31

Code-switching/mixing

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31.1 TERMINOLOGICAL AND OTHER PRELIMINARIES

Whereas humans have doubtlessly been switching codes for as long as there have been bilinguals, the phenomenon of code-switching has only received attention in linguistics, from the mid-1950s onwards – Alvarez Cáccamo (1998) traces the first mention of the term back to Vogt (1954) – and large-scale research on code-switching did not start before the late 1970s. Of course it had not escaped previous research on language contact that speakers switch between languages (cf. Paul's chapter on 'language mixture', 1898: 365–77); however, this was considered an externally-induced mishap due entirely to psychological or social factors (incompetence, laziness, lack of education) which did not merit linguistic investigation and was, in any case, temporary ('man wird von der Zweisprachigkeit wieder zur Einsprachigkeit gelangen' [one will arrive at monolingualism from bilingualism in the end], Paul, 1898: 366). In the light of this neglect, we can doubtlessly discover a monolingual bias which was characteristic of linguistics for a long time: the beginnings of the discipline (in the early nineteenth century) coincided – not by chance – with the triumph of the nation-state with its ideology of 'one nation–one language'. In this ideology, multilingual language use had no place (Auer, 2007a; Heller, 2007; Pujolar, 2007), even though forms of language contact (borrowing in particular, but also pidgin and creole formation) did. The enormous interest code-switching and related practices have found in linguistics over the last three decades is at least in part (i.e. in addition to internal developments in linguistics) due to the demise of the monolingual national language ideologies which have become more and more unrealistic in the age of globalization, transnationalism and migration. Today, multilingual practices are an undisputed everyday phenomenon, even in the European nation-states which hitherto considered themselves to be monolingual (see Stroud, 2007 for a view beyond Europe).

Despite three decades of intensive research, the field is still lacking an accepted terminology, and there are serious disputes about issues that are partly terminological in nature. It is therefore necessary to start by clarifying the terminology used here before discussing the subject matter itself.

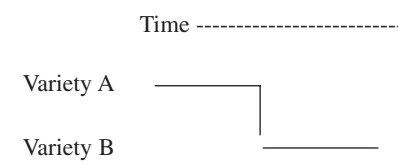
There is general agreement that a distinction needs to be made between bilingualism as the mental ability to speak two languages, and the practice of doing so. Even though it is rare (and usually the result of an oppressive, nationalistic language policy), it can happen that a bilingual speaker exclusively performs (and passes) as a monolingual. Far more common is 'bilingual talk', particularly when two or more participants are bilingual in the same languages. In bilingual talk, the two languages in the speaker's mind are put to use in such a way that his or her bilingualism becomes a visible interactional and social fact. In the concatenation of linguistic elements for a larger unit, if elements of both language A

and language B occur in juxtaposition, we speak of 'code-switching/mixing' (see Section 31.3, for a definition of these two terms). 'Concatenation' can refer to any syntagmatic combination, such as the sequencing of conversational turns within an interactional episode, the sequencing of turn constructional units within a turn at talk, or the linking of words within an independent syntactic unit ('sentence') or morphemes within a word. There are other features of bilingual talk which are usually not included under the heading code-switching/mixing, such as interferences; for instance, a phonological segment or a prosodic feature of language B may be used in a word from language A, or in a sequence of words from language B. In sum, code-switching/mixing implies the use of elements from more than one language in the formulation process, where these elements are at the level of the morpheme or higher (lower threshold), and occur within a unit that must not be larger than the interactional episode (upper threshold).

Obviously, both the upper and the lower thresholds are somewhat fuzzy. Restricting code-switching/mixing to practices **within** an interactional episode excludes language choice **for** an episode (in the sense of an 'encounter'; see Goffmann, 1963 for the complexities involved in determining the boundaries of such units). The lower level is debatable, too. For instance, some researchers have argued that – contrary to borrowing – code-switching/mixing is not possible word-internally (Poplack's free morpheme constraint (1980); see also the discussion below), while others have argued against this restriction (e.g. Berruto, 2005). On the other hand, there are cases where one might argue that a shift of prosody or the ad hoc use of a foreign sound (such as a 'French' uvular fricative /R/ in the coda by a speaker of Italian which usually has apical /r/) may indeed show all the functional qualities of code-switching (Alvarez Cáccamo, 1998). However, such a wide notion of code-switching has not seen general use in linguistics.

Another problem is the meaning of 'code' in code-switching. In the preceding paragraph, we started from the presupposition that the codes of code-switching/mixing are what are usually called languages ('English', 'Swahili', 'Basque',…). Given the notorious difficulties in distinguishing languages from other varieties, such as dialects, and the danger of equating languages with standard languages, it is more fitting to think of codes in terms of varieties. (In Section 31.3 it is argued that this definition is not entirely adequate either.) There is no a priori linguistic reason to treat code-switching/mixing between, say, Catalan and Castilian (generally considered to be languages) differently from code-switching/mixing between Bavarian (generally considered to be a dialect of German) and Standard German – the structural difference is roughly the same, and comparatively small. However, different forms of switching/mixing may occur between closely-related varieties. They are linked to another problem that to be kept in mind: the orthodox way of dealing with code-switching/mixing implies that the transition from language A into language B is abrupt. There is a precisely defined point in speech at which a set of co-occurring linguistic features (variety A) is exchanged for another set of features (variety B).

Orthodox switching/mixing:

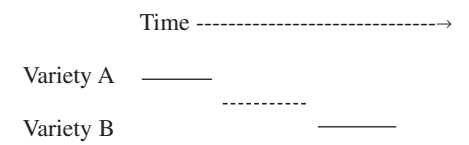


In reality, this often doesn't hold. First of all, it may be the case that while speaking one variety (A), a speaker may happen to use (or strategically employ) linguistic structures of A that are similar to/or the same as those in B (such as cognates or homophones). Clyne (1980, 2003: 162ff.) discusses many examples of this phenomenon under the heading of 'triggering' (1980) or 'facilitation' (2003). For instance, a Dutch/English bilingual speaker may say:

(1) (Clyne 200 3: 171; second-generation immigrant in Australia)
Ik hebt een kop of tea or something
I have-2SG a cup of tea or something
'I'll have a cup of tea or something'

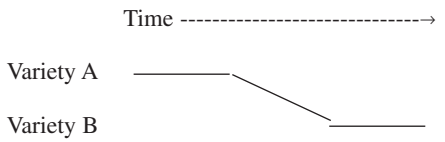
Dutch *kop* is a (near) homophone of English *cup*. Having produced *kop* brings the two languages closer to each other and may facilitate transition into English. In contrast to the figure above for orthodox code-switching/mixing, the transition is not abrupt but goes through an ambiguous zone:

Facilitated code-switching/mixing:



The problem of deciding where variety B starts may be aggravated when the facilitating structure is a loanword from variety B. In dialect/standard contact, there are even cases of gradual

'code-gliding', in which it is impossible to identify when the transition into the other code starts and when the new variety is reached (an example is given in Auer, 1986).



The point is that the more closely varieties are related structurally, the more the speakers' repertoires may be organized in a non-dichotomic way, allowing for numerous compromise forms in which ambiguous elements of A and B combine.

