French is the linguistic marker of the francophone out-group, CPE rather serves as an auxiliary language of the anglophone in-group. It is used to consolidate in-group identity and to express in-group solidarity across ethnic boundaries, educational strata, elite closure levels, and professional divergences. In daily life, CPE is used strategically to achieve social cohesion since it is not identified with any ethnic group in the way indigenous languages are, is not linked to official and formal business and contexts as English and French are, and is not ‘owned’ by a particular social group.

The data reveals three main illocutionary intents in the switch to CPE on the forums: 1) to revamp in-group identity and solidarity, 2) to challenge and disprove out-group values and ideas, and 3) to portray the in-group’s values as ideal – see also (5) and (9) above.

Writers on the forums sometimes switch to CPE in order to consolidate their identity as anglophones. Being the in-group’s social code and bridge language, CPE expressions create a closer relationship between interactants. In (13), the use of “make I leave-am so?” – often used by the politically critical popular musician Lapiro who sings in CPE – refurbishes the close relationship between the anglophones irrespective of their geographical origin and indigenous linguistic background.

- (13) How is it that a nations conducts development plans for over 18 years without a national census? The last census was conducted three years ago and the results are not yet out. Why? In the meantime the president has issued decrees creating new administrative districts across the country, how come? Is he a magician or an alchemist? Should i continue or

make i leave-am so? [*should I stop?*] Aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaagh Cameroon!
(rexon 2009: Text 1)

The excerpt further resuscitates anglophone feelings by criticising the president who is a francophone. The CPE expression is a feedback request form used in narratives, and subsumes that the speaker speaks on behalf of the listeners. It, therefore, serves as a marker of the in-group's common perspective or common voice. Its origins lie in the narrative cultures of the people; but it is translated into CPE and used in a comment written predominantly in English. This hybrid texture of social interactions is best explained using an approach that weaves in the complex history and mixes of cultures, peoples, and languages.

Another illocutionary intent in the switch to CPE is to reproach members of the in-group, i.e. other anglophones, in a bid to achieve cohesion and solidarity. Here reproach is a strategy to restore in-group values and hence solidarity among its members. The reproach in (14) is in response to a comment by Mr Johnny but is in fact a critique of the Muketes in Kumba. The CPE expression “chop money”, i.e. to squander or embezzle money, better captures the act of corruption and financial misappropriation being discussed. Using CPE to castigate these practices could be interpreted as not washing the group's dirty linen in public, i.e. in a language that exposes the in-group to the mockery of the out-group.

- (14) Mr Johnny, u cannot ask me to leave the Muketes alone when the Muketes are not leaving others in peace ... So [you] have accepted with me that these guys are out just to **chop the monies**. Ok. **Chop the monies** but don't **chop the monies** by killing or brandishing people sellouts when you are the real sellout. There are guys who are **chopping** but are not with the “guys in the house”. These are intelligent choppers ... **Chopping** like that is “**langa**” [*greed*]. And **na langa go kill many people** [*greed will lead many people to death*].
(mukete4, 2006: Text 3)

The CPE word “langa”, which can be glossed in English as covetousness or greed, in this context is advanced as the reason for the “chopping” of money destined for the development of Kumba. The CPE proverb “na langa go kill many people” is a speech act that functions as a warning and advice against embezzlement. It is imaginable that if the Muketes were francophones, then French would have been used not to advice them but rather to insult, exclude, and denigrate them.

The francophone out-group is not spared in the switch to CPE on the forums. As the following examples (15) and (16) illustrate, a switch to CPE enables the writer to challenge francophone out-group values and facts, disproving them and projecting anglophone values as ideal. Such a strategy solidifies the status and standing of the in-group and weakens the esteem of the out-group. In (15) taken from the news story on the appointment of new ministers, Paul Biya the president is compared to hunters of porcupines (or any animal in the forest) and timber fetchers, but is declared worse than these two. Here again, CPE becomes a tool for magnifying the ills of the out-group while minimising those of the in-group. The anglophones are implicitly metaphorised as poor hunters and the francophones (i.e. through Biya) as embezzlers – stealing more than just meat for basic survival.

- (15) But Minister of “Forest Guard”? eeeheeh No. **That mins say if araman catch chukwuchukwubip or tif timber i don get minister for put yi hand. Da man betta pass tha nwan Pa Biya.** [*This means that if anyone catches/hunts a porcupine or steals timber, there is a minister who will arrest them. Such a person is still better than the person called Pa Biya (my translation)*]
(Jam Nabi 2004: Text 2)

The analogy to the forest and animals in the excerpt above is fitting because one of the few anglophones appointed as minister in 2004 is in charge of the Ministry of Forestry. The writer in (15) mockingly refers to him as “Minister of Forest Guards” and defines his role as the guard who arrests poachers and timber fetchers.

In (16), the derogatory link of the francophones to colonialism and neo-colonialism, cf. “his French masters’ land”, is once more established. The writer calls the president a thief, “tif man Paul Biya”, while retorting the president’s use of the word “summer”. To further aggravate this derogation, the writer links the entire francophone out-group to France in the statement “the people of la Republique Francaise du Cameroun”.

- (16) “During the summer, the food crisis ...” Leave it to **thi tif man Paul Biya** [*Paul Biya the thief*] to decree “summer” in the tropics. Is he on Swiss time? Or has he after over a quarter century “in power” brought the four seasons of his French masters’ land to the people of la Republique Francaise du Cameroun! LOL.
(TAGRO 2009: Text 1)

The double switch in (16), i.e. to CPE and French, in the same conversational event highlights the different identity games that multilingual speakers play in a bid to cope with the demands of social interaction. The next section further exemplifies the illocutionary force of double switches.

5.3 English to French and CPE code-switching

As already signalled in example (1) above, the status of French and CPE determine the force and implication of the switch to each of these languages. In the politically-sensitive exchanges on the forums, writers achieve their strategic aims each time they switch to these languages (cf. figure 3). In (17), the CPE expression, “chop broke pots”, i.e. eat and then break the pot, is a derogatory description of the francophones’ short-sighted and unprogressive way of life. Using the in-group language to despise the out-group enables the writer to choose the most accurate expression and hence achieve an optimal perlocutionary impact.

- (18) These **‘chop broke pots’** [*eat and then break the pot*] decided to change from a Federal state to a blablabla because they had plans ... even for one to go on retirement must come from Yaounde ... once in a while, a few fools from our divide are made ministers and because they think they don’t deserve it, they spend all their working time saying **‘je voulais d’abord remercier le chef de l’etat pour m’avoir donner cet confiance’** [*I would first of all like to thank the head of state for trusting me*] whenever any quack of a journalist stands before them ... these good-for-nothing-brothers of the coast will stick with their so called ‘Sawa’ brothers because to them they are **‘en haute’** ... **Na their own flop cup** [*privileged ... good for them*].
(Ta Muma 2009: Text 5)

The first switch to French and the second switch to CPE in (17) squarely reflect the schema in figure 3. While the switch to French rehearses the francophones’ total subjugation to the president for appointing them ministers – also copied by the few anglophone ministers as a survival strategy – the switch to CPE is directed at fellow anglophones and functions as a sarcastic advice for them to remain devoted to their anglophone in-group. The adoption of multiple identities for opportunistic reasons (see Anchimbe 2006a, 2013: 156–167) is illustrated in the extract “these good-for-nothing-brothers of the coast will stick with their so called ‘Sawa’ brothers”. The so-called Sawa eth-

nic group are found on the coastline from the Littoral region (in the francophone area) to the South West region (in the anglophone area). Especially for political gains, they identify together as Sawa, although one part is anglophone and the other is francophone. In (18), Ta Muma castigates this identity fluctuation by the anglophone brothers in a bid to pull them back into the fold.

6 Conclusion

Even though some of the switches discussed above are single words or nominal address forms, they still illustrate the intents people have each time they choose a language from their multilingual repertoire and community in specific contexts of interaction. Whether the aim is to consolidate an in-group identity or to exclude, insult, and castigate an out-group, the linguistic choices are decisive but must be understood from the background of the complex demographic, historical, cultural, and linguistic composition of the society. Postcolonial societies, though similar in their evolutionary trajectory and historical origins (see Mufwene 2001; Anchimbe 2006b; Schneider 2007), exhibit community-specific features that make the hybrid processes of social bonding and communication within them unique. For instance, due to the colonial history of Kenya, Myers-Scotton (1988) explains that English is generally a neutral element in code-switching. But in Cameroon, and following the trajectory of colonialism, English is not neutral, but is rather in a persistent struggle for equality with French with which it shares official status. The normative speakers of these two languages express resistant attitudes towards each other, and as explained above, adopt discursive strategies whose illocutionary force is to exclude or include others.

This chapter attempted to apply postcolonial pragmatics, albeit minimally, to written online interactions by Cameroonians. It showed that each time the members of the forum switched to French or CPE, there was a specific aim behind it. This, it may be argued, is not limited to postcolonial communities alone. True, however, the specific instantiations of identity and exclusion through discursive intents is more complex in postcolonial societies founded on a multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural foundation than in communities that have become multilingual through immigration. More studies in this direction would certainly reveal more hybridic phenomena and speakers' strategic communication patterns and how these make postcolonial spaces different but complete sociohistorical entities.

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Styling bilinguals: Analyzing structurally distinctive code-switching styles in Hong Kong

Abstract: *“It doesn’t matter how you deal with them, it doesn’t matter who you are, keisat (actually) the way that you present yourself by lei go (your) language jiging beizo jatzung (already give people an) arrogant ge gamgok bei keoidei la (sense of you)”, commented Kelly, 23, Hong Kong-born ethnic Chinese, who recently returned to Hong Kong after years of sojourn in the USA. Resembling other Hong Kong bilinguals, Kelly switches between Cantonese and English, but her code-switching “style” (Irvine 2001) distinguishes her from locals who label her a “banana” (“yellow outside, white inside”). Her code-switching pattern includes insertion and alternation (Muysken 2000) from both language directions, and the use of discourse markers at switch points, while the local code-switching style is a simpler structure with English insertion into a base language of Cantonese. In Hong Kong, variation in code-switching patterns index different social identities. Sociolinguists investigate how languages index social identities (Hill & Hill 1986; Myer-Scotton 1993; Rampton 1995) but rarely different code-switching patterns as styles with indexical meanings. This research investigates the structurally distinctive styles of code-switching used strategically by these returnee bilinguals, and attempt to bring both structural and sociolinguistic analysis together in the study of code-switching.*

1 Introduction: Bilingualism and language ideologies in Hong Kong

1.1 Theoretical considerations

In Hong Kong, variations in code-switching patterns index different social identities. Sociolinguists investigate how languages index social identities (Hill and Hill 1986; Myer-Scotton 1993; Rampton 1995) but rarely different code-switching patterns as styles with indexical meanings. This research investigates the structurally distinctive styles of code-switching used strategically by these returnee bilinguals, and attempt to bring both structural and sociolinguistic analysis together in the study of code-switching. This research adopts Irvine’s (2001) conception of “style” to investigate the ways in which two Hong

Kong code-mixing patterns are used indexically to construct distinct social and linguistic identities. Irvine (2001: 22) explains that a group style is meaningful to the social participants only when it is considered in “a system of distinction, in which a style contrasts with other possible styles”, and these relationships are ideologically mediated by the participants (or agents in social space) whose understandings of their social world and the semiotic resources available in it are socially positioned and culturally variable. In Eckert’s (2000) study, for example, the burnout style of speaking is a meaningful category only when it is in contrast with other styles in the system, namely jocks and in-betweens. Similarly, a particular way to code-mix can only be considered as a style of speaking when it is in contrast with other ways of speaking in a system that is meaningful to the participants in a community. The contrast is meaningful because it helps social participants orient and position themselves in the world and affects (and explains) social interaction/behavior and organization associated with particular kinds of speech and speakers. This conception of style differs from many sociolinguistic works that take language ideology as an obvious factor, a background or emotional dispositions that can be read off the distribution of sociolinguistic facts.

The main framework of this research, one that can encompass the importance of linguistic details as well as what language means to its speakers, lies within the linguistic anthropological approach to language ideologies. Researchers of language ideologies such as Silverstein, Woolard, Irvine and Gal, among others, have re-evaluated what language as an object of study means. Diverging from the traditional dichotomous view of language – from Saussurean *langue* and *parole*, to Chomskyan competence and performance, and a separation of internal and external changes in Labov’s work – language ideology scholars postulate that a linguistic totality is composed of language structure, contextualized usage, and ideologies of language; with the latter mediating the others: “[t]he total linguistic fact ... is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use, mediated by the fact of cultural ideology” (Silverstein 1985: 220). This is significant for my own work, not only because this framework is in line with the kinds of research questions I ask, but because, as Woolard reiterates, to prioritize one aspect of the three components over the others is having “not just a partial explanation but in fact only a partial object” (Woolard 2006) in the study of language. J. Milroy (2001: 553) similarly criticizes the current tendency in sociolinguistics:

[A]s long as the Saussurean dichotomy remains axiomatic, and as long as internal analyses are quite strongly biased in favor of linguistic, rather than social phenomena, the

quantitative paradigm will be to that extent impeded in its attempts to explain the social 'life' of language and the social origins of language change

In this research, all three components constituting the total linguistic fact are addressed: (1) In terms of linguistic structure, this research contains an analysis of the structural distinctions of code-mixing and code-switching used among the consultants. (2) Contextualized usage is examined in terms of how the consultants exercise structurally distinctive patterns of code-mixing and code-switching in different contexts. (3) I also explore ideologies of language that are associated with codes and code-mixing/switching, both at the individual speaker's level and broadly across Hong Kong society, as well as how linguistic ideologies mediate between the linguistic structures of codes and code-mixing and their contextualized use (see Chen 2008a for discussion of all three components). In Chen (2008b), I laid out how the two different structural styles of code-mixing/switching are contextualized, and the linguistic ideologies associated with the speakers' practice. Chen 2008b also includes details of an attitudinal study about local speakers' perception to returnees. In this paper, I focus on the analysis of the structural distinctions of code-mixing and code-switching used among the consultants.

1.2 Attitudes toward code-mixing in Hong Kong

Code-mixing, in general, is overtly stigmatized in Hong Kong, yet in practice the local insertional type of code-mixing identified in previous literature and in this research constitutes a common norm for the young. People who oppose code-mixing often believe that it negatively affects language purity and culture. In their most extreme form, these beliefs treat English words mixed into Cantonese as a "contamination" and "betrayal" of the heritage of Chinese culture that the Cantonese language embodies. This ideology is vividly expressed in the following comment from a university professor of Chinese language and literature:

This kind of Chinese-English mixing freak-speech is total rubbish. It is totally useless outside of Hong Kong. Even within Hong Kong, it cannot be used to communicate with the grass-roots offspring of the Emperor Huang [i.e. ethnic Chinese people] or with the ethnic white leaders at the tip of the pyramid. This kind of speech is like a dermatological disease, [with a symptom of having] a piece of yellow [skin] and a piece of white [skin] (Y. N. Chan 1993: 5.7). (My translation, original in standard written Chinese.)

This comment, while perhaps extreme, represents a common attitude shared in Hong Kong about code-mixing. This can be seen through the comments of the evaluators in the attitudinal study (see Chen 2008a) regarding the returnee

code-mixing speakers. Despite the prevailing negative attitude, however, code-mixing is an important speech norm among the younger generation. The following quote was from a university student who felt that she was ‘an alien’ for not using a particular English term in her speech, and she refers to the way English is inserted in Cantonese as “Hong Kong speech”:

[I] think that “Hong Kong speech” is a big trend; there is no way to fix it. [If I] don’t use “Hong Kong speech”, [I] will be considered an alien. ... [Once][I] used the [Cantonese] word *jou2 jeui6* (‘group gathering’) and I was laughed at because the students of the University of Science and Technology use [the English term] “reunion”.

(From a personal blog <http://www.geocities.com/gallacehk/chin1.html>)

University students, in particular, are subject to strong peer pressure to use code-mixing, but it is clear that only the local style is accepted, not the returnee one. This norm is strong enough for the local group to develop an ideology that involves negative evaluation of returnee speakers. Irvine’s (2001: 22) model emphasizes the relationships among styles, “their contrast, boundaries and commonalities”. In the Hong Kong case, a university student who does not use the local style is working against the peer-imposed commonalities. This commonality, or shared style, involves a finely tuned use of both English and Cantonese in a conversation. The style carries a Western and educated aura but care needs to be taken that it does not merge into a different style which is associated with a different social kind, in this case the overseas returnees. This delicate distinction is articulated from the perspective of an in-group, be it university students or Hong Kongers, and is evident in the metalinguistic comments about distinctive speech styles and their association with particular groups of speakers.

2 In-group linguistic choices: Structural difference of the two code-mixing patterns

This paper provides a structural analysis of the distinction between the local and returnee in-group code-mixing patterns. Before analyzing the data, I briefly review the code-mixing literature in Hong Kong and discuss the current structural models available in the literature. I also explain my choice of Muysken’s model over others for my analysis.

2.1 Previous literature on Hong Kong code-mixing

Code-mixing has been observed as a speech norm among Hong Kong youth as early as 1979, when Gibbons reported that students at the University of Hong

Kong, an English-medium university, frequently mixed English lexical items in an otherwise Cantonese conversation. Previous code-mixing studies in Hong Kong have focused on the structural constraints of code-mixing (Reynolds Lo 1986; Y. Leung 1987; H. S. B. Chan 1993; D. Li 2001; T. Leung 2001), code-mixing from a language acquisition perspective (Yip & Matthews 2000, 2005, and their students Yiu 2005; Lai 2006), the semantic and pragmatic functions of using two codes instead of one (Gibbons 1979, 1983; Yau 1993, 1997; D. Li 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000; Lui 2000; Li & Tse 2002; W. Lin 2003; Fung 2003), and the use of code-mixing in classrooms (So 1988; A. Lin 1988, 1996; Pennington 1995, 1999). The code-mixing pattern studied in the literature, with the exception of language acquisition studies of bilinguals, is the mainstream and local norm found amongst the vast majority of the younger generation in Hong Kong. It is characterized by having a base language in Cantonese with some English lexical items inserted on an intrasentential level. Some linguists (such as Bolton 1994; D. Li 2000) note that there are other ways of mixing Cantonese and English in Hong Kong, e.g. the speech pattern typical of 'FM Select'¹ disc jockeys in which there are alternations between English and Cantonese on an intersentential level. As far as I am aware, however, no sociolinguistic research has been done on code-mixing patterns other than the local one studied in previous literature, nor has any work been done on how distinctive bilingual speech patterns index contrasting social categories and identities in Hong Kong.

2.2 Structural framework for data analysis

Current sociolinguistic work on bilingualism can roughly be classified into the structural approach (Gumperz 1982; Poplack 1993; Myers-Scotton 1993; Muysken 2000) and the pragmatic approach (Gal 1978, 1987; Auer 1998; Woolard 1998; Rampton 1998). Regardless of the approach, bilingualism scholars use the terms "code-switching" and "code-mixing" in very different ways and a consensus has not yet been reached. Some linguists, particularly Hong Kong ones (D. Li 2000; Lin 1996, etc.), distinguish between code-mixing and code-switching, referring to the former as intra-sentential and the latter as intersentential. Others (e.g. Deuchar & Davies 2006) consider code-switching to be a more general phenomenon of using two languages in a discourse, and that code-mixing is a sub-type of code-switching. Still others, such as Muysken

¹ FM Select was a relatively short-lived radio channel (1992–2000) which was geared towards the more westernized younger generation in Hong Kong and had a reputation for recruiting overseas-educated bilingual disc jockeys.

(2000), treat code-mixing as a more general phenomenon and that code-switching is a subtype of mixing.² There are also linguists who use the two terms interchangeably (e.g. Poplack 2001). The distinction between code-switching (as a general cover term) and borrowing is another major aspect that has not found consensus among bilingual researchers. Linguists generally agree that code-switching refers to the use of two languages in a conversation. Poplack (2001) points out that such language mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, but it is the intra-sentential type that has drawn the most attention. However, when it comes to identifying the status of lone lexical items, different linguists take different approaches. What Poplack refers to as nonce borrowing (in Poplack's categorization, nonce borrowing is a type of borrowing and not code-switching) is considered by some other linguists as code-switching/mixing (e.g. Muysken, Myers-Scotton).

My goal in this paper is to analyze the structural similarities and differences between the code-mixing patterns used by the two in-groups. Technically, any of the currently available structural models could be used to distinguish the two code-mixing patterns in my data. I have chosen Muysken's (2000) typology because of its relatively economical categorization, which is sufficient for my purpose. Moreover, I found that his continuum of insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization fit my natural data better than models which attempt to find clear boundaries in fuzzy natural language.

Muysken attempts to generalize a currently vast and confusing discussion of code-mixing into an economical typology. He describes three structures of code-mixing: (1) Insertion, in which a single constituent B is inserted into a structure identifiable as belonging to language A. (2) Alternation, in which a constituent from language A is followed by a constituent from language B and the language of the constituent dominating A and B cannot be specified. (3) Congruent lexicalization, in which languages A and B share the same grammatical structure, and words from both languages are inserted more or less randomly (*ibid.*: 7–8). The last type, according to Muysken, is only found between two related languages that share a lot of structural similarities; it is, therefore, not relevant to my data.

Table 1 summarizes Muysken's typology as compared with other models. Muysken's model is a generalization of a number of current theories on code-mixing and code-switching. In his account, insertion is similar to Myers-Scotton's Matrix model and is equivalent to Auer's concept of transfer, while alternation explains the same phenomenon as Poplack's switch point and Auer's

² Muysken considers the term switching as appropriate only for the alternational type of mixing (2000: 4).

Tab. 1: Muysken's typology compared with Poplack, Myers-Scotton, and Auer (Comparison with Myers-Scotton and Poplack; information in this table is taken from Muysken 2000: 32, figure 1.3, comparison with Auer is described in Muysken 2000: 4).

Muysken	Poplack	Myers-Scotton	Auer
Insertion	(Nonce) borrowing Constituent insertion	Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents	Transfer (CS from Lang X to Y then X)
Alternation	Flagged switching Code-switching under equivalence	Embedded Language – islands Matrix Language – shift	Code-switching (from Lang X to Y)
Congruent Lexicalization	Code-switching under equivalence (Style Shifting)	Matrix Language – shift Matrix Language – turn- over (Style shifting)	

code-switching. In Muysken's description, insertion occurs within a sentence, while alternation can occur at both the intra- and the intersentential level. Muysken's typology considers nonce-borrowing as insertion because it fits the description of having a constituent of language B inserted into a structure of language A.

2.3 The linguistic findings: Structural difference of the two code-mixing patterns

Using Muysken's typology to describe the difference in the two patterns, I found that the local pattern is characterized by having English items inserted into an otherwise Cantonese structure (which is also the pattern I commonly use myself), while the returnee pattern has a combination of insertion and alternation. Part of the data in this research includes 30 hours of in-group natural conversation recorded among the two friendship networks of consultants participating in this research, a local group (17 speakers, 10 hours) and a returnee group (13 speakers, 20 hours). All participants current students or recent graduates from the University of Hong Kong and fluent in both Cantonese and English. I selected two 30-minute excerpts of natural spontaneous speech from the local in-group recording and one 30-minute excerpt from the returnee recording for analysis. The local in-group excerpts from a house party. The returnee in-group excerpt recorded in an afternoon-tea gathering. The two settings equivalent in that they casual gatherings among friends. Using Muysken's framework, I counted the number of insertions, both English and

Tab. 2: Contrasting characteristics of two styles of code-mixing in Hong Kong.

Speakers	Local in-group recording		Returnee in-group recording
	9 current students and recent graduates who work for the same student organization and the researcher		Jo, Kelly, Rita, and the researcher
	30-minute excerpt 1	30-minute excerpt 2	30-minute excerpt 3
Insertion			
Cantonese Insertion into English	0	0	27
English Insertion into Cantonese	34	39	37
Total insertion	34	39	64
Alternation			
Alternation occurs within a single turn (by the same speaker)	0	0	110
Alternation occurs across turns (can be by different speakers)	0	0	99
Total alternation	0	0	209

Cantonese, and the number of alternational switches that occurred in each excerpt. My aim was to identify salient patterns across the excerpts, but did not carry out any statistical analysis because of the small sample size. The result of the comparison is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the two code-mixing patterns are clearly distinctive in their structures. The local code-mixing pattern is uniformly insertional while the returnee pattern includes both insertion and alternation. The number of English insertions in each of the 30-minute excerpts does not vary a great deal (34 and 39 for the local code-mixing pattern and 37 for the returnee one), while the returnee pattern has 27 Cantonese insertions and 209 instances of alternation, which the local pattern does not have. The insertion used in each pattern is different as well. The insertion found in the local code-mixing pattern was confined only to English insertion into Cantonese (34 and 39 items respective-

ly) but no Cantonese is inserted into English. This is because the local code-mixing excerpts have a clear dominant language, Cantonese, but it is difficult to tell which language is dominant in the returnee code-mixing excerpt. The returnee code-mixing excerpt includes both English insertions into Cantonese (27 items) and Cantonese insertions into English (37 items). Below I will describe the characteristics of each pattern of code-mixing with specific examples and discuss some of the problems of classifying some cases into insertion and alternation.

There are other differences in the ways that insertion is used in the two patterns apart from which language is being inserted. In the local code-mixing excerpts, all inserted items serve lexical functions as nouns, verbs and adjectives. In excerpt 1, of a total of 34 English insertions, 29 are nouns, 2 are verbs and 3 are adjectives. In excerpt 2, of a total of 39 English insertions, 22 are nouns, 11 are verbs and 6 are adjectives. All of these insertions serve the same lexical functions as they do in monolingual English discourse. All of them are either one- or two-word lexical items except the phrase *agency for quality service*, which is a quote of the slogan of a government office. In the returnee excerpt, some of the insertions are longer and more complex in structure, for example, “in pretty big trouble” and “not my type”. None of the insertions in the local excerpts are discourse markers while in the returnee code-mixing excerpt, the three speakers Jo, Rita and Kelly use some insertions such as “and then”, “so”, “he’s like” (in the sense of ‘he says’) which serve discourse functions (see Schiffrin 1987: 31 for definitions of discourse markers.) Also see section 2.5.1 for an analysis of specific discourse markers. The Cantonese insertions used in the returnee code-mixing excerpt include some items that are more complex than a single lexical item. In the data, I notice that in two instances, Cantonese particles are included as part of the insertion. The two insertions in question are (1) “a ba ba” which consists of a particle “a” and “ba ba” which means ‘father’, and (2) “tung lo wan la” which consists of a place name “tung lo wan” and a particle “la”. Putonghua insertion occurs only twice in the two local code-mixing excerpts (those are also the only two instances Putonghua insertion that occurred in the 10 hours of recordings). Because of its rare occurrence, I did not include it in the analysis of this study.

2.4 The local in-group pattern

Using Muysken’s typology, the local code-mixing pattern can be described as insertional only. English items are inserted into Cantonese but not vice versa, as in Example 1 below:

Example (1)

- 1 K: *m hai a, keoi gam jat zi bat gwo hai syun cyun zi ma,*
no, but s/he was just promoting,
- 2 *ze keoi (.) zin coi zi ma.*
s/he just be in a ribbon-cutting ceremony
- 3 M: *ha?*
what?
- 4 K: *ze, launch gam jeong lo*
that is to launch, like that

The English verb “launch” is inserted into an otherwise Cantonese utterance, the insertion only include “launch” but the entire infinitive form in its English translation “to launch” because in Cantonese the verb does not take an infinitive. Note that this can be treated as a case of code-mixing but not borrowing because I found no evidence that words inserted have become a regular part of Cantonese. Furthermore, the speakers themselves made metalinguistic comments on this kind of speech as “Chinglish” (a blend of Chinese and English) or “Chinese-English mix”, indicating their awareness of two codes being used. In the two 30-minute excerpts I found, respectively, 34 and 39 English items inserted into the Cantonese conversation. All 10 hours of natural conversations I recorded among the locally raised young people proceeded in the same pattern.

In the data, I found five items that are commonly used (in comparison to their Cantonese equivalences) among Hong Kong Cantonese speakers, and yet unlike regularized borrowing such as “ba si” (‘bus’), there are no Cantonese syllables that are used to represent the sounds of these words. They are considered to be English words, but are very commonly used by Cantonese speakers. These are “call” (verb, meaning to call a person on the phone or on a pager), “DVD”, “VCD”, “K” (short for Karaoke), and “OK”. In Muysken’s framework, these words still constitute a case of insertion because it involves a constituent of English being inserted into a structure of Cantonese. But they can also be considered to be items in transition from code-mixing to borrowing.

2.5 Returnee in-group pattern

The returnee code-mixing pattern has a more complex structure than the local type. It has both insertion and alternation. Moreover, patterns of insertion are not confined to English insertions into Cantonese as in the local pattern.

2.5.1 Insertion in the returnee pattern

Insertions in this returnee pattern can go both directions, i.e. English insertion into Cantonese similar to those found in the local type, and Cantonese insertion into English. In the 30-minute excerpt, 27 Cantonese items were inserted into English-dominant structures, while 37 English items were inserted into Cantonese-dominant structures. Example 2 and 3 are from excerpt 3, showing respectively Cantonese and English insertions:

Example (2)

Jo: *but you know it's faan faat right*
against the law

In Example 2, the Cantonese items “faan faat” (against the law) is inserted into English. This is a kind of insertion that I did not find in the 10 hours of recordings of the local code-mixing pattern. An obvious reason is that the local code-mixing pattern uses only Cantonese as the base language, so the insertion of Cantonese into an English base language is not possible.

Example (3)

- 1 Jimmy: *m err tai gaan hok haau tai m tai keoi zeoi hau semester,*
see if the school look at his last semester or not,
- 2 *jau di hok haau m tai ga ma*
some schools do not

Example 3 is an instance of English insertion of the term “semester” into Cantonese. This is the same kind of insertion as can be found in the local code-mixing pattern.

W. Li (1998: 161) discussed how code-switching can be used as a conversational strategy to achieve specific interactional goals such as marking pre-sequence, repair and building up contrast. Bilinguals have an extra linguistic resource available for them if they choose to use it, while monolinguals use other resources to achieve the same interactional goals. In excerpt 3 (Table 2 – the returnee code-mixing conversation), I found some insertions that seem to perform a discourse function and can be defined as discourse markers. I am using Schiffrin’s (1987: 31) definition of discourse markers, as ‘sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk’. These brackets are ‘devices which are both cataphoric and anaphoric whether they are in initial or terminal position’. Example 4 and Example 5 illustrate this category of insertion found in the returnee code-mixing excerpt but not in the local code-mixing pattern. The examples represent Cantonese and English insertions respectively.

between turns. Because there are four participants involved in the conversation, a speaker may in one occasion alternate language from the last turn she took, while in another instance she may not. It is therefore necessary to examine turn-taking in conjunction with language mixing here.

Auer (1995) is one of the first linguists to examine turn-taking patterns in code-switching. He develops a sequential approach to the pragmatics of code-switching distinguishing seven patterns of language alternation. He classifies code-switching patterns in terms of whether two speakers speak the same language or different languages when they start a conversation; whether a language switch indicates which speaker adopts the language choice of the other, and whether the language switch is triggered by what he calls “discourse-related” factors. He attempts to explain the triggers for each language switch in individual conversations. These triggers can include, for example, shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type, etc. (Auer 1995: 125).

My study focuses more on the choice of which code-mixing pattern to use and less on the choice of which language to use at a particular switch point. The switch points in the Hong Kong data occur very rapidly and frequently in a single-topic conversation, or even within a single turn. My focus, therefore, is not to attempt an explanation for each individual switch point or trigger, but to describe the general structural pattern of alternation used in the returnee in-group conversation. Within 30 minutes of conversation (refer to Table 2 above), I found a total of 209 alternations or switch points. Among them 110 occur within turns and 99 occur at the point when a second speaker takes a turn. When a switch occurs within a single turn, the speaker herself initiates it rather than being triggered by other participants in a conversation. Example 6 shows how alternation within a turn works:

Example (6)

- 1 Jo: *no no no I didn't even know it was her. Because I saw her back, right,*
- 2 *saw her back and I → gok dak, li go lei oi zai hou sok →*
think this girl was so attractive
- 3 *but that was it, ya,*
- 4 *and then → keoi haang gwo ge si hau le → when she walked pass me,*
when she walked pass
- 5 *for some reason → keoi ling zyun tau mong jat mong o a*
she turned her head and gave me a look
- 6 *→ and then I just ... oh my god ...*

In Example 6, the alternation between English and Cantonese occurs within a single turn. The speaker, Jo, alternates from English to Cantonese frequently

back and forth. Using Muysken's typology, this is a case of alternation and not insertion because neither the Cantonese constituents nor the English ones can easily be treated as inserted into the other language. Rather, it is a constituent of Cantonese followed by a constituent of English, and there is no clearly dominant language. Alternation within a single turn is the most common type of alternation found in that 30-minute excerpt as 110 alternations, more than half of the total, belongs to this type. Switches from one language to another can occur frequently within a single turn. Kelly took the floor most of the time in the 30-minute excerpt because she was narrating an event to Jo and Rita. Since Kelly was in a hurry to finish her story, her rate of speaking was fast and she took longer turns with more words in each turn than I observed in the rest of the recording. For example, in one of her turns she uttered 396 words, and made 26 alternational switches. In other words, she switched language on an average of every 15 words in this single turn. This is not a rare case, as she showed the same pattern in all her longer turns. One of her turns has 248 words and with 10 alternations, another turn has 205 words also with 10 alternations.

