

CODE-SWITCHING IN CONVERSATION

Language, interaction and identity

Edited by Peter Auer



London and New York

CONTENTS

First published 1998
by Routledge

11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge

29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

First published in paperback 1999

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

the edited collection © 1998 Peter Auer
individual contributions © 1998 the contributors

Typeset in Times New Roman by
The Florence Group, Stoodleigh, Devon
Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted
or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic,
mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented,
including photocopying and recording, or in any information
storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Code-switching in conversation : language, interaction and identity/
edited by Peter Auer.

p. cm.

1. Code switching (Linguistics) 2. Conversation analysis.
3. Bilingualism. 4. Discourse analysis. I. Auer, Peter, 1954-
P115.3.C65 1998
306.44—dc21 97-22664

ISBN 0-415-15831-1 (hbk)
ISBN 0-415-21609-5 (pbk)

<i>List of Contributors</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
1 Introduction: <i>Bilingual Conversation</i> revisited <i>Peter Auer</i>	1
PART I	
The 'codes' of code-switching	25
2 From 'switching code' to 'code-switching': Towards a reconceptualisation of communicative codes <i>Celso Alvarez-Cáccamo</i>	29
3 Code-switching and the notion of code in linguistics: Proposals for a dual focus model <i>Rita Franceschini</i>	51
4 A monolectal view of code-switching: Layered code-switching among Zairians in Belgium <i>Michael Meeuwis and Jan Blommaert</i>	76
5 Discourse connectives in bilingual conversation: The case of an emerging Italian–French mixed code <i>Cecilia Oesch Serra</i>	101
6 On the transition from code-switching to a mixed code <i>Yael Maschler</i>	125
PART II	
Conversation and beyond	151
7 The 'why' and 'how' questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching <i>Li Wei</i>	156

FROM 'SWITCHING CODE' TO 'CODE-SWITCHING'

Towards a reconceptualisation of
communicative codes

Celso Alvarez-Cáccamo

1 Introduction

From its origins in the physical sciences (Fano 1950) until its current circulation in political anthropology (Gal 1987, 1995), the notion of 'code-switching' has experienced the characteristic multiplication, fragmentation and metamorphosis that a conceptually rich term is prone to experience (consider, in this respect, the history of 'diglossia' or 'speech act').¹ The increasing lexicalisation of the expression (from 'switching code' to 'code-switching') indexes its central place in academic fields dealing with so-called bilingual behaviour. However, throughout its history, it is not unlikely that 'code-switching' has lost part of its original meanings at the expense of producing a profitable object for research, one amenable to easy handling as an emblem of disciplinary identity.

In a sense, 'code-switching' research seems to be at a crossroads. On the one hand, ample research has shown that the alternate use of recognisably distinct speech varieties in discourse may have accountable meanings and effects. In this line, speech varieties have been mechanistically associated with 'codes'. On the other hand, some research has shown the impossibility or inappropriateness of assigning specific meanings to some types of variety alternation, and has thus implicitly started to question whether 'meaningless code-switching' can be called code-switching at all (Auer 1989; Alvarez-Cáccamo 1990; Stroud 1992; Swigart 1992). That is, if codes do not contrast, can we maintain that they are indeed distinct codes? Given the different natures of 'unmarked' and 'marked' code-switching, are we witnessing two distinct phenomena? Or is something missing in the way 'code-switching' is currently conceptualised?

In this chapter I attempt to shed some light on the issue, by tracing back the origin and development of the notion of 'code-switching' from its earliest

formulations as connected to information theory, structural phonology and bilingual contact studies, to current conversational and anthropological work on the phenomenon. Briefly, I argue that ‘code-switching’ may now subsume and globalise a number of possibly unrelated phenomena while excluding others which are clear candidates for being considered switches in communicative codes. The connecting thread in this work is the need to return to a communicative view of codes, here regarded as systems of transduction between two sets of signals: at the one end, communicative *intentions*, and at the other end, linguistic–discursive forms amenable to *interpretation*. In this vein, I suggest that a clearer conceptual distinction between ‘linguistic variety’ in its broadest sense and ‘communicative code’ is crucial for explaining conversational conduct.

2 The origins

Three research trends converge in the consolidation of ‘code-switching’ studies: structural phonology, information theory, and research on bilingualism. The maker of an initial synthesis is, recognisably, Jakobson, not exactly in his 1961 ‘Linguistics and communication theory’, but quite a few years earlier, in his work with Fant and Halle (Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952). There Jakobson refers to the phenomenon of ‘switching code’, based on Fano’s work (1950) on information theory, and on Fries and Pike’s (1949) on ‘coexistent phonemic systems’. Fries and Pike attempt to demonstrate, and argue abundantly, that ‘two or more phonemic systems may coexist in the speech of a monolingual’ (1949: 29). Evidence presented is the existence of phonemes alien to what would seem to be the speaker’s system, for example Mazatec phonemes in loanwords into Spanish. Fries and Pike not only deal with bilingual speech, but postulate the existence of four basic types of ‘coexistent phonological systems’ in vernacular languages.² Type (4), ‘a vernacular . . . with general differences of quality, style, or speed’ (Fries and Pike 1949: 49) is particularly interesting, as it points to Gumperz’s (1982) notion of ‘changes in pitch register’ as a type of contextualisation cue functionally comparable to code-switching. In a similar line, and around the same time, Hoijer (1948) established the pair of concepts ‘phonemic *alternation*’ and ‘phonemic *alteration*’, which roughly parallel those of ‘code-switching’ (where phonological systems ‘alternate’) and ‘borrowing’ (where an aspect of the target language’s grammar is ‘altered’). None of these works, however, refers explicitly to ‘code-switching’.

Jakobson (1961; Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952) integrates with intelligence, boldness and sense of opportunity the foundational block of information theory: the notion of ‘code’ as a mechanism for the unambiguous transduction of signals between systems, and specifically Fano’s application to ‘speech communication’.³ Here ‘speech’, however, must be

regarded in its material, physical dimension. Jakobson adapts the notion of ‘switching code’ to the change a monolingual *or* bilingual speaker must effect in order to interpret (‘decode’) another person’s system (‘code’), or to produce such a change:

Obviously such a task of deciphering becomes more difficult in the frequent cases called ‘switching code’ by communication engineers or ‘coexistent phonemic systems’ by linguists. The Russian aristocracy of the last century with its bi-lingual speech – switching continually from Russian to French and vice versa even within a single sentence – provides a striking illustration.

(Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952: 603–604)

Significantly, Jakobson continues: ‘Two styles of the same language may *have* divergent codes and be deliberately interlinked within one utterance or even one sentence’ (ibid. 1952: 604; my emphasis). Notice that Jakobson’s formulation is that each language style *has* a code, not that it *is* a code. This view is strictly faithful to Fano’s discussion of speech codes and communication:

Spectrographic analysis has indicated that the different speech sounds used by any one speaker have easily distinguishable frequency patterns which are essentially stationary with time. This does not seem to be true for speech sounds used by different speakers. If we consider these frequency patterns as code groups, it appears that different speakers use, in a sense, somewhat different codes. These codes are stored in the brain of the listener who uses in each case the appropriate code. New codes are continually learned whenever new people are met, particularly people belonging to different linguistic groups. This point of view is in agreement with the observation that our ability to understand and the effort required to understand depends on our familiarity with the speaker’s voice. In addition, we are often conscious of ‘switching code’ in our brain, *particularly* when a change of language takes place.

(Fano 1950: 695–696; emphasis added)

Here again, codes are ‘used’ in order to interpret and produce speech – they are not the speech material itself. In other words, for Fano ‘switching code’ is a strictly psychological phenomenon consisting of altering one’s internal mechanism for the identification of phonemic symbols, i.e. for the transduction of speech patterns (‘frequency patterns’) into the Saussurean ‘mental images’ of phonemes and vice versa.

As we can see, the works reviewed set the basis for the conceptualisation of code-switching as the alternation not only of languages, but also of dialects,

styles, prosodic registers, paralinguistic cues, etc., that is, practically all phenomena later described by Gumperz (1982, 1992) as 'contextualisation cues' and intelligently explored, in the same vein, by Auer (1992). Why and how the lexicalised 'code-switching' has come to subsume a number of forms of presumably bilingual behaviour is a long story, whose complete plot escapes me. But the third thread of scholarly research (bilingual studies) is probably a main protagonist.

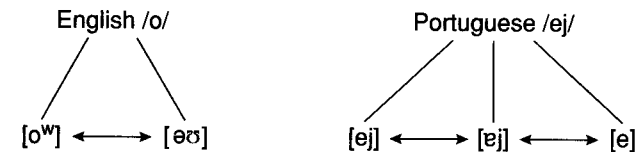
3 Studies on bilingualism

Initially, work on bilingualism (Haugen 1950a, 1950b; Weinreich 1953; Vogt 1954; Diebold 1961) seemed to have been oblivious to the incipient conception of languages as 'having' a code. Haugen, for example, in such a pivotal article as 'Problems of bilingualism' (1950b), aimed at reviewing the main questions of bilingual research in order to 'predict in some degrees the behavior of bilingual speakers' (1950b: 271), makes no mention of 'switching codes' alongside phenomena such as 'linguistic pressure, substitution, importation, phonemic redistribution, reborrowing, loanwords, loanblends, loanshifts, and creations' (1950b: 271). In another work (Haugen 1950a) a reference to switching languages appears in the following way: 'They [the speakers] may switch rapidly from one [language] to the other, but at any given moment they are speaking only one, even when they resort to the other for assistance' (1950a: 211). The same view of language-switching behaviour is expressed in Weinreich (1953: 73), and in Mackey as a synonym of 'alternation' (1962: 66–68). For this line of research, it was (and is) crucial to understand *which* 'language' a bilingual was using at a given moment – hence the interest in distinguishing 'switching' from 'borrowing', 'transfer', 'interference', 'integration', etc., which was continued in the conversational analysis of 'code-switching' (Auer 1984).

The first explicit mention of 'code-switching' is found in Vogt (1954): 'Code-switching in itself is perhaps not a linguistic phenomenon, but rather a psychological one, and its causes are obviously extra-linguistic' (1954: 368). Haugen also refers to 'the code switching which occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech' (1956: 40), and characterises the phenomenon as one of the 'three stages in diffusion', together with 'interference' and 'integration'.⁴ Later, 'code-switching' would appear in Diebold (1961) and in Jakobson (1961), where it is used in the sense of 'recoding' (1961: 250).⁵ Interestingly, in the French translation 'recodage' is interpreted as 'le passage d'un code à l'autre (*code-switching*)' (Jakobson 1963 [1961]: 95), whereas in the Spanish version 'recodificación' ('recoding') and 'interconexión codal' ('code-switching') are interpreted as different phenomena (Jakobson 1984 [1961]: 89).

Rather than anecdotal academic facts, ambiguities in these works show that at that early stage 'code-switching' did not have a uniform meaning.

The psychological approach, for instance, was present in Jakobson and Diebold, and would continue until Hockett (1987), for whom through internal 'switching-code' 'certain sounds or arrangements of sound in the alien dialect come to be coded automatically into the proper sounds or combinations of sounds in the listener's own dialect, and the intended word is recognised by assembling the latter' (1987: 43). In this view of switching as monolingual or bilingual 'recoding', the process consists of the establishment of one-to-one correspondences between elements of two systems which, in semiotic terms, have the same designata (whether referential objects or abstract phonemic entities). In the following diagram, the possible switches are represented by horizontal arrows:



However, the interpretation of 'code-switching' as linguistic action (language alternation in speech, including grammar and lexicon) was to be the foundation of most current research on bilingual conversation. Viewed as bilingual behaviour even smooth switching is a potential source of 'interference', in Weinreich's original sense (1953), located in a diachronic and interlinguistic continuum together with 'borrowing', 'integration' and 'transfer' (Mackey 1962, 1970; Clyne 1987).

4 The interactional turn

The turn toward a functional, interactional view of 'code-switching' was initiated by Gumperz in his work on social dialectology in India (Gumperz 1957, 1958, 1961, 1964a, 1964b; Gumperz and Naim 1960). Although Gumperz asserts (personal communication, 1994) that he took the notion of 'code-switching' as a conversational phenomenon from Jakobson,⁶ probably the psychological basis of his view of the phenomenon was already present from his work with Pike in Michigan. For instance, Gumperz's account of the allophonic and allomorphic 'alternations' in Hindi-Urdu (Gumperz and Naim 1960) points to this psychological view. In this line, particularly interesting is the authors' claim that dialect convergence may lead to individuals sharing the 'allophonic content' while not sharing 'phonemic inventories', as it implicitly questions the categorisation of speech material from highly diverse speech communities into discrete languages.