A ubiquitous instance of convergence, which is particularly hard to distinguish from code-switching/mixing, is **borrowing**. There can be no doubt that established borrowings (often called loanwords) – those which can be found in dictionaries and are used and/or known by monolingual speakers as well – do not constitute switching/mixing. However, there is considerable disagreement whether single, ad hoc insertions of lexical material from language B into a language A frame should be considered so (for a summary of arguments against this, see Poplack, 2004). It is obvious that ad hoc (or nonce) borrowings may become established borrowings in the long run if they are used repeatedly and eventually passed on from the bilinguals to B-monolinguals. Since this process can only be gradual, it is impossible to decide whether each individual borrowed token is ad hoc or established. Semantic criteria – above all the question of whether there is a corresponding non-borrowed word with approximately the same meaning available in variety B, or whether the borrowing fills a lexical gap – may influence whether a word becomes an established loan, but they cannot indicate on which point of the integration scale the word is at a given moment. Structural integration of the borrowed element into the matrix language seems like a good criterion, but upon closer examination it leads to inclusive results as well. Phonetic integration is in itself gradual, and morphological integration is often absent since ad hoc borrowings into morphologically-rich varieties often do not receive morphological marking (*bare forms*; cf. Budhzak-Jones and Poplack, 1997). It is therefore difficult/impossible to define an exact break-off point between loanwords and borrowed words. The only way out of this dilemma is definitional, not empirical. To give an example: Adalar and Tagliamonte (1998) found in a corpus of Turkish/English data, collected among ex-London migrants in Cyprus, that most English words inserted into Turkish utterances received the morphological marking required by Turkish morphology. For instance:

(2) from Adalar and Tagliamonte (1998: 152)[1]

Ehh	*ingiltere+nin*	*SHOP+lar+ı+nı*	*özle+r*
Ehh	England-GEN	shop-PL-POSS-AKK	miss-3SG.AOR

'ehh she misses England's shops'

The authors argue that since *shop* is fully integrated morphologically and syntactically, it should be considered a borrowing, not a code-switch, while the (unlikely, and non-attested) version:

(2)' [fabricated]

Ehh	*ingiltere'nin*	*SHOPS*	*özler*

would be considered a case of switching/mixing. The counter-argument is that in **both** versions the grammatical systems of Turkish and English are activated and therefore no categorical distinction is necessary, but both alternatives can be handled within one model (Myers-Scotton 2002: 154–7). In the end, the controversy amounts to a terminological decision.

A final question to be dealt with in this introductory section may come as a surprise: Do code-switchers have to be bilinguals? The answer obviously depends on what is meant by bilingualism. But it is clear that code-switching is still possible with very little bilingual ability. Speakers can signal affiliation with a bilingual group by using token elements from a language of which they have only minimal proficiency (Reershemius, 2001, etc.), and in certain forms of 'crossing' speakers may mimic or imitate bilingual speakers by using what they think is typical of them (see Auer, 2006 for further references), without being bilingual themselves. These forms of code-switching have only moved into the focus of sociolinguistic research quite recently, but they are powerful interactional strategies. In all these cases, the switching speakers are not usually called bilinguals, even in a very liberal sense of the word, and, surely in the case of crossing, they would not even consider themselves to be bilingual.

The upshot of this preliminary section is that even to say what code-switching ~~is not a difficult task/mixing~~ is **not** a difficult task. In Sections 31.3 and 31.4, we will try to identify certain forms of switching and mixing which can be given a more precise structural and functional analysis. However, it is not only the linguistic side of switching/mixing which is hard to define but also the social side is complex. Before we move into more detailed accounts of how switching and mixing can occur, in Section 31.2 we look into the social structures which it indexes and in which it is embedded.

31.2 THE SOCIAL MEANING OF CODE-SWITCHING/MIXING

Although forms of bilingual talk such as code-switching and mixing are widespread, they do not occur in all bilingual speakers or communities. For instance, although almost all Luxemburgers with *Lëtzebuergesch* as their first language are also fluent in French, (frequent) code-switching between these varieties is rare. Using *Lëtzebuergesch* is the unmarked way of signalling one's belonging to the non-immigrant part of Luxemburg society, and French is used in public and in many institutions; the alternating use of these languages, however, would constitute a marked occurrence. Quite in contrast, code-switching/mixing is the unmarked way of speaking among many second- and third-generation Turkish/German bilinguals among themselves, while speaking monolingual Turkish is marked. Different language ideologies are involved here, which regiment the ways in which linguistic behaviour becomes meaningful and even normative in the constitution of social groups and their boundaries. This also applies to the evaluation of bilingual talk. While it is true that in many contexts bilingual talk is evaluated negatively against the background of a monolingual language ideology, it is easy to find counter-examples as soon as one looks outside the modern European nation-states. Both in societies predating these nation-states, and in those outside the reach of the Herderian idea of (monolingual standard) language reflecting and justifying nationhood, code-switching may be typical for the social and educational élites. For instance, code-switching between Latin and a vernacular language was widespread among intellectuals in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (cf. Stolt, 1965; McLelland, 2004), code-switching between Russian and French was held in high esteem in the nineteenth century Russian upper classes (Timm, 1978) and English/Kiswahili switching is evaluated positively by the East African élites (cf. Blommaert, 1992 on Tanzania). In these cases of **élite code-switching**, it is doubtlessly the prestige of the bilingual talkers which lends prestige to their language; in all cases, certain linguistic resources (such as knowledge of 'good' Latin, French and English) are scarce and access to them is restricted by the educational system. A local élite in these cases combines an internationally prestigious variety with a local vernacular, thereby excluding both those who have no access to the international prestige variety and those who are not familiar with the local vernacular (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). By contrast, code-switching in the lower classes (e.g. immigrant labour) and at the peripheries of society is lacking in prestige because their speakers lack prestige (and their 'other' language has no value on the linguistic market).

Code-swiching/mixing receives its social function and meaning from a complex of interacting dimensions, among them the prestige and value of the varieties involved on the linguistic market, the social powers that regulate this market, the specific constellations of majority/ minorities (or centre/periphery) within a society that relate to these forms of power, the accessibility of language resources, and the ideologies around the languages and their (bilingual or monolingual) use. The evaluation and social interpretation of code-switching/mixing is thus dependent on a specific 'political economy of code choice' (Gal, 1988; Heller, 1992). Three examples illustrate this point.

The first case (Example 3) takes place in a small shop for household articles in Chişinău, the capital of Moldova (the former Moldovan Republic of the Soviet Union). Since 1991, the official language of the Republic of Moldova has been Moldovan-Romanian. (This variety was closely related to Romanian, the state language of the neighbouring Republic of Romania, but diverged from it while the area was under Russian control in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the exact nature and degree of divergence and the influence of Russian is disputed.) Despite the official status of Romanian, a large group of the population of Moldova mainly or exclusively speaks Russian, particularly Russians who immigrated to the area during the Soviet period. In Chişinău, the position of Moldovan-Romanian is strong when compared to the countryside and smaller towns, due to the support it receives from the state institutions which require all officials to be fluent in the official language. However, public life is still largely dominated by Russian. In Example 3, a salesperson (B) and a client in the shop (A) are talking in Romanian, when another client (C) enters:

(3) (from Cechirlan, 2008) (A, C = clients, B = salesperson)

A: *bunăziua,*
hello

B: *spuneti vă rog, aveţi pampersuri numă raul cinci?*
do you have pampers number five?