Alternations across turns take different forms; below we shall look at four different types of sequential pattern. First, consider Example 7 below:

Example (7)

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1 | Jo: | <i>that I can do it too then everyone was coming</i> |
| 2 | | <i>every night I was that holding mystical session</i> |
| 3 | | <i>in my boarding school room they just got [so</i> |
| | Rita: | <i>[why</i> |
| 4 | | <i>did you chuck it I wouldn't ve chuck it</i> |
| 5 | | <i>if I were you so badly your life</i> |
| 6 | → Jo: | <i>maai hai lo mou si gan zou kei ta ye lo</i> |
| | | yeah no time for my own work |

Example 7 above shows that the conversation was carried out in English for two consecutive turns, but when Jo took her second turn she initiated a switch to Cantonese. Jo's action is both a switch from her own previous turn in which she uses English, and a switch from the last adjacent turn taken by Rita in English. Thus, Jo is initiating a switch into a language different from the language of the conversation right before this turn. Among 99 alternations that occur across turns, there are 24 occurrences of this type of alternation within the 30-minute conversation (see again Table 2).

Another kind of alternation found in this 30-minute excerpt does not switch language from the end of the same speaker's earlier turn. Rather the

Another kind of switch point is found in a sequential structure in which two speakers speak different languages but one conforms to the language choice of the other in the next turn, as in example 9 below:

Example (9)

- 1 Rita: *why did you chuck it I wouldn't ve chuck it*
 2 *if I were you so badly your life*
 3 → Jo: *maai hai lo mou si gan zou kei ta ye lo*
yeah no time for my own work
 4 → Rita: *mui maan dou hai gam zim buk zim buk*
every night continue to tell fortune tell fortune

In (9) above Rita speaks English and Jo speaks Cantonese in their respective first turns in lines 1 and 3, but Rita conforms to Jo's choice of language by speaking Cantonese in her second turn in line 4. Sequentially Rita's second turn in Cantonese uses the same language as the adjacent previous turn by Jo. But Rita switches from English to Cantonese from her own earlier turn. This is an example of a switch by a single speaker across turns. Within 30 minutes there are 26 occurrences of this type of alternation.

The last type of alternation that occurs in the excerpt is a switch triggered by a change of conversational participants, as in (10):

Example (10)

- Rita: {to the person on the phone} *ying go bin dou du yau ga la ngo gu =*
it should be available everywhere
 → {to Jo, Kelly and Katherine} = *who knows where Three Xs is showing?*

In example 10, Rita is engaging in two different conversations; one with a person at the other end of the phone line and the other with Jo, Kelly and Katherine, who are sitting next to Rita. Rita speaks Cantonese when addressing the person on the phone, and switches to English when she addresses Jo, Kelly and Katherine. In the 30-minute conversation this alternation type occurs only twice, first in (10), and second, when a waiter interrupted the conversation and one of the participants addressed the waiter in a different language from the previous conversation.

Not counting the researcher as my pattern is more of a local style (I used English insertion into Cantonese as well as occasional English-only utterances, with a total of 32 turns and two alternations in this 30-minute clip), the other three participants produced a total of 334 turns in 30 minutes, among which 99 turns (30%) involve alternational code-switching at turn handover points, the other 110 switch points occur within turns. In terms of individual speakers'

use of alternation, Kelly has the highest number of switches, 118 of the total of 209 alternations being made by her. Among those, 87 (74%) alternations are within turns. This pattern can be explained by the fact that Kelly was narrating an event in the conversation and therefore she was given the floor most of the time. Apart from Kelly's large number of within turn alternations, there is no other specific pattern of alternation characteristic of any one of the three speakers.

3 Language attitudes and social categories

Above I have laid out the structural distinction between the two code-mixing/switching patterns, one dominated by Cantonese with English insertion, the other by various strategies of mixing the two languages. Aside from structural differences, the two code-switching styles also differ in other aspects. Although both locals and returnees speak Cantonese with a local Hong Kong accent and lexicon, it was their English characteristics and the amount and types of switching that mark them distinct. The local style involves the use of Hong Kong English lexicon, phonology, and intonational pattern influenced by Cantonese. While the returnee style, particularly one used by American Returnees, contains some American English features such as the quotative "like" and "go", and the use of flap instead of [t] in intervocalic position. In the attitudinal study (Chen 2008a), evaluators can clearly distinguish between these two code-mixing patterns and they associate each with a different social category and exhibit different attitudes and practices towards the speakers. In other words, these two structurally different code-mixing patterns are socially distinctive.

The local speakers consistently consider local code-mixing style as associated to "pure", "common", and "normal" Hong Kongers, while their perception of the returnee style is a speech style associated with derogatory social categories such as "pretentious" speakers, "ghosts", "bananas", and even "fake western devil's son". The locals are evaluating the returnees according to local linguistic ideologies and values, in which English use is considered a conscious (perhaps unnatural, inauthentic) performance, a pragmatic tool for academic and career advancement, a sign for higher social status achievement, but not as one's own language. The local evaluators, despite critically sanctioning the returnees' style of speaking, all expressed that they would want to speak English as fluently (and natively) as the returnees, yet insist that the way the returnees use English is socially inappropriate; because Chinese people should speak Chinese on Chinese territory, not a foreign language, English. These attitudes demonstrate the local speakers' language ideologies, their different affili-

ations with English and Cantonese, and what it means to be a Hong Konger in linguistic practice.

From the perspective of the returnees, English is part of their repertoire alongside Cantonese, a language they claim as their own in a speech style they feel most comfortable with (in contrast to locals who may not consciously regard English to be their own, even though in practice they use it regularly). The returnees are well aware of the negative social attitudes local speakers have towards them. Because of that, the returnee consultants are observed to be able to style-shift (Chen 2008a and 2008b), with varying degrees of success, between the local code-mixing style and the returnee code-mixing style as they interact with different people in their daily life.

The participants in this research consider themselves and/or are perceived by others as a local, returnee, or some other socially meaningful identity/category that can only be understood when located in specific context, time, and perspective. Scholars who write about identity (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall 2004; Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003) have noted the multifaceted nature and fluidity of identity. This is important to keep in mind because, while my discussion of code-mixing styles has been focused on them being indexical of specific speaker categories, that does not represent the sum of who these social beings are. Nevertheless, understanding how the bilingual participants in this research use and perceive their languages and their social worlds, even partially, is one step towards a comprehensive knowledge about what language means to multilingual speakers and multilingual communities.

Note: This paper is based on my doctorate research, as well as its expanded research funded by the Hong Kong Research Grants Council General Research Fund (GRF) HKU 742311H. A special thanks to Ken Mong for his research assistance and formatting help.

Key to transcription

<i>Text in italic</i>	Original language (either in original English or Cantonese Romanization)
Text in regular font	English gloss/translation
Text underlined	Insertion
→	Alternation
{text}	Non-verbal information
(.)	A short pause
[Speech in overlap
=	Latching

Romanization: Cantonese utterances in this paper are transcribed using the Jyutping system developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. Tone marks are omitted.

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The role of discursive information in analyzing multilingual practices

Abstract: Two broad lines of research have developed on code alternation or code-switching. One line focuses on structural issues related mostly to intra-sentential code-mixing and is based in formal syntactic and psycholinguistic approaches to language. The other line of research focuses on identifying the types of code-switching patterns, their social functions and meanings and the social motivations for code-switching. It applies methods of discourse and conversation analysis. Despite similar goals, these lines of investigation have proceeded separately without much cross-fertilization. The aim of this paper is to critically examine the main tenets of these approaches in the light of data from one contact setting involving related languages and to highlight ways in which the two approaches might complement each other. It argues that since code-switching is an important meaning making resource, analysis of its functions should precede analysis of structural issues as the latter impact on the structure of code-switching practices.

1 Introduction

Lay people and educators have traditionally shunned the use of two or more languages within the same interaction or utterance arguing that it stems from speakers' lack of competence in one or all the languages involved. In an effort to 'combat' language mixing, educational institutions in particular have made use of measures ranging from punishment to educational downgrading to assigning separate time slots or spaces to different languages. It is only in recent years, probably spurred by the widespread use of such practices in the media, music, advertising etc. that opinions about code alternation practices have been improving. However, educators and educational institutions are only timidly adopting new approaches to multilingualism such as the Translanguaging approach (e.g. García 2009) that value people's multifaceted language competences and seek to build on them. Since code alternation practices challenge (structural) assumptions about the homogeneity of grammar and its independence from use, linguistic research has traditionally been concerned with understanding its workings, thereby seeking to legitimize its rightfulness.

Two broad lines of research have developed on code alternation. One deals with structural issues and the other is concerned with functional issues. Struc-

tural approaches to code alternation (e.g. Poplack and Meechan 1995; Muysken 2004; Myer-Scotton 1993b) are based on formal syntactic and psycholinguistic models and have been mostly concerned with identifying “the nature of the grammar underlying bilingual mixture.” (Winford 2003: 126). Focusing on isolated instances of intra-sentential code-mixing usually involving clearly distinct languages, this line of investigation seeks to understand whether speakers rely on a single grammar or whether different grammars are at play, and how interaction between these different grammatical systems might be organized. Social or functional approaches to code alternation (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972; Auer 1984; Myer-Scotton 1993a; Zentella 1994), by contrast, focus on identifying the types of code-switching patterns that exist, their social functions and meanings and the social motivations for code-switching. Using methods of discourse or conversation (Auer 1984) analysis, researchers have analyzed situated discourses involving a range of language pairs.

Although both research traditions share the same overarching goal – understanding the workings of code alternation practices – they have proceeded separately without much cross-fertilization because they do not presently share the same methods of data collection and analytical frameworks. The aim of this chapter is to critically examine some of their main tenets and to highlight some areas where cross-fertilization could help to advance current knowledge. The paper argues that the two approaches are in fact complementary and should feed into each other. Greater attention to functional concerns in structural research on code alternation, for instance, would help to get a deeper understanding of the types of structural phenomena, their distribution and the constraints that govern their occurrence (see also Backus and Amuzu’s papers in this volume for a discussion of related issues).

The data for this chapter come from recordings of situated interactions that were recorded in (western) French Guiana and Suriname involving mostly the closely-related English-based creoles Aluku, Ndyuka, Pamaka, that are collectively also referred to as Nengee or Eastern Maroon Creoles (EMC), and Sranan-tongo (SN). The paper considers both data collected from people who employ these languages as their main or only language of interaction and those who learned them later in life and only use them for some of their communicative needs.

Section 2 discusses some of the issues that arise in structural approaches to code-switching. Section 3 explores issues in social approaches to code-switching. Section 4 examines the findings and proposes an integrated approach to investigating instances of code-switching.

2 Conceptualizing code-switching: A structural perspective

From the perspective of structural research on code alternation or code-switching (CS) there are only two types of CS patterns, so-called inter-sentential and intra-sentential CS. They are differentiated based on where the switch occurs. In inter-sentential CS switches occur at clause or sentence boundaries so that each sentence or clause comes from a different language. For instance, in (1) the first clause is entirely in English while the second one is entirely in Spanish.

- (1) It's not the same you know, **no e(-s) como acá.** (English-Spanish)
 NEG it-is like her
 'It's not the same you know, it's not like her.'
 (Zentella 1994: 99)

Intra-sentential CS, by contrast, is broadly defined as involving insertion of single elements or phrasal entities from one language into the morpho-syntactic frame or sentence structure of another language. In (2) the French noun *blague* is integrated into a structure that is entirely in Kali'na.

- (2) **blague-mempo wa.** (Kali'na-French)
 joke-little.person be
 'I'm a little comedian.'
 (Alby and Migge 2007: 54)

Based on the tacit assumption that the two types of CS can be easily separated, structural research has focused on intra-sentential CS because it “produces various kinds of hybrid structures that require explanation.” (Winford 2003: 126).¹ Discussion of these hybrid structures has been concerned with issues such as the identification of the morpho-syntactic frame of these structures and the types of elements that may be involved in CS and the rules that govern their occurrence. I discuss each in turn.

2.1 Classifying instance of intra-sentential CS

While there are cases of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2004) where two (or more) languages “share a similar structure which can be filled lexically

¹ However, the two kinds of CS also appear side-by-side either within the same interactional context or across different ones (Pandit 1990; Paff 1979, as cited in Winford 2003: 164–165), see also section 3.

with elements from either language”, current structural approaches to CS such as the Matrix Language Model (MLF; Myers-Scotton 1993a) generally operate on the assumption that mixed utterances consist of a main or matrix language and a subordinate or embedded language. The matrix language (ML) provides the grammatical frame of a sentence, namely the morpheme order principles, rules and the function or system morphemes. Additionally, the ML generally also contributes most of the content morphemes. The embedded language (EL), by contrast, provides single content morphemes that are integrated into the ML frame. Thus, in the case of example (2), Kali’na is the matrix language while French is the embedded language as it only provides a single element, a morpheme. There are also structures where an entire phrase or island, in the words of Myers-Scotton (1993b), comes from the embedded language. In (3), for example, the French noun phrase *la feuille* forms an island in a Kali’na structure in that it consists of more than one French item and the rules that govern their combination also come from French rather than Kali’na.

- (3) **Ami** la feuille se wa. (Kali’na-French)
 DET DET leave want be
 ‘I want the piece of paper.’
 (Alby and Migge 2007: 54)

It has been notoriously difficult to establish precise criteria for identifying the ML and the EL in any given case. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 68) argues that the language that provides the greater number of morphemes in a discourse sample typically also functions as the ML. However, in some cases this criterion might be too crude as it is possible that one or more changes in ML/EL take place throughout the discourse (Nortier 1990: 158). People might start out in one language and then continue in another language (or in what could be called a mixed code). Take for instance the example in (4). Here the speaker produces an entire sentence in Dutch and only uses the Eastern Maroon or Nengee affirmative marker *eyee* as an assertive particle at the end of the sentence. The following sentence is entirely in the Eastern Maroon Creole apart from the word *frank* which is best classed as a borrowing from Dutch.

- (4) *Maar ik heb geen waarde aan jou, eyee. Pe mi meki wan*
 but I have NEG worth of you yes where I make DET
dunsu frank wan dey, da i e meki ...
 1000 francs DET day then you IMPF make
 ‘But I don’t gain anything from you, yes. While I make one thousand francs
 a day, then you want me to ...’
 Note: italics: Dutch; bold: Eastern Maroon Creoles

But even if we pay attention to the sentence or utterance level and simply count the words in a sentence, it is often difficult to establish the makeup of the ML. Take for instance example (5) from the French Guianese corpus involving contact between Nengee and Sranantongo in the speech of a Pamaka man.

- (5) A *sani dati*, I *kan taagi* en taki a *tori dati mu skotu*
 DET thing DEM you MOD tell him say DET story DEM must end
 a **mu kii** en.
 s/he MOD kill it.
 ‘That thing, you can tell him that issue must end, he should stop it.’

In (5) four words are clearly identifiable as belonging to Nengee (bold), five words are associated with Sranantongo (italics) and eight words are best described as being shared between the two (regular). It seems unsatisfactory to claim that Sranantongo is the ML of (5) simply on account of the fact that there is one more distinctive Sranantongo than Nengee word in this sentence. Since the notion of the ML is heavily dependent on the idea of function morphemes and grammatical rules and principles, categorization could also focus on these two aspects. However, this still does not provide much more certainty because all the structural principles and a total of six function morphemes (*a*: DET.sg (2); *a*: 3sg.sbj (1); *en*: 3sg.obj (2) *i*:2sg.sbj (1)) are shared, three are from Sranantongo (*dati*: distal demonstrative modifier (2); *kan*: weak obligation (1)) and one is linked to Nengee (*mu*: strong obligation (1)).

In addition to difficulties with applying a simple counting procedure for making decisions about the ML, there is also the issue of elements that do not appear to belong to either Nengee or Sranantongo. Such items are intermediate between Sranantongo and Nengee and thus cannot be easily assigned to either nor are they on a par with what I have so far called shared elements, i.e. elements that are found in both languages. Table 1 gives a few common examples from the corpus.

Tab. 1: Forms that are intermediate between Nengee and Sranantongo.

Form	Gloss	Nengee Form	Sranantongo Form
<i>Dape</i>	There	<i>Ape</i>	<i>drape</i>
<i>Pliti</i>	Split	<i>Piiti</i>	<i>priti</i>
<i>Planga</i>	planks	<i>Paanga</i>	<i>pranga</i>
<i>Heli</i>	Whole	<i>Hii</i>	<i>heri</i>

Elements from other languages such as Dutch, French and English in particular are equally difficult to classify as it is not always clear whether they are in

fact borrowings in either or both of the two languages or whether they are independent insertions. In example (6a) the word *pickup* could probably be classified as a borrowing from English as it is used in (certain styles of) Nengee and Sranantongo. However, based on its phonology and the fact that it is also used in Dutch, it might also be classified as a borrowing from Dutch. The case is even more complicated with respect to *tweede*, *nooit* and *rij* in (6b). All three of them have Nengee and/or Sranantongo alternatives that are still being used, however to different degrees. While *rij* appears to be the main form to express the notion of ‘drive’ in Sranantongo, *ley* and *waka* are also still commonly used in varieties of Nengee. *Nooit* also derives from Dutch and is also common in Sranantongo; its integrated form *noyti* occurs in both Sranantongo and Nengee but is much more common in Nengee². Finally, *tweede* is clearly Dutch but also widely used in urban Sranantongo, while in Nengee the form *taa one* ‘other one’ is also common. This suggests that in (6b) all three words could be classified either as being part of Sranantongo or as separate insertions from Dutch.

(6) a. Na wan Toyota **pickup**.

FOC DET Toyota pickup.car

‘It is a Toyota pickup.’

b. B, da i no poti a **tweede** wan? **Nooit** a e **rij**.

B then you NEG put DET second one never it IMP drive

‘B, did you not repair the second one? It never works.’

Given that these kinds of structures are rather frequent in the corpus, it seems better to postulate the existence of a shared or separate frame which can be filled with elements shared by Sranantongo and Nengee, in-between elements (Table 1) and distinctive elements from different languages (i.e. Nengee, Sranantongo, Dutch, French). Viewed from this perspective, only structures that involve predominantly Nengee (7a) (bold) or Sranantongo (7b) (italics) elements and/or are governed by principles that are distinctive of one or the other language would then count as belonging to either of these languages.

(7) a. Den **taa** man **ya** **án** sabi **wooko** **anga** en.

DET other man here NEG know work with him

‘These other men don’t know how to work with him.’

² One of the reviewers suggests that *nooit* is considered Dutch if it occurs in sentence-final position without a final /-i/. However, Sranantongo *noiti* and Dutch *nooit* are indistinguishable in mid-sentence because, Sranantongo tends to elided final vowels in non-final position.

- b. *ay, eyee, den presi dati tof yere.*
 yes yes DET place DEM difficult ASSERT
 ‘Yes, yes, those places are difficult!’

Other structures such as (5 and 6) would then constitute a separate category which is neither Nengee or Sranantongo, but a bilingual or multilingual code. Social evidence in favor of such a tripartite distinction comes from research on social identities and language use among Maroons (Migge 2007, 2011; Migge and Leglise 2011, 2013). It shows that younger Maroon men in particular closely identify with being Maroon as opposed to members of the Afro-Surinamese creole population who are ideologically linked to Sranantongo. However, having been stigmatized as backwards, younger Maroons are also at pains to display that they are urban and modern. In order to negotiate these two aspects in their self-presentation – being Maroon but having modern sophistication – Maroons creatively combine aspects from both realms. That is, they create a ‘third’ way of being that is fuzzy from the point of view of traditional ways of categorizing people and languages. They combine aspects from Nengee and Sranantongo (culture and language), and increasingly also from other languages such as Dutch and French that are also marked as urban, modern and ‘being part of the wider world’, to display their multiple connections and, more crucially, to avoid being identified with (negative stereotypes of) either. This fuzzy style is particularly common in interactions among young(er) men who are socio-culturally most closely identified with the world beyond the local networks and community. It is an important feature that traditionally distinguishes them from elders and women and thus its use makes a claim to membership in this category. It is also used in other contexts such as in conflicts with elders and flirtation, where status negotiation is at play. This then suggests that in order to determine the ML or EL of a given structure, we not only require a broad understanding of the overall social context (i.e. what kinds of modes of being and identities exist), but we must also know the types of practices (monolingual codes, mixed codes) that are part of the local sociolinguistic economy, their broad associations, characteristics and functions. This kind of information is important for distinguishing types of CS patterns that are similar on the surface but functionally different and thus are likely to be governed by different (structural) constraints.

2.2 Elements in intra-sentential code-switching

Structural approaches to CS, like Myer-Scotton’s MLF model, posit that the ML provides all the system or function morphemes while the EL only contributes

content morphemes. Not being structurally heavily bound, content morphemes such as verbs, nouns and adjectives can be freely switched between languages. By contrast, switching of system or function morphemes is subject to special constraints because it requires a certain amount of (perceived) congruence between the structural systems in contact. System morphemes belong to a closed class involving a range of elements such as tense, mood and aspect markers, quantifiers, inflectional morphology etc. (see Myers-Scotton 1993a: 101 for a list of elements)³. The only exceptions to this stipulation are cases where the morphology of both the ML and EL are used on the same element, so-called cases of double morphology, and so-called EL islands, where whole phrases from the EL that contain function elements are inserted into the ML. The examples in (8) illustrate the typical distribution of the ML and EL forms. The function morphemes and most of the content morphemes are from one language and only one content morpheme – a noun (8a) and a verb (8b) – comes from another language or is distinctive. (8a) comes from a discussion carried out in the Eastern Maroon variety Pamaka; only the word *prijs* clearly derives from Dutch. (8b) comes from the same discussion and could be described as involving an insertion from Sranantongo, namely *wroko*.⁴

- (8) a. Mi gi i wan **prijs** kaba.
 I give you DET price already
 ‘I gave you the price already.’
- b. Ma ala faya e **wroko**?
 but all light IMP work
 ‘All the car lights are working?’

Besides these classic examples, there are also examples of EL islands. Example (9a) follows the structural principles of both Nengee and Sranantongo and all the morphemes except *la PAF* come from these two languages. *La PAF* is best described as a French island that has been inserted into the shared Nengee and Sranantongo ML frame. It only consists of elements from French which are also combined using structural principles from French – note that the latter happen to overlap with those of the ML; however, in Nengee and Sranantongo nouns in this position would only be preceded by a determinier under certain conditions. There are also examples where the structural principles of the EL

³ Note, however, that the distinction between function and content morphemes is not always that clear (Winford 2003: 115).

⁴ Alternatively, (8b) could also be interpreted as involving a shared Sranantongo/Eastern Maroon frame with a distinctive element from Sranantongo.

island only conform to those of the EL. In (9b) the structural makeup of the sentence follows Nengee and Sranantongo rules, however, the order of words in the EL island *carte grise* follows that of French as the adjective follows the noun.⁵

- (9) a. Mi miti wan man na **la PAF**.
 I meet DET man LOC DET PAF
 'I met someone at **the PAF**.'
- b. **Carte grise** de?
 card grey exist
 'Are there Insurance papers?'

Analysis of the data from French Guiana show that content morphemes and EL islands are not necessarily the most commonly used distinctive elements though. As illustrated in the examples in (10), function morphemes play an important role too.

- (10) a. Luku wan tra wagi fadon uit.
 Look DET other car fall out
 'Look another car fell off the jack.'
- b. Sranan **ná** abi den wagi disi.
 Suriname NEG have DET car DEM
 'Suriname does not have these kinds of cars.'
- c. A no bun yere!
 it NEG good ASSERT
 'It isn't good!'
- d. Meti nanga pinda tok.
 meat with peanuts right
 'Meat with peanuts, right.'
- e. Mi kan **ley** tu trip i ferstan tok.
 I MOD drive two trip you understand right
 'I can make two trips, you understand, right.'

⁵ Unfortunately, the corpus only included instances that could be seen as partially holophrastic, but observation also 'produced' the following example *Gi mi a pantalon bleu di de a ini i saka*. 'Give me the blue pair of trousers that are in your bag.' which involves the same ordering of noun and adjective as in (9b) but is not a set expression.

- f. A man **ya**, a wan man **di** ben **sooto** tok.
 DET man DEM FOC DET man REL PAST lock right
 ‘This guy, he was locked up, right.’

While the data involve few function morphemes from European languages, some such as *uit* (10a) do nevertheless occur outside of so-called EL islands.⁶ What is, however, striking is the fact that alternation between function morphemes such as the negation marker (EM *án/ná* – SN *no*), some modality markers such as the obligation marker (EM *mu* – SN *musu*), the potential modality marker (EM *sa* – SN *kan*) (Migge and Winford 2009), the relative marker (EM *di* – SN *san*), the committative preposition (EM *anga* – SN *nanga*) is commonly used besides discourse markers (*tok*; EM *yee* – SN *yere*) and phono-lexical features such as the alternation of long vowels with an rV sequence (EM *wooko* – SN *wroko*) or the variation between /l/ and /r/ (EM *leli* – SN *leri* ‘learn’) in code alternation practices. That is, speakers do not only draw on content morphemes, but also code-switch system morphemes and these system morphemes are not typically part of EL islands as predicted by Myer-Scotton (1993b).⁷ This is of course facilitated by similarities in structure between Nengge and Sranantongo, but it is not clear that typology is the only driving force. It also points to the fact that speakers, unlike linguists, do not systematically distinguish between content and function morphemes or focus on content morphemes only, as implied by structural models. Rather, in their efforts to create distinctive patterns (i.e. to encode social and interactional meaning), speakers simply focus on areas or elements where alternate forms exist without regard to their lexical status.⁸ The amount of elements that are made salient depends on the context and communicative intent, i.e. whether the speaker wants to be fuzzy or align with a particular language, see below.

2.3 Conclusion

The discussion suggests that while structural research on CS has much advanced our knowledge about these kinds of hybrid structures, there are still a

⁶ Note that the use of *uit* in this sentence does not function in the same way as in Dutch. In Dutch it either functions as a preposition or as a prepositional or separable affix. In Surinamese languages *uit* always appears in post-verbal position. In this context it’s function is similar to that of the result-expressing serial verb SN *trowe* / EM *towe*, see also Borges (2014).

⁷ See also Bentahila and Davies (1983: 315) for a discussion of this and related issues in relation to Arabic and French CS.

⁸ One area that has not received attention in this regard area of intonation which could be of particular importance especially in the case of closely related languages.

number of issues that appear to be difficult to resolve by solely relying on structural methods of data collection and analysis. While it is important to distinguish the kinds of systems that are involved in instances of CS, reliance on structural criteria such as word counts alone are problematic because it is difficult to determine indicative cut-off points or how to deal with shared or intermediate forms especially in the case of closely related languages. Speakers do not differentiate varieties or languages on structural grounds or apply frequency counts. Instead, issues of salience – what is considered to be distinctive of a given variety/language – and their presence or absence tend to play a more important role in choosing material from one or the other language. It is therefore vital that CS research starts out with an assessment of the broader sociolinguistic context. Based on the perspective of all social actors in the setting, we need to establish the sociolinguistic structure of the setting such as the number of varieties/languages that are recognized, their distribution and their distinctive features, before making judgments about the systems in interaction. This needs to take account of the fact that linguists' views of what constitutes a language or a system might be quite different from speakers' views. For instance, research has spent much ink on arguing for the different role of content and function morphemes in CS, however, data from French Guiana suggest that this distinction does not play an important role in the code-switched productions that emerge in this context where speakers use closely related language varieties.⁹ Speakers regularly draw on both function and content morphemes (outside of so-called islands) in their production of such patterns. Detailed understanding of speakers' conceptualizations of varieties, i.e. what they consider to be emblematic, and their relationships in a given context and across settings might shed light on the importance and this distinction.

Structural research on CS has made some headway in providing insights into the principles and rules that govern CS patterns, but accounts fall short of explaining the factors that promote CS in general and the occurrence of the two types of CS patterns that they posit. In addition, there is a tacit assumption that there are only these two types of CS patterns and that they do not have an internal structure. In the next section I will take up these issues in more detail by looking at sociolinguistic approaches to CS.

⁹ While there is a fair amount of structural and morphemic overlap between Nengee and Sranantongo, there are also important differences. It is on these differences that people focus when code-switching to create interactional meanings. Note also that speakers are generally dominant in one or the other variety and only have varying degrees of knowledge of the other.

3 Conceptualizing code-switching: A qualitative perspective

In contrast to structural research, sociolinguistically oriented work on CS has focused on establishing the types of CS patterns that exist and explored the functions and motivations for CS as well as the relationship between types and functions. While researchers in the area agree that there are several kinds of CS patterns (see below) beyond the two posited by structural research – insertional and alternational CS – and that there are important linkages between CS patterns, functions and settings, there is disagreement about the nature of these linkages and ways of examining them.

3.1 Socially-oriented model of code-switching

One of the socially oriented approaches to CS is Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness Model. It is based on the insights of Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study of CS in Hemnes, Norway, which argued that alternation between codes has social significance – it conveys a change in the extralinguistic context (situational switching) or functions to assign meaning to an utterance (metaphorical or conversational switching). The basic premise of the Markedness Model is that speakers' code choices are strategic and goal-oriented, being determined by speakers' interactional goals and the interaction's social characteristics, including both the extralinguistic nature of the interaction and the speech economy of the community and the setting. CS 'exploits the socio-psychological attributes that languages assume in a specific community, based on its patterns of language use' (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 3). The social motivations for CS are determined by the relative social markedness of codes in an interaction.¹⁰ Each code indexes a specific kind of social relationship, including participants' attitudes and expectations to each other, the so-called rights and obligation (RO) set. The model posits that for each interaction, there are (relatively) marked and unmarked choices. Unmarked choices are considered relatively habitual, common or expected and employ the main or most typical medium for a given interaction, symbolizing the most typical RO set for a given interaction. Marked choices, by contrast, make use of non-typical or 'embedded' codes, are relatively rare and unexpected and are interpreted as a departure from the normative code and RO set for the interaction. They are 'a negotiation about the speaker's

¹⁰ '[S]peakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place' (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 75).

persona (who the speaker is) and the speaker's relation to other participants' (Myers-Scotton 2006: 160). Speakers select marked or unmarked codes based on considerations of communicative effectiveness, i.e., which choices will maximize interactional rewards and minimize interactional costs. Essentially, CS is 'a meta-message of conversational moves' and functions to negotiate 'speakers' perceptions of themselves and their relations with others' (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 111).

The Markedness Model posits four types of CS. Each one occurs in a different kind of social situation, indexes a distinct self-image of the speaker and his/her view of the relationship between interlocutors (RO set). *Code-switching as a sequence of unmarked choices* also referred to as *sequential unmarked code-switching* occurs when situational factors such as the topic, the participants or the narrative framework change during an interaction causing a change in the RO set. In order to index the new RO set and, more crucially, its acceptance, interlocutors change their interactional code. By contrast, *code-switching itself as the unmarked choice* or *unmarked code-switching* refers to a situation in which speakers frequently switch between two or more languages in the same interaction. This could involve both insertional and/or alternational switches. It differs from the other CS types in that 'each switch [...] does not necessarily have a special indexicality; rather, it is the overall pattern which carries the communicative intention' (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 117). It is found in situations in which an ethnic language is highly valued but coexists with another language used for status-raising activities. Interlocutors are generally members of a common peer group and wish to actively invoke their alignment with the two social worlds that these two codes index; it is a way of making aspects of these two worlds salient. The third type she refers to as *Code-switching as a marked choice*. It occurs when the speaker selects a code that is seen as a marked choice in the interaction. It signals the speaker's lack of agreement with the expected RO set and their attempt to negotiate a new RO set. Finally, *code-switching as an exploratory choice* occurs when uncertainty exists about the appropriate RO set for the situation. Interlocutors will then switch between different codes that they share and thereby offer different RO sets until they find one on which they can both agree.