The need to look at the social functions of these alternations is emphasised throughout Gumperz's work, and systematised in two of his earlier essays (1962, 1964a). In 'Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi' (1964a),

Gumperz highlights the fact that standard grammatical rules may be applied to diverse data from a multilingual 'stylistic continuum', and he introduces the notion of 'code-switching style' (later to be cloned by Poplack (1980) as 'code-switching mode') as one of those sets of data amenable to standard grammatical description. In 'Types of linguistic communities' (1962), Gumperz's concern is to relate the functions of specific 'codes' from an integrated societal 'code matrix' to specific 'communication roles' within a society's 'communication matrix'. In this respect, codes or 'subcodes' function as 'linguistic diacritic[s]' (Gumperz 1962: 102)⁷ which signal the role being performed. Significantly, the maintenance or disappearance of 'codes' is a function of society's need to maintain roles apart or to collapse them.

The indexical value of 'codes' is recaptured in Gumperz and Wilson (1971), where it is shown that despite broad syntactic convergence between genetically unrelated languages from the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families, a few morphophonemic and lexical differential markers are maintained to signal different communicative roles and social identities (1971: 162). This may occur, as we will see, in many apparently bilingual situations where 'code-switching' consists mostly of the mobilisation of some lexical, morphological or prosodic markers. But what to say of daily communicative situations where roles and identities collapse? Is it still possible to maintain that those seemingly differential features carry the same symbolic import as they do in monolingual situations?

5 'Code-switching' and language alternation

Practically all research on 'code-switching' has been based on the identification of 'code' and 'linguistic variety' as interchangeable notions. For Gumperz and Herasimchuk (1972) codes are 'clusters of co-occurrent variables'; for Ervin-Tripp,

[t]he *code* or *variety* consists of a systematic set of linguistic signals which co-occur in defining settings. For spoken languages, alternative codes may be vernaculars or superposed varieties. *Socio-linguistic variants* are those linguistic alternations linguists regard as free variants or optional variants within a code, that is, two different ways of saying the same thing.

(Ervin-Tripp 1973 [1964]: 90; emphases in the original)

This broadening of the scope of 'code' may represent a departure from its original meaning in communication theory: speaking of 'free variants' or 'optional variants' contradicts the nature of a communicative code as an unambiguous, one-to-one system of transduction between sets of signals.

From this structural perspective, if codes are viewed as sets of co-occurrent linguistic signals, 'code-switching' cannot but be the alternation between such sets of signals, or 'linguistic varieties'. In fact, all research on 'code-switching grammars' and 'constraints' has started from the assumption of the pre-existence of two or more distinct languages from which speakers draw in order to produce 'code-switched' or 'mixed' output (Pfall 1979; Lenneberg's 'code-mixing', 1967; Clyne's 'mixed grammar', 1987), regardless of whether the linguistic input itself is 'mixed' or not (e.g. Spanglish in the USA, or *portuñol* in the Brazilian-Uruguayan border, Hensey 1972).

However, it appears that, both structurally and communicatively, that style of speaking represented by Gumperz's (1964a) 'code-switching style', Poplack's 'code-switching mode', Sankoff and Poplack's 'norm of communication' (1981: 4), or Myers-Scotton's (1976, 1983, 1988a, 1988b) 'unmarked choice' carries in itself the potential to be treated as the output of an internally coherent system.⁸ As a matter of fact, the boundaries between such styles and pidgin languages (the bases for creoles) are uncertain, leaving aside the particular social factors leading to pidginisation. The ample and controversial work on 'grammatical constraints' on switching, which escapes the scope of this article, shows, ironically, the difficulty in finding universal patterns (see Clyne's review, 1987); it even puts into question whether 'code-switching' results from the specificity of restrictions in the surface-level combination of elements from two, apparently distinct languages. For instance, Clyne's discussion of a good number of cases from his data on German/English and Dutch/English speech in Australia gives the impression of a forced insistence on preserving the theoretical validity of notions such as 'borrowing', 'head word', 'convergence' or 'transference' vis-à-vis 'code-switching'. Similarly, Nortier explains the systematic 'omission of definite articles in Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code-switching in terms of neutrality strategies, of which "suspension of syntax" is an example, leading to convergence in order to ease code switching' (Nortier 1995: 89).⁹ The notion 'suspension of syntax', however, calls for a certain *suspension of disbelief*. What syntax(es) is/are suspended? Is syntax suspended only in order to facilitate 'code-switching', or can suspension be found in other linguistic phenomena? Can there exist a (code-switching or monolingual) sequence of acceptable discourse without a syntax?

At any rate, the nature of 'code-switching constraints', which work in terms of *tendencies* rather than categorical rules, does not seem different from the nature of stylistic co-occurrence constraints on monolingual speech. The language-specific nature of many of these constraints, valid only for a given pair of languages, parallels the language-specific nature of grammatical rules in monolingual speech.¹⁰ If this is so, the psychological mechanism of 'triggering' (Clyne 1967, 1987), which is the basis of co-occurrence constraints between the various levels of structure (lexical, grammatical,

prosodic) would be perfectly applicable to monolingual speech as well, and in this sense the notion would lose its explanatory power to unveil the apparently specific nature of ‘code-switching’.

In the data presented in the literature it is not clear that the speakers are actively (or automatically) combining elements from two separate systems. The translinguistic flow of speech is evident in such varied sets of data as ‘English/Spanish’ speech:

Y en Puerto Rico *he would say* que cortaba caña, *even though* tenía su negocio, *you know*

(Sankoff and Poplack 1981: 24)

‘French/English’:

Example 16 . . . *okay on pratique on pratique? on move les chairs*

Example 17 *arrête de picker le ear*

(Heller 1989: 386)

or ‘Mexicano/Spanish’:

Amo nicpia *pleito, siempre* niviviroa en paz ica in notahtzin huanonatzin huan ica nos –, nopilhuan

(‘Not I have lawsuits, always live in peace with my father and my mother and with my –, my children’)

(Hill 1985: 732)¹¹

In sum, research on the grammar of ‘code-switching’ as a specific phenomenon shows a certain circularity of design. Where two or more ‘languages’ are assumed to pre-exist in a ‘bilingual’s’ speech, it is not surprising that the data are explained as a result of ‘switching’ in rather circumvoluted ways from one system to another. In order to argue convincingly *for* or *against* the existence of ‘code-switching constraints’ and ‘code-switching grammars’ ‘based on the two monolingual ones’ (Sankoff and Poplack 1981: 10), research should first convincingly prove that (a) speakers who ‘code-switch’ possess two (or more) identifiable linguistic systems or languages, each with its identifiable grammatical rules and lexicon; and (b) ‘code-switched’ speech results from the predictable interaction between lexical elements and grammatical rules from these languages.¹² None of these assumptions, I believe, is proven yet.