A: *da (-)*
yes

B: *în mare packet*
in large packages

A: *da (-)*

B: *daţi-mi, unul mare;*
give them to me, a large one;

A: *unul mare?*
a large one?
B: *mare da (-)*
a large one yes
→C: *женщина, у вас случайно лампочек нет?*
listen, do you happen to have bulbs?
→B: *<<laughing> есть случайно;>*
we happen to have them;
C: *<<happily> да: :>*
yeah::!
B: *три лея (--) вам на что,*
three Lei (--) what do you need them for
C: *мне на сто ватт;*
I need 100W
→A: *da în ce prêţ îs ele,*
how much are they? (referring to the pampers)
→B: *două sute patruzecişipatru nouăzeci;*
two hundred forty four and ninety.

The three participants do not know each other. The salesperson, obviously a Russian/Moldovan bilingual, speaks Romanian with the first client but easily switches to Russian in the first arrowed line, after the second client has asked her a question in that language. The reason is not simple accommodation to the language of the customer. Rather, there is a general rule of preference according to which language choice is organized in Moldova. This rule of preference implies that Russian is spoken as soon as one participant wishes to do so. This means that in public, and particularly among strangers, the use of Russian is still more frequent than the use of Romanian. The pattern reflects the pre-1989 dominance of Russian, and of course the power and prestige of the Russian part of the population. It has survived the collapse of the Soviet Union due in part to the monolingualism of the Russian part of the population which is only slowly giving way to Russian/Romanian bilingualism in the younger generations. More importantly, it is also the result of the continuing differences in the evaluation of these languages on the linguistic market where (Moldovan) Romanian only starts to supplant the prestige of Russian. The customer's use of Russian and the salesperson's switch into this language choice are not necessarily motivated politically, nor do they necessarily index the customer's Russian monolingualism. They just comply with the general preference for Russian in public.

Compare to this the following example (Example 4) from Estonia. Russian is in contact with the national language of Estonia, i.e. Estonian. The following utterance is from a Russian-dominant (Russian) saleswoman who offers cranberries at a market in which many customers are ethnically Estonian, and linguistically bilingual in Russian and Estonian:

(4) (from Verschik (2005), Estonian underlined)
Очень хорошие, <u>värske</u> и <u>väg magus</u>
Very good-NOM.PL fresh-NOM.SG. and very sweet-NOM.SG

The speaker uses a Russian grammatical pattern (set by the initial-turn constructional unit, *очень хорошие*, a modified adjective with the appropriate plural nominative ending, referring to the cranberries). Into this pattern, she inserts Estonian words in the second turn constructional unit of her utterance: namely, the adjective *värske* 'fresh' and the modified adjective *vägmagus* 'very sweet', conjoined by the Russian conjunction *и* 'and'. These Estonian adjectives receive no morphological marking for plural, although Russian and Estonian both require case **and** number marking in adjectives; they are inserted as bare forms into Russian. Verschik (2005) argues that mixtures of Russian and uninflected Estonian, as in Example 4, are systematically used by Russian-dominant speakers in order to accommodate linguistically the potential Estonian buyers. This is a compromise strategy used by Russians who know little Estonian. As in the first case, the salesperson converges towards the language preferences of her costumers, but the structure in which the two languages are juxtaposed is different (sentence-internal mixture). Even more important, the social interpretation the mixing receives reflects different ways in which the two languages are evaluated on the linguistic market, and they therefore reflect a different constellation of power. Pre-1989, the social value of Estonian and Russian was similar to that of Moldavian-Romanian and Russian in Moldavia. But due to the political, social and economic developments in Estonia, the 'Moldavian' rule of preference – switch to Russian as soon as your co-participant wishes to – no longer holds; Estonian as the national language is in a more powerful position than Moldavian-Romanian today, and although a large part of the Russian population in Estonia still knows very little Estonian, the pressure to acquire this language is high. The market woman in the example is likely to have lived most of her life in an environment in which knowledge of Estonian was not necessary at all, and she will have had few opportunities offered by the institutions to learn Estonian after 1989. But she has had to change her old patterns of monolingual Russian language behaviour. Note that most of the potential buyers know Russian, i.e. mixing is not a matter of how to transmit information efficiently here; monolingual Russian just does not 'sell' any longer. And since the market

woman's knowledge of Estonian is not sufficient to switch into this language altogether, she resorts to a compromise strategy which makes her mixing of Estonian and Russian acceptable to Estonians as a sign of good will and of her submission to the new norms and ideologies of public language use.

The third example (Example 5) is again from a different context. Three adolescent girls are gossiping during group work time in the Danish/German school (*Dyborg skolen*) in Flensburg, Germany (where Danish is an official minority language). We find a mixture of these two languages, which neither formally nor functionally equals either of the previous examples.

(5) (from: Kühl, 2008: 202, Danish/German in South Schleswig, Germany, German underlined):

L:	*vi skal arbejde nu*
	we have to work now
A:	((laughs)) *halløjsa*
	hallo hallo
→L:	*gleich kommt lonepigebarn.*
	soon comeslone-girl
→	*så er det slut med lustig.*
	then it's done-with-fun
	æh vi skal nu lige arbejde lidt ((…))
	uhm we have to work now a bit

The interaction starts in Danish, but L switches into German in the first arrowed line. *Lonepigebarn* is an ad hoc compound made up of a proper name (*Lone*, the name of the girls' teacher) and the Danish compound *pigebarn* ('girl+child', which is unusual, as the usual word for 'girl' is *pige*). It is used as a nickname for the teacher here (presumably because she calls the girls *pigebarn* in class). More interesting is the following line (second arrow), where *slut med lustig* is modelled word for word on the German idiom *schluss mit lustig* and which does not exist in Danish. The last word (the adjective *lustig* is used in the slot of a noun after the preposition *med*) is German, which turns the formulation into a double interfered calque. This calque doesn't just happen – it is produced on the spot for interactional purposes. The speaker plays with the two languages and intermediate forms in an act of performance (see the discussion of similar cases in Fabian, 1990; Woolard, 1989; Hinnenkamp, 2005). What is the social meaning of this artificially (and artfully) produced hybrid? First, we need to take into consideration that the interaction takes place in a school which is dominated by a 'speak Danish' ideology. The Danish minority in the north of Germany (*Südschleswig*) is not based on descent or linguistic knowledge but on membership by self-declaration. Most of its members grow up with German and only learn Danish in kindergarten or later. In everyday life, German is by far dominant. Danish is considered a symbol (and proof) of belonging to the Danish minority, but it is legitimate to acquire (instead of possess) Danish competence. The Danish traditionally spoken in the area diverges in many aspects from the old Copenhagen-based standard language which is taught at the Danish school in Flensburg (a standard not even popular among Copenhagen adolescents today). School Danish (the variety of Danish enforced by the institution) therefore offers little in terms of identity and affiliation. The adolescent girls in the example interact in the context of an institution which explicitly fosters the use of standard Danish and in which monolingual German, 'bad' Danish and bilingual talk are all disfavoured: see Musk (2006) for Welsh schools in Wales as another example. Playing around with the languages (instead of trying to speak 'good Danish') is for them an act of rebellion against, and subversion of, the linguistic norms of the school. Many examples of this are given by Kühl (2008, Ch. 8); see Jaspers (2005) for a similar example.