Auer (1984, 1995) equally focuses on determining the social meanings and functions of CS. However, his approach, which is based in conversational analysis, posits that it is the juxtaposition of two or more codes that has signaling power rather than the languages involved or the directionality of change. While each language is arguably linked to particular social meanings, settings and activities, this association is probabilistic rather than absolute. He argues that like gesture and intonation, CS functions as a contextualization cue. It

does not have a fixed referential meaning, but makes relevant “some aspects of the context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence.” (Auer 1995: 123). This means that the meaning of CS, like that of other contextualization cues, is derived at through a process of context-sensitive inferencing that has to be investigated separately for each instance of CS. There are two ways in which inferencing generates meaning. CS either creates a contrast to what went on before, indicating otherness such as lack of agreement or difference in voice, for instance. Or, in addition to signaling otherness, CS, like other contextualization cues, also restricts the number of possible inferences “because cues may have (received) an inherent meaning potential due to conventionalization or frequency of use of the pattern” (Auer 1995: 124). According to Auer (1995: 124), CS also has its own characteristics because “the situated interpretation of code-alternation as a contextualization cue is strongly related to the sequential patterns of language choice.”

He distinguishes four patterns. The first one represents the case whereby an established language-of-interaction, A, for a certain context is at some point during the interaction switched to language B during turn transition from speaker 2 to speaker 1 (Ia) or within one turn (Ib). The switch in language-of-interaction is accepted by the interlocutor(s) and the conversation continues in language B. Patterns Ia and b contextualize a change in the characteristics of the interaction such as a change in conversational activity, topic, mode or participants. They are equivalent to Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) *sequential unmarked code-switching*.

Pattern Ia: A1 A2 A1 A2//B1 B2 B1 B2

Pattern Ib: A1 A2 A1 A2 A1//B1 B2 B1 B2

A second pattern also referred to as language negotiation involves the use of different languages by the interlocutors. Either such a pattern of language alternation persists (IIa) or is resolved in favor of one of the languages at some point during the interaction (IIb). Patterns IIa&b signal speaker preference such as in terms of broad political considerations or issues of language competence. They are similar to Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) *code-switching as an exploratory choice* and *marked code-switching* though her definition carries a stronger assumption that interlocutors aim towards resolving language choice in favor of one language.

Pattern IIa: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2

Pattern IIb: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1//A2 A1 A2 A1

The third pattern involves CS within single turns that defies clear establishment of a language-of-interaction. The internal switches, or at least some of them, may have indexicality, but do not need to. In the latter case, they provide insights into how people view the situation and into how speakers want to position themselves, and are thus both discourse- and participant-related. Interlocutors may either decide to carry out the interaction in this mixed mode (IIIa) or adopt one of the two languages (IIIb).

Pattern IIIa: AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2

Pattern IIIb: AB1//A2 A1 A2

Pattern IV involves insertion of single words or phrases from language A into a turn otherwise carried out in language B. Auer refers to this momentary departure from the language-of-interaction as *transfer* and argues that it can be discourse- and participant-related in that it may contextualize a particular interactional frame or a person's language competence. Patterns IIIa and IV are similar to *unmarked code-switching* in Myers-Scotton's (1993a) categorization.

Pattern IV: A1[B1]A1

The discussion suggests that there are important similarities between the two models. Crucially, both models posit that there are several CS patterns. Myers-Scotton's approach posits a relatively close linkage between the type of pattern and its social and interactional functions as well as the latter are heavily dependent on the sociolinguistic meanings of the languages involved. In contrast, Auer's approach posits a much less fixed linkage arguing that meanings have to be carefully defined using a sequential analysis of interactional choices. The same pattern may simultaneously and/or depending on the interaction perform several functions.

3.2 Code-switching in the data from French Guiana and Suriname

One aspect that is very striking about the data from French Guiana and Suriname is the fact that there do not appear to be clear instances of patterns I and IIa and b. Much of the data resembles patterns IIIa or IV in that there is alternation between elements from two or more languages, including shared forms, within and across turns. Take Extract (1):

Extract (1)

- 1 B: **Da** na yu meki a wagi! ‘Thus, you repaired the car!’
- 2 D: *Aay* ‘Yes’
- 3 B: **Da** yu na, na *international*, *jon*. **Da** mi o bay wan *broko* wagi, *jon*.
‘Then you are international, man. Then I’ll buy a broken car, man.’
- 4 D: P, i si, i si a wagi *disi*? ‘P, do you see this car?’
- 5 P: *mhmm*
- 6 D: I sabi a wagi fu mi? San na a wagi *disi*. ‘You know my car?
What kind of car is this one?’
- 7 P: Na wan *pikup*, a wan Toyota *pikup*. ‘It is a pickup, a Toyota
Pickup.’
- 8 D: **Da** i *no* sabi ala den wagi fu mi. ‘Then you don’t know all of my
cars.’
- 9 P: No, na dati wan *nomo*. ‘No, only this one.’
- 10 B: A *frustu* **se** wan. ‘The one with the rusted side?’
- 11 D: *No wakti*, mi a wan 306 etc. ‘No, hold on, I also have a 306.’
- 12 B: *Ehmm*
- 13 D: Fu di mi e waka **anga** futu. ‘When I’m walking.’
- 14 B: **Da** i e waka **anga** futu ete, *jon brudu jon*.
‘Thus you are still walking, man really.’
- 15 D: No, mi mag, **eyee** mi o **ka fini**. BL, BL, **da** i no poti a *tweede* wan
nooit a, a e *rij*? *Ya tok*, *ef* i *no* poti a souda *nooit* a, a e *rij*, na mi na
a souda.
‘No, I am allowed to, yes, I can stop. BL so you have never yet
used the second one. Does it work? Yes, ok, if you never use the
Souda, it will never work. I want the Souda car.’

Italics: Sranantongo; bold: Nengee; italics/underlined: Dutch; bold/underlined: French Guianese Creole; roman: shared Nengee and Sranantongo.

In Extract (1) several younger men interact in a local bar in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni. There are no turns that can be unambiguously assigned to just one language. Most of the turns involve alternation between shared Nengee and Sranantongo forms and distinctive ones coming from either of the two languages or other languages such as French Guianese Creole or Dutch. Extract (1) is a case of what has been described as transfer (Auer) or unmarked CS (Myers-Scotton) in that switches mostly involve individual words and each switch does not appear to have a special indexicality. Instead, it is the overall pattern that is of interest. It is a case of participant-related switching because speakers essentially display their diverse linguistic competence to each other, a crucial feature of peer-group behavior among them as it signals urban sophistication (Migge 2007).

However, not all instances of what appears to be CS are in fact an instance of CS. Take for instance Extract (2) which was delivered by a man from Guyana who was conversing with a Maroon man who is roughly from the same age range (late 30s to mid 40s).

Extract (2)

Dede *of* dede wo *broko* a *basis* yere, tru efu i no wani taki, i **mu** denki taki *moro* **gaan** bigi *basis* fu **Europe** *dya tok*, **da** a *kondre* *nooit* i si taki a *kondre* abi wan bun *waarder* tok. A *kondre* no abi wan bun *waarder* di seti, fosi den *wetman* seti wan bunbun *waarder* na a *kondre*. I sabi san den man e du?

‘Even if there are fatalities, we will destroy the European Space centre [in Kourou], right, honestly, if you don’t want to talk, you should remember that the biggest space centre of Europe is here, right, but this country never, you never see that they value the country properly, right. The country does not have a value on its own outside of the value that the Europeans have brought to the country. You know what they did?’

Italics: Sranantongo; bold: Nengee; italics/underlined: Dutch; bold/underlined: French; roman: shared Nengee and Sranantongo.

Taking a language perspective, we see that there are elements that originate from different linguistic sources such as Nengee, French, Dutch, Sranantongo and shared Sranantongo/Nengee forms. The overall pattern closely resembles that in Extract (1). The main difference, however, is that while this kind of mixed code is only one of the styles that the interlocutors in Extract (1) do in certain kinds of interactions, this is the main or only way that many non-Maroon interlocutors speak. The latter are often either not fully aware that their way of speaking involves insertions from several languages or they assume that this is the way to speak Nengee or what is often referred to as Takitaki in French Guiana because their main interlocutors, the Maroons of this age group, typically speak like that in public out-group settings (Migge and Léglise 2013). Extract (2) is best described as a case of dialect convergence.

However, as pointed out by Auer (1995: 131–132), this kind of alternation may also have indexicality and perform both participant- and discourse-related functions. In Extract (3), a woman in her early 40s is explaining language practices to the author and another European friend of hers.

Extract (3)

- 1 Bs: ma a wakaman *taal* teki fesi hem, a wensi i go na *Paramaribo*, i e si
- 2 taki a *Sranan sei*, i e si taki na soso wakaman *taal* den man e *puur kon*,

- 3 den man e *tak' in code*, den man e *fringi tek' i!*
 'but the wakaman language has become most important, even when you go to Paramaribo, you see that on the Surinamese side, you see that it's only wakaman language they are pulling out, they are speaking in disguised form, they are throwing it at you.'

In this conversation, Bs is clearly at pains to display her linguistic versatility by alternating shared Sranantongo/Nengee elements with ones that originate from Dutch (*taal* 'language'), non-Sranantongo/Nengee (Paramaribo) or Sranantongo (Sranan sey 'Suriname'). This kind of alternation is very fluid, not involving hesitation. However, her alternation towards the end of line (2) and in line (3) between shared and Sranantongo elements is discourse-related. She is using parallelism to create a climax in her description of *wakaman taki*, a style of Sranantongo. The carrier phrase is realized using shared Sranantongo/Nengee forms, but the descriptive part is clearly set off in the Sranantongo style that is being described and through special emphasis. This voicing assigns authority to the description.

Extract (4) comes from the same context as Extract (1). While these men commonly draw on CS – transfer or unmarked CS – to display their linguistic versatility (e.g. Extract 1), CS is also used to distinguish different parts of the discourse or activities. In line (1) Br is imagining what he will do and get during a hunting trip in a somewhat dreamy way. This is done using mostly shared Sranantongo/Nengee and Nengee forms. This saliently contrasts with Pe's turn in lines (2–4) that predominantly consists of shared and Sranantongo forms and employs a somewhat creaky voice quality that is commonly associated with urban (younger) male speech. This shift negotiates Pe's irritation with Br's inability to seriously engage with the organization of the hunting trip. This suggests that variation in the relative amount and type of insertions may contextualize a change in discourse activity (dreamy speech versus angry speech) and a difference in self-representation in that Pe distances himself from Br's dreamy behavior, claiming a more authoritative self.

Extract (4)

- 1 BR: *Ya tok* ma mi, den **fisi**¹¹ **di** mi o **kisi** dape, den o **tyahipi en** mi na **fisi** mi e go suku.
 'Ok, but I, the fish that I will catch there, they'll be a lot and as for me, it's fish that I'm searching for.'

¹¹ The word *fisi* (but also *kisi*) followed Eastern Maroon pronunciation [fɪfɪ] rather than Sranantongo phonological patterns [fisi].

2 PE: *I ne e ferstan san mi e du now. Mi kan rij tu trip, i ferstan tok, mi*
 3 *kan ley tu trip. Mi e ley den man fu mi. Efu yu no kba, a yur di i o*
 4 *kba, i e gi mi so wan yuru i o kba, i sabi tok. Mi e teki yu tapu a*
yuru fi i, i sabi tok ...

‘You don’t understand what I’m doing now, I can do two trips, you understand right, I can do two trips. I drive my guys. If you are not ready, the time when you are ready, you give me a specific time when you’ll be ready, you know. I come and take you at the time you want to, you know right ...’

(Migge and Léglise 2013: 277)

Structuring also occurs at the level of lexical choices. Interlocutors may draw on ‘mundane’ forms that are commonly known or traditional or ‘racy’ forms that have modern or subcultural overtones and thereby create different social identities (Spitulnik 1999) and different kinds of relationships. Compare, for instance, Extracts (1) and (5). In Extract (1), the interlocutors draw on elements from several languages and several of them (*internasional, tweede, tok, ya tok, I sabi tok*) have become associated with young men’s in-group speech.¹² Interactions involving these kinds of forms invoke young men’s life worlds and position their users as members of that in-group. By contrast, Extract (5), which comes from an interaction between titled elders at the end of a fairly formal interaction, involves only mundane forms from Sranantongo that contrast with Nengee and shared elements in lines (4–5). The insertions assign a Sranantongo reading to the turn, negotiating a (momentary) shift away from the relatively formal relationship that typically exists between the two elders. Interactionally, it functions to convey that the request to talk to the author is harmless (i.e. does not involve a marriage proposal).

Extract (5)

1 Anton: Ma, **daaa**, fa de e **kay** a flou nen?
 ‘But, so what’s the woman’s name?’
 2 Bettina: Bettina!
 3 Anton: Soo Betna. (.) ‘Okay, Bettina.’
 4 (to O, another Kabiten) So, **da** (.) kabiten, mi *kan taki ptyin tori*

¹² It is not entirely clear whether the Dutch-marked forms should be considered as insertion from Dutch or as Dutch borrowings in Sranantongo/Nengee. More than likely, this differs from speaker to speakers.

- 5 **anga a uman** pikinso *yere?* A nowan **mulikimuliki toli**.
 ‘Okay, well kabiten, can I chat a little bit with the woman, right?
 It’s nothing bothersome.’
- 6 O: (nods approvingly and laughs)
- 7 O: Iya, iya papa! ‘Yes, yes elder!’
 (Migge 2007: 103)

4 Conclusion: Towards an empirically adequate approach to CS

The discussion suggested that while structural approaches to CS have highlighted important principles about the patterning of CS, most of the principles and assumptions that have been proposed over the years have turned out to be problematic upon closer empirical inspection. While it is intuitively right to assume that CS involves juxtaposition of two or more codes, their identification and determination of their respective roles in the juxtaposition is far from uncontroversial. There are no adequate measures that can be applied across the board to unambiguously determine whether a language functions as the matrix language or as the embedded language, or whether we are dealing with a case of dialect convergence. Word counts run into problems because there are not clear-cut off points and because simple word counts cannot take adequate account of structural features such as word order. General assumptions about the social appropriateness of a given language in a particular setting are problematic because associations between language and social settings are rarely stable over time or across speakers; they can function at best as broad guidelines. The functions of languages may also change within the same interactional context. It may also simply be difficult to distinguish varieties/languages on structural grounds alone because forms cannot be easily assigned to one or the other language or because mixed codes have developed that defy easy lexico-structural identification. Moreover, while content morphemes clearly play an important role in CS patterns because their lack of structural boundedness facilitates interlingual identification, this does not mean that function morphemes have no role to play in CS. In fact, particularly in the case of closely related languages function morphemes may be strategically deployed for negotiating patterns of distinction. Finally, while both structurally and sociolinguistically-oriented research have identified different kinds of CS patterns, neither set of patterns (insertional versus alternational; 4 basic patterns) exhausts the kinds of tactics (e.g. variation in frequency of distinctive vs. fuzzy forms, use of racy vs. mundane forms) that bilinguals make use of for contextualizing participant and discourse-related meanings.

The discussion in this paper points to a need for a much more fine-grained, socio-pragmatically sensitive and usage oriented sequential analysis of CS (see also Amuzu's discussion of Ewe-English code alternation patterns in this volume). CS, like so-called style-shifting among monolinguals, is not epiphenomenal, but an important resource for negotiating social and interactional meanings (see also Chen's discussion of code alternation and identity in Hong Kong in this volume); the meanings, in turn, influence the structure of CS patterns. Research on CS must thus be embedded in a detailed analysis of a community's speech economy that takes into account the views of all local actors and be guided by both people's ideologies and actual practices. Using an ethnographic approach, such an analysis should determine the kinds of speech forms including mixed forms that are recognized by people, their salient or emblematic linguistic characteristics as well as their social functions and uses. Since we cannot assume simple correlations to exist between social functions and language use and structural makeup and functions, each instance has to be analyzed in detail using what Auer (1984, 1995) refers to as a sequential approach. Thus, comprehensive analysis of CS should

- be empirical and analyze each instance of CS separately within its context of occurrence.
- focus on situated language use.
- first identify the interactional functions and patterns of instances of CS before carrying out a structural analysis
- examine each pattern or type of CS separately as the same principles may not hold across all types.
- explore how observable patterns of CS link to the negotiation of social identities and existing patterns of language use and ideologies of language.

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Creole/Superstrate code-switching: Structure and consequences

Abstract: The relationship between Tok Pisin (TP) and English has previously been characterised in sociolinguistic terms (Hall 1955; Mühlhäusler 1975; Romaine 1992) as diglossic, presenting a problem for evident interactions between the two languages. Prevailing debates center around the pidgin/creole nature of TP, and focus on whether ‘anglicised’ ‘urban’ TP is a decreolised variety and whether a creole continuum is developing. Concerns have frequently been raised about the social impacts of language mixing: that the incorporation of increasing amounts of English into Tok Pisin will lead to a loss in the practicality of Papua New Guinea’s national language of inter-group communication.

This chapter considers the mixing of English with TP by bilinguals from the perspective of the grammatical typology of CS developed by Muysken (2000), and suggests that a structural analysis of language mixing is vital to understanding the variation in TP and English that is elsewhere considered to be characteristic of language change and decreolisation.

The characterisation of the ‘urban pidgin’ sociolect in terms of particular structural types of bilingual behaviour both illuminates its nature and opens the door to a view on the development of increasing social variation in Tok Pisin.

1 Introduction

As in several other chapters in this collection (see Yakpo, Anchimbe, and Mige, this volume) this contribution deals with the complex sociolinguistic context of a creole language, and the significance of code-switching (CS) (a term used here to refer to a range of behavioural phenomena involving bilingual communication) in a dynamic and predominantly multilingual language community.

In the discussion below the focus is on uncovering the range of structural types of CS within varieties of the creolised pidgin, Tok Pisin (TP), that have elsewhere been considered to indicate that it is decreolising (Romaine 1992; Mühlhäusler; Dutton & Romaine 2003). The developing social identity of a new ‘national’ culture has both eroded and adapted historical diglossic linguistic associations to create a new space for bilingual expression. It is shown that

different structural types of code-switching can be identified between TP and its superstrate, English: Anglicised, ‘urban’, TP is not only indexical of a modern, educated identity (Mühlhäusler 1975, 1979b, 1985b; Romaine 1992; Smith 2000), but is the product of structural code-switching, in particular, of insertion and congruent lexicalisation (Muysken 1997, 2000).

2 Transforming ‘diglossia’ and the Creole continuum

The Pacific island nation of Papua New Guinea (PNG) is well known for its complex language ecology (Mühlhäusler 1996). In addition to a unique diversity in its indigenous vernaculars, of which the customary cited figure (Nekitel 1998) is 850, there are a number of regional languages of wider communication promoted by foreign administrators prior to Independence in 1975¹. Also presenting a significant aspect of the linguistic environment are the topics of this chapter: the national language of wider communication TP, a local variety of Melanesian Pidgin English, and its European lexifying superstrate, the official language of government administration, English, which is spoken in Papua New Guinea in a range of varieties including those distinctively described as Papua New Guinean English (Smith 1986).

TP is spoken as both a second-language ‘pidgin’ for many people who are primary in their traditional indigenous *tok ples* languages, as a first-language ‘creole’ for many, particularly those growing up the linguistically mixed urban areas (characterised as the cities, settlements, and large town areas), and as a primary language for people throughout the country, even where they learned other languages earlier in their lives. As an ‘expanded pidgin’ (Mühlhäusler 1979: 668, 1985: 87) the distinction between ‘pidgin’ and ‘creole’ TP is a social, rather than linguistic one, and both terms are used here.

Mühlhäusler (1985a) has observed the complementary distribution of these languages in terms of Fergusson’s (1972 (1959)) diglossia: standardised relations between varieties of a language such that separate varieties play separate roles, being used in different situations and consequently carrying different social associations and meanings. Prior to Independence the linguistic land-

¹ See Mühlhäusler (1985a) on New Guinea Church languages such as Yabem and Kate. I significantly include the Papuan Administrative language Police Motu, now known as Hiri Motu (Dutton 1978) in this group. Though it is the third National Language of the nation, its currency is restricted to the Papuan Region, and even there its use appears to be in decline. These languages I term ‘regional’ here, in contrast to TP as a national language of wider communication.

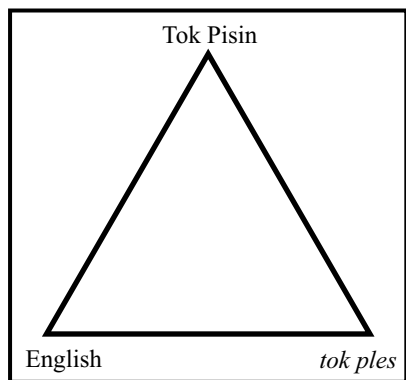


Fig. 1: The PNG language 'triangle'.

scape could be characterised as populated by languages occupying distinct functional domains: *tok ples* vernaculars, languages of wider communication, and the superstrate corresponding to, and indexing social values in terms of, Community, Solidarity, and Authority respectively.

Research from across Papua New Guinea over the last 50 years reveals that the social value of code-switching encourages multilingual behaviour in a wide range of settings (Salisbury 1962; Sankoff 1980c, 1980a; Kulick & Stroud 1990; Nekitel 1998). Detailed observations of code-switching behaviours illustrate how the indexical values of TP, *tok ples*, and English are utilized (Kulick 1992) and eroded (Mühlhäusler 1985d) in post-Independence PNG. In particular, the use of English between PNG 'nationals' (Gewertz & Errington 1999) that is an increasing feature of Papua New Guinean Society indicates that historic associations are shifting.

In some sections of the population, for example among the English-educated middle-class people from whom we draw our data, creole/superstrate bilinguals are mixing their language to create new varieties with intermediate domains.

A growing community of native TP speakers (Sankoff 1980d; Romaine 1992; Smith 2002) is also significant in creating changes in the roles of this language.

We can consider the predominant linguistic divisions of PNG language ecology as being described in terms of a triangle of languages: vernaculars (local and regional), TP, and English (figure 1).

Any impression of discrete diglossia is made more complex by the differing associations of these languages in different environments. In the urban environment, English conveys external authority, TP solidarity with the National

community, regional languages with ex-urban solidarities, and vernaculars are specific to particular communities (Sankoff 1980d; Mühlhäusler 1985a; Romaine 1992; Smith. 2002). In the rural environment, TP is associated with external authority, regional languages relate to local solidarity, and vernaculars are the principle language of community (Sankoff 1980d; Kulick 1992). In my observations of highly educated English speaking Nationals for whom English is the language of the community, TP the language of wider solidarity, and vernaculars function as significant languages of external authority. This suggests a rotational symmetry in the triangle of languages in the ecology, whose relations appear largely dependent on community context. This complexity calls into question the notion of diglossia in the language ecology, and suggests that it is more properly characterised as Fishman's Diglossia (Britto 1986): a general, but not exclusive, association of particular languages with particular functions, domains, and social values.

Bickerton asserted that, as an established pidgin, with a growing community of creole (in an extended sense of primary language) speakers, in contact with its lexifier, TP would decreolise by developing varieties with increasing resemblance to English (Bickerton 1975). He predicted that social mobility and the growth of English-speaking elites would lead to the erosion of diglossia. This, coupled with imperfect acquisition of English and processes of social linguistic targeting would, Bickerton hypothesised, lead to the creation of a linguistic continuum: in terms of the triangle presented as figure 1 such variation would occur along the TP-English axis.

Bickerton argued that a creole continuum was present in the Caribbean, and that Papua New Guinea would see a similar continuum situation develop between Tok Pisin and English: English would be the target of TP speakers, who would innovate new varieties with greater similarity to English as time went on.

With Bickerton, O'Donnell and Todd (1980), Aitchison (1981) and Romaine (1992) have pointed to anglicised varieties of 'urban' TP (Mühlhäusler 1979b) as evidence that decreolization is underway. Recent research projects (Harvey 2007; Wakizaka 2008; Devette-Chee 2011) have reached various conclusions, and detailed investigative work by Mühlhäusler (1985e) Siegel (1997) and G. Smith (2000, 2002) previously has maintained that there is no recognisable continuum in PNG between TP and English, though a range of varieties have been identified. My CS analysis reveals the influence of TP on English as much as of English on TP (Blaxter Paliwala 2012: 756). The continuum, if developing at all, may be developing in the opposite direction to the one predicted by Bickerton.

Crucially, Mühlhäusler has argued that the fact that CS between Tok Pisin and English could be 'pinpointed' established that a continuum did not exist

(Mühlhäusler 1985b: 48): while there was evidence of two distinct systems interacting, a continuous range of variation could not be shown. However, this chapter demonstrates that while Muysken's typology of CS allows us to continue to pinpoint and describe the interaction of different systems, this does not correlate with a continuing separation between the two languages: CS may provide a mechanism for the development of a creole continuum.

As the National community develops, particularly through increased bilingualism between TP and English, Bickerton's assertion that the development of a continuum is inevitable remains worthy of repeated consideration. This association between imperfect acquisition of English alongside the targeting of that language as a prestige form and the development of "an urban spectrum containing all linguistically possible varieties intermediate between TP and English" that will eventually extend throughout the country (Bickerton 1975: 24) is implicit in his direct connections between sociolinguistic motivations and directional language change in TP.

In the last century, sociolinguistic processes increasing variation in TP were customarily seen in terms of the Pidgin/Creole Life Cycle (Hall 1962). Research conducted in the last decade as established, however, that TP remains a vibrant, and distinctive language (Wakizaka 2008; Walczyński 2012). The sociolinguistic reality indicated by responses to the 2000 National Census (2002a, 2002b), however, is that multilingualism is the norm in Papua New Guinea, and in particular multilingualism including both English and TP (Paliwala 2012).

Understanding the mixing of TP and English in terms of CS theory illuminates the sociolinguistic development of a creole continuum. In particular, the identification of congruent lexicalisation shows that producing 'fuzzy' language styles or forms (see Migge, this volume) is an expressive tool in Papua New Guinea which associates with a mobile, educated, 'National' identity. In Papua New Guinea, code-switching behaviour lies at the heart of questions of social differentiation and structural change in both TP and English.

3 The data

The discussion below presents examples of spoken language: conversations recorded during urban fieldwork in the north coast town of Madang and the capital city of Port Moresby along with some examples of political speaking in the National Parliament. They illustrate all three types of code mixing described by Muysken (1997, 2000) (see also Stell and Chen this volume), establish that such behaviour has a significant role in structuring the variation pre-

viously seen as unstable (Kale 1979) in ‘Urban Pidgin’, and illustrate how it can be seen to operate in expanding the creole and potentially motivating decreolisation.

My examples of alternation – the type of CS most readily identified by Papua New Guineans as ‘anglicising’ TP (see Blaxter Paliwala (2012), chapter 9) – illustrate a wide range of functions identified in other bilingual datasets, principally by Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1995). Insertion is shown to be prevalent in ‘urban’ TP, and found in both everyday bilingual discourse and in the ‘high’ register of the House of Parliament. Congruent lexicalisation, while often opaque to bilingual Papua New Guineans, correlates with the most intimate discourse, and with a sense of a ‘fuzzy’ linguistic identity.

4 Alternations – Switching languages

Alternation between languages (Poplack 1980; Muysken 2000) is true switching of codes. Where languages have strong social connections, as under diglossia, it can be a highly expressive technique (Gumperz 1982). Fundamentally, the alternation of whole constituents from separate languages requires bilingualism: competence in both languages involved.

Alternation is normally only a feature of communication where both speaker and audience can understand both languages, although switching languages to repeat oneself is often used to address the same comments to hearers with different language abilities. As noted above, the initial understanding of the ‘Triangle’ of vernacular *tok ples* languages, TP, and English existing in diglossia relations, restricted by complementary distribution to specific domains, is now being replaced by a greater variability. In contemporary PNG different individuals and different contexts apply different uses to particular languages: the behaviour observed by Sankoff (1980d) and Kulick (1992) can be contrasted with Mühlhäusler (1985e) and G. Smith (2002). The practise of alternation between languages is leading to changes in the social associations of different varieties.

Auer (1995: 120) developed Gumperz’s (1982: 59) conversational functions of CS to provide a comprehensive list of pragmatic and metaphorical functions of alternation between languages, which fall into three primary categories of pragmatic/stylistic, sociopsychological, and linguistic functions. The first two of these are discussed in detail by Ainchimbe (this volume) in relation to English, French, and CPE switching in Cameroon. Examples of many subcategories of these expressive applications of language switching are present in my data from PNG.

4.1 Alternation – Pragmatic/Stylistic functions

The following examples of ‘anglicised’ TP below illustrate the stylistic nuance of pragmatic switching between languages to: (a) place emphasis on an interjection, (b) specifically identify an addressee, (c) clearly identify quotations, (d) emphasise a statement through repetition, (e) add power or authority to commands, or (f) qualify a message.

In (1) we see how a teenager uses English to interrupt (a) two mothers speaking in TP (line 3). One mother then switches from English to TP to focus her comments (b) on the baby in her arms, which is the topic of the conversation.

- (1) [TiT#08-508_L17 @2.815s]
- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| 1 | MNM: | m yeah , em em ia em sa kaikai ²
‘hmmm, yeah , this one here they always (want to) eat’ |
| 2 | PLM: | mi tasol holdim em
‘I’ll hold them’ |
| 3 | KLT: | <u>he’s wet.</u>
<u>‘he is wet’</u> |
| 4 | MNM: | mmm, <u>he’s wet.</u> Yu ia wet tumas ia!
‘mmm, <u>he is wet.</u> You, you are too wet!’ |

Where in (1) the switch to TP is used to repeat the observation to the baby, in (2) repetition (c) is more directly applied as a stylistic technique, translating a socially significant and powerful statement about copying other clan’s traditional dress into English to add weight to its expression.

- (2) [TiT#24b_15]
- bat** sapos yu yusim blo narapela man **when you use ader clans uh, dres-sin ...**

² In the examples given here, the bold text is used to indicate English. Where the orthography or the example sentences varies from the writing conventions for English or TP (as with, for example, (2) (7) and (9) below) this indicates the pronunciation of the words as spoken, following phonological conventions established in Blaxter Paliwala (2012), but broadly following the standards set in Mihalic (1971), applied to both TP and English sections. Where the variation from expected pronunciation is slight, however, standard orthography is used to make the examples easier to read. Morphological glosses are provided only where this assists in the morphosyntactic analysis of the example, most particularly in sections 2 and 3. Translations are given in quotation marks. The underlined sections are those specifically commented upon in the body text. English and TP words are presented in italics where they appear in the body text.

'but if you use (those) of another man when you use other clan's uh, dressing ...

In addition to the repetition of the entire VP, the initial conditional is also repeated here, the English *but* followed by the TP *sapos*.

A fourth valuable function of alternational switching is in quotation (d) again this is stylistic, by extension a metaphor of the situational switching to specify an addressee (a). In (3) we observe the switch to English is used to give a distinct voice to the person in the story, who comments on the arrival of the speaker.

(3) [TiT#08-506_L155 @98.321s]

okei mipela kam daun lo, em tok okei yu savaiv den

'okay we (excl) came down to (them), they said "**okay, you survived then**"

Example (4) is drawn from an exchange in the House of Parliament, and illustrates a second pair of stylistic functions. Here the Speaker of the House switches to TP (line 7) specifically to add emphasis (e) to his commands to a Member who, though inaudible here, is out of control. The Speaker uses English in Papua New Guinea's trilingual parliament by convention³, however when the authority associated with that language fails, as here, he reduces the distance between himself and the MP by switching to TP: qualifying (f) his command to sit with a reference to the bell having been rung for the end of the session.

(4) [TiT35b04_L69]

1 SPK: **honourable member for Maprik, please be seated**

2 MP: xxx

3 SPK: ***ring the bell clark***

4 MP: xxx

5 SPK: ***honourable member for Maprik, please***

6 MP: xxx

7 SPK: **bell i ringim nau yu sidaun honourable member for Maprik. Please be seated.**

'(The) **bell** is ringing, now you sit down **honourable member for Maprik. Please be seated.**'

³ See Nekitel (1998) and Paliwala (2004) for more detail on this fascinating linguistic context.

4.2 Alternation – Sociopsychological functions

By switching between languages speakers can add power to their statements through the markedness (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 1998) of such behaviour. They can utilise associations of certain languages as ‘We’ or ‘They’ codes to define their position in respect to the communicative event. Indexing the diglossic domains of language reference is one especially good technique. We can see this behind the switch in (4): the Speaker of the House customarily restricts himself to the language of external authority, the ‘They’ code English, despite the constitutional validity of using TP, or the third official language Hiri Motu, in the House of Parliament. In this case, however, his switch to TP, the ‘We’ code of the majority of members of the National community, is a concession to the Member for Maprik who is persistently using TP.

The association of specific languages with certain social or psychological values can be used metaphorically to suggest agreement with certain statements, or to distance the speaker from them. (4) is an example of the precursor to such familiarisation of statements: it is the markedness of the Speaker’s switch from his customary English that conveys the tone of command here. Switches to English in TP speech can involve the objectification of specific statements, though no example of this is presented here.

4.3 Alternation – Linguistic functions

Linguistically, the association of different languages with different ‘voices’ as in the case of quotation (d) and commands (e) through social and psychological associations of the languages involved can be used in expressing topic/comment relations. In (5), drawn from a political speech, a topic introduced in English is modified by a comment made in TP.