6 The pragmatics of ‘code-switching’

It has been repeatedly emphasised that not all individual alternations of speech varieties carry interactional meaning; rather, often it is the overall

effect of using a ‘code-switching style’ that is tactically exploited for group identification. This is explicit, among others, in Gumperz’s work on Hindi/Punjabi and Spanish/English conversation (for instance, Gumperz 1982; Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez 1971), in Poplack’s work on Puerto Rican speech (1980), in Sobrero (1992), where the ‘parlato mistilingue’ or ‘codice misto’ in Salento ‘costituisce una terza varietà a disposizione’ (1992: 37), in Swigart’s (1992) thought-provoking description of ‘Urban Wolof’, in Stroud’s (1992; and this volume) work on Taiap/Tok Pisin oratorical discourse, in Halmari and Smith’s (1994) account of Finnish/English alternation as another manifestation of register variation, etc. But perhaps more significant for unveiling the indexical values of varieties involved in ‘code-switching’ is the growing evidence that singular occurrences of language alternation, when they can be proven to be interactionally relevant through detailed interpretive analysis, may carry meanings *not directly associated* with the social-indexical values of the varieties which compose the ‘code-switched’ material. In one of the most interesting examples of tactical manipulation of speech varieties discussed in the sociolinguistic literature, Mitchell-Kernan (1972) reports that, at the end of an ethnographic session with an African-American subject in Oakland, USA, the interviewee suggests it is time for him to go by ‘marking’ with the expression: *Tempus fugit, baby*. Symbolically, it is not the ‘Latin’/‘English’ contrast that the speaker exploits, but rather ‘educated English’ versus ‘colloquial speech’ (contrast, in this regard, the actual example with a hypothetical *Tempus fugit, Ms Smith*). The indexical value of a classical quotation is that of the *communicative code* it springs from, that is, the mechanism that associates frames and activities from the classroom setting with a set of structures, pronunciations, expressions and rhetorical conventions learned through exposure to formal education.

Similar evidence can be found in my own data on Galizian–Portuguese/Spanish conversation (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1990). In one of the cases discussed, taken from a radio interview, the ‘we’ voice of Galizans associated with a passage constituting a ‘complaint’ is channelled simply through Galizian prosody partially overlapping a Spanish stretch of discourse, whereas Spanish grammar and prosody channel communicative distance and a ‘reporting’ tone. In cases such as these, it seems premature to state a priori that the systems in contrast are ‘Galizian’ and ‘Spanish’; rather, interpretive micro-analysis reveals that the speakers exploit contrasts between a ‘reporting code’ and a ‘complaining code’, or between a ‘procedural code’, an ‘informal code’ and a ‘joking code’ within the same speech event. We might say that at given points speakers seem to be ‘speaking Galizian in Spanish’, or vice versa; but, importantly, neither ‘Galizian’ nor ‘Spanish’ *per se* match strictly any of the communicative codes listed. Instead, lexical, syntactic and prosodic materials from both varieties are fused into an amalgam, the situated meaning of which is not directly computable from the overall meanings

(for instance, 'informality' vs. 'formality') commonly associated with each of the 'languages'.

Additional compelling evidence for the need to keep apart the notions of code and speech variety comes from Rampton's work on 'language crossing' (Rampton 1995; and this volume), that is, the enactment of social voices and illocutionary intentions through non-congruent or 'displaced' (Alvarez-Caccamo 1996) linguistic choices in ethnically mixed groups of adolescents in England. Rampton's careful analysis shows that integrated community repertoires (English/Creole/Black, or English/Standard Asian English/Punjabi) are tactically mobilised in non-transparent ways for identity-building purposes. The boundaries between the 'codes', however, often remain unclear. It rather seems that particular markers (e.g. [d] for [ð]) may come to represent entire social styles with associated meanings and given status in members' linguistic ideologies. If one, then, may speak 'Creole' in 'London Black English' (or if one may speak 'Galizan' in 'Spanish'), the doubt remains as to *when* exactly the use of a particular marker constitutes a 'switch', or, more importantly, as to why apparently consistent stretches of discourse in what looks like a single variety should *not* contain internal code-switches. In other words, if a communicative code is something systematically associated with activities, identities and interactional meanings, and if at times two or more varieties may carry comparable meanings, why not then speak of 'switches' only at points where activities change or local identities are reconfigured *in spite of* a single language variety being used?

7 'Code-switching' as an alloy

In keeping the notions of communicative code and linguistic variety separate I am trying to recapture part of the original meaning of codes as mechanisms of transduction. A communicative code would then be a mechanism of transduction between intentions (at several levels of generality) and utterances, and then between utterances and interpretations. These intentions include illocutionary forces at the speech act level, turn-construction functions at the sequential level, overall communicative goals at the situational level, social-indexical meanings, etc. While linguistic structures are subject to grammatical constraints, the linguistic shaping of utterances is subject to situational constraints. Thus, we may have a switching of communicative codes with language alternation (Gumperz's 'situational switching'), not-switching with language alternation (most of conversational 'code-switching styles'), not-switching without language alternation (short utterances in monolingual speech), or switching of codes without language alternation (where the same variety is used across an activity boundary). The following is a simplified representation of the four possibilities in discourse:

SG											
SC											
EG1		EG2				EG3			EG4		
EC1		EC2				EC3			EC4		
SA1	SA2	SA3	SA4	SA5	SA6	SA7	SA8	SA9	SA10	SA11	SA12
SC1	SC2	SC3	SC4	SC5	SC6	SC7	SC8	SC9	SC10	SC11	SC12
A	B	A	B	B	A		A	A	A	B	A

SG, situational goal; SC, situational code; EG, episode or activity goal; EC, episode or activity code; SA, speech act; SC, speech-act code; A, B, utterances in alternating varieties

Utterances result from the interaction of various codes operating simultaneously at several levels. Since codes are directly connected to communicative goals, the situational code affects (a) the overall episodal structure, and (b) the overall use of varieties A and/or B. The episodal and speech-act codes affect the specific distribution of these varieties in utterances. For instance, an in-group conversation may need to be coded in both varieties alternately; within the conversation, a given narrative may require the use of one variety predominantly, with possible alternations at speech act boundaries (e.g. for quotations) or even within speech acts.