In all three examples (Examples 3–5), two languages are combined in some way or other, but in each case, code-switching/mixing has very different social meanings.

There have been attempts to develop an overarching theory of language and society which can predict the meaningfulness of code-switches and mixings across social embeddings, but they are based on too narrow an idea of bilingualism, bilingual (or multilingual) communities, and code-switching/mixing. The first influential theory is based on John Gumperz' distinction between we-code and they-code (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). This simple but persuasive idea is that in a bilingual group of speakers, one of the codes is associated with the larger, monolingual society and the other is associated with the minority to which the speakers themselves belong. By choosing the latter, the speaker positions him- or herself as being part of the 'local team'. Of course, this model is only applicable in sociolinguistic contexts in which there is a clear difference between a majority and a minority group, and a corresponding majority and minority language.

It is crucial to develop a methodology by which the we-code and they-code can be identified. Researchers usually refer to certain domains of usage. In other words, one often finds that code A is used in more formal situations in which co-participants do not know each other, and in certain institutional settings, particularly those which imply an asymmetrical relationship, while code B is used in informal situations among equals such as friends, family members and

the like. However, in the three examples (Examples 3–5) discussed, it is difficult to identify these domains, just as it is difficult to say who the 'local team' is and how this relates to the 'minority language'. For instance, in Example 5, German seems to be the students' 'we-code', but Danish, if anything, is the minority language in Flensburg (or Germany).

Elsewhere (Auer, 1984a), I have called approaches like the we/they-code model **semantic** because they build on the presupposition that the codes have a meaning which is independent of the local context in which they are used. This meaning is then channelled into the interaction and becomes relevant in it. In the unmarked case, i.e. where the situation 'fits' the language, no further inference is required. In the marked case, i.e. when language choice and the type of situation diverge, meanings are created on the basis of situation-specific inferencing (Blom and Gumperz, 1972 speak of 'metaphorical' code-switching here). The same idea underlies Myers-Scotton's model of rational choice, in which the semantics of the codes are called 'rights-and-obligation sets' (e.g. 1988, 1993a). The theory is more flexible than a simple we/they-code model, but faces the same problem: in many cases of code-switching/mixing, the rights and obligations of the two codes are not easy to establish, since they are not trans-situationally stable and the association of languages and their situational usage domains is ambiguous and open to negotiation (see Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994 for a critique). As in Gumperz' model, in which the situationally unexpected use of another language is said to receive a metaphorical meaning (the speaker behaves as if the situation was such as to require the use of the new language), the interpretation and social meaning of 'marked code-switching' in Myers-Scotton's model is calculated against the background of a markedness matrix ('the speaker is attempting to treat the rights and obligations in effect in the current exchange as if they were the same as in an exchange where the marked choice is unmarked' Myers-Scotton 1998 [2000: 1267]). Such an approach is of some value for the interpretation of our Moldavian/Russian example (an unmarked switch into Russian), but of no help in the interpretation of the Estonian/Russian and the Danish/German examples. This is not only because the rights-and-obligation sets attached to the codes in play are not uncontested in the community, and in constant flux. The main reason is that although the code-switching/code-mixing speakers make rational (intentional, though not necessarily conscious) choices, and although these choices are reflexively related to the values attached to them, their interactional effect depends essentially on their situational and sequential embedding.

Mixed and hybrid utterances (such as those in Examples 4 and 5 above) are sometimes explained by a model of code-switching which starts from the assumption that, in bilingual talk, speakers wish to co-activate two identities at the same time, or remain ambiguous between the two (see, for instance, Myers-Scotton, 1988 or Pfaff, 2003). Although it is true that code-switching can be used to display identities (cf. Bailey, 2007; de Fina, 2007), and that it can create ambiguity (of language choice and of the definition of the situation, cf. Heller, 1988b), it does not in and of itself index ambiguous identities. Code-switchers do not have their souls torn in two parts; they are what they are (Moldavians, Estonians of Russian ethnicity, Germans who self-select to be part of the Danish minority), and this may in some contexts be best and most naturally expressed by bilingual talk.

I have chosen three examples in which it is difficult to identify one bilingual speech community to which all co-participants belong. For instance, it may be asked whether there is one Moldavian/Estonian speech community (or do the Estonians/Moldavians belong to one community, and the Russians to another?). Most research on code-switching presupposes a bilingual speech community, which is located in one territory; typically, this is the case of an old (autochthonous) linguistic minority (even though this may downplay internal differences). It is increasingly understood, however, that the bilingual speech community is at best a working construct for starting field work, but that its boundaries are constructed, and that membership is gradual (Rampton, 2000).

31.3 CODE-SWITCHING AS A CONVERSATIONAL ACTIVITY

So far I have used the terms code-switching and code-mixing without defining them. In the literature, the latter term is often used to refer to sentence-internal switching, while code-switching is reserved for cases of language alternation within independent syntactic units. I have proposed (e.g. in Auer, 1999) a different definition which captures a more fundamental and less superficial distinction. The term code-switching will be reserved for cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants. The term mixing, on the other hand, will be used for those cases of language juxtaposition in which the use of two languages is only meaningful (to participants) as a recurrent pattern, but not in each individual case. The fact that code-switching is more common between full syntactic units falls

out naturally in this approach (see below, (e)). Frequent code-switching may be the first step towards a mixed speaking style (as argued by Myers-Scotton, 1988/2000 and Auer, 1999). Under this approach, code-switching may be described as follows:

(a) It occurs in a sociolinguistic context in which speakers orient towards a preference for one language at a time; i.e. it is usually possible to identify the language-of-interaction which is valid at a given moment, and when the switch itself occurs.
(b) By departing from this established language-of-interaction, code-switching signals 'otherness' of the upcoming contextual frame and thereby achieves a change of 'footing'. The precise interpretation of this new footing needs to be 'filled in' in each individual case, a process in which previous experiences may be brought to bear on the interpretation of the case at hand.
(c) Nonetheless, the mechanisms by which code-switching generates meaning can be described in a general way. Contexts are innumerable, as are the interactional meanings of code-switching; however, the ways in which these meanings are constructed remain constant from one community to the next.
(d) Code-switching may be a personal or group style. As a group style, its use may be subject to normative constraints valid within a speech community; however, it is not a variety in its own right.
(e) Most code-switches occur at major syntactic and prosodic boundaries (at the clause or sentence level).[2] Since switching is activity-related, the utterance units affected by the switch must be large enough to constitute such an activity. For this reason, code-switching provides little interesting data for syntactic research.
(f) Although code-switching bilinguals may be highly proficient in both languages, balanced proficiency is by no means a prerequisite. Indeed, code-switching is possible with a very limited knowledge of the 'other' language.