(5) [TiT#35b_203 L28]

Ah, **it doesn’t matter what we have here business or whatever, but law and order** em i **priority**
 ‘Ah, **it doesn’t matter what we have here business or whatever, but law and order** it (is the) **priority**’

In (6) we see something similar in the discussion of tradition etiquette regarding tribal dress continued from (2).

(6) [TiT#24b_15]

... **an den yuno** bai gat **komplein** a?
 ‘**and then, you know,** they.have (a) **complaint,** eh?’

Here the topic of the adoption of another clan's style of dress has been introduced in English, but the qualifying comment is made in TP. However, the TP clause also features an English noun. In the verb phrase that follows the English narrative sequencing conjunction and fillers the structural components the future tense marker *bai* and the possessive verb *gat* and the question tag *a* are all standard creole TP. The word *complain* seems to be an English intrusion, with the verb form used here as a noun, following strategies of multifunctionality common in TP (Mühlhäusler 1985c: 434–437) while reflecting a simple phonological reduction in the final consonant cluster common in TP features and also a characteristic of Papua New Guinean and other World Englishes (Smith 1978). The increasing use of English vocabulary in TP has been identified as a potentially damaging feature of expansion (Mühlhäusler 1985b). The specific construction *bai gat complain* as an example of 'anglicised' TP will be further discussed below (7) in terms of the significant role of Insertional CS in TP.

4.4 Alternation – Creole/Superstrate bilingualism

Bilingualism between the pidgin/creole TP and the superstrate English commonly arises in a context of contrast between English as the language of education and TP as the language of community interaction in the schoolyard. These early associations of authority and community engender indexical values for the languages. Such associations are further encouraged through the experiences of diglossia in the broader community. Situational switching may be in response to a monolingual addressee, but metaphorical switching is usually only a feature of exchanges between bilinguals. Examples of alternation between languages for specific purposes, as presented at (1) (2) and (3) above, create a behavioural mode through which bilinguals can negotiate their identity in particular situations (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). An ideal example of this is (4), where the switch from his customary English to TP made by the Speaker of the House relies on a combination of marked language choice to emphasise his command and qualify his statements and the associations of 'we' and 'they' codes to emphasise his identity as a Papua New Guinean in an appeal to the MP who is ignoring his commands.

However, alternation, full switching between languages, is not particularly suggestive as a mechanism for language change, though it has been shown to be associated with the early stages of the development of new language varieties (McConvell & Meakins 2005) (see also Meakins & O'Shanessy, this volume). Such behaviour requires bilingual expertise, and the switching between separate systems is not linguistic mixing. Writing before Muysken developed

his typology, Mühlhäusler was clearly relying on alternations as the type of ‘code-switching’ that most clearly illustrated the continuing separation between TP and English.

Yet bilinguals are still the gatekeepers to change: alternation is a significant practical precursor to language change since monolinguals who hear such switches between English and TP gain experience of both systems in use. TP speakers who overhear switches to English are introduced to comparable English structures most explicitly through repetition, as at (2), but also to uniquely English parts of speech such as determiners, discourse patterning structures, and conjunction forms through any alternation. Alternation is highly salient for bilinguals and monolinguals, and is described in PNG as *miks* ‘mix’ of TP and English. In its association with rhetorical techniques observed in indigenous languages (Salisbury 1962; Sankoff 1980c, 1980a), however, it is seen to be an extension of multilingual behaviour, rather than a change to Tok Pisin itself.

5 Mixing through insertion

The integration of English words into the grammatical framework of TP is an accepted strategy of expansion of the referential capacity of the developing pidgin, and has been consistently described in terms of the ‘Anglicisation’ of the language, though not necessarily as evidence of decreolization (Mühlhäusler 1985b, 1985e, 1985d). Hall (1955) associated anglicised varieties primarily with non-National speakers. Mühlhäusler (1975, 1985e), in contrast, described some varieties of TP as spoken by Papua New Guineans as distinctively “urban pidgin”, characterised by an increasing proportion of English vocabulary (Mühlhäusler 1979a). Laycock (1985) identified certain phonemes as characteristics of National speakers with “anglicised” TP dialects, and Romaine (1992) and G. Smith (2002) observed that the extension of the set of phonemes used in TP may be lexically driven.

Backus’ endorsement (this volume) of a unified approach encourages us to apply CS theory to creole development and understand the use of English words in TP through Myers-Scotton and associates’ (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1995, 1997a; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002; Myers-Scotton & Jake 2009) appreciation of the different roles different types of morphemes play in mixed language: the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) and 4M morpheme classification models of insertional CS; the second type of CS discussed by Muysken. In TP such behaviour is particularly associated with borrowing and the

expansion of the TP lexicon: with the lexical changes identified by Mühlhäusler as establishing the ‘urban’ sociolect.

In (6) above we can see a word pronounced [kom plɔm], not traditional TP and apparently an English morpheme, the form is of the verb for “to complain”, used as a noun in the switched section of TP (repeated here as (7)).

- (7) *bai gat komplein a?*
 FUT have complaint Q
 ‘(they) will have a **complaint**, eh?’

Here, the system morphemes, in Myers-Scotton’s terminology, which structure the clause are clearly TP: the future/irrealis marker *bai* and the question tag *a* are TP, as is the possessive verb *gat*. The English word is introduced here in a manner which entirely fits with the expectations of TP grammar: the polysemous deployment of a verb as a noun is a common strategy related to pidgin speakers’ effective use of a limited lexicon, and T/D deletion is a common phonological adaptation of English vocabulary resulting in a loss of past tense forms and, as here, English-pattern noun-verb distinctions (Hall 1943, 1955; Smith 1978; Mühlhäusler 1985b; Smith 1986, 1988a). So *komplein* in (6) and (7) is doubly-motivated as an English content morpheme well integrated into a grammatical ‘frame’ set by TP.

In terms of the development of a pidgin, as discussed by Mühlhäusler (1985b), once the grammatical structure of the language has stabilised speakers can add vocabulary items through further borrowing from any other languages they choose. This process of expansion of the vocabulary is generally distinct from the expansion or refinement of the syntactic, morphological, or phonological structures of the language. However, an increase in borrowing from English has always been associated with the ‘Anglicisation’ of TP, not only when culturally-specific words such as *parliament* are borrowed, but more troublingly when core vocabulary is replaced by new English loans, such as the replacement of TP *diwai* by English *tree* (Romaine 1992; Smith 2002). Insertion as Myers-Scotton discusses it can be seen to describe some typical examples of such ‘anglicised’ TP.

5.1 Insertion – Single words

In (8) we present a long stretch of typical ‘anglicised’ TP, drawn here from a politician speaking in the House of Parliament. This example features a range of characteristic types of English insertions which make up such TP varieties.

(8) [TiT#35b203_L57 @53.681s]

ah **mista acting spika**, lo harim blo mi **in the last kapol of**, ah, **mans**, i go i gat planti kainkain toktok insaid long ol **ami** yet lo **polis** yet lo, **an** ol i gat **polotiks** blong ol yet ... we i **kosim** planti ah, ah **konsuhn** long **gavman** dede, **whetha sekuriti** bilo yumi i stap orait o i no stap orait.

‘ah **mister acting speaker**, in my hearing **in the last couple of**, ah, **months**, past there was much talk within the **soldiers** and the **police officers** on, and they have their own **politics** ... which **cause** much, ah, ah **concern** for **government** today, **whether** our **security** is being well maintained or is not being well maintained.’

Following Myers-Scotton (1993a) and Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) we can subdivide the single English words appearing in (8) into three sets. ‘Cultural’ nouns are borrowed for non-indigenous objects or concepts. In this political context *government*, *politics*, and *security* are all words borrowed from English inserted here to cover specific political terms. ‘Core’ nouns replace words that are already established in TP. Here *concern* from English has a pre-existing TP equivalent: *wari*. Such replacement of traditional lexicon is the most decried feature of borrowing from English. While people generally accept cultural borrowing as valuable expansion of a language, core borrowing is generally seen as degradation. This view is commonplace in PNG, where both processes are ongoing. The third category of single-word insertion covers here the English verb *cause* which appears here with the TP transitive suffix *-im*. Transitive marking is a feature of TP grammar that distinguishes it from English. The use of TP morphology on borrowed English verbs creates minimal “mixed constituents” (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1997a), and essentially integrates the English insertions with the TP matrix grammar.

5.2 Mixed constituents and double marking

This argument for the validity of the Matrix Language Frame interpretation for much ‘anglicised’ TP is supported by examples of double marking of plurality and continuous aspect.

5.2.1 Double marking plurals

In (9) a mixed NP constituent is formed on the cultural loan noun *director* through double plural marking:

- (9) [TiT#35b202_L179 @183s]
 ol **direktes** i **desaid** lo disela **kampani**
 PL director-PL PM decide PREP DET company
 '(The) **directors decide** for this **company**
- (9) a. ol **director-s**
 PL director-PL

Plurality is marked through both the TP pre-nominal particle *ol* and the English bound suffix *-s*, as in (9a).

5.2.2 Double marking aspect

In (10) a mixed VP constituent is formed on the cultural loan verb *put* through double marking of continuous aspect:

- (10) [TiT#35b202_L316 #321s]
 mipela sindaun na wok go long **putting** disela wan
 1PL.EXCL sit.down CONJ work go PREP put-CONT DET one
million ...
 million
 'we(excl.) sit and try **putting** this one **million ...**'

Aspect is expressed by the TP adverbial phrase *wok go long* and by the English bound verbal suffix *-ing*, as in (10a):

- (10) a. wok go long **putting**
 Adv.CONT put-CONT

Double marking phenomena such as these support an interpretation of language mixing as insertion under terms of a Matrix Language Frame. The TP grammatical frame also conveys the meanings of bound English morphemes *-s* and *-ing*. As a consequence, TP monolinguals are exposed to English morphology. However, double marking precludes any requirement for the analysis of the internal structure of English morpho-syntactic structures, so English loans can become established in TP in plural form, as observed by Romaine (1992).

Similarly it is possible that the English morphology found by Verhaar in written TP (Verhaar 1995) does not expand the grammar of the creole, but remains unanalysed and unproductive for monolingual speakers who rely on existing TP structures to nuance their meaning. Only bilinguals are potentially aware that double marking takes place.

Muysken's second type of structural CS is most clearly associated with the sociolinguistic characterisation of 'urban' Tok Pisin.

5.3 Insertion – Larger constituents

In addition to the insertion of single words, we frequently find TP speakers using whole sections of English. These can be considered as whole constituent "islands" (Myers-Scotton 1993a), or as fragments, or, similarly to cultural loans, as idioms. In (11) the noun phrases *law and order* problem and *very hard economi(c) crisis* are well-formed English islands within the TP sentence.

- (11) [TiT#35b203_L92 @95.561s]
 aaah, yumi gat **lo an oda problem** lo **kantri** na, **kantri facim veri ah,**
had ekonomi krisis we i no ga moni lo lukautim ami na polis lo disela
 taim
 'aah, we have (a) **law and order problem** in (the) **country** and, (the)
country faces very ah, hard economic crises where there is no money
 for maintaining (the) army and (the) police at this time'

A larger and more complex constituent in (12) is similarly a complete and well-formed island of English speech embedded in the TP sentence.

- (12) [TiT#35b203_L57 @53.681s]
 lo harim blo mi **in the last kapol ov, ah,**
 PREP hear-TR PREP.POSS 1SG PREP DET last couple PREP ah
mans, i go
 month-PL PM go
 'in my hearing, **in the last couple of, ah, months,** past'

The entire prepositional phrase *in the last couple of months* appears here in English. The fact that it is followed by the TP adverbial phrase *i go*, indicating anteriority, clearly distinguishes it from alternation. This effectively duplicates the meaning of the English *last* and allows the whole utterance that includes the inserted "island" to be well formed according to the TP grammatical frame.

What (12) represents is the use of an English PP constituent as an insertion, with the speaker still asserting the TP framework around it.

In some cases the use of English phrases is not entirely fluid. The flagging of insertions through hesitation enables us to distinguish the NP *very hard economic crisis* in (11) as an uncommon phrase. Similarly, the hesitation in (12) emphasises the tension experienced by the speaker in reconciling the English PP insertion

with anteriority expressed before the Noun by *last* with the expectations of the TP fame for a post-verbal anteriority marker through the adverbial phrase *i go*.

Bilingual speech can be full of such tensions. While alternation is essentially bilingual communication, and relies on bilingual understanding on the part of hearers to follow the sense of switched utterances, cases of insertion such as these are essentially monolingual in the sense that the grammatical structure is organised by a single language. One consequence is that the use of complex English constituents as islands in TP sentences is often flagged by hesitations, and is characterised by the double marking of grammatical relations adequately conveyed within the English segments. Another is that frequently used “islands” can be lexicalised by monolinguals. So the phrases *law and order problem* and *in the last couple of months*, which frequently feature in urban TP, may be used as idioms: superstrate constituents with accepted meanings as a whole whose internal structure is unanalysed by monolinguals.

As with alternation, even though the internal structure of English ‘Islands’ may be opaque to monolinguals, their exposure to English grammar may have an influence on developing TP norms. The mixing of English with TP through insertion can be responsible for the appearance of some English morphemes in various corpora, such as those of Romaine (1992) Verhaar (1995) and G. Smith (2002). However, the availability of insertions to monolinguals as lexicalised or idiomatic phrases does not necessarily indicate that they are restructuring those individuals’ understanding of how TP works.

6 Overlapping forms, congruence, and interference

Muysken’s (2000) third type of code-mixing (see also Stell, and Chen this volume) is a more intimate blending of languages than the juxtapositions of alternation switches or the embedded mixtures of insertion. It is most frequent in the data drawn from the intimate conversations of TP/English bilinguals, and in some cases of fluid speech in the House of Parliament. While alternation is found throughout multilingual contexts in PNG (Salisbury 1962; Sankoff 1980a, 1980b; Kulick & Stroud 1990; Kulick 1992), and insertion is a commonplace strategy for introducing vocabulary items and phrases from one language into another in indigenous languages and in the expanded vocabulary of first-language TP (Smith 1994, 1998, 2002) as well as in government publications, Wantok newspaper, and adverts (Walczyński 2012), published examples of congruent lexicalisation are rare, and are most commonly presented as the kind of problem cases that suggest TP is decreolising (see Blaxter Paliwala (2012: 3.4) for an analysis of examples from Siegel (1997), Mühlhäusler (1985b: 147–148)

and Romaine (1992: 322) and a comparison of ‘anglicised’ TP, featuring English-form conjunctions and discourse markers, with Auer’s concept of ‘fused lects’ (Auer 1999)). The evidence of spoken language, however, shows that the presence of intermediate constructions is dynamic, expressive, and does not indicate the presence of a stable or stabilising “intermediate varieties”: CS itself generates the fuzziness between languages, and accentuates the intermediate identity of speakers.

For some speakers, close mixing causes conflict and interference between the two systems. The kind of hesitation we saw at (11) and (12), resulting from conflicts between the two systems in use, is also in evidence at (13). However, this speaker modifies their English to reconcile the two languages involved, adapting the linguistic form to meet their desire to express a multilingual identity.

6.1 Interference

- (13) [TiT#24b15_L438 @407.138s]
 na **dat dressing, dat dressing** mipela gat ah ... we
 CONJ DET dress-CONT DET dress-CONT 1PL.EXCL have ah 1PL
got trees we mipela **livin**
 have trees LOC 1PL.EXCL live-CONT
 ‘and **that dressing, that dressing** we have ah ... **we** (have) **got trees**
 where we (are) **living**’

The ‘frame’ here seems to be TP, as suggested by the conjunction *na* and the preference for the TP pronoun *mipela*. The NP *that dressing*, with local pronunciation, would seem to be an English island insertion, which is repeated before a return to TP as a possessive VP introduces a qualifying comment on the origins of the traditional dress. What is especially interesting is the apparent effect the mixing has on the speaker’s use of English when they alternate to English to repeat the start of VP after the hesitation (13a).

- (13) a. mipela gat ah ... we **Ø** **got trees**
 1PL.EXCL have ah 1PL Ø have tree-PL
 ‘we have, ah, **we got trees**’

In rephrasing their words in English this speaker does not effect a complete switch to standard English structure. Rather, absence of expected standard English verb *have* in the possessive VP suggests that *we got trees* is a relexification of the TP *mipela gat (diwai)* with English words. Traditionally, TP has no copula. The influence of this prior language on PNG English, as here, may be

one reason for the absence of copula and other creole-like structures (Smith 1978, 1986, 1988a, 1988b) in this local variety of English more generally.

6.2 Congruence

In addition to such effects of interference between the two systems, we also find evidence for interchangability in congruent categories.

Considering (8) above we can observe the English conjunction *and* as a phonologically integrated local pronunciation [an] in the place of its TP equivalent *na*. Both conjunctions have equivalent functions, and some speakers apparently use them interchangeably.

In particular, the use of English system morphemes in TP sentences suggests a high level of congruence between the two languages for some speakers. In (14) English *when* clearly structures the temporal reference meaning of the TP.

- (14) [TiT#08-506_L158]
wen tupla go ren
 TIME two.ADJ go around
 ‘**when** those two go about’

The use of features of the English grammar system such as *when*, *whether*, and *and* in TP explicitly refutes Myers-Scotton’s (1993a, 1995) Matrix Language Frame hypothesis in these cases. However, they are commonplace in some varieties. We may accept that regional variation in the underlying grammatical categories of TP allows for such fundamental borrowings to occur without really effecting the distinctiveness of the language. However, a more conservative view of TP as essentially defined by the ‘pure’ rural pidgin variety would compel us to accept that such additions to the TP language system are evidence of an emerging congruent grammar which is lexicalised by both languages.

6.2.1 Congruent constructions – Transitive verbs I

Initially (15) may appear typical of mixing through insertion.

- (15) [TiT#35b202_L187 @192.033]
 tokim **bank** bilo yumi ... **prai ministra** i mas **giv u oda** ... long mekim
 olgeta wok
 ‘tell our **bank** ... (the) **prime minister** must **give you** (the) **order** ... to
 make all (the) work’

The grammatical frame is recognisable as TP with the *-im* morpheme suffixing the verbs *tok* ‘talk’ and *mek* ‘make’ and prepositions *bilo(ng)* and *long*. English nouns appear as insertions: *bank* and *prime minister*. However there is an unusual VP, repeated as (15a).

- (15) a. *i mas giv u oda*
 PM MOD give 2SG orde
 ‘(x) must **give you** (the) **order**’

While the uniquely TP predicate marker *i* is present, the modal *mas* is equivalent to English *must*, which is pronounced in PNG English identically as [mas]. If we assume the core of the VP to be an insertion then presumably *givu order* is a contracted form of an English ditransitive with a deleted article (15b).

- (15) b. **give you** Ø **order**
 give 2sg Ø order

However, an alternative (15c) is to consider the underlying structure to be TP: a remodelled transitive verb using a specific English pronoun:

- (15) c. **giv-(yo)u order**
 give-TR order

This relexification analysis depends on three levels of understanding on the part of the speaker. Firstly, an understanding of the role of the transitive suffix in TP allowing for object deletion (Woolford 1979). Secondly, an appreciation of the similarity between the TP transitive suffix *-im* and the English 3rd person masculine pronoun *him*. Thirdly, an understanding of the structure English pronoun system, and the appropriateness of the selection of the 2nd person pronoun *you* in this context. Under this analysis (15) represents an expressive example of the congruent lexicalisation of a TP sentence using the full grammatical resources of both TP and English: an expressive choice by the speaker that indexes both the authority of English and the familiarity of TP in a single expression.

6.2.2 Congruent constructions – Transitive verbs II

In (16) we present an example of the same process at work, but this time in what is on the surface an English sentence, albeit with a strong local accent such as the pronunciation of [ð] as [d] throughout, from a description of an initiation circumcision rite. The question here is about the referent of the final pronoun *him*, labelled (P5):

(16) [TiT#24b15_L240 @231.165s]

dey_(P1) **get penicilin an den now des a dokta goin in dey**_(P2) **know him**_(P3). Bang bang **den** nau **de**_(P4) **y giv im**_(P5) **diomoksilin**
 ‘**they**_(P1) **get peniciin and then now there’s a doctor going in they**_(P2)
know him_(P3). Bang bang **then**, now **they**_(P4) **give him**_(P5) **diomoxilin**

Throughout this discourse all reference to the initiate, who is the natural candidate for the referent of (P5), has previously used the 2nd person generic *you* pronoun. Pronoun (P5) is clearly neither the doctor who is administering the medicine, referred to previously by (P3) *him* and (P4) *they*, nor the elders who are the referents of the initial uses, (P1) and (P2), of *they*. Knowledge of the conventions of this discourse coupled with the similarity between English *give him* and TP *givim* in rapid speech suggests that (16) may include a TP verb form inserted into the superstrate, where the possibility for object deletion in TP grammar (Woolford 1979a) allows for the elision of a potentially taboo reference to the initiate.

Again, such a congruent construction is suggestive of a more profound level of mixing than alternation or insertion. Present in fluid speech by an eloquent bilingual explaining to a multilingual audience about the transitional modernisation of traditional rituals, the linguistic blend serves to reinforce the pan-cultural nature of both the speaker and the topic.

6.2.3 Congruent constructions – Plurals

In another example of PNG English (17) we find that questions about unusual reference relations lead us to consider a role for TP grammar in structuring utterances otherwise in English.

(17) [TiT#24b15_L737 @686/544s]

wen you go de you’ll len ol aats a? **aat ov** ah
 TIME 2sg go LOC 2sg.MOD learn all/PL art-PL Q art PREP ah
huntin. aat ov uuh kavin
 hunt-CONT. art PREP uuh carve-CONT
 ‘**when you go there you will learn all** (the) **arts**, eh? **art of** ah **hunting**.
Art of uh carving’

Here, *all arts* clearly refers to two arts: *hunting* and *carving*. The pronunciation the quantifier is [ol], so that its phonological form resembles that of the TP plural marker *ol*. If we consider this NP an equivalent for TP specific PL+ *art*, then *ol arts* falls out as a case of double plural marking. The TP plural marker

'leaks' through into this speaker's English. The differences in the placement of pluralising morphemes in the two languages, before vs after the noun, is reconciled through double marking in this English sentence just as it is in (9) above in a TP sentence.

6.2.4 Congruent constructions – Predicate marking

Our fourth example here (18) similarly shows the use of an English morpheme with phonological similarities to a TP grammatical particle in a role resembling that of its TP counterpart.

- (18) [TiT#08-507_L195 @174.178s]
and then it wasn't long after that, that incident he
 DET incident PM/3SG.MASC

happen

happen- Ø

'and then it was not long after that, that (this) incident happened'

Our previous examples in this section presented unusual, but still recognisably English, constructions. Questions of semantics lead us to consider the alternative explanations offered by an appreciation of a potential trend towards congruence between TP and English grammars. In (18), however, the English pronoun *he* is clearly being used to mark the predicate *happened*. This is not usual in English, but is a well-known feature of TP, where the particle *i* has been explicitly described as a predicate marker (Woolford 1979b; Mühlhäusler 1987, 1990; Verhaar 1991; Romaine 1993; Crowley 2000), or associated with an oceanic substrate-modelled subject referencing pronoun (Keesing 1988).

Taken all together these examples of transitive verb/object marking, plural marking, and predicate marking suggest that there is a clear preference by some speakers for English which exhibits signs of an overlapping with the grammar of TP. Such general congruence may work the other way also, as in (19) where we see the rigorous realisation of an English component, the article required on nouns, in a TP sentence.

- (19) [TiT#08-506_L57 @32.189s]
so mi mi go ran, kism **da pot** anda, mi finish **da**
 DISC 1SG 1SG go run.PAST take-TR DET pot on.top, 1SG finish DET
man ia, mi go **back home**.
 man REL 1SG go back home
 'so I I ran, got **the pot** up there, I finished **the man** here, I went **back home**'

This is also in evidence above, in example (13). The use of articles on English nouns in TP could be simply indicative of constituent NP insertion. However, evidence of speakers using the article with high levels of consistency in TP suggests that it is becoming a salient part of that language. Any evidence of the article being used in environments where there is no alternative explanation in terms of insertion would be even more conclusive in terms of the development of intermediate grammars.

All of the constructions we have considered in this final section would be uncontroversially characterised as ‘anglicised’ or ‘urban’ TP, and could be individually considered as examples of the development of a TP/English sociolinguistic continuum. However, each example of mixed speech was produced by an individual with strong bilingual ability in both TP and English. These utterances have strong rhetorical effects, and powerfully index the sophisticated modern identity of urban Papua New Guinean ‘nationals’.

Structurally, these examples all argue for the presence of congruent lexicalisation phenomena arising from the development, for some speakers at least, of a shared or overlapping TP/English grammar. The rhetorical force of complex and intimate bilingual behaviour is coupled by these speakers with the social expressions of identity: their linguistic competence expressing their social circumstances.

7 Conclusions

Considering ‘Anglicisation’ in TP as CS allows for a much greater understanding of the variation in this well-established, expanded, and creolised pidgin language. Mixing TP and English is more than just an expansion of the vocabulary of TP or a ‘targeting’ of English for speakers, it is not a side-effect of education or of aspiration for some speakers: it is an expressive choice. More broadly in PNG it has a presence as a register, as a political and social statement, and as a social marker of mobility.

By understanding the language of Papua New Guineans as involving a range of structural strategies we can review evidence of ‘decreolisation’ in TP as an expression of a dynamic range of processes, structural and social, not necessarily leading to language change or social change but rather increased expressive variation in the new expanding and developing national community of 21st Century PNG. Different structural types of CS reveal different aspects of this sociolinguistic dynamic.

Alternation, true switching between TP and English has marked functions, and where speakers engage in this it is clear that they maintain a sense of

separation between the systems. Indeed, the pragmatic and metaphorical expressiveness of alternations arises from different associations and expectations of the languages involved. In ‘urban’ TP we have examples of English parts of speech of various levels of complexity being thoroughly integrated into TP grammatical structures. The relationship between a TP “matrix” and “embedded” English constituents in insertion allows for the presence of some English grammar. Significantly, this type of CS can be identified in the data supporting many of the reported cases of English words and bound grammatical morphemes in TP corpora elsewhere discussed as evidence of decreolisation.

It is evidence of congruent lexicalisation, however, which has the most profound consequences for our notions of the processes of decreolisation. It suggests the spontaneous generation of grammatical structures intermediate between TP and English, a consequence of interference and congruence being resolved by bilinguals engaged in fluid mixing. Whether such structures may become normative and lead to the stabilisation of ‘mesolectal’ varieties between the creole and its superstrate is a question that can only be answered through further longitudinal study. Present evidence suggests that this process may be advancing from the top down: that the ‘superstrate’ PNG English is approximating TP grammatically. One consequence of this finding is that intermediate varieties between a creole and its superstrate may not be a result of decreolisation, but rather of re-creolisation of the lexifier as it is spoken by TP-English bilinguals.

Further research into the patterns of CS types evident in different communities (as by Chen, this volume, for Hong Kong) may uncover patterned distinctions. However, contra the predictions of Bickerton it is not clear that the targeting of English is the primary motivator of change in TP, and bi-directional CS is certainly present in PNG.

Examining the mixed language of Papua New Guinean people encourages us to re-evaluate our understanding of processes of language change previously described as decreolization in terms of sociolinguistic variation and change. Identifying bilingual behaviour in apparent intermediate varieties reveals different structural types of code-switching at the heart of the sociolinguistic processes of decreolization: Bickerton’s “linguistically possible varieties intermediate between TP and English” emerge as bilingual acts.

The presence of both the diversity of CS types and increasing fuzziness as a sociolinguistic technique in other creoles (see Yakpo, and Migge this volume) indicates the importance of revisiting ‘decreolisation’ from this perspective.

Appreciating the role of the common types of language mixing behaviours in the historical processes of pidgin/creole formation and development is valuable. It provides for new understandings of ‘unstable’ variation and of change

in creoles. It highlights a field where the lumping (see Backus, this volume) of disciplinary approaches is unusually fruitful. It illuminates bilingual production as playing a significant role in patterning behaviour whose consequence is the appearance of ‘decreolisation’ and, potentially, a creole-superstrate continuum.

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Part 3: **Code-switching and social structure**

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Multilingual speakers in a West-African contact zone: An integrated approach to contact-induced language change

Abstract: The Souroudougou is a rural West-African contact zone where multilingual speakers of different linguistic backgrounds have lived in close contact for centuries. The area is thus well suited for an in-depth study of contact-induced language change that takes linguistic, historical and social factors into account. Taking as a starting point a village-based Pana (Northern Gurunsi) speaking community, the paper intends to exemplify the possibilities of an integrated approach to language change under non-western conditions. After a brief outline of the social and linguistic history of the region, the methodological framework of the social network approach is explained. This framework is then used to explain conservative and innovative language use taking a phonetic variable (labialization) and code-switching as examples. For these examples two factors for language change clearly emerge: socially conditioned language use and general prestige of the contact languages.

1 Introduction

It is by now widely accepted that language contact is actually contact of speakers and thus part of speakers' social reality. Adding to this a variationist's perspective that understands a given speaker's personal relations as embedded in the political and historical reality of her or his speech group establishes one side of the language-contact equation. Linguistic features that depend on a wide array of motivations, ranging from diachronic developments of language structures, via area-typological constraints, through the linguistic flagging of membership in a given community of practice, to most individual idiolect ways of speaking constitute the other side of this equation. One apparent problem lies in the multitude of factors and layers that influence the outcome of the language-contact process to varying degrees. Thus, the challenge is to describe and analyze a contact scenario taking all those different layers and aspects into account and still come up with a comprehensive analysis of the given situation's contact linguistic outcome. While it is clear that such a program requires more space than an article in a book the intention of the present contribution is to outline this kind of integrative approach and to demonstrate its possibilities and problems.

To this end, the paper is organized as follows: In the section below I describe the linguistic and socio-historical background of the contact area under scrutiny. Emphasis is laid on those factors that relate specifically to the language-contact phenomena serving as examples in this paper. Subsequently, a short but – as I believe – indispensable section on methodological issues puts into perspective the quality and quantity of the empirical linguistic and sociological data that build the basis of the research.

In the fourth section I will take a closer look at the relation between social parameters and linguistic features. Firstly, I present a quantitative analysis of a phonetic variable indicative for a currently ongoing language change. Secondly, I take a qualitative look at four speakers that are all part of one village-based speech community but who differ significantly in terms of their social integration and exhibit varying degrees of contact features on the lexical level.

In the concluding section, the interesting question now is how these speakers' linguistic variation can be explained. It is, as I try to demonstrate, a mixture of structural and sociological factors that, in the end, combine in ever varying shades to produce contact-induced language change. Given the complexity of the contact issue as understood here, it needs to be clarified again that the present paper intends to outline a holistic approach as an example and to advocate this approach as a challenge for further research on language-contact. It does not, however, offer a shortcut to the understanding and/or comprehensive analyses of any given contact situation.

2 The contact zone (see also map, appendix)

The contact area is located in central West Africa situated mostly on the eastern bank of the upper *Sourou*, a tributary river to the *Mouhoun* (Black Volta). It is nowadays located on both sides of the border between Burkina Faso and Mali and covers approximately fifty square miles. The region is known as *Sourou-dougou* (Sourou-Land) and has been an ethnic melting pot for centuries. Following a short account of the main language ingredients a brief overview of the socio-historical developments makes clear why this zone is so well suited for language-contact studies.

2.1 Languages of the contact zone

The indigenous languages of the contact zone are traditionally integrated into Africa's biggest language phylum, the Niger-Congo (NC) family¹. The two major linguistic groups in the area (Mande and Gur) are at best very distantly (if at all) related. On the other hand, all languages of the contact zone can be considered part of a typological area defined by phonological, morphological and syntactic features to varying degrees. The individual languages of the region ordered according to their importance for the present purpose are:

Pana: Pana is a very small minority language that is spoken in the centre of the contact zone. It is part of a well proven genealogical unit, the Northern Gurunsi languages, itself part of the Gur family (Manessy 1969, 1975, 1979). Pana is currently spoken by approximately 5000 speakers as first language and it is counted among the highly endangered languages (Beyer 2001). Due to its geographic centre position in the contact zone it is the natural departure point for research on contact-induced language change in this region.

Jula (and *Marka*): Both are West-Mande languages of the Manding group. Whereas Marka is a vernacular language mostly spoken in the southern and eastern parts of the contact area, Jula is the main Lingua Franca (LF) of the region. As both languages are very closely related, non-native speakers (e.g. those who use it as LF) hardly make a difference between both varieties. Jula is the general language of economic activities in the region and also the language of the Muslim faith (besides Arabic). Some formerly Pana speaking villages of the region (consciously) decided some thirty years ago to switch to Jula as their first language (Beyer 2006a: 3, 4). In terms of contexts of usability Jula can be considered the most valuable means of communication in the Souroudougou.