Therefore, individual alternation points may have a meaning, but not all need to; specific alternation points may be directly determined by the overall situational code requiring a pattern of frequent variety alternation. Where such is the case, in informational terms the value of particular alternation points may be close to zero, as the pattern is quite predictable. Correspondingly, switches of communicative codes effected at the various levels of discourse organisation may be undetectable solely from examining the sequential distribution of material in varieties A and B, since passages in either variety may span across several speech acts or activities.

Thus, many cases of what is known as fluent 'conversational code-switching' (whether 'intrasentential' or 'intersentential') can be envisioned, at the structural level, as an *alloy* of two or more speech varieties, which signals a number of situational and local intentions through a number of codes. At the situational level, prosody, lexis and grammar fuse in variable proportions into a single amalgam whose overall communicative effect is to index the situation type and/or the group's social identity. Each utterance or turn is then the alloyed product of merging A-variety material with B-variety material. Each utterance, turn or entire discourse thus produces a compound communicative effect and it may be effectively interpreted by

participants as a coherent whole on the basis of a coherent code. In successful interaction of this type, the code-based process of intention-interpretation is reflected in metalinguistic statements and perceptions of the type 'we mix languages constantly' or 'I don't realise what language I'm speaking'. While atomically (i.e. intra- or intersententially) fragments of the varieties constituting the alloy can be identified, on the overall level utterances and discourses come across as samples of a particular type of alloy.

8 Switching the code as recontextualisation

Undeniably, switching of communicative codes may occur, and the switch may produce a variety-alternation in either direction, which indexes the recontextualisation process by 'indicating otherness', as Auer (1992: 31) thoroughly explains in his discussion of the signalling value of contextualisation cues. In this case, variety-alternation could be regarded as both a 'final' and an 'initial' (1992: 28) contextualisation cue.

But, as stated, switching the code need not always correspond with points of variety-alternation. For example, when repeated alternations constitute a 'recurrent' cue that points to a given episode or invoked social identity, switching the code may entail an *emic* change in the overall composition of the linguistic alloy – typically, a marked obtrusion in the proportions of A-variety and B-variety material in discourse. Some examples of such a 'layering' of speech material in language alloys are: Lingala/Swahili/French speech (Meeuwis and Blommaert, this volume); Urban Wolof (Swigart 1990, 1992); Common Czech/Standard Czech (CC/SC) alternating speech (Sgall *et al.* 1992); often the Galizan/Spanish speech of periurban and urban populations, a variety commonly referred to as *castrapo*; and probably post-creole continua. Switching the code for recontextualisation may entail mobilising a perceptually different amount of material from each variety within a continuum. For Rodríguez-Yáñez (1994; see particularly pp. 171–177), for instance, what matters for signalling identities and accomplishing discursive tasks between buyers and sellers in transactional encounters in a Galizan town market is not the initial variety chosen, but rather the negotiated, 'fluctuating choice of the degree of code fluctuation', which I would rephrase as the relative amount (and formal properties) of material in 'Galizan' and 'Spanish'. Similarly, Heller's data on French/English speech of children in Ontario schools (1989) show that, when two frames (classroom talk and peer-group talk) 'collapse' in a third type of speech activity (classroom presentations in front of the group), a tendency emerges for the resulting style to be an alloy of English and French material. Likewise, Sgall *et al.* (1992: 18ff.) claim that the 'discontinuous' categories of CC and CS correspond actually to a 'continuous' layering of alternating Czech forms.

From this viewpoint, codes *organise* the materials to be deployed as contextualisation cues. The contextualisation value of variety-alternation may

thus operate at various levels: (1) the use of a given variety (either structurally homogeneous or mixed) as a 'recurrent' cue indexes how to map linguistic actions and referential contents against overall intentions, including situational goals and the signalling of social identification; and (2) the fluctuating alternations between varieties (in each case simultaneously 'initial' and 'final') cue generically to changes in contextual states at the level of conversational preferences and illocutionary force.

Finally, switching the code may also manifest itself in the mobilisation of a single speech marker within the linguistic continuum, which comes to symbolise a socially recognised variety, such as the use of *¿no?* as a tag question in Gibraltar speech (Melissa Moyer, personal communication) or the [x] variant for /g/ in Galizan *gheada* speech (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1990). Switching the code may also entail an 'ironic' prosodic contour overlaying either grammatical variety (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1991), or the tactical use of 'other-language' lexical items (such as English terms in Tamil vendors' discourse, Canagarajah 1995), or the aspiration of final [s] in certain Spanish dialects, etc.

It must be emphasised that, if switching the code is contrastive by nature, contrasts are not only culturally based but discursively situated as well. Further, if contrasts are marked (recognisable by participants), they must be empirically accounted for, not just taken for granted. Code switches are of course amenable to the analyst's inspection, but in order for the analyst to give account of contrasts and meanings, preconceptions about linguistic systems must be temporarily left aside. The layering of speech may be so subtle that the differences between adjacent sequences of discourse where contrastive switches of codes were intended escape an initial structural (particularly syntactic) inspection. I believe it is about time to steer away from one of the main concerns of the research on 'bilingual behaviour' and 'code-switching', explicitly stated by Haugen:

Any item that occurs in speech must be a part of some language if it is to convey any meaning to the hearer . . . The real question is whether a given stretch of speech is to be assigned to one language or the other.