Before looking into some forms and functions of code-switching, we have to return to the notion of a 'code'. Code-switching means that a set of co-occurring linguistic features is exchanged for another set of co-occurring features more or less at the same point in time, **which is perceived as such by the co-participants**. The co-occurring features may be those of a language or a dialect, but it is obvious that the definition is wide enough to include many other sets of features as well. Apart from instances that are not usually thought to belong to the field of bilingualism (such as the code-switch between two different sets of prosodic features), the most noteworthy type of code-switching in bilingual talk apart from code-switching between varieties is code-switching between a monolingual and a mixed style, or between two mixed styles[3] (for examples, see Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998; Gafaranga, 2000). Meeuwis and Blommaert speak of 'layered code-switching', because code-switching seems to occur within code-switching. In the terminology proposed here, it is language mixing that occurs within code-switching. Frequently, this kind of second-order bilingual talk occurs in emigration contexts among speakers who at home used to mix a colonial and a local language. In Example 6, the participants are exiled speakers from Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) recorded in the 1990s in Belgium. One of the speakers (A) usually speaks a French/Lingala mixed style, others (B, C) a mixed style of French and Swahili. All are proficient in both mixed codes. In Belgian exile, Lingala/French is unmarked with respect to Swahili/French.

(6) (from Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998: 89–90) (simple italics = Lingala, underlined = French, small capitals = Swahili)

A: *ezalaki mokolo ya <u>bonne année</u> tokutanaki na Matonge.*
it was on New Year's day, we met in Matonge [a Zairian neighbourhood in Brussels]

B: *na ndako?*
at home?

A: *na <u>Namur</u> wana*
lat Namur [=Porte de Namur, a well-known traffic junction in Brussels]

B: *awa na <u>Bruxelles</u>?*
here in Brussels?

A: *ee*
Yes

→ B→C: *NIKUPATIE coca?*
shall I get you a Coke?

C: *HAPANA SAA HII.*
not now

B: *NANI- ILE SOKO IKO <u>fatigue</u>.*
what- that market is exhausting.

→A: *hein?*[4]
sorry?

B: *zando wana eza <u>fatigue</u>.*
that market is exhausting.

A: *ah. <u>Heureusement qu</u>'okei lelo <u>dimanche</u>! Mm!*
you're lucky you went on Sunday. I say!
((walks into the kitchen))

→B: *UKO UNASEMA MUTU ATEMBEE APITE, UKO UNAONA (SAA) VILE BIKO BINARUDISHA =TU NYUMA=.*
you say someone is walking and moving forward, but you have the impression as if they're just moving back

→A: ((returns into the living room)) =*dimanche bato*-=
on Sundays people-
C: *dimanche bato bazalaka mingi hein?*
on Sundays it's always crowded, isn't it?

The two codes juxtaposed in the beginning of this interactional exchange between three participants are Lingala/French mixing and Swahili/French mixing, which B switches into in the first arrowed line when he addresses C (the unmarked code between the two of them). The switch organizes the conversation: it marks a change of participant constellation, which is narrowed down from A/B/C to B/C for a side-sequence, in which B asks C whether he wants a drink. Accordingly, C's answer, still within the side-sequence and therefore the narrower constellation, is also in Swahili.[5] The next utterance is revealing. B returns to the larger constellation and to the topic preceding the side-sequence (the market at the Porte de Namur). But unexpectedly, she still uses the language of the side-sequence, i.e. Swahili with inserted French. To this, A responds with a repair marker (second arrow): he does not accept the previous utterance as it stands and invites its revision. B immediately corrects her language choice and makes the same statement again in Lingala/French (the inserted French noun *fatigue* remains the same). We therefore have clear evidence that B's original language choice is **seen by participants** as having departed from an established and 'morally' sanctioned language-of-interaction. (In contrast, the insertion of French into either Lingala or Swahili sentences would never be subject to other-initiated repair.) After this 'mistake' has been remedied, the interaction continues in the agreed-upon language of the A/B/C-constellation until A, the Lingala speaker, leaves the room for a minute, which immediately engenders B's switching into the Swahili/French mixed code (third arrow), which is again given up upon A's return (fourth arrow). In sum, the example includes a high number of concatenations of elements from two languages within one stretch of talk (i.e. it is highly multilingual), but the juxtapositions are clearly different in the case of Lingala/French and Swahili/French mixing (in these cases, the individual juxtapositions have no discourse-related function or meaning), and in the case of the second-order juxtaposition of a Lingala/French mixed code and a Swahili/French mixed code (here, the individual cases are meaningful, and we speak of switching). As shown, the conversational effect of switching here is to mark different interactional frames/footings, such as main sequence/topic vs aside, or varying constellations of participants. The participants jointly re-contextualize the interaction (if only temporarily). In one case, the switch signals a temporary lack of congruence between the interactional frame/footing at hand and language choice, i.e. a repair of an 'inadequate' language choice is triggered.

Conversational code-switching serving this or similar functions (discourse-related code-switching in Auer, 1995) has been attested widely in many bilingual groups of speakers. The data all show that code-switching is a cue by which speakers contextualize their utterances, rendering them meaningful in their conversational context (cf., among many; Alfonzetti, 1998; Auer, 1984b; Bani-Shoraka, 2005: Chs. 8 and 9; Gafaranga, 2007; Guerini, 2006; Gumperz, 1982; Jonsson, 2005: Ch. 6; Li Wei, 1994, 2002; Sebba and Wootton, 1998;). Several sub-types suggest themselves, such as:

- The distinction between switches that are closely linked to the 'machinery' of conversational exchanges, such as turn-taking, repair work, sequence organization, preference organization or participant constellation, beginning or ending a story, and switches that may be called stylistic, such as the contextualization of a different modality (joking/serious, fake/true, fantasy/reality) and of interpersonal intimacy vs distance, expressivity vs neutrality, etc.
- The distinction between turn-external and turn-internal switching. Turns may be composed of various units which represent different (minor or major) linguistic acts. Speakers may use code-switching to create turn-internal structure, for instance to set off reported speech from their own voice, statements from evaluations/assessments, topic from comment, turn-initial responsive elements (see Karrebaek, 2003: 431–3 for examples), etc.
- The distinction between alternational and insertional code-switching. Alternational switching (as in Example 6) always questions the established language of interaction, if only for a temporary side-activity. It seems to be much more frequent than insertional code-switching of single or complex units of B talk into undisputed A talk; still, the latter also occurs and can serve discourse-related functions, such as establishing coherence across utterances or turns (Angermeyer, 2002; Guerini, 2006: 203–16; also cf. Example (8) below).
- The distinction between structural contrast and interpersonal divergence. Code-switching capitalizes on the contrast between A talk and B talk. This contrast may be of a purely structural nature, or it may express a divergence between the speakers involved, i.e. their opinions, stances, or attitudes. This may happen, for instance, when a speaker diverges from an established language-of-interaction in order to

express disagreement. Example 7 – a recording of members of the Chinese population in the UK – is a case in point:

(7) (from Li Wei, 1994: 166) (Cantonese in simple italics, English underlined)
(Two young women are looking at new dresses.)
A: *nau, ni goh.*
this one.
B: *ho leng a.*
very pretty
A: *leng me?* (1.5)
pretty?
→*very expensive*.
B: *guai m gaui a?*
expensive or not?
A: *hao guai.*
very expensive.