French: As the official language of both Mali and Burkina Faso, French also plays a role on the linguistic market of the region. As a colonial language it has been around for at least a century and as a prestige language for vertical social movement it plays an important role even in a remote area like the Souroudougou.

Northern Samo: Northern Samo is the biggest individual vernacular language spoken in the region and it is classified as part of the East-Mande family. Northern Samo is considered a dialectal continuum that spreads from east of the contact zone wide into the north-western parts of Burkina Faso. The dialects are quite diverse in various aspects and cannot be considered as homo-

¹ Whether Niger-Congo can really be considered a proven linguistic family is a matter of debate (Dixon 1997; Güldemann 2008).

geneous as its closest relative, Southern Samo (Ebermann 2009; Platiel 1990; Schreiber 2008).

Even though Jula and Marka on the one side and Northern Samo on the other are both parts of the Mande language family they still display enough typological distance to be separated from each other quite easily. This typological distance is also reflected by the fact that the connection between East- and West-Mande is still not demonstrated through a regular Proto-Mande reconstruction. However, the inner cohesion of the two parts West-Mande (Kastenholz 1996) and East-Mande (Schreiber 2008) can be considered settled.

Fulfulde: Some semi-nomadic Fulbe – like in most places in Sahelian West Africa – are also present in the area. Currently, their linguistic and cultural input seems to be quite small.

Tene Kan and *Tomo Kan*: They group together with another fifteen varieties under the header *Dogon* languages. The inner structure of the group and its exact relations to NC are still being discussed (Heath 2010). Dogon speaking people occupy the northern fringe of the contact area but nowadays they don't seem to play an important role in the contact scenario, neither politically nor economically.

The typological fingerprints of the languages are quite diverse on the one hand but also show a non-negligible amount of areal characteristics on the other. Differences mostly relate to morpho-syntactic features. For instance, whereas both Mande languages of the region display a highly marked rigid S-AUX-O-V word order this feature is absent in Dogon and only partly developed in Pana. While Pana is (still) a noun class language, like all Gur languages, no traces of noun classes can be found in Dogon and Mande.

As the contact-zone is situated on the northern fringe of a vast typological convergence area called Macro-Sudan belt by Güldemann (2008), the languages also display some of its area defining features. For instance, Marka and Northern Samo display labio-velar consonants, one of the phonological markers for the Macro-Sudan (Güldemann 2008: 156–158). In Pana, this feature is highly variable whereas it is practically unknown in Dogon and Jula. Furthermore, all the languages of the region, again except Dogon, display a double negation that comes in different shades but which is also an area defining feature (Beyer 2009). Furthermore, different layers in the lexicons of the Souroudougou languages show evidence for more or less intimate exchange of goods and techniques (Beyer 2006b).

2.2 Socio-historic profile

The Souroudougou contact zone is characterized by two main historical developments that are closely related. First of all, the area has never been under the

domination of the major political players in the greater region. Starting from the high times of the Mali Empire (13th century) through the era of the Songhay- and Moose-Kingdoms (15th century) until the more recent Bambara State of Segou (17th century) and the Fulani Empire of Massina (early 19th century) the area has never been integrated into the controlled territory of either of the powers. Although it has always been within easy reach, the Souroudougou established itself as retreat area in between the major forces of the region. The flip side of this achievement was the fact that the area became something like a “slave reservoir” for the so-called “predatory states” (Hubbell 2001: 27, 47). Apparently, slaves from Souroudougou were much sought after in the slave markets of the western Sudan long before the nineteenth century (Hubbell 2001: 41).

The second important development in the contact zone can be seen as a direct response to the ongoing slave raids throughout the centuries: the villages in the region formed defence alliances that often cut through ethnic and linguistic boundaries. For instance the *Dyindu* league regrouped three Pana-speaking villages with Marka and Samo villages in the southern parts of the contact zone (Izard-Héritier & Izard 1958: 6, 7). The alliances also fostered clan and family relations across linguistic boundaries as the circulation of marriageable women was also organized along these lines (Hubbell 2001: 37).

All five local ethno-linguistic groups of today have been represented in the area for at least three centuries. The early beginnings are unclear and it is not well established whether Pana-speakers arrived before or after the Northern-Samo groups. A generally accepted outline of the population history of Souroudougou reads as follows: Dogon-speaking groups have probably been around since ancient times. From the 16th century onwards Samo and/or Pana speaking groups settled in the area. Marka speakers are considered late-comers as they trickled in along already established Jula trading routes from the late 17th century onwards (Echenberg 1969: 535–539). Fulani-Speakers have most likely also been crossing through the region for centuries.

3 Methods

Students of language-contact within the variationist paradigm look simultaneously at social AND linguistic variables and try to correlate them in a meaningful way. Apart from the background data on languages, regional history and social organisation, empirical data from interlocutors who are practically involved in every-day encounters with speakers of other languages are of paramount importance. But which kind of social attributes play a role and which

elicitation technique will bring out the most suitable data? I will briefly look at these questions in the following paragraphs.

3.1 Linguistic data

Most variationists will be unanimous in preferring naturalistic data as the most reliable source when speech behaviour in a contact setting is at stake. A very well known problem here is the observers paradox which is all the more difficult to circumvent when the situation involves an obviously alien white researcher with high-tech equipment who tries to get rural people in a West-African village context to forget that he is tape- or even video-recording a given encounter. In the present case this problem was tackled with different approaches. First of all, interlocutors were familiarized with the equipment (and the researcher) in going through various elicitation tasks with a growing degree of freedom for the speakers.

At first, speakers were asked to translate two stories read to them in Jula (everybody understands this Lingua Franca and it is also the Meta-language of the research) into the 'best' Pana they could. The next step was the telling of a picture story (taken from a local school book) in everybody's own words. Furthermore, the interview itself was also recorded, especially when the social questionnaire was discussed (see below). Finally, selected interlocutors were asked to carry a mini-mp3-recording device with a tiny microphone attached near their collarbone during their regular daily activities in the village. More often than not, people forgot about themselves recording their own words during much of a day's usual encounters. As the batteries lasted up to six hours this method yielded hours and hours of speech that I consider as close to natural as one can get.

3.2 Social data

In the following I concentrate on Pana speakers stemming from one single village named *Donon* (see map, appendix). As this village is inhabited by approximately 600 people I needed a transparent procedure to establish a final group of actors to partake in the research. One of the original project ideas was also to evaluate the social network approach as advocated by the Milroys (Milroy & Milroy 1985) in a non-European language contact situation. Hence I opted for an established method in social network research, the so-called snowball-method. It starts with one focal actor and then works its way into the

network of social relations. One would for instance ask the first respondent to name all those people that he or she would meet for a friendly evening chat. The persons named by the first respondent will then be asked the same question and so and so forth. This method yields an open network of people that are all interrelated via the social activity of meeting people for a friendly evening chat.

Given that I was already familiar with the people of Donon from earlier field work² I had previously established contacts in all five traditional village sections that now served as starting points for the snowball questions. I usually completed three cycles around every first actor. All respondents were asked about their social relations in four social fields (see below) that I consider highly relevant for social life in a Sahelian village like Donon. After some calibration work (discarding people not regularly living in the village or too old or too young to respond) I established a group of 94 actors (45 male and 49 female) that are part of a multilayered open social network in the village of Donon. The four fields considered highly indicative for the social life in the village are:

Community work: Women were asked whom they would choose for company when going to the bush collecting firewood. Men were asked whom they would beg for help when they plan some construction work, e.g. houses or granaries, which is usually done with clay bricks and mud and requires many helping hands. Accordingly, both activities are always undertaken in groups and people choose their company along criteria like good workmanship and personal sympathy.

Leisure time: Mostly in the dry season when field work is finished people like to visit each other and hang out together. Often they would drink tea or millet beer and have a conversation about any daily matters. The question here was simply to name those people that one would like most to meet for a friendly evening chat.

Advice: Although the main axis of social life in West-Africa is usually the extended family there are sometimes problems or questions one would rather avoid discussing with parents or other close kin. Subjects like love relations without marriage, financial problems, plans for labour migration (maybe even to Europe) are examples of topics one would rather discuss with people that are considered knowledgeable in 'the things of the world' and are thought of

² Financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG), I was regularly visiting Pana land from 1998 through to 2001 in order to write a grammar of the language (Beyer 2006a). The research on social networks and language contact from 2006 to 2008 of which the present paper is an output was also generously financed by the DFG.

as good advisers. Accordingly respondents were asked to name and rank people they would ask for advice in this kind of delicate matters described above.

Family: The central social frame in rural West-Africa is the extended family. In the prevailing patrilocal systems men usually stay with their parents, just extending the courtyard with new constructions when this is possible. Even if they leave for whatever reason, they usually stay within reach and support their elders. Women are also requested to support their people and look after them. If they stay in the same village it is common to go and greet them at least twice a day, sometimes more often. Supporting the social network of the family is thus a time consuming and demanding issue. Accordingly, respondents were asked about frequencies and duration of their visits to relatives within the village.

The answers to those questions are then transformed into square matrices readable for the UCINET-software (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman 2006) which calculates the network positions of any individual actor in the different social fields. Key parameters for the appraisal of an individual's positions within the networks are the density of the related networks (viz. the ratio between realized and possible ties of a given individual), the multiplexity of ego's relations (viz. ego's recurrent relations in different networks), and his centrality in each network (viz. the relative positions an ego occupies within the networks). The additive calculation of every individual actor's position in the four networks finally led to her or his personal ranking on what is called the 'network integration scale'. Rankings on this scale are expressed through a numerical code, the 'network score', ranging from 0 for extremely low integration to 5 expressing the highest possible integration in the social networks of Donon³.

In addition to the network related questions, attributive and biographic data on age, gender, formal education, times of labour migration, local mobility, occupation during the dry season, and extended family relations were also elicited during the questionnaire sessions. The general goal of this part of the questionnaire was the full appraisal of every single actor's social position and attributes that characterizes her or him in order to correlate these data with linguistic variables on all levels of language production.

In the following, I present correlations between actors' social characteristics and linguistic variables as an exercise in method. To that end I have cho-

³ Some more detailed explanations about the adaption of the social network approach to the Pana situation is given in Beyer (2010: 136–138). A general overview of the social network approach and its findings in linguistic studies can be found in the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* Vol. 153, 2002. For a general introduction to network approaches see Jansen (1999) and for the technical side and the statistical appraisal of the data Wassermann and Faust (1994) are excellent sources.

sen examples from the extreme points on the range of linguistic levels, namely phonetics and discourse pragmatics.

4 Linguistic variables and speakers' social positions

4.1 Phonetic variation

A well known phonetic quirk in a wide variety of West African languages is the recurrent appearance of labiovelars. Such double articulated plosives have been reconstructed for Pana's ancestor languages Proto-Gurunsi (Manessy 1969: 27, 28) and for the next higher node Proto-Central-Gur: **ɲm*, **kp*, **gb*, **w* (Manessy 1979: 30, 31).

Pana's reflexes of the reconstructed Proto-Gurunsi labiovelar plosives **kp*/**gb* are the labialised velars [kw/gw]. But there are also cases in Pana where this variation cannot be traced back to a proto-phoneme but seems to be a free variation of a simple velar plosive onset. Moreover, Pana speakers in Donon extend this variation to the context of other word-initial obstruents:

<i>kwìrì</i> ~ <i>kùrì</i>	'louse'	<i>gwá</i> ~ <i>gó</i>	'griot'
<i>pwèré</i> ~ <i>pòlé</i>	'yeast'	<i>bwèné</i> ~ <i>bòné</i>	'level'
<i>swèní</i> ~ <i>sòní</i>	'twenty'		

(Beyer 2006a: 25, 26)

The contact languages of Pana behave differently according to this variable: while Jula and adjacent Dogon varieties do not display such a labialisation feature, Pana's eastern and southern contact languages – Northern Samo and Marka-Dafing – both show labialised velars as recurrent variation in their synchronic phonological systems (Diallo 1988, Vol. I: 102–105; Schreiber 2008: 161–164, 244–246).

Generally speaking, labiovelars have a very special status in Africa. Madiesson's (1984: 215, 216) data from a world sample of more than 900 languages reveals that these sounds are virtually restricted to Africa. In Güldemann's perspective labiovelar consonants are part of a group of highly marked features that are indicative for a wider African linguistic area named Macro-Sudan-Belt (Güldemann 2008: 156–158). While in his view (2008: 157, 158, 168) the whole Gur family is part of the so-called 'hot bed' for this feature, some of the family's northern languages and dialects don't display it. Koromfe (Rennison 1986: X ff.) and Moore (Manessy 1975: 40 ff.) are cases in point and thus indicative for the unstable nature of this phonetic variation within the family.

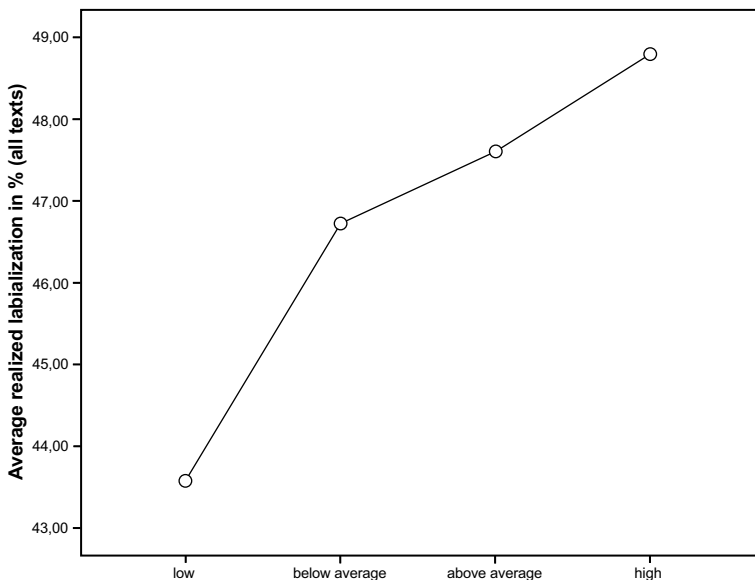


Fig. 1: Integration of actors in EGO network (without size/pairs/ties).

The current areal distribution of the feature has Pana on the north-western fringe of its West African spread zone. It is therefore not surprising that we find the labialising pronunciation oscillating through the different Pana speech communities.

The elicitation of this feature was a prominent target in the translation task where respondents were asked to translate two stories from Jula into Pana (see section 3.1). The data from the translation task comprise 86 actors as some of the original 94 respondents had difficulties to translate or could only do so when prompted by the researcher or the interpreter.

Some general findings from these data look as follows:

A student's t-test reveals with a probability of error below 5% ($p < 0.05$, $T = -1.163$, $df = 85$) a linear correlation between ego's social integration (derived from all networks) and the individual frequency of the labialized variable. In order to bring out the correlation more clearly, actors have been arranged into four groups according to their level of integration within the four networks. Figure 1 shows clearly that labialisation correlates positively with social integration: the better one is integrated the higher is his or her frequency of labialized obstruents in the translation task. The flip side of this correlation means that speakers who, according to their network positions, are less well

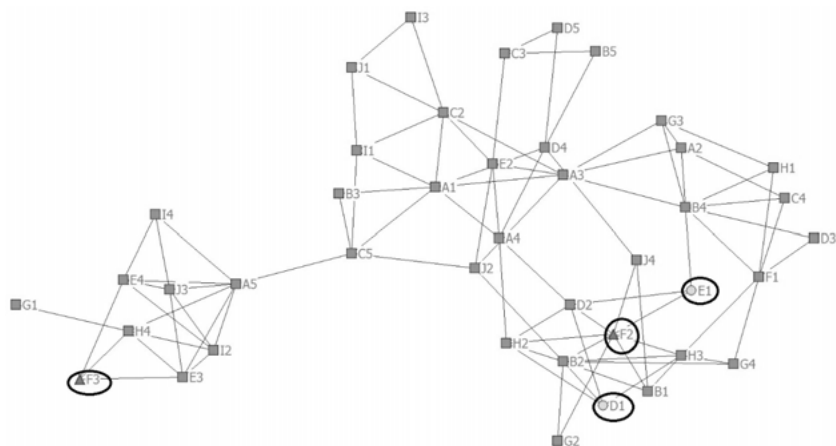


Fig. 2: Network of mutual help in construction work.

integrated and therefore less obedient to prevailing linguistic norms tend to use the non-labialized variant more often than those speakers who – as a consequence of their social integration – behave more conservatively.

This correlation has nothing to do with age or gender (or other attributes) as the following qualitative comparison of two speakers from the network of mutual help in construction works reveals (cp. figure 2). As this network is based on a typical male occupation, only men figure in the derived graph. I have also cut out all isolated actors for convenience:

The social attributes (e.g. age, education, religion, mobility) of F2 and F3⁴ (represented by triangles) are very similar. Socially, they only differ according to their relative position in the network. Where F2, a guy closely knit into the network shows 66.6% realized labializations, F3, a guy rarely asked by others for help, displays only 23.9% labialized forms in the texts. The same relation holds for two other speakers, D1 and E1 (represented by circles). As will be seen in the following section they also vary widely in their linguistic behavior which correlates likewise with their respective position in the network⁵.

4 I arranged portrait photos of the 94 speaker/actors in a square matrix for easier identification when talking about them with others in the village. The alpha-numerical codes are derived from this matrix and will be used throughout the paper to keep the actors anonymized.

5 One has to keep in mind that figure 2 represents just ONE network and as such is just indicative for the social position of a given actor in Donon. The individual ‘network score’ is calculated on the accumulation of positions of a given actor in four networks.

This again can be translated into the observation that a closer social integration yields a more conservative – in this case – more labializing variant of Pana. This is in line with findings from Milroy (2002: 550) who claims that:

Networks constituted chiefly of strong (dense and multiplex) ties support localized linguistic norms, resisting pressures to adopt competing external norms. By the same token, if these ties weaken conditions favourable to language change are produced. (Milroy 2002: 550)

In the Pana case, we then see that current social integration of an individual actor is also reflected in the frequency of the labialisation variable. Accordingly, we would interpret the non-labialized variety as a currently up-coming innovative element in the Pana variant of Donon.

4.2 Code-switching (CS) in discourse

The second example is based on data from the long term recordings (see section 3.1). Each of the selected actors is a representative of the four integration groups as derived from their individual network score. The stretches of speech were chosen from communicative situations where no people from outside the village were present. For each actor I analyzed the first 40 phrases⁶ of the selected conversations looking at frequencies and forms of code-switching therein. Without going into a terminology discussion here, I employ ‘code-switching’ as a cover term for the use of two or more languages in a stretch of speech by a single speaker within a unitary communicative setting.

Actor E7 is a woman of 49 years of age. She is a very well respected woman in Donon. Although she has no formal education she is the head of the local women’s association. She speaks Pana as her first, Julia as her main Lingua Franca and has some notions of West African French (WAF). Her network score of five (NS 5) reveals her very high level of integration in the social tissue of Donon. As an exception to the rule commented on in the previous section her realized labialization (RL) in the translation task is comparatively low with only 37 % (cp. figure 3).

The linguistic data stem from a conversation she held in the kitchen section of her courtyard with one of her elder daughters who helped her preparing

⁶ ‘Phrases’ are understood here as discursive units defined by a descending intonation curve separated by audible pauses. Quite often, these units coincide with syntactic sentences.

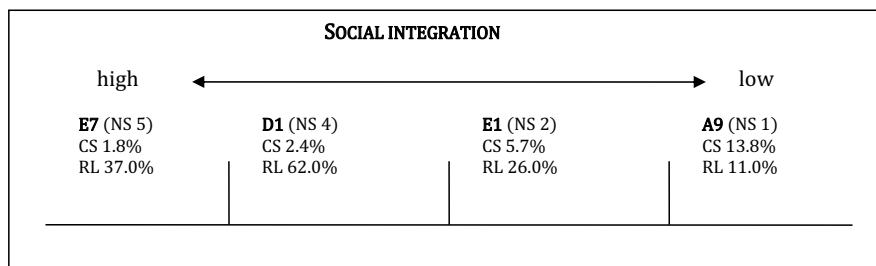


Fig. 3: Scale of social integration and linguistic variables.

food. The three displayed phrases show nearly all of her switches within the 40 analyzed units. Finally I counted 6 code-switches⁷ in 333 Lexemes (1.8%):

- (1) *úbyèn, kúyèrí mà wùní nánò sè*
but, spoon also be LOC DEM
But, the spoon is also there.
- (2) *à dá kára kùlé nà*
1SG make trust blacksmith with
I entrust it to the blacksmith.
- (3) *tàamà bóoti-lè tòrò, ò kó nà*
salt can-DEF take, 2SG come with
Take the salt can and come with (it).

While the first French element in (1) is clearly part of the discourse level in her speech, all the other elements are insertions where one needs to clarify whether they are already loanwords or still occasional switches. As for the French word ‘spoon’ it is clear that she speaks of a metal spoon and not of the indigenous type made of calabashes. While the Pana word would also include the metal type, the use of the French word here makes the specific referent clear. The same applies to the French insertion *boite* ‘can’ which makes clear reference to a metal type of box or the like. The Jula insertion *kùlé* again makes reference to a specific type of blacksmith who, beside his usual iron treating, is also working wood, a non-typical occupation for a regular blacksmith in Souroudougou.

⁷ Code-Switches are marked in **bold letters**. Switches from **French** are additionally underlined.

Actor D1 is a man of 49 years. He has a low level of formal education. He is an important man in the Christian community of Donon because he also acts as the local catholic lay prayer. He speaks Pana as his first and Jula as his second language. From former times of labour migration he also speaks some Baulé (a language of Côte d'Ivoire) and has some rudimentary notions of WAF. He is also quite well integrated into the social network of Donon with a network score (NS 4) slightly lower than E7. Contrary to E7 his percentage of labilization of 62% confirms his central network position.

His language data are taken from a conversation recorded at a so-called 'cabaret', a temporary millet-beer drinking location organized by his wife. His 40 phrases consist of 247 lexemes of which 6 items count as CS (2.4%):

- (4) *wálà* ò kò nà ò cé kî nánò
voilà, 2PL come with 2PL put thing LOC
Voilà, put your things there.
- (5) *p'tey wótóró* sà náasi jògò
maybe, donkey-cart NUM.CLASS four approximately
May be, round about four donky carts (full).
- (6) è sú ná *dóní dóní lè*
1PL wet.PERF ANA small small PRED
We wetted it carefully.

A first hint to a functional divide between languages employed in the code-switches is apparent in D1's data. Where French items mostly appear as pragmatic devices on the discourse level it is the Jula insertions that carry specific meaning. The first insertion in (5) *wótóró* is here counted as Jula but is originally from French *voiture*. In Pana it is used for referencing anything that uses car wheels. As there is also a native word for 'donkey cart' I count it as an insertional switch here. The same holds for the second element in (5) which could also be expressed in regular Pana. The final switch in sentence (6) is counted as one single item as I consider this very frequent idiomatic expression as taken as a whole from Jula. Counting it as three different words would bring the percentage of switches up to 3.2%.

Actor E1 is male and 32 years old. He has high formal education which ended in the high-school entry diploma (baccalauréat). As he is the last remaining son of his father he came back to Donon to support his family. Apart from his peasant occupation he works as the local photographer and moves around in the area abundantly. His first language is Pana but he has a very good knowledge of Jula, French, and Moore (one of the major languages in Burkina Faso) too.

Concerning his social integration, his network score (NS 2) is below average in Donon which is also reflected in his low RL-number of 26 %.

His language data stem from a family encounter where financial issues were discussed. In the 261 lexemes of the 40 phrases, 15 code-switches have been counted (5.74 %).

- (7) **donc**, *jɛnjɛn lè wùní mé wò lè mé simú ná*
 donc, small REL be 1SG.EMP on REL 1SG.EMP want ANA
 So, the small (part), that is mine, I want it.
- (8) *èeh wó! dà mùnú bó*
 EXCL EXCL make be.patient now
 Hey! Keep your patience!
- (9) **bɔ́**, *dé kí dà ná nà d' á kó ná nà*
 Right, CNJ thing make ANA with CNJ 1SG come ANA with
 Right, if it is done like that I give it (the money).

Most of E1's switches are from French. The only Jula element that I could find is the one in (8) that is a very specific Jula verb not usually used in Pana. What is also of interest is his abundant use of French *donc*. This very 'frenchy' discourse particle is employed frequently by him (five tokens in forty phrases) but is otherwise not very common. Other speakers would rather stick to more common French discourse elements like *voilà* or *bon*.

Actor A9 is a young woman of 20 years. She works as local merchant in her mother's shop and on the local markets. She grew up in the Côte d'Ivoire but came back to her father's natal village when he got ill some ten years ago. She has no formal education. Although the language spoken at home always was Pana she names Jula and FCI (Français de la Côte d'Ivoire) as her first and second languages. Socially, she is very badly integrated as her network score reveals (NS 1). Again, this low integration and her general proneness to Jula is reflected in her very low labialization rate. In the translation task she only produces 11 % of possible labializations.

Her language data were recorded in her mother's courtyard where she, her mother, and her elder sister were looking at some baby photographs. In 325 lexemes of 40 phrases I counted 45 code-switch items (13.8 %)

- (10) **wàgá-a** *lòrá-à pò bánbàní*
 basket-DEF come.out.PERF-OBJ in nicely
 The basket comes out nicely (on the picture).

- (11) *ámèd má cè ó ... ámèd y'... à kúnjò né kà*
 Ahmed also put 3SG.POSS Ahmed KOP ... 3SG head 1SG on
 Ahmed puts his ... Ahmed has ... his head on me.
- (12) *ò dèré sògòbí. ù ká **manièr** lòn dòn.*
 3PL make.NEG Sogobi. 3PL POSS manner PRED PRED
 They don't make (take) Sogobi. They do it their own way.

Most of her code-switches are into Jula. Quite often she changes completely into Jula structure (11, 12) thus alternating between codes. In (11) it is clear that she is searching for the appropriate Pana expression but then, for convenience, finishes the sentence in Jula. In (12) the second sentence commenting on the first is again entirely in Jula and on top of that has a French insertion in this Jula alternation. Single word insertions from Jula, as can be seen in (10), are pretty rare in her case.

4.3 Interpretations

I now take a closer look at the correlations between the linguistic data and the social parameters and discuss some of the possible interpretations. The most interesting question is whether and how such correlations in a multilingual society eventually lead to language change.

As exemplified in 4.1 a correlation between obstruent labialization and network positions of speakers exists: the more conservative labialised variable is employed with a higher frequency by well integrated speakers in the Donon social network. As demonstrated elsewhere (Beyer 2010; Beyer & Schreiber 2013) such a correlation between social integration and conservative language use is also supported by other contact-induced changes in the phonological and morphological system in the Pana of Donon. From this state of facts one can infer that conservative language use is more inclined to labialization than innovative speech.

This may be explained by the traditional connection to Marka-, and Northern Samo-speaking villages as explained in section 2.2. Through the insertion of women from those areas into the Pana-speaking societies labialized pronunciation was supported. Even though women from other language areas are pushed to speak Pana to their children, the force of phonetic interference is not negligible. Nowadays, traditional social relations weaken and people orient themselves more to Jula-dominated economic and religious practices (Beyer 2001). Furthermore, even in the remotest village it is by now clear that vertical social mobility is directly connected to Jula and, even more so, to French. This

changing social reality promotes more modern ways of speaking, e.g. de-labialization, and leads to a language change on the phonological level.

The same line of argument, namely conservative vs. innovative forms of speaking, helps to interpret the code-switching behaviour in Donon. Although the presented data are not statistically robust the qualitative look at the four speakers from different socially integrated groups hints to an inversely proportional correlation between frequencies of code-switches and actors' position in the local community network.

This is to say that the better actors are integrated into the social community of the village, the lesser is their code-switching attitude. Generally speaking, it seems as if code-switching on a larger scale is not sanctioned by the prevailing linguistic norm in Donon. There is, however, even in the most conservative speech some proportion of foreign elements that is not (yet) part of the regular Pana lexicon. Again, it seems as if innovative speaking promotes more and more foreign elements.

Another interesting question in this respect is about the languages involved in the code-switching and the forms these switches take. As a matter of fact, I only found switches into Jula and French. No other of the possible contact languages plays a role in the switching. This can again be explained with the status these languages have in the region: both Jula and French are high prestige languages that are considered to be more sophisticated than the local vernaculars and helpful for economic and social success in Burkina Faso. Even though French is not the pragmatically dominant language in the region and not many people have an active French competence, using it – at least as a discourse structuring device – is wide spread and even well integrated speakers employ some French discourse markers. The rationale behind this promotion of French discourse particles is the same as the giving up on labialization: people want to sound more sophisticated than they used to do.

Concerning the forms of the switches, the data clearly show the dominance of insertions. This means that switches are mostly in the form of single words or small phrases that are firmly embedded in a Pana language frame using its morphology and syntax. Alternational switches where a change of the main language occurs between sentences or utterances are fairly rare. This latter form of switching is nearly exclusive present in A9's speech.

Looking at the two involved switch languages it is also interesting to see whether they are employed for different purposes. Apparently French supplies mainly discourse particles (e.g. *ou bien*, *voilà*, *donc*) whereas Jula is used for specific reference (e.g. naming of artifacts and concepts). This again is a result of the different status and accessibility these two prestige languages have. Although most people do not have an active competence in French they do, how-

ever, easily grasp the meaning and uses of the discourse particles. Jula, the main LF of the region is spoken by nearly every one so it is easy to use insertions from this language for specific reference.

5 Conclusion

The data presented so far confirm the findings of Granovetter (1973) stating that socially well integrated actors set local norms. This also holds for linguistic innovation and norms in monolingual settings (Milroy & Milroy 1985) and as I have shown here and elsewhere (Beyer 2010; Beyer & Schreiber 2013) for contact-induced innovation in the Souroudougou region. More specifically speaking, the currently prevailing local norm of Pana in Donon allows a limited exploration of the multilingual repertoire of the speakers.

On the phonological level it seems that Pana speakers are slowly drifting to a non-labializing pronunciation. This tendency is led by innovative, less well integrated and thus less norm conforming speakers who adopt this pronunciation from the prestige languages, Jula and French, and use it more frequently than their well integrated peers.

On the lexical tier, all, even the best integrated norm obedient speakers allow for some insertional switches. The activation of the multilingual repertoire is apparently accepted by the linguistic norm in Donon, especially when it employs elements for denoting specific reference (e.g. D1 *wótóró* ‘donkey cart’⁸) and contextual significance (e.g. E7 *kùlé* ‘a blacksmith, who is also working wood’) from the established LWC (Jula). This is the semantic motivation for switching as evoked by Backus (1996).

We can thus conclude that, not surprisingly, insertional code-switching appears as the main gateway for contact-induced language change on the lexical level. The dividing line between an insertional switch and an established lexical borrowing is, however, difficult to draw. It is mainly a question of frequency and the possibility of linguistic alternatives both of which are actuated through social norm control.

Another motivation lies behind the insertion of French discourse markers. Here again, less well integrated actors bring up innovations that are – at least partly – due to their personal abilities and necessities. The abundant use of the discourse marker *donc* (5 tokens in 40 utterances) by E1 is a case in point: While this French switch is extremely rare in the Pana recordings from Donon

⁸ The item *wótóró* ‘donkey cart’ is originally from French *voiture* ‘car’ but so well established in Jula that Jula speakers don’t consider it a loan from French. In return, Pana speakers consider it to be a loan from Jula.

in general, E1 uses it as a marker of his competence in the prestige language French. Apparently, this innovative speaker uses an element from his multilingual repertoire for discourse-directing operations (Matras 2009). However, contrary to Matras' claim, French is not the pragmatic dominant language in Donon but it is the most prestigious one. Thus, it would not be surprising to see the frequency of *donc*-switches rising in Pana discourses in Donon due to E1's (and possibly other innovators') enlarged use of this element. This discourse marking element may then become a regular device in Pana discourse even for people who do not master this language. The same prestige driven motivation applies to E1's use of some Jula switches. His extraordinary switch in the verbal domain using the Jula verb *mùnú* 'be patient' is also indicative of his willingness to show off his language competences.

Another background seems to motivate the switches of A9. This actor is apparently marginalized through her history of growing-up in the Côte d'Ivoire and also through her extended mobility as a merchant in the region. This background also explains the general communicative setting in her family's courtyard where people communicate in what Grosjean (2001) called the 'bilingual mode'. In this mode, alternational switches are quite usual as they are a device to circumvent word finding problems and add to a general ease of expression. While it is accepted in this specific family context, extensive alternation between languages is not very common in normal encounters within the usual village contexts.

A final general observation is in order: the data presented here are indicative of the dynamics that language change may take in a context where stabilizing factors are comparatively weak. In Souroudougou neither external forces like e.g. language education, radio or newspapers support an established language norm, nor is the social network so tight-knit and exclusive that it functions as a brake against external forces of language change in this kind of multilingual society. This state of affairs seems to be one factor for a more dynamic development of language change than it is known from western-type societies. This observation, however, needs to be backed-up by further research.