(Haugen 1956: 39)

Perhaps the real question is, is this the real question? Perhaps more interesting questions are: What is the differential status (if any) of objects such as 'one language' and 'the other' in speech behaviour in relation to activities and identities? To what extent do materials in 'language A' or 'language B' *count conversationally* as materials in 'language A' or 'language B', and not as something else?¹³

9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have refocused on the meaning of 'code' as a productive and interpretive device or 'cipher', and I have suggested that we need to distinguish between the linguistic material present in utterances (linguistic varieties) and the associative mechanisms which underlie their production (communicative codes). Codes transduce communicative intentions into utterances, and utterances into interpretations. Since various codes operate simultaneously and jointly for the production of linguistic material at several levels of discourse organisation (situation, activity and speech act), the resulting utterances are inherently polysemic as to the intentions being encoded.¹⁴

Thus, while linguistic varieties are held together by structural co-occurrence constraints, the activation of specific codes responds to situational coherence constraints. Consequently, we need to examine closely whether or not samples of variety-alternation are indeed the manifestation of switches of communicative codes (see also Stroud 1992: 149).

In this regard, today's 'code-switching' notion may subsume a number of possibly unrelated phenomena while excluding others which are clear candidates for being considered 'switching the code', in its original formulation. I thus propose that the scope of 'code-switching' be simultaneously (a) narrowed in order to exclude socially or interactionally meaningless variety-alternation, and (b) broadened in order to include phenomena of monolingual speech (such as prosody or the deployment of speech markers) which recontextualise talk by signalling the onset of emerging frames by virtue of the codes associated with them.

At the broader sociolinguistic level, this view points to the need to reassess the validity of outsiders' accounts of the relationships between variety-alternation and social identity. If, as Eastman states, '[w]here people use a mixed language regularly, codeswitching [i.e. variety-alternation] represents the norm' (Eastman 1992: 1), formulations about 'codeswitching in conversation . . . always [being] a systematic and socially meaningful use of contrasting linguistic resources' (Gal 1987: 648), or about the indexical value of this style for signalling an ambiguous or 'dual' group identification (Heller 1982, 1988, 1992; Myers-Scotton 1988a) ought to be reconsidered, as they assume the indexical value of variety-alternation to be a sort of compound of the social-indexical values of the individual 'languages' in use. For one thing, since a single variety may be generated by more than one code, and since two or more varieties may share the same code, the default product of one code may equally be either a 'mixed' style, or, in other situations, 'unreciprocal choices' of the type observed by Gal in Austria (Gal 1979), by Woolard in Catalonia (Woolard 1989), or by Alvarez-Cáccamo in Galiza. These 'unreciprocal choices' occur, for instance, in interactions between educated 'new speakers' (*neofalantes*) who use regularised, monitored Galizan, and

non-educated rural speakers who reply to them in monitored Spanish. At least at one level (that of footing), one common code channelling negative politeness produces monitored Galizan for *neofalantes* and monitored Spanish for Galizan-dominants. Usually, when the 'new speaker' switches the code toward positive politeness and produces mixed speech, the Galizan-dominant introduces Galizan material as well. Therefore, symbolically 'Galizan' and 'Spanish' occupy the same socio-semiotic territory vis-à-vis 'mixed speech', and *language divergence becomes the surface-level manifestation of a shared communicative code*.

Undoubtedly, the question of 'what language/dialect are we using now?' is important in terms of the connections between linguistic ideologies, invoked identities, discursive practices and social structures. But only the detailed scrutiny of talk may tell us when exactly what is commonly called 'code-switching' is indeed a manifestation of 'switching the code'. Perhaps we can thus minimise the imposition of our own interpretive codes upon the innocent, unsuspecting data.

Notes

I am very grateful to Peter Auer for his comments on a preliminary version, and to Geert Craps for providing me with some initial pointers and suggestions. This chapter has also benefited from observations by Xoán Paulo Rodríguez-Yáñez, Susan Ervin-Tripp and John Gumperz.

- 1 Interestingly, both 'code-switching' and 'speech act' span from the physics of articulation ('code', 'speech') to the political economy of meaningful action ('switching', 'act').
- 2 'Coexistent systems may include, among other types, a vernacular (1) with sounds borrowed from other languages, or (2) with relics or advance elements of linguistic change, or (3) with special segments of an interjectional type, or (4) with general differences of quality, style, or speed' (Fries and Pike 1949: 49).
- 3 Sketchy references to the language as a 'code' were already present in de Saussure's *Cours* (1993 [1910–11]), where 'langue' is defined as a '[c]ode social, organisant le langage et formant l'outil nécessaire à l'exercice de la faculté du langage' (1993 [1910–11]: 70). However, it remains unclear whether to de Saussure the language *is* itself the 'social code' or *possesses* an internal code besides linguistic units and elements ('code de langue', 1993 [1910–11]: 70, 73), one which individual speakers would use in order to produce 'parole'.
- 4 'Precision would thus require us to distinguish three stages in diffusion: (1) *switching*, the alternate use of two languages, (2) *interference*, the overlapping of two languages, and (3) *integration*, the regular use of material from one language in another, so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping, except in a historical sense' (Haugen 1956: 40).
- 5 'Beside the encoding and decoding, also the procedure of recoding, code switching, briefly the various faces of translation, grow to be one of the focal concerns both of linguistics and communication theory here and in Western and Eastern Europe. Only now do such fascinating problems as those of ways and degrees of mutual understanding among speakers of some closely cognate languages, as for instance Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, begin to attract the attention of linguists and promise to give a lucid insight into the phenomenon