The only departure from the established language-of-interaction (Cantonese) is A's English evaluative term *very expensive* in the arrowed line. B does not pick up on it; she continues to speak Cantonese. The language-of-interaction seems for a short moment to be in danger of dissolving. It is easy to see why this is so – and what conversational effect is achieved by it – if the sequential context is taken into consideration. Just prior to the switch, B had given an assessment of a dress identified by A in her first utterance. The assessment is positive. A first replies by a question repetition, which functions as an other-repair initiator. B, however, does not step back from her opinion (cf. the pause of 1.5 sec); at this point, A explicitly disagrees with B, at the same time abandoning the language-of-interaction. The disagreeing, negative assessment is given in the other language.

A comprehensive analysis of 'what people do by code-switching' has yet to be written. At this point, it should be noted that the conversational analysis of code-switching cannot be reduced to a semantic analysis of codes in question, but needs to take into account the conversational embedding of the switch.

While discourse-related code-switching has received a lot of attention, and many conversational functions have been described, it must not be overlooked that there are other forms of bilingual talk that qualify as code-switching according to the definition given above. Often, they tell us less about the structure of the interaction than about the identities of the participants; in this sense, they are participant-related. Nevertheless, their sequential position is decisive for their interpretation. An important part of such participant-related code-switching is part of language negotiation sequences in which co-participants negotiate the language for the conversation which is just about to begin, or renegotiate this language after situational shifts (see the examples in Guerini, 2006: 106–20). Such preference-related switches can, additionally, have a discourse-related meaning. As argued above in the discussion of Example 7, every code-switch can endanger the established language-of-interaction; initiating and maintaining a language negotiation sequence can therefore be disaffiliative, but 'giving in' in such a sequence can also be affiliative (see the example discussed in Auer, 2007b). Code-switching may also display a speaker's (relative and temporary) incompetence in one language over the other or ascribe such (relative and temporary) incompetence to the conversational partner (competence-related code-switching). It is often forgotten that bilingual participants in interaction are seldom bilingual to the same degree; rather, they constantly display to each other their relative competence in one code vis-à-vis the other and thereby turn bilingual competence into a visible matter. This is partly done through code-switching, which is then strongly linked to face-work: it can be either condescending or helpful to switch into the stronger language of one's partner. On the part of the speaker, a switch into one's stronger language can simply be a request for help from the co-participant or a way of gaining time to look for the right word, as in the following example:

(8) (from Auer and Rönfeldt, 2002)
(F, a second-generation Italian/German bilingual immigrant girl in Germany; B, a bilingual, non-immigrant, German-dominant adult woman; German underlined. Topic: the visit of a TV team in the family's home. Capitals represent stress.)
F: *siamo: andati n cuGIna,=*
we went into the kitchen
B: *nhn,=*
F: *=volvavano (loro) vedere: äh:: i MMUri; (-)*
they wanted to see the walls;
→ *perche sono tutti NE:ri e un po FEUCHT,*
because they are all black and a little humid
B: *ahha,=*
F: *=un po UMmido:, (-)*
a little humid
B: *hn[hn,*
B: *[e: hanne intervissatto, oppure Ie dovevo: (.) stare in cuCIna: a fare qualcossa.*
and they interviewed (us), or I had to stay in the kitchen and do something

The speaker F inserts a German word (*feucht*) into the arrowed utterance without any hedging (often, competence-related insertional switches as in this example are introduced by hesitation markers). However, and despite the fact that her recipient B signals understanding, she retrospectively self-repairs *feucht* and replaces it with the Italian

counterpart *humido*. The self-repair first of all displays competence in the **two** languages, but at the same time German is displayed as the language which comes to her mind first and is therefore dominant (cf. Auer, 1997). By self-repairing the German word in an Italian utterance, the speaker makes it clear that she orients her linguistic behaviour towards a rule of 'one language at a time', in this case Italian (a language she clearly struggles with, cf. the numerous dialectal interferences as well as the derailment in *volvavano* for standard Italian *volevano*). This also makes it possible to see the insertion of *feucht* as a competence-related switch, not as an unmarked case of mixing.

31.4 BILINGUAL MIXING

Both mixing and switching are part of what can be called bilingual styles, but while switching is primarily a stylistic-rhetorical practice to be analysed in pragmatic and, above all, conversation analytic terms, the analysis of mixing usually requires grammatical investigation since mixing tends to occur within self-contained syntactic units. Contrary to switching, it requires an advanced bilingual competence and is not frequent in bilinguals with very imbalanced competences (apart from some types of single word insertions). As in the case of code-switching, it is necessary to distinguish between *alternational and insertional mixing* (Stolt, 1965 speaks of *Umschaltung* vs *Einschaltung*).[6] The first is clearly a matter of language production, while insertional mixing occurs at a deeper level of linguistic processing.

Alternational mixing (Muysken, 2000: 96–121) in its most prototypical sense means that a sentence begins in one language and ends in another, without a clear sense of whether the entire sentence is in language A or B. Both parts of the sentence are of some complexity. (The following examples are from Luther's Dinner Conversations, i.e. Latin/Early New High German [ENHG] mixing; Latin underlined; cf. Stolt, 1965.)

(9) (Stolt, 1965: 83)
Sicut statim post nostrum saeculum wirds anderst werden
Thus immediately after our age will-it different become
'so it will immediately become different after our time'

(10) (Stolt, 1965: 91)
Unser Herr Gott ist mirabiliter negligens in descriptione suarum rerum
Our Lord God is admirably negligent in description his-GEN.PL. things-GEN.PL.
'God our Lord is admirably negligent in the description of his affairs'

In the Example 9, the alternation occurs after three adverbials in Latin; in Example 10, after the subject and the copula in ENHG.[7] Note that the chunks in both languages are grammatical according to the grammar of the respective languages. There seem to be restrictions which dictate this: i.e. alternational mixing occurs at points where the two grammars produce a homologous structure (equivalence constraint: Poplack, 1980; Sankoff, 1998; Sankoff and Poplack, 1981). At points in the production of a sentence in which the rules of word order and constituency of one language differ from those of the other, no transition from one language into the other is possible. For instance, if language A is strictly post-modifying and language B strictly pre-modifying, mixing is predicted to be blocked between a noun and its attributes.

Often, the two chunks of talk are relatively self-contained, i.e. there is a major syntactic boundary between the two parts, as in the following examples:

(11) (Stolt. 1965: 109)
Prima tabula decalogi, die ist gar des Teuffels
First table decalogue$_{GEN}$, it is PART the$_{GEN.SING.}$ devil$_{GEN.SG.}$
'The first table of the Decalogue, this is surely the devil's'

(12) (Stolt 1965: 194)
Si ego omnia crederem, wolt ich kein pfarrherr ansehen
If I all believe$_{COND.1.SG.}$, can$_{COND.1.SG.}$ I no priest look-at
'If I believed everything, I would not be able to look any priest in the eye'

In Example 11, the Latin part of the sentence is a left-dislocated noun phrase; in Example 12, the Latin part is a subordinated conditional sentence. Both are followed by an ENHG main clause.