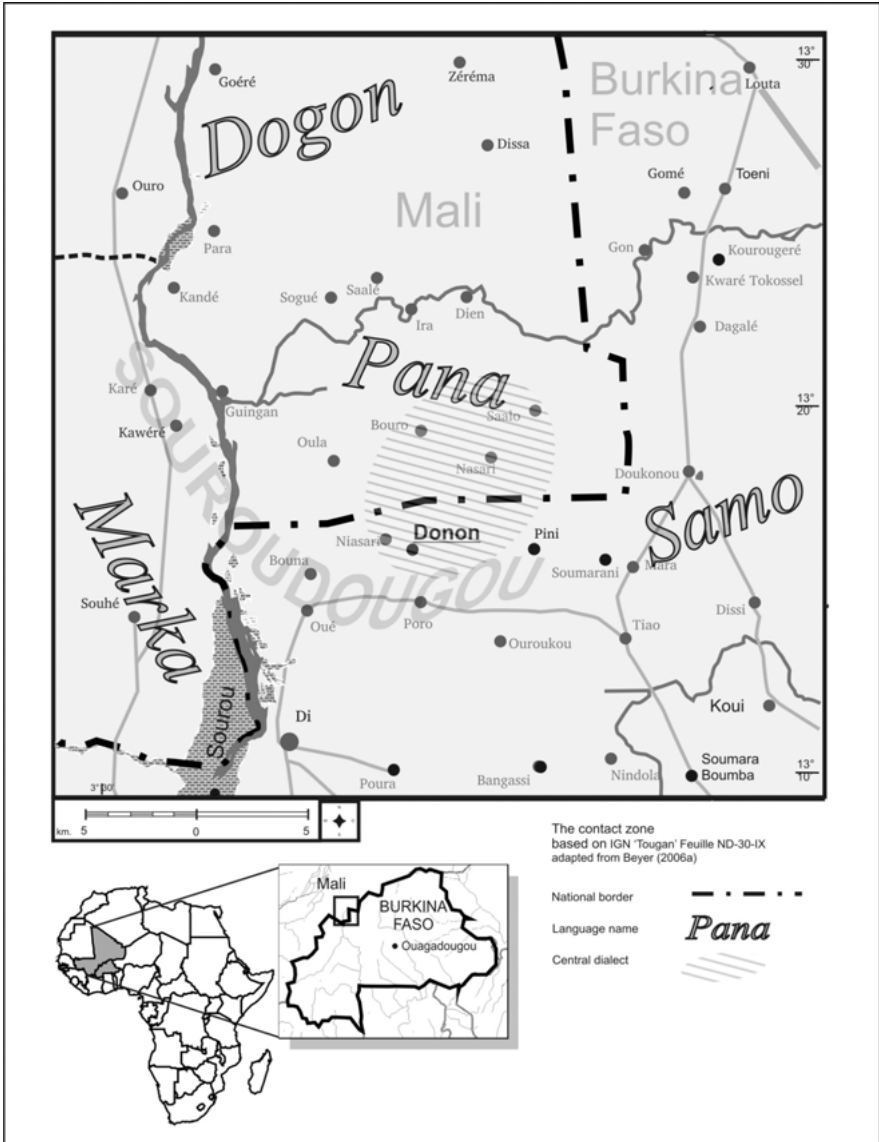
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Appendix



Map: The Souroudougou contact zone.

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Code-switching and social change: Convergent language mixing in a multilingual society¹

Abstract: The majority of the population of Suriname uses elements stemming from at least two languages in everyday, informal interactions. While language contact between the languages of Suriname manifested itself chiefly through lexical borrowing in earlier times, the range of present contact phenomena also includes alternational and insertional code-switching, as well as code-mixing patterns shared across language boundaries. I analyze characteristics of the evolving mixed code that draws on Sranan and Dutch elements by looking at how it manifests itself in Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan. I show that socio-economic changes in the past five decades with respect to urbanization, education, migration and mass media have contributed to obscuring ethno-linguistic boundaries, dramatically increased exposure to Dutch and Sranan, and driven the spread of language mixing practices into new domains. I conclude that mixing practices in Suriname are converging in a common communicative space that transcends linguistic boundaries.

1 Introduction

In the multilingual South American nation of Suriname code-switching between typologically and genealogically diverse languages is the norm, rather than the exception. The vast majority of Surinamese use elements stemming from at least two languages in everyday interactions. Code-switching in the following excerpt reflects the kind of societal multilingualism that characterizes Surinamese society:

¹ I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. The data on which this paper relies was collected with the support of the European Research Council “Traces of Contact” grant to Pieter Muysken at the Centre for Language Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen (www.ru.nl/linc). I am indebted to Renata De Bies, Helen Chang, France d’Olivieira, Lila Gobardhan-Rambocus, Jimmy Kasdipowidjojo, Motilal Marhé, Jit Narain and Antoon Sisal for their invaluable help in obtaining the data on which this paper relies.

- (1) 1 SP1: tú aiye hiyan sab koi ***fuck-up*** kariye hiyan par.
 ‘you’ll come here and mess up everybody here’
 2 ***ahn, ye gi mi*** probleem.
 ‘***right, you’re giving me*** problems.’
 3 SP2: is goed dan weet ik wel volgende keer.
 ‘it’s alright, then I know it for the next time.’
 4 SP1: ab tú janle, toch.
 ‘now you know, right.’

Excerpt (1) stems from a conversation between an employer (SP1) and his employee (SP2), in which SP1 tells off SP2. Large parts of the conversation are held in Sarnami, the primary language of much of the East Indian-descended community of Suriname. At the same time, there is code-switching from Sarnami to the English-lexicon creole language Sranantongo (also referred to as Sranan), as well as Dutch, the official language of Suriname. Sranan elements in excerpt (1) are in bold italics, Dutch elements are underlined, Sarnami elements are in regular font. Bilingual code-switching involving Sranan and Dutch or one of these two languages, as well as code-switching involving more than two languages is commonplace in Suriname. Code-switching in Suriname usually involves two constants, namely Sranan and Dutch, alongside a variable, one of the other languages of Suriname like Sarnami or Surinamese Javanese. On this backdrop, the following questions will be addressed in this article:

- What is the socio-historical background and present nature of multilingualism in Suriname?
- What kind of elements, structures and patterns characterize multilingual speech involving particular language constellations?
- How does linguistic convergence manifest itself in the range of mixing phenomena here referred to as borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing?
- What is the role of social change in the convergence of multilingual practices that typifies Surinamese society?

I will argue that the languages investigated (Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan) show convergence in borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing. These three phenomena manifest themselves synchronically as a continuum of contact-related phenomena, but they are also linked diachronically (cf. Matras 2009). In this article, I focus on contact phenomena involving Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese next to Sranan and Dutch. Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese are little studied and this is the first analysis of code-switching involving these languages (the most comprehensive works to date on Surinamese Javanese and Sarnami are Vrugink 2001; Wolfowitz 1991; as well as Marhé 1985

and Santokhi & Nienhuis 2004 respectively). All examples in this paper stem from my field data gathered in Suriname.

The paper is structured as follows: In section 2, I discuss theoretical aspects of the concept of convergence and its application to code-switching. In section 3, I turn to the specificities of multilingualism in Suriname and the contribution of social change to altering the dynamics of language contact through time. Section 4 uses empirical data from multilingual interactions in Suriname in order to discuss the concepts of borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing. Section 5 concludes this study.

2 Code-switching, code-mixing and convergence in language contact

Before moving on to the specifics of code-switching in Suriname, I will briefly review concepts that are of importance for the ensuing presentation and discussion of data. The concept of convergence is employed in this paper in referring to three interlocked language contact phenomena in Suriname. It is used to refer to the emergence of a common stock of lexical items through borrowing in Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan; it is used to refer to structural accommodation, i.e. the rise of common grammatical structures concomitant with societal multilingualism. Lastly, I employ the term convergence in the context of “code-mixing” characterised by patterned and systematic (i.e. “sedimented”, cf. Auer 1999) uses of non-native elements in multilingual interactions. This definition of convergence implies multidirectionality – more than two languages are involved in the processes and outcomes described – and multicomponentiality, hence covering lexicon, grammar and pragmatics. In its most common usage in historically oriented contact linguistics, the term convergence is more restricted in its use. It commonly refers to a diachronic process of contact-induced *grammatical* accommodation alone and in particular the emergence of new structures from multiple sources or in the case of two languages, mutual, hence also multi-directional accommodation (e.g. Thomason 2001). Multiple origin, multidirectionality and syncretism are the cornerstones of the concept of convergence that distinguish it from unidirectional borrowing from one language to another. Convergence is therefore a useful notion for understanding and describing the rather complex nature of contact processes and multilingual practices in Suriname that arise from the co-existence of two dominant languages, namely Dutch and Sranan, and their interaction with each other and the other languages of Suriname as donor *and* recipient languages.

Few studies have employed the term convergence for describing the emergence of common features during contact beyond the realm of morphosyntax and phonology (cf. Rickford 1987, for divergence in morphosyntax and simultaneous convergence in phonology). Muysken (2000) addresses synchronic aspects of convergence in code-switching. Convergence is, for one part, inherent in Muysken's term "congruent lexicalization", which describes a pattern of relatively constraint-free code-switching under structural and linear equivalence in the morphosyntax of the participating languages. Here, typological convergence of the grammatical systems of the (typically) two languages in contact is a *prerequisite* for congruent lexicalization. Typological similarity of the interacting languages, whether by accident or inheritance, therefore seems to play an important role in fixing the boundaries of the types of code-switching that speakers may resort to (cf. Muysken 2000; also the studies in Braunmüller 2009). The other determinant of particular code-switching patterns appears to be socio-functional. Stell (this volume) shows how code-switching patterns in South Africa involving the same language pair (Afrikaans and English) can be determined by differences in identity alignment. While a primarily alternational code-switching pattern is characteristic for white South Africans, a morphosyntactically more intrusive, rather insertional code-mixing is more typical for black and "coloured" South Africans.

For Suriname, the opposite situation seems to hold. The typological differences between the three languages investigated here (Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan) are considerable, and unlike Afrikaans and English, they do not belong to the same genetic groupings. Nevertheless, we witness an overall tendency towards linguistic alignment, which can be observed on the lexical plane, as well as structurally, in contact-induced morphosyntactic change (cf. Yakpo & Muysken 2014; Yakpo, van den Berg, & Borges 2014). Last but not least, the tendency towards the alignment of multilingual practices in the different constellations of languages in Suriname transpires in convergent code-mixing: We find a strong tendency for speakers of both Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese to render similar functions with the help of non-native, i.e. Sranan and/or Dutch items. At this point my analysis focuses on closed-class rather than open-class elements (e.g. numerals and pronouns) and grammatical rather than content words (e.g. modal auxiliaries and reciprocal pronouns). However, it is well possible that a more comprehensive analysis of open-class items could reveal equal tendencies for certain individual concepts or entire semantic fields to be predominantly denoted by non-native items.

Such code-mixed items are characterized by a certain degree of entrenchment, their use is conventionalized and they are not simply produced on the fly. They may however be substituted by native items, and they are every now

and then. The relative obligatoriness of a non-native item is probably not sufficient for drawing the notoriously fuzzy line between (incipient) borrowing and code-switching (e.g. Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan 1988; Myers-Scotton 1992; Van Hout & Muysken 1994; Romaine 1995; Poplack, Zentz, & Dion 2012) and a neat distinction between the two need not be necessary anyway in the unified perspective on contact that I adopt here (cf. also Backus, this volume; Treffers-Daller 1999).

A second, equally fuzzy boundary of relevance for the Surinamese contact scenario is that between the entrenched and systematic pattern of code-switching that I refer to as code-mixing in this article, and language mixing, i.e. the development and stabilization of a mixed language. Some authors have addressed the transition zone between the two latter phenomena (e.g. Auer 1999; Myers-Scotton 2003; Backus 2003; Meakins 2011). Meakins (2011) explores the rise of mixed languages through code-switching in more depth than previous studies in her landmark description of Gurindji Kriol, a mixed language spoken in Australia's Northern Territory. While some earlier studies reject the idea altogether that code-switching can contribute to the rise of mixed languages (e.g. Bakker 2003), others favour "insertional" over "alternational" code-mixing (cf. Muysken 2000) as the primary mechanism of code-switching that leads to language mixing (e.g. Auer 1999; Backus 2003; Myers-Scotton 2003). Meakin's (2011) study shows that both types of code-switching can contribute significantly to the shape of a particular mixed language. In section 5, I briefly discuss whether the data presented further below allows us to describe the Surinamese situation as one involving the emergence of one or several mixed languages.

Finally, it is useful to pose the question whether the mixing phenomena found in the socio-linguistically subordinate recipient languages in Suriname (i.e. all languages except Dutch) are not simply an epiphenomenon of various degrees of advancement of language shift. Studies have shown that intermediary stages of language shift and obsolescence (e.g. Aikhenvald 2012) can be characterized by the same kind of heavy structural and lexical borrowing that typify maintenance scenarios in which a recipient language is not threatened (for an illustrative example of the latter case, cf. Gómez-Rendón 2007). In the case of Surinamese Javanese, we seem to have both linguistic and sociological evidence that the language is losing its vitality. Sarnami, on the contrary, appears to be going strong and this is corroborated by the linguistic competence displayed by our Surinamese informants. Some Indo-Surinamese voices seem to be more pessimistic though, and see the existence of Sarnami threatened by the expansion of Dutch and Sranan (Motilal Marhé, Jit Narain p.c.).

3 Multilingualism and social change in Suriname

Suriname has been the scene of complex population movements throughout its history with corresponding patterns of societal multilingualism. Linguistic diversity has increased significantly since the beginning of the colonial period, reaching a peak in contemporary Suriname and ushering in the type of extensive language contact that characterizes the country today (for detailed overviews of multilingual Suriname, cf. Charry, Koefoed, & Muysken 1983; Carlin & Arends 2002).

The Portuguese, English and Dutch enslavement of Africans in Suriname led to the creation of Surinamese varieties of Afro-Caribbean English Lexifier Creoles, among them Sranan (Smith 1987, 2002). The nominal abolition of slavery in 1863 prompted the Dutch colonial regime to “import” indentured labourers from Asia, as in other plantation economies throughout the Caribbean (Saunders 1984; Kale 1998). In the Surinamese case, indentured labourers hailed from north-eastern India, Java (Indonesia) and southern China. Diverse northern Indian languages merged to form the koine Sarnami, which is today claimed as the first or a second language by a large part of the Indian-descended population of Suriname and about twenty percent of the total population of the country (SIC 213-2005). The Javanese language was also firmly implanted in Suriname and is claimed by about ten percent of the country’s population as a first or second language (*ibid.*). Like Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese has developed local characteristics that set it apart from Indonesian Javanese (cf. Gobardhan-Rambocus & Sarmo 1993).

Sranan and Dutch play an all-important role in Suriname. Sranan has evolved into a national lingua franca and is used by members of all social classes and ethnicities. Evidence from lexical borrowing in the languages of Suriname, which I will present in due course, seems to indicate that Sranan also constituted a prestige lect before the more recent expansion of Dutch.

Dutch has served as the only language of administration and education since colonial times. It has seen a steady growth in speaker numbers throughout the 20th century, especially after the independence of Suriname in 1975. The language has developed distinct characteristics in its lexicon and grammar that set it apart from European Dutch (cf. De Bies, Martin, & Smedts 2009; de Kleine 1999) and it is today used widely by all social classes including the working classes of the coastal belt. Most importantly, the high prestige of Surinamese Dutch gives the language a primordial role as a donor language to Sranan and other languages of Suriname.

The language contact scenario of coastal Suriname in particular is therefore characterised by a situation in which two languages, namely Sranan and

Dutch are functionally and numerically dominant and superposed to functionally more restricted languages. The two dominant languages are themselves once more hierarchically superposed to each other with Dutch occupying a superordinate and Sranan a subordinate position. This situation of three-tiered multiple language contact has the following implications for code-switching:

- Bilingual Dutch-Sranan code-switching occurs with speakers whose primary or community languages are the first and second tier languages Dutch and Sranan respectively.
- Trilingual code-switching involving Sranan and Dutch is commonplace with speakers of third tier languages like Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese, Hakka, Lokono, and Saramaccan.
- “Second order code-switching” (Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998) is common, in which an already mixed Sranan-Dutch code interacts with a third language.

Suriname went through significant socio-economic change in the 20th century. These changes have had consequences for the linguistic scenario. The changes are briefly summarized in the following:

- *Urbanization*: The ethnic spatial segregation of the colonial era has today been replaced by more mixed settlement patterns determined by social class rather than ethnicity (Hira 1998). The most dramatic changes in the proportion of the urban population were experienced by the Asian-descended communities. The rural settlement pattern inherited from the indenture period has today been largely dissolved with similar percentages of the total population of all coastal ethnic groups now residing in urban areas (which is principally the (peri-)urban zone of the capital Paramaribo)². Urbanization and spatial diversification have contributed significantly to the spread of Sranan and Dutch as interethnic lingua franca in the urban space.
- *Employment structure*: The bulk of the Surinamese workforce made a living in agriculture until well into the first half of the 20th century. After World War II, the proportion of the total workforce in agriculture declined rapidly. The growth of services and industry has led to an exponential increase of workforce mobility. This may have contributed considerably to the penetra-

² The percentage of the Indo-Surinamese urban population rose from 0% in 1910, to 23% in 1957, and to 70% in 1993. The figures for the Javanese Surinamese urban population are 0%, 11% and 60% respectively, that of the Afro-Surinamese urban population 59%, 69% and 70% (Dusseldorp 1963; Hassankhan et al. 1995).

tion of Sranan and Dutch into once largely monolingual households, and particularly so in the formerly rural Asian-descended communities.

- *Education*: Access to Dutch-medium secondary and tertiary education saw a steady increase in the decades before and since independence. This has increased exposure to spoken and written Dutch, but has also increased possibilities for interaction in Sranan outside of the classroom.
- *Migration*: More than fifty per cent of people with Surinamese ties live outside of Suriname, with over ninety per cent of emigrants having settled in the Netherlands alone. Circular migration between Suriname and the Netherlands has increased exposure to Dutch, while migration between the coast and the interior has increased the presence of both Sranan and Dutch in Maroon and Indigenous communities (cf. Migge this volume).
- *Media*: The digital revolution and loosening of state control over audiovisual media has led to the proliferation of privately owned radio and TV stations. This has boosted the presence of a broader range of Surinamese languages in the public domain beyond the big two, Sranan and Dutch. It has also increased the presence of natural, colloquial speech, including code-switching and the use of different registers in programmes and advertising, thereby setting new standards of “acceptable” language use in the public domain.

The combined weight of the socio-economic and socio-cultural factors listed above has created a dynamic that has favoured the expansion of Sranan and Dutch into all ethnolinguistic communities and entrenched multilingual language practices across Suriname. As a consequence of these practices, Dutch has expanded into less formal domains formerly reserved to Sranan. At the same time, the use of Sranan is gaining ground in more formal domains once reserved to Dutch. The result is an increasing interpenetration of the functional domains of Dutch and Sranan.

4 From borrowing to code-mixing

In this section I try to show how extensive code-switching has led to the emergence of a common mixed code typified by continuities across different constellations of typologically diverse languages. This common code is based on a contact continuum ranging from more stable to rather flexible in terms of entrenchment. On the more stable end, we find a common core of shared borrowed lexical items and calques of Sranan and Dutch provenance. Such loans are entrenched and many speakers find it difficult to substitute them with

equivalent native lexical items. In the mid-range of stability, we find elements and structures that have a strong tendency to be non-native (i.e. are of Sranan and Dutch origin). This intermediate zone is the realm of code-mixing, characterised by the presence of the same non-native elements and structures in languages as different as Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese. Unlike borrowed items, code-mixed items are not obligatory, may sometimes be of *either* Sranan or Dutch origin and are often part of larger multiconstituent switches. The least stable part of the continuum in terms of entrenchment is code-switching proper, in which speakers either alternate between languages or insert non-native single or multiconstituent items.

The emergence of this mixed code involves the on-going crystallization of a common even if partially variable core of mixed features. In the following, I focus on contact phenomena involving Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese as recipient languages, Sranan as a recipient and donor language and Dutch as a donor language.

4.1 The data

This study is based on field data gathered in Suriname between 2010 and 2012 by a team of researchers from Radboud University Nijmegen. Data was gathered on eight Surinamese languages: The Afro-Caribbean Creole languages Sranan, Ndyuka, Kwinti and Saramaccan, the Asian-descended languages Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese, Surinamese Hakka, as well as Surinamese Dutch. The corpus consists of a total of about a hundred and fifty hours of speech. The data was collected according to a unified methodology in order to allow comparison across varieties and languages. Data collection methods involved the use of broad (story-based) and narrow (video clip-based) visual stimuli on the one hand and (semi-)structured interviews and director-matcher tasks on specific topics on the other. Elicitation was complemented by recordings of natural discourse through participant observation in diverse settings such as work, during leisure time activities, in speakers' homes, etc. We also led about fifty sociolinguistic interviews in Sranan on the backgrounds of speakers and their language attitudes. About two-thirds of the corpus consists of elicited speech while the other third consists of naturalistic speech.

4.2 Borrowing

The most comprehensive dictionaries of Sarnami (Santokhi and Nienhuis 2004) and Surinamese Javanese (Vruggink 2001) contain hundreds of nativized items

of Sranan origin. It seems that due to its inaccessibility during the colonial period, Dutch played a less important role than Sranan as a donor to Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese. Not only are there far fewer established Dutch loans from that period. The phonological characteristics of many Dutch-derived items also point to them having been borrowed via Sranan rather than directly from Dutch (e.g. Sarnami *tafrá*, Surinamese Javanese *tafrah* < Sranan *tafra* < Dutch *tafel* ‘table’).

Table 1 below lists fully nativized loans of Sranan origin, chosen at random in order to represent different semantic domains. These items are either the only ones employed for the corresponding concepts or they constitute the first choice for our informants, even if a native item also exists (e.g. Sarnami *fruktú* < Sranan *fruktu* ‘fruit’ or the Indic synonym *phal* ‘fruit’). In the few cases in Table 1 where one of the recipient languages uses a native item as the default term, I include it in italics (e.g. *kagāj* ‘paper’). This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the corresponding Sranan item is frequently used via insertional code-switching. The semantic characteristics of the loan words listed below seem to indicate that Sranan once constituted a prestige code. Hence not only was lexicon borrowed by Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese speakers in order to describe elements of a new natural habitat (a). We also find Sranan loan vocabulary from the field of (agricultural and construction) technology and aspects of urban life (b), as well as from social interaction (c):

Tab. 1: Sranan loanwords (Data from: Marhé 1985; Damsteegt and Narain 1987; Gobardhan-Rambocus and Sarmo 1993, Vrugink 2001; Santokhi and Nienhuis 2004; field data).

Semantic domain	Sranan source	Surinamese Javanese	Sarnami	Gloss
a. habitat	abra	abrah	habará	other side
	bakra	bakrah	bakrá	white person
	busbusi	busbusi	busbusi	bush(y) area
	onti	onti	onti (kare)	hunt
	pranasi	pernangsi	parnási	plantation
	kasaba	kasabah	kasaba	cassava
	bergi	bergi	bergi	hill
	apra	apra	aprá	(star) apple
	fruktu	fruktu	fruktú	fruit
	kraka	krakah	kraka	fork (tree)
	kanti	kanti	kanti	side, place
b. technology & urban life	tiki	tiki	tiki	(small) stick
	mesre	mésré(man)	mésréman	bricklayer
	papira	papirah	<i>kagāj</i>	paper
	datra	<i>dokter</i>	datrá	doctor

Tab. 1: (continued)

Semantic domain	Sranan source	Surinamese Javanese	Sarnami	Gloss
	banti	banti	banti	tyre
	baskita	baskita	baskitá	basket
	blaksmit	blaksmit	<i>lohár</i>	blacksmith
	smeri	semir	smeri (kare)	(to) smear
	kukru	<i>pawon</i>	kukru	kitchen
	sroisi	sorsi	soroisi	sluice
	oto	<i>montor</i>	<i>oto</i>	car
	strati	<i>jalan</i>	stráti	street
	forku	<i>porok</i>	forku	fork
	lesi	lesi	<i>parhe</i>	read
	bedi	bedi	bedi	bed
	tafra	tafrah	tafrá	table
	bangi	bangi	bângi	bench
	fensre	fénsré	<i>khirki</i>	window
	yuru	yuru	yuru (kare)	hire, rent
	froisi	<i>alih</i>	froisi (howe)	move house
	legi	legi	legi	empty
	boro	boro	boro (kare)	take short cut
c. social interaction	dwengi	dwéngi	dwengi (kare)	(to) force
	sorgu	sorgu	sorgu (kare)	care for, treat
	spang	spang	spáng	tense, tension
	lobi	lobi, <i>demen</i>	lobi (kare)	(to) love
	lesi	lesi	lesi (rahe)	(be) lazy
	begi	bégi	begi (kare)	ask, beg for
	breiti	breiti	breiti	(be) content
	dipi	dipi	dipi, <i>gahir</i>	deep; complex
	lespeki	lespéki	<i>ádar</i>	respect
	hebi	hebi	hebi	heavy, difficult

The items in Table 1 above under (b) and (c) are of particular interest because their transfer from Sranan may not exclusively be attributed to need. The fact that semantically so heterogeneous words were transferred from Sranan could be attributed to the similarity of the socio-economic conditions that the Sarnami-speaking and Javanese-speaking communities were subjected to (i.e. plantation labour, initial rural habitat, followed by rapid urbanization). But this fact alone cannot explain how words denoting aspects of social interaction like *breiti* ‘be content’, or *lesi* ‘be lazy’ made their way into both languages. This circumstance rather seems to point to the emergence of a common communication space from quite early on after the arrival of the Asian immigrants, one that encompassed speakers of (at least) the three relevant languages. Large-scale societal multilingualism and society-wide code-switching would not have

been necessary for such borrowing from Sranan to take place. Even in cases of extensive lexical borrowing, a small but influential proportion of (passive) bilinguals is sufficient to introduce non-native lexical items into a language (cf. e.g. Sakel 2007: 25).

I should mention that Dutch today plays at least as important a role as a donor of lexical material as Sranan. Bi- and trilingual switching has led to a common set of heterogeneous Dutch items and calques being found across Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan (cf. Yakpo, van den Berg, & Borges 2015 for examples).

4.3 Code-switching

Code-switching is present in our data in all three languages and we find insertional as well as alternational code-switching. Surinamese Javanese, Sarnami and Sranan differ, however, with respect to how inserted material is integrated. Further, although all three languages feature alternational mixing, Javanese Surinamese speakers are the only ones in our corpus to show a considerable amount of repair-related switching. I assume this to be a symptom of an ongoing language loss and shift from Surinamese Javanese to Sranan and Dutch among some segments of the Javanese Surinamese population.

Non-native elements, be they verbal or nominal in character are carried over into Surinamese Javanese without the use of special, integrating morphology. In the following example, the non-native Sranan noun *planga* ‘plank’ is inserted and morphosyntactically integrated into the Surinamese Javanese noun phrase, as can be seen by the presence of the native nominal suffix – (a)n.³ The example also involves an alternational switch to Dutch following the clausal boundary (indicated by the comma), i.e. there is no overt syntagmatic integration into the preceding Surinamese Javanese structure:

- (2) terus intuk ***planga***-n terus yâ, eindelijk het lukt.
 then get plank-N then INT finally it succeeds
 ‘then (he) gets the plank, then yes, finally, it [he] succeeds.’

A conspicuous feature of insertion into Sarnami clauses is the requirement that Dutch or Sranan verbs be integrated via auxiliary constructions featuring the

³ Henceforth I employ the following conventions in rendering trilingual codeswitched passages: material in Sranan is set in ***bold italic***, material in Dutch is underlined, the base language is in regular type.

generic verbs *be* and *do*. The auxiliary verbs are inflected while the non-native verb is (in the case of the verb-inflecting language Dutch) inserted either in the infinitive form or in the 3SG present tense form. This constraint is probably due to the fact that Sarnami has no verb-deriving morphology except valency operations. The presence versus absence of auxiliary constructions is however not useful for distinguishing between loans and switches in Sarnami, since there are many native items that also require auxiliaries in order to form the predicate of a clause.

The speaker in the following excerpt is telling her friend how she is going to spend her Saturday. We find the usual presence of switched pragmatic elements (*echt* ‘really’) and progressions (*zaterdag* ‘Saturday’). The Dutch verb *uitslapen* ‘sleep in’ is integrated into the verb phrase with the help of the Sarnami generic verb *kare* ‘(to) do’ (infinitive). Note the position of the generic verb *kare* in the construction, following the verbal complement, which is consistent with Sarnami (and Indic) SOV word order:

- (3) a. sowieso zaterdag ke ham sabere kaprá dhobe, hamke echt dheṛ kaprá rahá dhowe ke.
 ‘Anyway on Saturday, I’ll wash clothes, I really have a lot of clothes to wash.’
- b. ham eerst apan kaprá dhobe ham kuch kháik banábe, sanjhá ke mángilá uitslapen kare.
 ‘I’ll first wash my clothes, (then) I’ll prepare some food, (then) in the afternoon I want to sleep in.’

Sranan verbs are morphologically invariant. They however also appear in a helping verb construction in Sarnami, as in the following example featuring the Sranan verb *verfi* ‘(to) colour’, which is a complement to the inflected Sarnami auxiliary *bhail* ‘(has) be(en)’. Once more note the presence of further switched constituents, in this case pragmatic elements, Sranan (*ma* ‘but’) and Dutch (*wel* ‘actually’):

- (4) a. SP1: kaun wálá ḍamrú, ego haigá jaun meṇ ná **verfi** bhail, **ma** ego wel hai.
 ‘Which (kind of) damru drum, there’s one which is not **coloured** inside **but** one actually is.’
- b. SP2: hân jaun ná **verfi** bhail.
 ‘Yes, the one that’s not **coloured**.’

Turning to alternational code-switching, repair-related alternation is particularly present in the data of younger Surinamese Javanese speakers. There are indications that a considerable proportion of younger speakers of Surinamese

Javanese (i.e. roughly below thirty years of age) are shifting to Sranan and Dutch. One indicator of this development is a somewhat restricted competence of some of our respondents, which transpires particularly during elicitation requiring the use of more specialized lexicon and grammar. In the following excerpt, the speaker (female, 26 years old) shifts to Dutch each time she experiences retrieval difficulties. In this case, it seems that the speaker has problems in expressing a Source-oriented locational structure ('it doesn't want to fall off (the tree)). Also note the presence of the common loan *tiki* 'stick' (cf. table 1):

- (5) a. sing liyané lungâ menèh njukuk *tiki*.
'the other one goes again to take the *stick*.'
- b. maar die trui wil nog steeds niet eraf.
'but the sweater still doesn't want to come off [the tree].'
- c. liyané njukuk *tiki* sing gedé.
'the other one takes *another stick*.'
- d. en de trui kan nu pas eraf en een van ze draagt die trui.
'and the sweater can only now come off and one of them puts on the sweater.'

The data also contains numerous episodes in which code-switching is less functional in appearance and is not employed to fulfil specific discourse-pragmatic or participant-related functions (cf. Auer 1998 for the distinction between the two types of code-switching). Such episodes of natural and informal interaction between speakers appear to be characterised by the kind of multilingual interaction that has been referred to as "unmarked" (Meyers Scotton 1993; Amuzu, this volume).

The following Sarnami excerpt is an example of unmarked code-switching. It stems from a conversation between two friends. One (SP1, female, 28 years) gives directions to her house to the other (SP2, female, 25 years).

- (6) 1 SP1: dus gewoon calat jaiye, tab ego *kerki* links ki rechts.
'So just keep on walking, then (there's) a **church**, left or right.'
- 2 ná sun, *na* pahile, eerste blokwa men ego *kerki* bá tab
gewoon voorbij die kerk dan rechts pe nummer vier en veertig
pe ham báti.
'no, listen, **in** the first block, there's a **church**, so just past
that church then
on the right we're at number forty-four.'

- 3 SP2: aur jaun hiyañ se buswá já haigá, u zeker jáigá Heiligenweg?
and the bus that leaves from there, that certainly goes to Heiligenweg?