- known in communication theory under the label "semantic noise" and into the theoretically and pedagogically important problem of overcoming it' (Jakobson 1961: 250).
- 6 The example Gumperz refers to is Jakobson's account of Russian/French language alternation among nineteenth-century Russian aristocratic families, who would resort to French as a sort of secret code when they needed to talk privately 'devant les enfants'.
 - 7 I am quoting from the reprint in the collection of essays *Language in Social Groups*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 97–113 (1971).
 - 8 Gumperz, based on evidence from Spanish/English, Hindi/English, and Slovenian/German conversation, emphasises the internal grammatical coherence of 'code-switching' passages, which are 'tied by syntactic and semantic relations apparently identical to those which join passages in a single language' (1977: 3).
 - 9 In Nortier's data, the equivalence constraint is violated and both Arabic and Dutch grammars are 'suspended'. This occurs mostly with Dutch nouns switched (or 'transferred', for Auer, 1984) into Arabic discourse. Not having proven that these 'switched nouns' belong either to Dutch or to Arabic, Nortier goes at great lengths to explain the phenomenon as noted.
 - 10 Mahootian claims that '[g]eneral principles of phrase structure, rather than constraints specific to codeswitching produce codeswitched utterances' (1996: 3). Still in keeping with a separate-language view, Mahootian applies X-bar theory to structures from diverse language pairs, and concludes that 'the language of a head determines the syntactic properties of its complements in codeswitching and monolingual contexts alike' (1996: 3), and that 'the linguistic mechanisms involved in the production of codeswitched sequences strongly indicate that bilingual speech behaviour and monolingual behaviour are identical' (1996: 11).
 - 11 Or, what to say of this apparently trilingual (English/Spanish/Portuguese) switch spontaneously produced by Alvarez-Cáccamo in informal interaction, each segment preserving its phonetic qualities?: 'Ten *es muito*' [ˈtɛn 'es 'muʝto] ('Ten is a lot').
 - 12 Silva-Corvalán's (1983) discussion of English/Spanish 'code-shifting' exemplifies this circularity. The 'Compensate for Lack of Competence' function underlies Chicanos' 'shifting' between the two 'languages' to fill lexical gaps. Alternatively, conceiving of an *integrated repertoire* and a unified grammar is a better way to explain why bilingual or monolingual speakers alike resort to subsets of their lexicons to fill lexical gaps in specific styles or registers.
 - 13 Stroud (1992) convincingly shows that 'switch points' in Taiap/Tok Pisin discourse do not carry particular meanings beyond those of signalling 'code-switching' speech. However, he fails to prove that the materials 'switched' contrast by virtue of *counting as* different varieties. For instance, the 'switched' discourse particle *tasol* 'but', assigned to 'Tok Pisin' on formal grounds alone, is argued to channel a rhetorical contrast (1992: 143). Stretching Stroud's argument, an emphatic *but* in monolingual English would channel a similar contrast and thus constitute 'code-switching': *You can't help me with any old thing, but, with this you'll help me*. I would not have a problem with this interpretation, but then Stroud's 'switch' does not derive necessarily from the contrast between the two externally identifiable varieties 'Taiap' and 'Tok Pisin'.
 - 14 Stroud claims that these meanings are inherently 'ambiguous' (1992: 148–149). Sajavaara (1988), in a general discussion of linguistic processing, argues that '[r]ecognition of elements embedded in the interlocutor's speech signal is not simply a linguistic phenomenon', but various types of linguistic cues and knowl-

edge 'interact heterarchically in the process of interpretation in terms of an incremental time-sharing system. There is no possible way to predict which type of cue leads to the right or, preferably, most probable interpretation' (1988: 250–251). For the author, 'potentially [sic] interpretations are accessed through a *multiple-code system*, which adapts to the requirements of each particular incremental bit of the incoming message; processing may be partly speaker-specific, partly personality-type-oriented, and partly dependent on cues available' (1988: 251; my emphasis).

Bibliography

- Alvarez-Cáccamo, Celso (1990) 'Rethinking conversational code-switching: Codes, speech varieties, and contextualization', in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, February 16–19, 1990. General Session and Parasession on the Legacy of Grice*, Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 3–16.
- Alvarez-Cáccamo, Celso (1991) 'Language revival, code manipulation and social power in Galiza: Off-record uses of Spanish in formal communicative events', in Carol A. Klee (ed.) *Sociolinguistics of the Spanish-Speaking World: Iberia, Latin America, United States*, Tempe (AZ): Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe, 41–73.
- Alvarez-Cáccamo, Celso (1996) 'The reflexive power of language(s): Code displacement in reported speech', *Journal of Pragmatics* 25, 1: 33–59.
- Auer, J. C. Peter (1984) *Bilingual Conversation*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Penn.: John Benjamins.
- Auer, J. C. Peter (1989) 'A discussion paper on code alternation', paper presented at the *First Conference of the European Network on Code-Switching on Concepts, Methodology and Data*, Basel, Switzerland, January 1989.
- Auer, J. C. Peter (1992) 'Introduction: John Gumperz' approach to contextualisation', in J. C. Peter Auer and Aldo di Luzio (eds) *The Contextualisation of Language*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1–37.
- Canagarajah, A. Suresh (1995) 'Manipulating the context: The use of English borrowings as a discourse strategy by Tamil fish vendors', *Multilingua* 14, 1: 5–24.
- Clyne, Michael G. (1967) *Transference and Triggering*, The Hague: Mouton.
- Clyne, Michael G. (1987) 'Constraints on code switching: How universal are they?', *Linguistics* 25: 739–764.
- Diebold, A. Richard (1961) 'Incipient bilingualism', *Language* 37: 97–112.
- Eastman, Carol M. (1992) 'Codeswitching as an urban language-contact phenomenon', in Carol M. Eastman (ed.) *Codeswitching*, Clevedon, England/Philadelphia, Penn./Adelaide: Multilingual Matters, 1–17.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. (1973 [1964]) 'An analysis of the interaction of language, topic and listener', in *Language Acquisition and Communicative Choice: Essays by Susan M. Ervin-Tripp*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 239–261.
- Fano, R. M. (1950) 'The information theory point of view in speech communication', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 22, 6: 691–696.
- Fries, Charles C., and Kenneth L. Pike (1949) 'Coexisting phonemic systems', *Language* 25, 1: 29–50.
- Gal, Susan (1979) *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*, New York: Academic Press.
- Gal, Susan (1987) 'Codeswitching and consciousness in the European periphery', *American Ethnologist* 14, 4: 637–653.
- Gal, Susan (1995) 'Cultural bases of language use among German-speakers in Hungary', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 111: 93–102.