Of course, mixing also frequently occurs between self-contained units which make up one larger speaking turn. They may be semantically coherent, and may contain cohesion markers such as adverbials or ellipses, but are both independent sentences:

(13) (Stolt, 1965: 219)
Die hat Ökolampadius nit konnen ertragen, er hatts mussen sterben, Zinglius quoque non.
'Okolampadius wasn't able to endure them, he had to die of it, Zinglius not either.'

(14) (Stolt, 1965: 236)
Haustus aquae et cervisiae est remedium sitis, ein stuckh prott vertreibt den hunger, Christus est remedium mortis.
'A drink of water and beer is a remedy of thirst, a piece of bread drives away hunger, Christ is the remedy of death.'

In Example 13, the Latin part is elliptical, with a strong grammatical link to the first sentence in the German part of the utterance (ENHG: … *nit konnen ertragen*). The latter makes use of the previous German structure and could be reconstructed as *Zinglius quoque non hat konnen ertragen*. In Example 14, the three-part list with its grammatical parallelism renders the three components, two of which are in Latin, one in German, cohesive. Here, of course, transition into turn-internal code-switching for rhetorical purposes is fluid.[8]

As Muysken (2000) argues, there are good reasons to include further mixing structure under the heading of alternation, although the term may be less obvious in these cases. For instance, longer stretches of language A talk may occur in a relatively self-contained, grammatically independent way within language B talk (nested code-mixing), as in:

(15) (Stolt, 1965: 183)
Ist denn das war, so lass uns dran sezen, quidquid habemus, und druber leyden, quidquid possumus
'If this is true, then let us bet on it whatever we have, and suffer from whatever we can.'

The important criterion for distinguishing this type of nested alternation from insertions is the structural independence of the A parts to the left and right of the B section. (In the example, … *so lass uns dran sezen* is syntactically linked to its complement, *quidquid habemus*, but *so lass uns dran sezen* is relatively independent from *und druber leyden*, which is an elliptical continuation of the *lass* clause, similar to the one in Example 13.) Equally, Muysken (2000: 97–9) suggests that peripheral elements of the sentence which are only weakly integrated should be considered alternational mixing. This applies to discourse markers, particles, certain adverbials (such as sentence adverbials) and conjunctions, such as *et tamen* and *quia* in the following example:

(16) (Stolt, 1965: 151)
Et tamen haben wir ein forteyl fur der welt, quia das ampt ist unser.
And still do we have an advantage over the world, because the office is ours.

Note that single word mixing is usually considered to be insertional (see below). Muysken's (2000) approach is more fine-grained here and distinguishes between the insertion of an A-language noun or verb into a B-language matrix, and alternational mixing on discourse markers, etc. Some evidence for this distinction may be found in the fact that sentence-initial conjunctions often go with the language of the preceding superordinated clause, a frequent pattern in Luther's code-mixing:

(17) (Stolt, 1965: 222)
*Ora pro me, **quia** du bist seer fromm*
Pray for me, **because** you are very pious

While alternational mixing is frequent in some data sets (such as Luther's dinner table conversations, where it occurs side by side with insertional mixing), other data sets are dominated by the *insertional type*. The most elaborate theory of this type of mixing was developed by Myers-Scotton (e.g. 2002) on the basis of East African data, and has subsequently been applied to many other bilingual situations as well (cf. Amuzu, 2005; Finlayson et al., 1998; Owens, 2005; Türker, 2000; on a more critical note; Boumans, 1998; Muhamedowa, 2006; Ziamari, 2003). In insertional mixing, the largest syntactic units (complementizer phrases in Myers-Scotton's model) are always dominated by one and only one language: the matrix language. Into this matrix, elements of the embedded language can be inserted. In this process, the rules of the matrix language must be obeyed, i.e.:

- the morpheme order must be that of the matrix language
- certain system morphemes must come from the matrix language.

In the most recent version of the model (Myers-Satton, 2002: 73–6), these morphemes are so-called late system morphemes whose selection depends on information from outside their immediate maximal projection (such as agreement markers or case). The embedded language may provide content morphemes, so-called early system morphemes (such as plural markers or determiners) whose form depends on the heads of their maximal projection but need no information from outside it, and so-called bridge system morphemes (morphemes linking content morphemes without needing information from their head; examples are genitive morphemes and suppletive morphemes). The most straightforward examples of insertional mixing are single content morpheme insertions such as the following:

(18) (Türker, 2000: 70, Turkish/Norwegian in Oslo, Turkish underlined)
*geç-en senes**erie**-de-ydi-k*
pass-PART/SUBJ yearleague-LOC-bePAST-1PL
'last year we were in the league'

(19) (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 89, Swahili/English in Nairobi, English underlined)
ile m-geni, hatasi-ku-*comment*.
DEM/CL9 Ch/S-visitor, even 1SG.NEG-PST.NEG-comment
'that visitor, I did not even comment'

In the Example 18, it is the Norwegian word *serie* which is embedded into a Turkish frame, while in the Example 19, it is the English verb (stem) *comment*. Both are treated as if they were words of the matrix language.[9] An example of a bridge morpheme which is inserted into a Turkish matrix is the German preposition *mit* in the N *mit* N-construction:

(20) (Treffers-Daller, 1995: 254, German/Turkish, German underlined)
Pilav mit pirinç yap-ıl-ır
Boiled-rice with unboiled-rice make$_{PASS.-AOR.}$
'Boiled rice is made with unboiled rice'

The special status of early system morphemes is responsible for the double marking of the same grammatical category both with the morphemes of the embedded and the matrix language, as in:

(21) (Backus, 1992: 90, Turkish/Dutch in the Netherlands, Dutch underlined)
Pol-en-lar-a Holanda-ca ders ver-di
pole$_{PL.-PL.-DAT.}$ Dutch-$_{SUFF}$ ders give$_{PAST}$
'he taught Dutch to Poles'

In Example 21, the plural is marked both by the Dutch suffix *–en* and the Turkish suffix *–lar* (the matrix language suffix must be more peripheral than the embedded language suffix). The opposite also occurs, however, i.e. inserted words may appear as bare forms, with no morphological/grammatical marking at all. In Example 22, the inserted Dutch noun *bibliotheek* in a Moroccan Arabic matrix clause should receive both a prepositional clitic /l/ and a definite prefix /l-/; however, it is inserted with neither of them. Note that the Dutch preposition is also lacking. According to Boumans (1998: 218), omission is particularly frequent after verbs of motion, where the role of the object can easily be reconstructed from the semantics of the verb and the object noun:

(22) (Boumans, 1998: 218; Moroccan Arabic in the Netherlands)
ġadi-n ne-mši-w [][]*bibliotheek*
FUT-PL l-go-PLlibrary
'We'll go to the library'

Argues that bare forms are used when the structures of the two languages are not compatible (2002: 119–27; also cf. Nortier, 1990; Muysken, 2000: 83). In the same way, Myers-Scotton accounts for another way in which the dominance of the matrix language over the embedded language can be avoided, i.e. the insertion of internally complex 'islands' which follow the grammar of the embedded language instead of the matrix language. These islands may be inflected words in the embedded language, as in:

(23) (Stolt, 1964: 69; Latin/Early New High German)
omnes gentes, quae non habent religionem,
mussen ***superstitio-nem*** haben (371)
must-1PL superstition-ACC.SG. have-INF
'all people who don't have a religion, must have a superstition'

Islands can also be larger units, such as a noun phrase in the following example:

(24) (Stolt, 1964:81; Latin/Early New High German)
Human-um cor kann es nit fass-en
human-$_{NEUTR.NOM.SG}$ heart-$_{NEUTR.NOM.SG}$ can-$_{3SG}$ it not seize-$_{INF}$
'the human heart cannot grasp it'

The model is able to deal with a large amount of insertional mixing data. However, there are also numerous cases in which the neat division between matrix and embedded language is not maintained. The deviations may be categorized as either. It is possible that the embedded language influences the structure of the matrix language. In the following example, ENHG, the matrix language, converges toward the embedded language – Latin (more examples in Muhamedova and Auer, 2005):

(25) (Stolt 1964: 71 Latin/ENHG)
obschon [ ] peccator-es iztsind …
although sinner-PL nowbe-3PL.PRES
'although they are now sinners…'

ENHG, like modern German, needs an overt subject and is therefore not a pro-drop language. In Latin, information about the subject is fully encoded in the finite verb, and no overt subject pronoun is necessary.

German: *obschon **sie** Sünder sind*
Latin: *quamquam []peccatores sunt*

In the Example 25, the transference of the embedded language structure to the matrix language leads to the omission of the subject pronoun.

More frequently, we find cases in which the structure of a complex embedded language island does not follow the grammar of the embedded

language completely but converges towards the matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 102–5). For instance, there is strong evidence that in Kazakh/Russian code-mixing in Almaty (Muhamedowa, 2006; Muhamedova and Auer, 2005), Russian loses the gender category (as well as number), although this grammatical category is preserved in monolingual Russian discourse produced by the same speakers. The loss of gender in code-mixing is without doubt a consequence of the lack of this grammatical category in the matrix language Kazakh:

(26) (Muhamedova and Auer, 2005, Russian/Kazahk in Almaty)
Ужапаи ***стар-ыйплощадь****-tïne-ler-dïžönde-di*
already this old$_{?}$ square$_{?\text{-ACC}}$ thing$_{PL.\text{-ACC}}$ renovate$_{PAST}$
'there the old square and so on were already renovated'

Apart from the initial particle, the sentence is Kazakh, which is clearly the matrix language. The crucial issue is the inserted Russian island which fails to comply with the grammar of monolingual Russian since there is no gender agreement: *площадь* is a feminine noun, and the adjective modifying it should agree with it:*старая*. The use of the masculine form regardless of the gender of the nominal head in a large number of cases suggests that on the basis of Kazakh (which has no gender), the Russian used as an embedded language structurally converges towards the matrix language.[10]

Examples of mutual convergence in Hungarian/German code-mixing in the German minorities in Hungary are discussed in Szabó (2008). In this old bilingual community, we find utterances such as the following:

(27) (Szabó, 2007–8: 313, Hungarian/German dialect; Hungarian underlined)
do de ötlet war gut de mama ihre.
PART DET idea was good DET mum hers
'mum's idea was good'

den fogad immer el
that$_{AKK.MASC.}$ take$_{?}$ always$_{VERBPREF}$
'they always accept it.'

The second line is remarkable for various reasons. First, German dialect seems to underlie the sentence, since the use of a separable verb prefix (*fogad … el* from the verb *el-fogad* 'to accept') does not conform to Hungarian grammar.[11] Rather, it seems to be modelled after the German pattern of separable verb particles (as in *nehmen … an* from the verb *an-nehmen*). It is difficult, however, to call *fogad … el* an island, since its two elements are discontinuous and do not follow Hungarian morphology: the verb *fogad* receives no person and number marking as would be required in Hungarian (and German), i.e. it is a bare form. On the other hand, Hungarian has an impact on the sentence beyond that of providing lexical material which is inserted into a German sentence pattern. As in Example 25, the subject pronoun is deleted, which is possible in Hungarian but not in German. Both languages seem to have converged and neither of them is used in a monolingual way, but it is difficult to say which one is the matrix language and which one the embedded language.

In sum, there is ample evidence that code-mixing creates specific forms of convergence which may not be present in the monolingual speech of the same speakers. These cases do not seem to be restricted to sociolinguistic situations of language attrition and shift, as Myers-Scotton (2002: 105) claims for 'composite codeswitching', in which 'the abstract morphosyntactic frame derive[s] from more than one source language' and in which it is therefore impossible to identify a single matrix language.

34.5 OPEN QUESTIONS

There are still considerable lacunae in research on bilingual talk. One is the question of whether and how mixing can sediment into grammatical patterns which are of mixed language origin but no longer offer a choice to their speakers and have therefore become part of the grammatical system (fused lects, see Auer, 1999). Another is psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic research on the real-time processing of bilingual talk (for recent overviews, see Basnight-Brown and Altarriba, 2007; and Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken, 2009).

NOTES

1 Morphological gloss adapted.

2 Exceptions are insertional code-switches (misleadingly called transfers in Auer, 1984b) in which a single word is inserted into an other-language frame to achieve a conversational effect; see Auer (1998a: 6–7) for the discussion of an example.

3 Gafaranga and Torras (2001) use the term 'medium switch' to refer to this aspect of code-switching.

4 Hein? is a neutral repair initiator which has been borrowed from French both into Lingala and (Congo) Swahili.

5 This shows that there is no emic difference between Swahili/French and Swahili (or for that matter, between Lingala/French and Lingala). Mixing is a form of speaking Swahili or Lingala. In contrast, the opposition between Swahili(/French) and Lingala (/French) is emic (as would the switch of either of them and French).

6 See the elaborate discussion of this distinction in Muysken (2000). In his model, there is a third type of mixing which he calls 'congruent lexicalization'; in this case, the grammatical structure of the two languages in contact is partly or completely identical (through convergence or genetic closeness), and mixing only refers to the filling in of lexical nodes in one language or the other.

7 Of course it is possible to posit theories which assign the total sentence in Examples 9 and 10 to one language. For instance, one could argue that by definition, the finite verb determines the language of the whole sentence. Then Examples 9 and 10 would be ENHG sentences with inserted material from Latin. See Auer (2000) for further discussion.

8 For instance, in list-like utterances such as Example 14, Luther always uses Latin in the third and most important list-element. This points to a rhetorical usage of the transition into Latin, which brings these examples close to code-switching.

9 This is the reason some researchers do not speak of insertional mixing, but of borrowing here.

10 A similar case of gender neutralization is reported for Malinche Mexicano/Spanish mixing by Hill and Hill (1986: 266ff.).

11 While the separation of particle and verb in German is exclusively determined by the syntactic pattern of the sentence (in which the verb provides the left bracket, i.e. second position, the particle the right bracket, i.e. final position), Hungarian separable verb prefixes are used to mark focus. In the present context, no separation is possible.

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