In this particular instance, switching primarily takes place between Sarnami and Dutch, to the exception of the noun *kerki* ‘church’ and the general locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’. The excerpt above shows central characteristics of Surinamese-style unmarked multilingual practice:

- Frequent back and forth-switching within a single sentence
- Intense use of alternation next to insertion, cf. sentence 2–3 in particular
- Doubling of individual items or the approximative reiteration of larger units, cf. *pahile* ‘first’ (Sarnami) and *eerste* (Dutch), *kerki* ‘church’ (Sranan) and *kerk* (Dutch) in sentence 2
- Frequent use of switched pragmatic elements, cf. *ma* ‘but’, *boi* ‘boy’ (Sranan); *dus* ‘so’, *dan* ‘then’, *gewoon* ‘just’, *zeker* ‘certainly’ (Dutch)
- Occurrence of code-mixing, i.e. elements from particular semantic domains or expressing particular functions are predominantly non-native, cf. *links* ‘left’, *rechts* ‘right’, *nummer* ‘number’, *vier en veertig* ‘forty-four’, *zaterdag* ‘Saturday’.

The occurrence of code-mixing is covered in more detail in the next section. Before moving on, I should mention that the kind of code-switching we have seen so far is characteristic of natural, institutionally unmonitored speech as it occurs in settings rather low in formality. Naturally, normative expectations about “correct” language use may severely restrict code-switching in more formal domains, for example, in school, church, or in Parliament.

4.4 Code-mixing

I showed in the preceding section that bi- and trilingual code-switching is a common phenomenon in the linguistic communities this data was gathered in. I will now argue that the threshold has been crossed from code-switching to code-mixing. A mixed code has evolved that draws on Sranan and Dutch as donor languages and features a common pool of non-native elements. I will focus on three features of this mixed code as they manifest themselves in Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan.

I refer to switching between languages as code-mixing where I am able to show that there is a preference for the use of non-native forms in particular functions. This phenomenon involves convergence because the elements and

features of this mixed code are found across different recipient languages. Some of the structures described involve a higher degree of morphosyntactic integration, and can therefore be said to involve insertion (cf. Muysken 2000: 63). This is for example the case with the occurrence of Dutch and Sranan reciprocal pronouns as verbal arguments. Other code-mixing patterns may involve both alternational and insertional patterns, for example the use of Dutch numerals in temporal adjuncts but also as quantifiers in argument NPs.

The latter type of code-mixing involves the use of numbers and other progressions, like day names. In these domains, Dutch is the exclusive donor language. This is without doubt due to the fact that Dutch is the sole medium of instruction in Surinamese schools, so numeracy skills are only acquired through and in Dutch. In the following excerpt, SP2 (speaker 2) uses a Dutch expression for a higher number (*zeven en twintig* ‘twenty seven’) and Sranan for low numbers (*tu* ‘two’, *siksi* ‘six’). The general tendency is for numbers below five to be primarily expressed by native items. The relative frequency of native numerals decreases thereafter and the likelihood for numbers higher than ten to be rendered by a native term is very low. Example 6 above (sentence 2) shows the use of a high Dutch numeral (*vier en veertig*) and example 21 further below that of a low native numeral (*dui-duigo*) in Sarnami:

- (7) 1 SP1: *yu abi pikin?*
 ‘do you have children?’
- 2 SP2: *mi abi **tu** boi dya, a frow lon gwe na Holland nanga a wan boi, mi no si a boi zeven en twintig yari.*
 ‘I had **two** boys here, the woman ran off to Holland with one boy, (and) I didn’t see the boy for twenty seven years.’
- 3 a boi ben abi **siksi** mun, ma dati na a famiri fu a frow ben bu-mui ini a tori.
 ‘the boy was **six** months old, but it was the woman’s family that got involved in the matter.’

Table 2 below lists further domains for which I have identified the existence of code-mixing, as well as the respective donor languages. Note that Sranan is of course also a recipient language for Dutch material, either through mixing (e.g. the use of Dutch TMA auxiliaries) or through borrowing.

In the following, I will focus on two mixed auxiliary constructions that serve to express aspectual and modal functions respectively. I then move on to describe the use of mixed reciprocal constructions.

In Dutch, the adjective *bezig* ‘busy’ expresses continuous aspect when used as a predicate adjective, followed by a prepositional phrase introduced

Tab. 2: Domains of code-mixing.

Domain	Donor language
Loan words & calques	Sranan, Dutch
TMA auxiliaries	Sranan, Dutch
Reciprocal pronouns	Sranan, Dutch
Numbers/Progressions	Dutch
Pragmatic elements	Sranan, Dutch
Intonational patterns	Sranan

by *met* ‘with’ containing a gerundival form of the main verb, i.e. *hij is bezig met schrijven* ‘he’s busy (with) writing’. The *bezig* construction is found in Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan, where it is morphosyntactically adapted in various ways in each recipient language. In all three languages, the construction appears in an imperfective context characterized by continuity of a deliberate action by an animate subject. Examples 8 and 9 feature excerpts from elicited speech. We find the *bezig* construction in all three languages, and in the very same context, although the elicitation sessions took place separately from each other, and involved different pairs of speakers for each language. Both excerpts feature the use of *bezig* in Sarnami. Also note the numerous Dutch insertions (underlined):

- (8) SP1: en volgens mij ú batiyá hai, want okar munh beweeg howe hai, au bezig hai kuch likhe ke ego schrift men.
 ‘and I think he’s conversing, because his mouth is moving, and he’s busy writing something in a handwriting.’

SP2: au ú echt vlot likhe haigá, zonder dat ú sonce ú kauncí likhe hai.
 ‘and he’s writing really fast, without him thinking what he’s writing.’

- (9) ego aurat akele ego kamrá men haigá, bezig bá kuch likhe ke, au ú echt snel-snel likhe haigá.
 ‘a woman is alone in a room, she’s busy writing something, and she’s really writing fast.’

The constructions above are only partially calqued on Dutch. In both examples *bezig* occurs as a predicate adjective, as a complement to one of the Sarnami copulas *hai* ‘be.PRS’ (ex. 8) and *bá* ‘be.PRS.3’ (ex. 9). However, the Dutch prepositional phrase is not replicated in Sarnami. Instead, the main verb is expressed

as an infinitive, as shown by the presence of the postposition *ke* (*likhe ke* ‘to write’).

The following example from Surinamese Javanese involves the aspectual auxiliary *bezig* followed by a Sranan main verb (*skrifi* ‘write’) and its Sranan object complement (*brifi* ‘letter’). This time, *bezig* is treated like a verb – Javanese does not have a morphosyntactically distinct class of predicate adjectives (cf. Ewing 1999: 95). The Dutch prepositional structure is not calqued here either, instead the main verb *skrifi* ‘write’ appears in its bare form and is best seen as non-finite.

(10) ènèk wong *bezig* , nganu, ***skrifi brifi*** karo pulpèn.

‘A person is busy, like, **writing a letter** with a ballpen.’

The following example is from Sranan. The *bezig* construction once more partially follows a Dutch structure. We find *bezig* occurring as a predicate adjective and complement to the Sranan copula *de*. The main verb *skrifi* ‘write’ is however linked to the preceding auxiliary via the imperfective marker *e* ‘IPFV’ rather than a prepositional phrase.

(11) SP1: wan frow de *bezig* e skrifi wan sani tapu wan papira.

‘A woman is busy writing something on a (piece of) paper.’

SP2: wan brifi, kon taki so.

‘A letter, it seems.’

In sum, the existence of native predicate adjective constructions Sarnami and Sranan allows these two languages to partially calque the corresponding Dutch structure. In Javanese Surinamese however, *bezig* is treated like a verb, since this language does not employ copulas in the relevant contexts. Beyond that, all three languages employ complement-like structures rather than Dutch-like prepositional structures to link the main verb to the auxiliary. The uniformity of the adaptation strategy across the three languages leads me to conclude that there is a diffusion from Sranan in the way the *bezig* construction is adapted. If this is indeed the case, then the process of adaptation is not dissimilar to the one involving borrowing by Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese of Dutch-derived lexicon via Sranan discussed above.

This leads us to the function of the construction. It seems that in Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese the construction is specialized to imperfective contexts in which we find high agentivity (i.e. voluntariness of the subject, anima-

cy, etc.). Such a function can seemingly not be covered by other imperfective nuances in the languages concerned and the Dutch structure is a convenient means of filling this functional ‘gap’.

A second instance of conventionalized code-switching is the use of the modal auxiliary *pruberi* (Sranan) and *probeer* (Dutch), both of which mean ‘try to’. Our data shows a preference by Javanese Surinamese and Sarnami speakers to employ non-native forms to express conative modality. The following excerpt from an elicited conversation in Sarnami exemplifies the use of the conative modal auxiliary (lines 1 and 3). Note that the non-native verb *pruberi* is always integrated via the generic verb *kare* ‘do’, as are other non-native verbs. The Sarnami corpus of about forty thousand words contains twenty two instances of *probeer/pruberi* and eleven instances of the native equivalent (*kausis/kosis kare*, lit. ‘make effort’).

- (12) 1 SP1: are, hán *ma* i hoop ná op déi acchá, phir *pruberi* karí.
 ‘hey, yes, **but** he’s not going to give up hope, he’s going to **try** again.’
- 2 SP2: calánk hai sárá, *ma* abki kar lei acchá.
 ‘he’s clever, the shithead, **but** this time he’s going to do it well.’
- 3 SP1: are, ab phir *pruberi* karí.
 ‘right, now he’s going to **try** again.’

Speakers seem to shift freely between the Dutch form (*probeer*) and the Sranan equivalent (*pruberi*). The two forms are of course related – Sranan has borrowed this verb from Dutch – and the similarity of the Sranan and Dutch forms often leads to the appearance of phonologically intermediate forms (e.g. *proberi*, *prubeer*), as in (13):

- (13) sab probeer kare hai, kude ke, sab manier *prubeer* kare hai nikáse ke.
 ‘he’s trying everything, (like) jumping, he’s trying every method to remove it.’

Surinamese Javanese speakers also employ the Dutch verb *probeer* or its Sranan reflex *pruberi* in the same functions as Sarnami speakers. In the Surinamese Javanese corpus of about twelve thousand words, there are eight occurrences of *probeer/pruberi* against four occurrences of the native equivalent *jajal*. Example (14), is part of a Surinamese Javanese speaker’s depiction of the same scene as the one rendered by the Sarnami utterances in (12) above:

- (14) arep probeer menèh, terus tibâ menèh, dijupuk menèh, saiki tikusé ndelok, dijupuk menèh, diwalikwaliki.
 ‘he’s going to try again, then it falls again, it is picked up again, now the mouse looks, it is picked up again and flipped over.’

The following example shows the same Surinamese Javanese speaker making use of the verb *jajal* ‘try (to)’ (here with the transitivity prefix {n-}). In both languages, the non-native form can therefore be replaced with a native one, even if the figures show a clear preference for the non-native form (native forms in regular bold font in all following examples):

- (15) arep **njajal** njukuk kaosé **ma** ora inter, omdat uwité dhuwur.
 ‘He’s going to try to take the shirt, **but** he can’t because the tree is (too) high.’

I now move from the verbal to the nominal domain. The expression of reciprocity is also characterized by the emergence of a mixed practice, in which speakers of Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese draw on non-native elements. These mixed structures are, as in the case of the other elements discussed, not obligatory and may involve either Sranan or Dutch elements. The corresponding native structures are however used to a far lesser extent in our corpus, and for many speakers are probably not considered the default means of expressing reciprocity.

Both Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese make use of either the Dutch reciprocal pronouns *elkaar/mekaar* ‘each other’ or the corresponding Sranan form *makandra*. The excerpt in example (16) shows the use of *elkaar/mekaar* as a prepositional adjunct (sentence 1), and as an argument (sentence 2 and 3). Note that the appearance of *mekaar* in an argument position entails the use of a Sarnami postposition (the accusative/dative marker *ke*), while the adjunct features the Dutch preposition *met* ‘with’:

- (16) 1 SP1: aur ekwá **kantiyá** ego admi ego dúsar londá met elkaar batiyá hai.
 ‘and on one **side** a man (and) another boy are conversing with each other.’
- 2 ta sab koi mekaar ke kuch dewe hai, jaun dúigo baiṭhal haigá.
 ‘then they are giving each other something, the two who are conversing.’

- 3 SP2: *chaunriyá bhí kuch dewe haigá, aur duígo londwan bhí elkaar ke kuch dewe hai.*
 ‘the girl is also giving something, and the two boys are also giving each other something.’

In Surinamese Javanese, we find a similar pattern. When a non-native reciprocal pronoun appears in a prepositional phrase, the preposition is usually also non-native. Compare example (17) sentence (a), featuring the Dutch reciprocal pronoun *elkaar*, with sentence (b), featuring the Sranan equivalent *makandra*. The two sentences were uttered consecutively by the same speaker and in response to a video clip stimulus:

- (17) a. *wong lanang karo wong wèdok jagong tegen elkaar.*
 ‘A man and a woman are sitting against each other.’
- b. *wongé ora weruh na een lange tijd, ngerangkul makandra.*
 ‘They haven’t seen (each other) after a long time, (and) are hugging **each other**.’

I will dwell briefly on the native means of expressing reciprocity in Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese in order to show how code-mixing is leading to a fundamental change in the way reciprocity is expressed in these two languages. There are three native strategies of expressing reciprocity in Sarnami. The first involves the use of the bipartite quantifier NP *ek dusre* (lit. ‘one the other’), as in (18):

- (18) **ek dusre khát** pathá-we haigá boek-wá.
 one other for send-INF be.PRS book-DEF
 ‘they’re sending [passing on] the book to one another.’

Most speakers consulted however consider the use of *ek dusre* to be formal language. A more common alternative is the use of a quantifier NP consisting of a reduplicated form of *ekwá* ‘other’, as in (19):

- (19) **ekwá-ekwá** ke daur-á-we.
 other-RED ACC/DAT run-CAUS1-INF
 ‘they’re chasing one another.’

Another means of expressing reciprocity involves the use of the reflexive pronoun *apne* ‘self’. This strategy is usually complemented by the use of redupli-

cation of other clausal constituents in order to emphasize the pluractional character of the predication. In (20), the locative noun *páche* ‘behind’ is reduplicated, and in (21), it is the numeral *dui* ‘two’ that gets reduplicated.

- (20) u sab **apne** ke **páche-páche** daure hai.
 DIST all REFL ACC/DAT behind-RED run be.PRS
 ‘they are running after each other.’
- (21) hinyá par **dui-dui**-go **buku apne** men leun kar ke dhar-al
 here on two-RED-CLF book REFL in lean ‘do’ ACC/DAT PUT-PFVP
 bá.
 be.PRS.3
 ‘here, **books** have been placed (there) with them leaning against each other in pairs.’

It is noteworthy that the two native strategies of Sarnami are for one part composite, they involve the use of several elements instead of a single one. Secondly, they involve elements (i.e. the reflexive pronoun) or morphological processes (i.e. reduplication) that are not exclusively dedicated to the expression of reciprocity.

The native strategy of expressing reciprocity in Surinamese Javanese involves the use of a multifunctional item as well: The verbal detransitivizing suffix *-(a)n*, also often in combination with verbal reduplication may express reciprocity besides various other derivational, often pluractional meanings, such as sociative (‘do sth. together’), positional (‘to (continue) occupying a certain posture’), etc. (cf. Robson 1992: 50–52, 97). The following two sentences, uttered by the same speaker during an elicitation session, exemplify the native strategy in Surinamese Javanese.

- (22) 1. wong lanang karo wong wèdok **lèndèn-lèndèn-an**.
 person male with person female lean-RED-AN
 ‘a man and a woman are leaning (against) each other.’
2. pâdâ, pâdâ **rangkul-rangkul-an**.
 same same hug-RED-AN
 ‘the same (people) are hugging each other.’

Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese therefore do not express reciprocity through monomorphemic (and invariant) forms. The semantically more diffuse nature of reciprocity expression in Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese, and the morphosyntactic complexity of its formation may help explain the attractiveness

of employing single non-native elements like *elkaar* and *makandra*, both of which are semantically unambiguous and dedicated to a single function.

The Sranan reciprocal pronoun *makandra* is also an old borrowing from Dutch (<Dutch *elkander* ‘every one (the) other’). There are good indications that economy and transparency motivations might also have been at play in Sranan in the integration of *makandra* in Early Sranan. The use of a reflexive *cum* reciprocal pronoun is actually also found in contemporary Sranan, even if it is very rare in the corpus.

Compare the following two sentences, the first of which (example (23)) features the reciprocal pronoun *makandra*. It is noteworthy that Sranan, like Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese, may also make additional use of verbal reduplication to express the mutuality of the event denoted by the verb:

- (23) den tu man e **kruderi-kruderi** nanga **makandra**
 def.PL two man IPFV negotiate-RED with each.other
 ‘the two men are negotiating with each other.’

The second sentence (example 24) features the reflexive strategy: reflexivity/reciprocity is expressed through an object NP consisting of the pronominal and reflexive anaphor *srefi* ‘self’ and a preceding coreferential possessive pronoun as the subject, in this case *den* ‘3PL’. This sentence is potentially ambiguous between a reciprocal and reflexive reading.

- (24) so den no e si **den srefi èn** den e plei leki na wip.
 So 3PL NEG IPFV see 3PL self and 3PL IPFV play like LOC see-saw
 ‘so they don’t see **each other** [or **themselves**] and they’re playing like on a see-saw.’

The use of a single non-native element like *bezig* or *makandra* to express semantically complex notions seems to be a comfortable alternative to the use of circumlocution (i.e. “scattered” coding, cf. Aikhenvald 2003) involving several multifunctional elements. However, an explanation that draws on need or transparency (cf. e.g. Johanson 2002) as a motivation for code-mixing can only be part of the story. The Dutch/Sranan conative modal auxiliary is preferred to native alternatives in Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese although there are structurally and functionally similar options.

We must assume therefore, that a variety of other, usage-based factors (cf. Backus, this volume) co-determine the selection of particular forms during code-mixing. Among these factors, we could count the combined high textual frequency of the formally and semantically convergent Dutch and Sranan forms *pruberi* and *proberen*.

5 Discussion and conclusion

In the preceding sections, I have looked at multilingual practices involving four languages of Suriname, three of them as recipient languages (Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan), and two of them as donor languages (Sranan and Dutch). I have identified a number of socio-cultural-historical and demographic factors at work in the Surinamese scenario. These factors appear to favour the emergence and maintenance of common practices of borrowing, multidirectional code-switching, and code-mixing across languages that are typologically quite different. The convergence of these practices has led to a common communicative space that transcends social, ethnic, and linguistic-typological boundaries. The Surinamese data highlights the crucial role that social factors can play in determining the types and outcomes of language mixing practices:

- a) *Social change*: The last fifty years or so have been marked by fundamental social change in Suriname with respect to urbanization, access to education and mobility. Cultural and linguistic patterns appear to cluster increasingly around social class rather than ethnicity (cf. e.g. Hira 1998).
- b) *Social networks*: Suriname is a 'small' society with about half a million inhabitants and a highly mobile population. Social networks are therefore naturally more multiplex, the possibilities for lingua-franca-based interaction across ethno-linguistic boundaries is correspondingly higher than in larger societies.
- c) *Relative group size*: The two largest ethnolinguistic groups in Suriname (Indo-Surinamese and coastal Afro-Surinamese) make up just about half the population of the country (cf. SIC 213-2005). The other half is made up of other ethnolinguistic groups of considerable strength – only the various Indigenous Amerindian groups are very small in number. This circumstance has favoured the maintenance of linguistic diversity on the one hand and the use of lingua francas on the other.
- d) *Language attitudes*: Dozens of interviews conducted by us in Suriname on language attitudes with members of most linguistic communities and from a representative cross-section of society revealed language attitudes that placed a positive value on societal and individual multilingualism, showed flexible views towards normativity and a generally pluralistic outlook on culture and social relations.
- e) *Multilingual proficiency*: Surveys by the Nederlandse Taalunie (Kroon & Yagmur 2010), Léglise & Migge (2011), as well as our own interviews reveal a high degree of multilingual proficiency in Suriname, and in the two lingua francas Sranan and Dutch across all ethnolinguistic groups.

Linguistic convergence therefore seems to have occurred alongside a general convergence of socio-economic and socio-cultural patterns in Suriname. In this sense, the code-switching described in this chapter may be seen to belong to an ensemble of multilingual practices that are constitutive of a specifically Surinamese identity.

I have identified three types of multilingual practices in particular: (1) borrowing, i.e. the lasting integration of Sranan items in the Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese lexicon; (2) insertional and alternational code-switching; (3) code-mixing: a preference for the use of specific non-native elements and constructions in Sarnami, Surinamese Javanese and Sranan clauses. Convergence is the common theme uniting these three language mixing practices. Convergent borrowing is evident in the existence of a common stock of Sranan loanwords in Sarnami and Surinamese Javanese. Convergence in code-switching is manifest in the strong presence of alternational code-switching in all language constellations, next to insertional code-switching patterns, in which the same non-native items are used in the same functions.

In this context, the question arises whether the presence of these multilingual practices in Sranan, Surinamese Javanese and Sarnami make these languages qualify as “mixed languages” to some degree (cf. Yakpo and Stell, this volume; O’Shannessy, this volume; classical studies such as Muysken 1981 (*Media Lengua*), Bakker 1997 (*Michif*), Mous 2003 (*Ma’a/Mbugu*)).

The Surinamese scenario is better seen as a case of extensive borrowing and mixing rather than one of (a) stabilized mixed language(s). I have shown that mixing is systematic and affects specific items and constructions. At the same time, most mixed structures can be expressed via native counterparts. Mixing is therefore optional, even if highly conventionalized and entrenched. Further, mixing in the Surinamese languages shows a tendency towards compartmentalization, e.g. the use of Dutch numerals is pervasive and so is the use of specific Dutch and Sranan temporal and modal auxiliaries. However, mixing has not expanded to all or at least the majority of elements in a particular functional domain or sub-system. Finally, although the mixed lects that I have described have become the default lect for a large section of Suriname’s population, and the youth in particular, most Surinamese also speak the two major source languages Sranan and Dutch as *lingua francas* next to other community languages.

Another question worth deliberating is how stable code-switching and code-mixing practices in Suriname actually are in a diachronic perspective. Is it possible that switching practices in Suriname are merely an epiphenomenon of language shift, as shown for other contact scenarios (e.g. Lavandera 1978; Trudgill 1976–1977; Bentahila & Davies 1991)? There are no indications that

Sranan is losing its vitality. However, if the situation in neighbouring nations with a similar socio-history and one-time higher linguistic diversity is anything to go by, then there is reason to assume that a shift (to Sranan and Dutch) is inevitable not only in the case of Surinamese Javanese, but also with a seemingly stable language like Sarnami (for the fate of the Indic varieties in Trinidad and Guyana, see Mohan 1990 and Gambhir 1981 respectively). In that case, we would need a more thorough investigation of possible differences between code-switching and code-mixing as practised by shifting versus ‘maintaining’ speech communities in Suriname. If the non-dominant languages of Suriname are indeed shrinking at the expense of Sranan and Dutch, then the pan-Surinamese convergence phenomena described in this chapter should be seen as transitory, and primarily reflecting the encroachment of Sranan and Dutch upon the other languages of Suriname.

Abbreviations

1	1 st person
3	3 rd person
ACC/DAT	accusative-dative marker
DEF	definite article/marker
DIST	distal demonstrative
INDF	indefinite article
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective aspect
LOC	locative preposition
NEG	negator
OBJ	object
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PFVP	perfective participle
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
REFL	reflexive pronoun
SG	singular
SBJ	subject
SP	speaker

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Typological and social factors influencing a new mixed language, Light Warlpiri

Abstract: Analysis of a recently emerged mixed language in northern Australia, Light Warlpiri, shows how both typological and social factors influence the structure of the resulting language. The new code also echoes the structures of the code-switching patterns which preceded it, and consequently many structures of the source languages are reproduced in the mixed language with little or no change. However, the new code shows radical innovations in the verbal system, yet these can be traced to influences from Warlpiri grammatical and semantic structure, in concert with English/Kriol forms. The influence of Warlpiri is also seen in less obvious ways, for instance in how the speakers process word order and ergative case marking when listening to transitive sentences, and in the elements of Warlpiri verbal structure which are retained in Light Warlpiri. Social factors play an important role in the formation of Light Warlpiri and what it now symbolizes for its speakers. Historical events, social interactions with speakers of other languages, and pressure to shift to English have each influenced the development of the new mixed language.

1 Introduction

What are the roles played by typological and social factors in the structures of new mixed codes which are formed from the conventionalization of code-switching practices? In this paper I examine one mixed language which has emerged recently in northern Australia as a result of conventionalized code-switching practices, Light Warlpiri, and show how its structure has been influenced by typological and social factors. The emergent mixed system is very systematized, and is structurally independent from its sources. It clearly differs from situations of pervasive code-switching, such as those described in this volume by Amuzu and Yakpo.

Light Warlpiri is spoken in a Warlpiri community in a remote area of northern Australia, and systematically combines elements of Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan) and varieties of English and/or Kriol (an English-lexified creole). An example is given in (1). Elements from Warlpiri are in italics, from English/Kriol are in plain font, and an innovative auxiliary element is underlined.

- (1) *Kala nyarrpara-rla nyuntu-ju yu-m* bugi?
 but where-LOC you-TOP 2SG-NONFUT swim
 'But where did you swim?'
 (C02_7_2)

In example (1) the verbal structure is from English/Kriol (*bugi* 'swim'), there are innovations and structural influences from Warlpiri in the auxiliary (*yu-m* '2SG-NONFUTURE'), and the nominal structure is from Warlpiri (*-rla* 'LOCATIVE', *-ju* 'TOPIC').

Data for this paper are audio and video recordings of adults and children interacting with each other in naturalistic contexts, telling stories from picture book stimuli, and a task about comprehension of transitive sentences. The data were collected by me between 2002 and 2010.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I outline the sociolinguistic setting of the new language and information about the source languages. I then present an overview of the structure of Light Warlpiri in section 3.1, showing how its components are derived from its source languages. This involves showing typological influence, because by definition mixed languages are the direct result of combining the lexicon and structures of two (or more) source languages with the structures of each relatively intact (Matras & Bakker 2003; Thomason 1997b). Section 3.2 presents some other, perhaps less obvious, typological influences of Warlpiri on Light Warlpiri, and section 3.3 shows how the structure of code-switching practices preceding the emergence of Light Warlpiri are similar to those of the new mixed code. In section 4 social influences on the emergence and structure of Light Warlpiri are discussed, and I conclude in section 5.

2 Sociolinguistic setting and structure of the source languages

2.1 Sociolinguistic setting

Before colonization, Indigenous people in Australia lived in their own territories throughout the continent. With colonization came forced restriction of movement, and loss of land, culture and language. When cattle stations were established in the Northern Territory in the 1930–40s, Indigenous people worked on them despite appalling conditions, for example, working for rations instead of wages (Berndt & Berndt 1987: 264; Rowse 1998: 147). The site of Lajamanu community was identified in the 1940s as a reserve for Indigenous

people who were not able to be supported by employment on cattle stations, which was the only role for most Indigenous adults in the area (Berndt & Berndt 1987: 264; Rowse 1998: 147). From 1948 Warlpiri were forcibly relocated to the site by the government, and subsequently developed a community there (Berndt & Berndt 1987: 264; Rowse 1998: 147).

The community lies approximately 600 kilometers from the nearest other Warlpiri community, linked by a road which is impassable for 4–5 months of the year due to monsoon rains. There are three Warlpiri communities relatively near to each other in the area distant from Lajamanu, which means that in those communities there is more mutual support for maintenance of sociolinguistic norms through constant interactions than there is for people in Lajamanu community. Nevertheless the Warlpiri travel frequently between communities for family and cultural reasons, so there is some mutual support. These days there is a small amount of employment available in the community, for instance, in the local school, health clinic, store and community office. Primary education and some secondary education is available. Schooling has at times been provided in English and Warlpiri bilingual education programs, but has been English-only more often. The nearest commercial center, Katherine, is 600 kilometers to the north of Lajamanu, but the road is mostly paved and provides year-round access. Katherine is a major center for Indigenous people from the surrounding area, many of whom are Kriol speakers. Hence there is considerable contact with Kriol speakers in the town.

2.2 Structure of the source languages

For comparison with example (1) above, a constructed Warlpiri equivalent is given in (2).

- (2) *Kala-npa nyarrpara-rla nyuntu-ju julyurlwanti-ja?* (Warlpiri)
 but-2SGS where-LOC 2 SG-TOP swim-PAST
 ‘But where did you swim?’

Warlpiri combines ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative patterns of indicating core arguments. This means that overt subjects of transitive verbs, including both nouns and free pronouns, receive an overt marker, but overt subjects of intransitive verbs, and overt objects of transitive verbs, do not. Bound pronouns appear in an auxiliary complex in a nominative-accusative pattern, and tense-mood-aspect (TMA) elements are attached. The TMA el-

ements operate in concert with verbal inflections to give TMA readings (Hale, Laughren, & Simpson 1995; Laughren 2002; Nash 1986; Simpson 1991). An intransitive sentence is given in (3) and a transitive sentence is given in (4).

- (3) *Ngaju ka-rna wangka-mi.* (intransitive)
 1SG PRES-1SG speak-NPAST
 'I am speaking.'
 (Hale et al., 1995: 142)

- (4) *Ngajulu-rlu ka-rna-ngku nyuntu nya-nyi.* (transitive)
 1SG-ERG PRES-1SG-2SG 2SG see-NPAST
 'I see you.'
 (Hale et al., 1995: 142)

In contrast, Australian and Aboriginal varieties of English, and Kriol, indicate core arguments through SVO word order. Aboriginal English and Kriol lexicons are mostly derived from English, but with phonologies from Indigenous languages, and are common languages of many Indigenous people in central and northern Australia (Harkins 1994; Malcolm & Kaldor 1991). A constructed Aboriginal English/Kriol equivalent of (1) is given in (5).

- (5) *Bat weya yu bin bugi?* (Aboriginal English/Kriol)
 but where 2SG PAST swim
 'But where did you swim?'

Varieties of English and Kriol are grouped together in this paper because the elements relevant to Light Warlpiri do not belong unambiguously to only one variety or language, but rather occur in each of these languages and varieties.

3 Typological influences on Light Warlpiri

3.1 Structure of Light Warlpiri

The verbal structure of Light Warlpiri is not straight-forwardly derived from English/Kriol, because innovations occur in both the verb forms and in the auxiliary component. I will first explain the verb forms. There is a subset of transitive verbs in which the verb stem is a reanalysis of Warlpiri verb stems, with an Aboriginal English/Kriol transitive marker attached, as in (6).

- (6) *yu-m winjirn-im hap-wan kuja-ng*
 2SG-NONFUT spill-TRANS half-NOM thus-ERG
 ‘You spilled some of it, like that.’
 (C03_17)

In (6) the verb stem is from Warlpiri, but reanalyzed. The stem of this verb in Warlpiri is *winja* ‘pour/spill’, and inflectional affixes attach to it, for instance *-mi* ‘NONPAST’. But the stem has been reanalyzed as *winjirn*, and an Aboriginal English/Kriol transitive marker, *-im* ‘TRANSITIVE’, attached. In colloquial Warlpiri the final vowel of some verbs is unvoiced or omitted, leaving a form such as *winjirn* ‘pour/spill-NONPAST’, and this probably led to the reanalysis of a stem with a partial inflection as the stem itself (O’Shannessy 2012: 317).

I now turn to innovation in the auxiliary component, which is more complex. The *-m* element, which means ‘realis/nonfuture’, is derived from all of the sources of Light Warlpiri, yet does not occur in the same form or with the same function in any of them. The form is partly from English *I’m*, and partly from Aboriginal English and Kriol pronominal forms *im* ‘3SG’ and *dem* ‘3PL’. Note that English *I’m* consists of a pronominal element, *I* ‘1SG’, and a TMA element, *-m* ‘1SG PRESENT’. Warlpiri auxiliary complexes also have a pronominal element and a TMA element, and all auxiliary components are clitics, as seen in examples (2–4), not independent words.

The structure of the Light Warlpiri auxiliary is also influenced by modal semantic distinctions in Warlpiri, in which there is a realis-irrealis division, echoed in the make-up of the Light Warlpiri auxiliary paradigm (Laughren 2012). The Light Warlpiri auxiliary paradigm is given in Table 1.

Tab. 1: Light Warlpiri auxiliary paradigm.

Forms	1SG	1PL	2SG	3SG	3PL
Nonfuture	a-m	wi-m	yu-m	i-m	de-m
Future	a-rra	wi-rra	yu-rra	i-rra	de-rra
	a-l	wi-l	–	i-l	–
Desiderative	a-na	wi-na	yu-na	i-na	de-na

In Warlpiri there is no one-to-one match of form and modal semantic division in the auxiliary, but in Light Warlpiri there is. Table 2 shows the correlations of Warlpiri modal auxiliary semantics and Light Warlpiri auxiliary forms.

In Table 2 it is clear that distinctions made in Warlpiri modal semantics provide the frame for the structural divisions in the auxiliary of Light Warlpiri,

Tab. 2: Auxiliary-inflecting verb combinations in Warlpiri with Light Warlpiri equivalent (Laughren 2012).

Auxiliary Base	Verb form	Meaning	Factivity	LW Auxiliary Base	
<i>lpa</i>	PAST	past imperfective	actualised (factive)	<i>-m</i>	'non-future'
∅	PAST	past perfective			
<i>Ka</i>	NONPAST	non-past			
∅	NONPAST	permissive/ directive; future prediction under negative operator	unactualised (future/potential)	<i>-rra</i>	'future'
<i>lpa</i>	IRREALIS	unrealized in present	unactualised (irrealis)	<i>-na</i>	'desiderative'
∅	IRREALIS	unrealized in past			

making use of forms from Aboriginal English and Kriol. In other words the typology of Warlpiri has strongly influenced the structure of the new mixed language. For more details in the formation of the Light Warlpiri auxiliary, see O'Shannessy (2013).

3.2 Typological influence: Verb forms, word order and ergative case-marking

Further typological influences are clearly seen when Light Warlpiri is contrasted with a neighbouring mixed language, Gurindji Kriol, which has a somewhat similar social history, and somewhat similar structure. Gurindji Kriol is spoken in Kalkaringi and Daguragu communities, which are approximately 110 kilometers from Lajamanu. Gurindji Kriol combines verbal structure from Kriol with nominal structure from Gurindji (Pama-Nyungan), in a verb-noun structural split (McConvell and Meakins 2005). In this respect Gurindji Kriol is like Light Warlpiri. But the verb forms and structures of the two languages differ, and the difference appears to be due to typological differences between Gurindji and Warlpiri.

I will first outline the relevant differences between Warlpiri and Gurindji verbal structures, then explain how the typologies are relevant to the mixed languages, Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol. Both Warlpiri and Gurindji are Ngumpin-Yapa (Pama-Nyungan) languages and have verbal structure in which there are combinations of a coverb plus an inflecting verb (called coverb-inflecting verb) (Meakins & O'Shannessy 2012: 228, 234). Examples of a Warlpiri inflecting verb with and without a coverb are given in (7) and (8).

- (7) *kurdu-jarra-rlu ka-pala watiya-kurlu-rlu panti-rmi yinarlingi*
 child-DU-ERG PRES-DU stick-COM-ERG poke-NPAST echidna
 ‘Two children are poking an echidna with a stick.’
 (Meakins and O’Shannessy 2012: 235)
- (8) *ngula-ngu patulu-ngu-ju rdilyki-pantu-rmu taya-ju*
 that-ERG bottle-ERG-TOP break-pierce-PAST tyre-TOP
 ‘That bottle pierced the tyre, damaging it.’
 (Meakins & O’Shannessy 2012: 235)

In (7) there is an inflecting verb, *panti-rmi* ‘pierce-NONPAST’, and in (8) the same verb occurs in past tense form with a coverb *rdilyki-pantu-rmu* ‘break-pierce-PAST’. Warlpiri has about 120 inflected verbs (Nash 1982: 175) and further verbal meanings are created through the use of coverb–inflecting verb combinations. Most Warlpiri coverbs do not occur as independent words, and the coverb and inflected verb usually form a single constituent (Nash 1982: 175–182). Thus the two parts of the verb are positioned contiguously, and only a subset of adverbial preverbs can appear in a position separate from the main verb. Gurindji has far fewer inflecting verbs, only 31, which encode meanings such as ‘do’, ‘hit’, and ‘take’ (Meakins & O’Shannessy 2012: 228). More nuanced meanings are expressed through the combination of coverb-inflecting verb. The relevant difference between the coverb-inflecting verb combinations in Warlpiri and Gurindji is that in Warlpiri the coverb-inflecting verb is a tight unit, semantically, phonologically and syntactically, whereas in Gurindji the coverb element can occur apart from the inflecting verb as an independent unit (Meakins & O’Shannessy 2012: 228–229).

How do these differences play out in the two mixed languages? To recap, in Light Warlpiri almost all verb forms are from English/Kriol. A subset of verb forms is from Warlpiri, and have been reanalyzed so that they take a Kriol transitive affix, which is a fairly consistent feature of transitive verbs in Light Warlpiri. The interesting typological point is that there are no coverb-inflecting verb combinations. In contrast, in Gurindji Kriol about one third of the verbs are coverbs from Gurindji. The explanation is that coverbs in Gurindji Kriol can be separated from inflecting verbs, which enable them to be retained in Gurindji Kriol without Gurindji inflecting verbs. Coverbs in Warlpiri occur much more tightly linked to the inflecting verbs, and so are less free to be transferred to Light Warlpiri (Meakins & O’Shannessy 2012: 235). So it is shown that the typologies of the source languages, Warlpiri and Gurindji respectively, influence the structure of the mixed languages.

In Light Warlpiri both typological and social factors influence how core arguments are indicated. I will explain the typological influence here, and the

social influence in section 3.2. Again I will outline the relevant structures – word order and ergative case-marking on subjects of transitive verbs – in Warlpiri, before discussing Light Warlpiri. Recall that Warlpiri indicates core arguments of verbs using ergative-absolutive case-marking. In Warlpiri as spoken in Lajamanu community, ergative case-marking occurs on approximately 90% of overt transitive subjects.

In contrast, in Light Warlpiri ergative marking is optional, and occurs on approximately 60% of overt transitive subjects (O'Shannessy 2005, 2008, 2012). By optional I do not mean that it occurs regardless of the grammatical environment, rather that its occurrence is conditioned by pragmatic factors rather than factors such as tense or aspect, a common way of conditioning the marking in split-ergative languages. When case-marking is conditioned by tense or aspect, its occurrence is accordingly predictable by the structure of the sentence. When the case-marking is conditioned by pragmatic factors, the speaker chooses when it is applied and it is less structurally predictable. In both Warlpiri (Hale 1992; Simpson & Mushin 2005; Swartz 1991) and Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2005) word order is variable and pragmatically ordered. In Light Warlpiri SVO order occurs more often than other word orders, and ergative marking occurs more often when the overt transitive subject is post-verbal (O'Shannessy 2009: 432–433). The use of SVO word order most often, and the reduction in the frequency of occurrence of ergative case-marking in Light Warlpiri, are due to typological influence from English and Kriol, both of which have SVO word order and do not have case-marking. Variable word order in Light Warlpiri is due to variable word order in Warlpiri. Social and psycholinguistic factors also come into play with regard to these features in Light Warlpiri, and are discussed in section 4.2 below.

3.3 Typological influence: From code-switching to a mixed language

Another part of the question of typological influence is how closely the structure of the mixed language reflects the structure of the code-switching practices which preceded it. Until recently linguists did not have access to data on both the code-switching practices which were the forerunners of a mixed language as well as the mixed language which emerged from those practices. But such data now exists for Gurindji Kriol (McConvell & Meakins 2005), and shows that the structures of code-switched adult speech in Gurindji and Kriol in the 1970s are reproduced in the subsequent mixed language, Gurindji Kriol.

The same kind of longitudinal data is not available for Light Warlpiri, but synchronic data suggests that the verbal-nominal split in Light Warlpiri is a

reproduction of the kind of code-switching input children received in the 1970s and 1980s. The role of the children in the development of Light Warlpiri is discussed in section 4.1 below, so only the structures are compared here. Examples (9) and (10) show an adult in her forties talking to her five-year-old child.

- (9) *yakarra nyanya wi hab-im nyanya wana ngalipa nyanya*
 DIS food 1PL have-TR food DIS 1PL.INCL food
 ‘Gosh, we have food, food, you know, us, food.’
 (O’Shannessy 2012: 325)

- (10) *yu-rra pud-um kuja nya-nga langa-nga*
 2SG-FUT put-TR thus look-IMP ear-LOC
 ‘You have to put it like this, look, on your ear.’
 (O’Shannessy 2012: 325)

The utterances in (5) and (6) are mostly Warlpiri, but with some AE/Kriol pronouns and verbs. In (6) there are two clauses, one with an AE/Kriol verb (*pud-um* ‘put-TRANSITIVE’), and one with a Warlpiri verb (*nya-nga* ‘look-IMPERATIVE’). The pattern of inserting an Aboriginal English/Kriol verb complex into a Warlpiri string is common when adults are speaking to young children. The verb-noun structural split is seen here in adult speech, and that is the pattern that is reproduced in Light Warlpiri, with innovations added. The innovations in the verbal system of Light Warlpiri are of course not replicas of Warlpiri or of English/Kriol, but typological influences can be seen in them, as discussed above in section 3.1.

4 Social factors

4.1 The genesis of Light Warlpiri

It is well accepted that mixed languages arise in response to the social imperative of indicating a new identity of the speakers, most often when the creators of the new code have identities spanning two cultural groups. For example, Michif, which combines Cree and French, was created by the Metis, of mixed Cree-French ancestry (Bakker 1994, 1997). Mednij Aleut, which combines Aleut and Russian, was created by Aleut-Russian bilinguals (Golovko 1994; Thomason 1997a). Some mixed languages are not created by children of mixed marriages, but within their own group of speakers. Media Lengua, which consistently combines Spanish lexical items with Quechua morphology, was created by young Quechua men who went to a city to work, and began to speak Spanish frequently (Muysken

1981, 1994). Their identity was then different from both the Spanish-speaking residents of the city and their Quechua-speaking families in rural areas.

But in the case of Light Warlpiri, the creators are not the children of mixed marriages, and did not move to new territory requiring additional linguistic skills. They still live in their small community, and most of their interactions are with other Warlpiri. Does the notion that a mixed language arises to indicate a new identity hold for Light Warlpiri speakers? Yes, it does, but in a slightly different way from how it functions in the mixed languages mentioned above. I hypothesize that Light Warlpiri was not formed deliberately, as it appears to have been formed by very young children, but that it subsequently took on the role of signaling the identity of its speakers (O'Shannessy 2012).

As explained in section 3.3, adult input to children often consists of an English/Kriol verbal complex inserted into a Warlpiri string. It is hypothesized that this code-switching pattern was part of a baby talk register used when addressing young children in the 1970s and 1980s (O'Shannessy 2012), as it is now also. The children then analyzed the code-switched input as a single linguistic system. When reproducing the unified system, the children added innovations, explained in section 3.1.

There are several social factors (or macrosociolinguistic factors, cf. Stell, this volume) involved in the transition from the code-switched speech to the new mixed code. The structure of the new code is an echo of the structure of the code-switched speech used by adults when addressing young children. Reasons for consistent code-switching to children are that there was considerable code-switching in the community in general, because from the 1940s to the 1970s many adults worked on nearby cattle stations where they interacted in Kriol with speakers of other Indigenous languages (Berndt & Berndt 1987; Rowse 1998). The isolation of Lajamanu community from other Warlpiri communities, and the relative ease of travel to a town center in a Kriol-speaking area, is likely to have had an effect. In addition, some adults think that Warlpiri is more difficult to learn than English is, and that the children can learn Warlpiri as they grow older, but should begin to learn to speak with easier structures. Another factor is that young children in the community spend a lot of time playing with other children. Consequences of this are that the innovating cohort of children would have received a lot of input from other children, and may also have modeled their speech on those of other children along with their parents. A new system may have been beginning to conventionalize at the time when the creators of Light Warlpiri were very young, and they had a lot of exposure to this system.

Once the new linguistic system was conventionalized, it came to symbolize the identity of its speakers, influenced by historical events and competing social

pressures. Light Warlpiri speakers identify strongly as Warlpiri. But the history of Lajamanu community is one of social division enforced by the colonial government. The geographical distance of Lajamanu from the other Warlpiri communities, along with the difficult road access to them, has influenced how young Warlpiri in Lajamanu view themselves. Light Warlpiri speakers call their new code *Lajamanu stail* ‘Lajamanu style’, as opposed to *Yurntumu stail* ‘Yuendumu style’, by which they mean Warlpiri as spoken by older people and those in the other Warlpiri communities. They now see Light Warlpiri, or *Lajamanu stail*, as their variety of Warlpiri, even though they also still speak Warlpiri. So Light Warlpiri represents the autonomy of youth in one community within the Warlpiri context, and also the youthfulness of its speakers as opposed to older Warlpiri.

There is intense pressure for all Warlpiri speakers to shift to English at the expense of Warlpiri, and this pressure is being resisted. At the same time the young people participate in the world of English, seen for example in their use of contemporary music styles and multimedia. The speech behaviors of Light Warlpiri speakers, who are multilingual in speaking Warlpiri, Light Warlpiri and varieties of English and/or Kriol, show participation in the use of English, and at the same time resistance to English and maintenance of Warlpiri.

4.2 Social and psycholinguistic influences on the structure of Light Warlpiri

Social and psycholinguistic factors also influence the distribution of elements within Light Warlpiri, specifically the occurrence of ergative case-marking. The influence is seen when children’s processing of word order versus ergative case-marking in transitive sentences in Light Warlpiri is compared to that of the neighbouring mixed language, Gurindji Kriol. By way of background, in Warlpiri and Gurindji, overt core arguments are indicated by ergative case-marking, and in Gurindji this case-marking is obligatory on overt transitive subjects. In contrast, in both Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol ergative case-marking occurs on approximately 60% of overt transitive subjects, and occurs more often when overt transitive subjects are postverbal (Meakins & O’Shannessy 2010; O’Shannessy 2005, 2006).

Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol speakers participated in a language processing task in their respective languages (O’Shannessy & Meakins 2012). In the task young adults and three age groups of children, aged 5–9 years old, heard a transitive sentence spoken and saw two animated transitive events on a screen. The events showed a transitive action being performed by one animate character on another, for example, a camel biting a dog, and also the same



Fig. 1: A still shot of one pair of events that the participants saw.

event with the characters reversed, for example, a dog biting a camel. The participants were asked to point to the event depicted by the sentence. Figure 1 shows a still shot from one pair of animated scenes that the participants saw.

The results show that while speakers of both languages made use of the cues of word order and ergative case-marking to identify referents of transitive subjects, Light Warlpiri speakers relied on ergative marking more often than Gurindji Kriol speakers did. Conversely, Light Warlpiri speakers relied on word order less often than Gurindji Kriol speakers did.

The explanation for the differences is that Light Warlpiri speakers have continual access to Warlpiri, with near-obligatory ergative marking, but Gurindji Kriol speakers do not have the same kind of access to Gurindji (O'Shanhessy & Meakins 2012). Light Warlpiri speakers also speak Warlpiri, and frequently interact with Warlpiri speakers from other communities as well as in their own community. In contrast, Gurindji Kriol speakers usually do not also speak or regularly hear Gurindji, and there are no other Gurindji-speaking communities with whom to interact. Consequently the influence of ergative case-marking in Warlpiri is seen in Light Warlpiri, and the influence of word order in Kriol is seen in Gurindji Kriol. In this way social factors, specifically how much speakers interact in other languages and which languages they interact in, along with the typologies of those languages, influence the typologies of the mixed languages.

5 Conclusion

In sum, this paper shows how both typological and social factors influence the structure of the newly emerged mixed language, Light Warlpiri. The structures of the source languages are necessarily reproduced in the mixed language. The new code also echoes the structures of the code-switching patterns which

preceded it. In addition, although the new code shows radical innovations in the verbal system, these can be traced to influences from Warlpiri grammatical and semantic structure, in concert with English/Kriol forms. The influence of Warlpiri is also seen in less obvious ways, for instance in how the speakers process word order and ergative case marking when listening to transitive sentences. A comparison of verbal forms in Light Warlpiri and Gurindji Kriol shows that they are influenced by the verbal structure of Warlpiri and Gurindji respectively.

Social factors have been shown to play an important role in the formation of Light Warlpiri and in what it now represents for its speakers. Historical events, social interactions with speakers of other languages, and pressure to shift to English have each influenced its development.

Abbreviations

1PL	1 st person plural
2SG	2 nd person singular
COM	comitative
DIS	discourse marker
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer
NONFUT	nonfuture
NPAST	nonpast
PRES	present
TOP	topic
TR	transitive

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Continua of language contact

Abstract: Traditional European societies define languages as expressions of national cultures being intrinsically linked to the nation-state. The geographical distribution and the internal structures of specific languages continue to express elements of the collective memory and the identity of social groups, frequently with a diglossic levelling between *high* and *low* languages of dominant/dominated social entities. However, the concept of language as a finished product tends to enter into collision with globalized post-modern concepts of blurred boundaries and dynamic and progressive evolution in situations of intense contact between the speakers of different languages and code-switching is situated at these crossroads. Interestingly, these rather revolutionary theories have frequently been developed by scholars working in other continents than Europa or America, like Asia or Oceania. Language ecology is one of those new ways of seeing languages. It helps us to observe, describe and analyse complex language contact situations. Like sociolinguistics, ecolinguistics puts the human being in the centre and not the structures themselves, but at the same time, it pays attention to the way that all actors interfere, adapt or change each other through their encounter. In my contribution I will focus on the relationship between language contact, multilingualism and multilingual education in both formal and informal settings.

1 Introduction

25 years of research on language contact in the South Pacific show me that the concept of separated languages is not the most suitable tool for describing communicative situations, at least in other contexts than the European ones. In the same sense, Peter Mühlhäusler (2000:38) states that in Oceania “the notion of a language makes little sense in most traditional societies where people engage in multiple discursive practices among themselves”. Frequently, he speaks about the spaghetti bowl of glosses for Australian languages. Suzanne Romaine (1994: 12) describes the language use in Papua New Guinea in the following way: “<T>he very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artefact fostered by procedures such as literacy and standardization. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artefact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices.”

Therefore, a renewed vision on language and multilingualism is needed to describe communication in a context of linguistic diversity. By parting from

Lambert's ideas developed during the 1970s, Ofelia García (2009: 142) comments the necessary development: "But the subtractive and additive models of bilingualism have proven to be inadequate to describe the linguistic complexity of the 21st century. On the one hand, the additive model insists on developing a second full language that could be accessed entirely on its own, that is, results in double monolingualism. On the other hand, both models start with, or end in, monolingualism, naming one language as clearly the first, and the additional one as the second."

We should ask ourselves whether the idea of a matrix language in language contact is not restrictive in the same way. Why does there have to be a stronger language in a contact situation? And if one language is stronger in some specific situations, why should we generalize this punctual phenomenon in a long-term or diachronic view? By the way, in her most recent presentations and publications, Carole Myers-Scotton herself has moderated her vision of the matrix phenomenon as of two opposed systems with a diglossic background in favour of a more hybrid and composed constellation. I am convinced that the study of language contact should be seen as a whole. The separation of contact phenomena into different branches, according to the social situation or depending on the time span needed in which the contact features emerged is no longer useful and in recent publications like Kriegel and Véronique (2013) or Simonin and Wharton (2013) these fields are presented in a holistic view. Authors like Lüdi (2014) or Aguado (2014) and also publications by Galazzi and Molinari (2007) and Ledegen (2007) describe the different ways in which language contact takes place in the same synthetic manner.

2 Methodological choices for fieldwork on code-switching

How does language contact take place? The best way to answer this question is to study language practices in a sociolinguistic and ecolinguistic meso-approach, by trying to combine micro- and macro-levels of observation. In the same spirit, the late Leo van Lier, in *Ecology and Semiotics of Language Learning* (2004: ix) pointed at the limitations of ecolinguistics for research while being limited only to macro-levels of observation: "There is an important and fascinating tradition of ecology in linguistics (...), but by and by this has focused on the macro aspects of the field. e.g. in terms of language contact, policy, linguistic rights, and so on. Vital though this work is (...), it is worth pointing out that in ecological psychology the focus has been more on the micro side of things."

For a detailed observation of the meso-level of communication within a community, the concept of languaging is very useful, as it focusses on the dia-

logical aspect of language with a scale on which qualitative observation is still possible. The use of a verb (linguaging) instead of a noun (language) does not imprison the activity, whereas a noun delimits much more the scope of the activity – at least in the grammars of European languages – but it puts the focus on the dynamic aspect of language encounter. Several scholars from Freiburg University like Stefan Pfänder or Christian Mair show a similar orientation based on the fluidity of the communication process by insisting on the importance of open linguistic systems where the actors coming from different backgrounds influence each other mutually.

How can we define translanguaging? What does it have in common with the stem of the verb, linguaging, and what makes the distinction between both of them? For García 2009: 140 “Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential. It is an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable in order to make sense of their multilingual worlds. Translanguaging therefore goes beyond what has been termed code-switching, although it includes it.” For our common purpose of study, the code-switching at the crossroads between structural and socio-linguistic perspectives, a functional approach in the sense of García is very useful as the concept of translanguaging broadens the movement described through the expression of code-switching by transcending the mere action of linguaging. In Makoni and Pennycook 2007, the contributors deconstruct entirely the notion of language: for instance Pennycook in his discussion on “The Myth of English as an International Language” follows Sebba and Mühlhäusler by saying that there is no special position for creole languages within the study of linguistics:

The dynamism of creoles (...) throws out a challenge to all study of languages as objects. This argument using the examples of creoles is not, it should be noted, an example of what Degraff (2005) calls “linguists’ most dangerous myth: the fallacy of creole exceptionalism”, which posits creoles as different from other languages. Rather, it is the opposite: It takes creoles as the norm (and not by the strategy of reducing them to ‘real’ languages) and asks other theories of language to justify themselves.
(Pennycook 2007: 106).

In his article which describes all the information linguists can get about language and human communication in general, Christian Cuxac calls creoles “analyseurs langagiers” (in Hombert 2005), like sign languages and other ways of communicating.

In a first step, the prefix “trans” in translanguaging is helpful for clarification, as it puts forward the aspect of transgression. According to the scientific

definition of code-switching, the speaker is supposed to cross language boundaries or to move from the sphere of one language to the sphere of another one. But then, the idea conveyed by “trans” also has its limits. This idea of border-crossing does not always match the speaker’s personal representation: in his or her vision of the communicative act the linguistic items used form a whole. The speaker tries to optimize the functional competence of his message by using all the items at his disposition which are shared with the communicative partners.

Thus, in a combination of both approaches, the scientific one and the personal one, the following questions arise:

- Do the speakers who use code-switching really wish to cross language boundaries?
- Is border-crossing really the object of the users or most of them?
- Are the speakers aware of crossing something? And if the answer is affirmative, what is it? Or what do they perceive to cross?
- What is the aim of their using code-switching? Which factors motivate speakers to use code-switching?

There is a tremendous danger of describing a situation from outside, and to give a misinterpretation of the real motivations of the users of a mean of communication, as code-switching in our case. I propose that we listen better to the users of code-switching as they can give as the best explanation on what they are doing. In some cases, code-switching could just be a mental construct of the observers from outside and not at all what the users would describe as their action. This kind of misunderstanding or discordance in perspective makes me think of the description of Polynesians in most of the European cultural guide books: it is indicated there that they are separated by the water of the ocean flowing between their numerous islands. When you speak with them, you are more likely to hear them say that the water is or used to be their highway and a precious link to their cousins living all over the Pacific Ocean. Frequently, even our scientific definitions stem from sedentary types of society: to stay is the norm and to move is the exception. We can see this in the way research treats mobility, migration and other types of movement of human groups or individual. In other societies, for instance in the group of travellers in Ireland (a name given from outside, i.e. by persons not belonging to the community), the persons or groups that do not move are the exception and there exists a special term for them. A similar phenomenon can be observed in relationship to what is commonly called a handicap. People with intact view would call others who cannot see “blind”, whereas people of this group have a special expressions to refer to “people being able to see” which they consider

as different and sometimes as people having a more reduced general virtual vision of values and important orientations of life.

I quote all these examples to show that for the members of all human groups, it is necessary to relativize their position and to accept that for the same type of situation, there might be different possible ways of interpretation according to the point of view and the individual experience of the person speaking. Therefore, in order to really understand the communicative role of what we as researchers perceive as code-switching, it is extremely important to link the linguistic productions of the speakers to their interpretation of the concrete speech act, by showing them the data collected and asking them to collaborate in the analysis of the data. This is the way I am trying to do my research work.

Concerning code-switching, if we let the users talk, what will they say? In the communities of speakers of contact languages in New Caledonia or Palmerston Island I worked with, people would not focus on the idea of crossing borders between separate systems, but they would say: “I use this item or this information to be understood/or not to be understood.” This bipolarity between closeness and distance is a universal characteristic of human communication, not only in Pacific cultures: in some cases, language is used to create relationship and to exchange information, in others, to maintain distance and to protect oneself from others.

Is there a difference in the use of code-switching between informal contexts like the ones described above and formal ones, like in the educational sector? For example, in Luxembourg schools, code-switching is frequent despite the official rules indicating that it should be avoided. Teachers tell us that they use it in order to optimize the communication flow and to be closer to the students and pupils and according to our interviews. From their point of view, students find it more efficient to communicate in what is often the common mother tongue of the teacher and an important part of the student population rather than to use a language with a status closer to a foreign language like German or French. So this kind of use is not really different from what is done in more natural settings.

Li Wei (2010) gives an interesting definition of translanguaging in relationship to code-switching where it becomes evident that from the very beginning, this term was related to the multilingual classroom:

The term “translanguaging” is often attributed to Cen Williams (1994, 1996) who first used it to describe pedagogical practice in bilingual classrooms where the input (e.g. reading and listening) is in one language and the output (e.g. speaking and writing) in another language. Baker (2006) discusses a range of potential advantages of translanguaging in the bilingual classroom in developing the learner’s academic language skills in both lan-

guages. Garcia (2009) extended the notion of translanguaging to refer to “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (p. 45, original emphasis). Her use of the term covers multilingual practices which have traditionally been described as code-switching, code-mixing, crossing, creolization, etc. (Li Wei 2010: Page)

At the same time, the author opens the reflexion to the cultural space in general, in a combination of rest and movement:

The notion of translanguaging space is particularly relevant to multilinguals not only because of their capacity to use multiple linguistic resources to form and transform their own lives, but also because the space they create through their multilingual practices, or translanguaging, has its own transformative power. It is a space where the process of what Bhabba (1994) calls “cultural translation” between traditions takes place; it is not a space where different identities, values and practices simply coexist, but combine together to generate new identities, values and practices. The boundaries of a translanguaging space are ever-shifting; they exist primarily in the mind of the individual who creates and occupies it, and the construction of the space is an ongoing, lifelong process. (Li Wei 2010: page)

This idea of the third space in which linguistic elements are no longer linked to national languages, but to the communicative objective of their speakers would bring quite important changes to educational contexts.

Cenoz and Goikoetxea (2010: 74) describe the multilingual communicative competence at school, in a holistic approach which is close to Li Wei’s description: “A holistic perspective implies changes in the curriculum so that the different languages are not completely isolated by creating strong boundaries between them.” For the traditional way of teaching languages, this is quite a big revolution. The European Reference Framework (North 2000) also reflects this change of paradigm for language policy in educational settings.

My field of observation of dynamic language contact processes in the field of education is situated at the crossroads between institutional learning and natural appropriation of languages and my examples are taken from my two main field research periods, in New Caledonia where I studied Tayo, a creole language that generated in the boarding school of the Marist fathers in Saint Louis tribe for almost 20 years and in Luxembourg where I have been working in teacher education since 2006, especially in the fields of language awareness and the management of linguistic and cultural diversity.

In “Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages” by Makoni and Pennycook, Ofelia Garcia states: “If language is an invention, then we must observe closely the way in which people use language and base our pedagogical practices on that use, and not on what the school system says are valuable practices.” (Garcia 2007: xiii). On the ground of her fieldwork and observation in

schools, she comes to the conclusion that “(...) the distance between the invented languages that schools have chosen to teach and assess in and the children’s practices only grows larger.” (Garcia 2007: xiv). In a wider vision, code-switching or translanguaging are an excellent revelatory of contact mechanisms. There is a grammar of code-switching in the different places I have studied. Even if you are in command of all the different languages that are used in a situation of code-switching, you will have to learn the grammar of switching if you want to communicate like a “native switcher” of a specific location. This is one of the most powerful mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion for a new person coming to a multilingual place. On the ground of my studies I came to the conclusion that code-switching and contact languages are strongly linked, they are like the expression of the same mechanism, only seen under a different time frame. The following mathematical formula shows this relationship:

$$KS = cs \times \infty (t) \times \infty (P)$$

This means in full words: Creole languages are equivalent to code-switching during a longer or unlimited duration of time by an important or unlimited number of people.

3 Case studies

There are different degrees of approaching diversity in multilingual schools. Our examples from Luxembourg and New Caledonia show cases of very high diversity compared to other places in the world and their findings might help other national education systems to address the issue of linguistic and cultural diversity which is becoming a global challenge. In Luxembourg, this diversity is due to the centuries-old multilingual history of the country and a high level of immigration during the last hundred years (Ehrhart & Fehlen 2011). In Saint-Louis, the mission was the creation of the Catholic Fathers in the late 19th century (about 1860) with young people bringing more than 20 Pacific languages spoken in New Caledonia to the school environment. In both cases, there was and is still an official ideology trying to rule language policies applied in the educational system and at the same time, pupils and teachers show autonomous initiatives that do not always go in the same direction. Quite often, the free strategies employed by the children and also the adults happen to be more effective for communication, especially in their use of efficient code-switching and we think that we should more often have a look at their solu-

tions, in order to create innovative school environments with linguistic and cultural ecologies that are respectful of the resources of all participants. In such complex types of linguistic ecologies, the individuals try to optimize the result of the communicative process by combining their repertoires. What is seen as the drawing from two distinct source languages by the observer from outside is considered as a unity by the user him- or herself. Ofelia García says (2009: 140): “Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various models of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential.”

By discussing the link between language and identity at school during the 2010 conference hosted by our research groups LACETS and NaturaLink from Luxembourg University, Alastair Pennycook put forward that we still teach separation of languages in our schools. He encouraged us to find ways to reach a more integrative vision of what we are doing with languages in our educational systems and to valorise the integrative approach. According to Cook 2008, by building upon our potential in multicompetence, our languages form “one connected system, rather than each language being a separate system” (Cook 2008). This concept of functional multilingualism was the starting point for the DYLAN project based in Basilea. Its analytical framework is aiming at “a better understanding of complex processes in which key aspects of language learning and communicational practices are combined. This should lead to recommendations for more robust and systematic language policies”.

My work on classroom ecology merges eco-critical discourse analysis and the ecology of languages, two ecological approaches that should be seen as complementary. Our observations in the schools from the two multilingual places we were studying show us a wide-fledged array of linguistic, discursive, strategic and pragmatic competences used in classroom communication (code-switching, receptive bilingualism, creation of new contact languages, rising of linguistic and cultural awareness, inclusion of formerly invisible languages and symbolic multilingualism into the curriculum) used in an extremely functional and efficient way with extreme fine-tuning of the translanguaging tools according to the different situations.

The relation between structural and social factors is evident in this field and code-switching is an excellent indicator of contact mechanisms. There is a grammar of code-switching in the different places I have studied. Even if you are in command of all the different languages that are used in a situation of code-switching, you will have to learn the grammar of switching if you want to communicate like a “native switcher” of a specific location. This is one of the most powerful mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion for a new person coming to a place.

According to the context and the environment, the subject treated and the linguistic competence of the speakers, the rhythm of the linguistic border-crossing can be very quick and frequent, with several changes even in one sentence or linguistic unit (this is the case in places with a high degree of linguistic diversity and where the languages are intertwined in their use like in Luxembourg or in most traditional Pacific Island States) or slow and preceded by an announcement to warn before the code-switching (in countries with a more monolingual habit in the official language use like France or Germany). The degree of permeability between two or more linguistic systems is what is expressed by the difference between multilingualism (several languages existing in parallel systems for one person or a community) and plurilingualism (the languages of a person or of a community are intertwined in a way that can be considered as ecologically sound). Structurally speaking, the first type would express itself more in a code-switching that is close to loan phenomena and based principally on isolated nouns or small “frozen” expressions, whereas the second type of code-switchers would be much more at ease in the different languages used, by drawing from all grammatical categories and even mixing within a single word. The first type needs strong “triggers” in order to cross the border, this may be the lack of vocabulary in one of the used languages or the strong connection of one word to one linguistic community. In the second type of more dynamic border crossers, the energy needed to change the language is less and can sometimes not even be detected by the observer. This type of code-switching is more likely to lead to a more stable creole, or a community of speakers of a contact language who considers the new system as an entire part of their new identity.

We have already mentioned the strong link between code-switching and the development of contact languages are strongly linked. To compare them through our research can help to have a clearer sight of contact phenomena altogether, be that in more fluid or more fossilized shapes.

The advantage of Luxembourg as an important European workplace with a high international standing gave me a lot of important insights in cases of language combination. This openness to mixed forms in language, culture and communication is not only due to the existence of different languages in the same place, but much more to the fact that the Luxembourgers are used to switch between languages in a very dynamic, flexible and adaptive manner. For newcomers from outside the country in professional settings this practice is an enormous chance: something that was learned on the edge of the curriculum or even in a forbidden space, but has become a central force of the people having followed the Luxembourgish educational system (cf. Ehrhart & Langinier, project on the diversity of the working place languages, in preparation).

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