- Gumperz, John J. (1957) 'Some remarks on regional and social language differences in India', in Milton Singer (ed.) *Introduction to the Civilization of India: Changing Dimensions in Indian Society and Culture*, Chicago, Ill.: The College, University of Chicago Syllabus Division, 31–38.
- Gumperz, John J. (1958) 'Dialect differences and social stratification in a North Indian village', *American Anthropologist* 60: 668–681.
- Gumperz, John J. (1961) 'Speech variation and the study of Indian civilization', *American Anthropologist* 63: 976–988.
- Gumperz, John J. (1962) 'Types of linguistic communities', *Anthropological Linguistics* 4, 1: 28–40.
- Gumperz, John J. (1964a) 'Hindi–Punjabi code-switching in Delhi', in H. Lunt (ed.) *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962*, The Hague: Mouton, 1115–1124.
- Gumperz, John J. (1964b) 'Linguistic and social interaction in two communities', in John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes (eds) *The Ethnography of Communication (American Anthropologist 66, 6, Part 2)*, Washington D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 137–153.
- Gumperz, John J. (1977) 'The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching', *RELC Journal* 8, 2: 1–34.
- Gumperz, John J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, John J. (1992) 'Contextualisation revisited', in J. C. Peter Auer and Aldo di Luzio (eds) *The Contextualisation of Language*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 39–53.
- Gumperz, John J. and Eleanor Herasimchuk (1972) 'The conversational analysis of social meaning: A study of classroom interaction', in Roger W. Shuy (ed.) *Sociolinguistics: Current Trends and Prospects (GURT 1972)*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 99–134.
- Gumperz, John J. and Eduardo Hernández-Chávez (1971) 'Bilingualism, bidialectalism, and classroom interaction', in A. Dil (ed.) *Language in Social Groups: Essays by John J. Gumperz*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 311–350.
- Gumperz, John J., and C. M. Naim (1960) 'Formal and informal standards in Hindi regional language area', in Charles A. Ferguson and John J. Gumperz (eds) *Linguistic Diversity in South Asia*, 92–118 (*International Journal of American Linguistics* 26, 3, Part 3).
- Gumperz, John J. and Robert Wilson (1971) 'Convergence and creolization: A case from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian border in India', in Dell H. Hymes (ed.) *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, London: Cambridge University Press, 151–167.
- Halmari, Helena, and Wendy Smith (1994) 'Code-switching and register shift: Evidence from Finnish–English child bilingual conversation', *Journal of Pragmatics* 21: 427–445.
- Haugen, Einar (1950a) 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing', *Language* 26, 2: 210–231.
- Haugen, Einar (1950b) 'Problems of bilingualism', *Lingua* 2, 3: 271–290.
- Haugen, Einar (1956) *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide*, Alabama: University of Alabama Press/American Dialect Society.
- Heller, Monica S. (1982) 'Negotiations of language choice in Montreal', in John J. Gumperz (ed.) *Language and Social Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 108–118.
- Heller, Monica S. (1988) 'Strategic ambiguity: Code-switching in the management of conflict', in Monica S. Heller (ed.) *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 77–96.
- Heller, Monica S. (1989) 'Communicative resources and local configurations: An exploration of language contact processes', *Multilingua* 8, 4: 357–395.
- Heller, Monica S. (1992) 'The politics of codeswitching and language choice', in Carol M. Eastman (ed.) *Codeswitching*, Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 123–142.
- Hensey, Frederik G. (1972) *The Sociolinguistics of the Brazilian–Uruguayan Border*, The Hague: Mouton.
- Hill, Jane H. (1985) 'The grammar of consciousness and the consciousness of grammar', *American Ethnologist* 12, 4: 725–737.
- Hockett, Charles F. (1987) *Refurbishing our Foundations*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Penn.: John Benjamins.
- Hoijer, Harry (1948) 'Linguistic and cultural change', *Language* 24, 4: 335–345.
- Jakobson, Roman (1961) 'Linguistics and communication theory', in Roman Jakobson (ed.) *On the Structure of Language and Its Mathematical Aspects: Proceedings of the XIIIth Symposium of Applied Mathematics (New York, 14–15 April 1960)*, Providence, R.I.: American Mathematical Society, 245–252.
- Jakobson, Roman (1963 [1961]) 'Linguistique et théorie de la communication', in *Essais de Linguistique Générale I*, Paris: Editions de Minuit, 87–99.
- Jakobson, Roman (1984 [1961]) 'La lingüística y la teoría de la comunicación', in *Ensayos de lingüística general*, Barcelona: Ariel, 79–94.
- Jakobson, Roman, Gunnar, M. Fant and Morris Halle (1952) *Preliminaries to Speech Analysis: The Distinctive Features and their Correlates*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. Reprinted in *Selected Writings [of Roman Jakobson]. Major Works, 1976–1980*, Vol. 8, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 583–646. (Page references in the text are to the reprinted edition.)
- Lenneberg, E. H. (1967) *Biological Foundations of Language*, New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Mackey, William F. (1962) 'The description of bilingualism', *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue Canadienne de Linguistique* 7, 2: 51–85.
- Mackey, William F. (1970) 'Interference, integration, and the synchronic fallacy', in James E. Alatis (ed.) *Bilingualism and Language Contact (GURT 1970)*, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 195–227.
- Mahootian, Shahrzad (1996) 'The structure of bilingual codeswitching: Psycholinguistic implications', Paper presented at the *First International Conference on the Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity*, International Sociological Association Research Committee on Sociolinguistics, University of Évora, Portugal, March 1996.
- Mitchell-Kernan, Claudia (1972) 'Signifying and marking: Two Afro-American speech acts', in John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes (eds) *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 161–179.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1976) 'Strategies of neutrality: Language choice in uncertain situations', *Language* 52, 4: 919–941.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1983) 'The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 44: 115–136.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1988a) 'Code-switching and types of multilingual communities', in Peter H. Lowenberg (ed.) *Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, Implications, and Case Studies (GURT 1987)*, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 61–82.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1988b) 'Code-switching as indexical of social negotiations', in Monica S. Heller (ed.) *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 151–186.
- Nortier, Jacomine M. (1995) 'Code-switching in Moroccan Arabic/Dutch vs. Moroccan Arabic/French language contact', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 112: 81–95.

- Pfaff, Carol W. (1979) 'Constraints on language mixing: Intrasentential code-switching and borrowing in Spanish/English', *Language* 55, 2: 291–318.
- Poplack, Shana (1982) 'Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching', in Richard P. Durán (ed.) *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 169–184.
- Poplack, Shana (1980) 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: Toward a typology of code-switching', *Linguistics* 18, 581–618.
- Rampton, M. Ben H. (1995) 'Language crossing and the problematisation of ethnicity and socialisation', *Pragmatics* 5, 4: 485–513.
- Rodríguez-Yáñez, Xoán Paulo (1994) 'Estratexias de comunicación nas interaccións cliente-vendedor no mercado da cidade de Lugo: As alternancias de lingua galego/castelán e a negociación da escolla de lingua', Ph.D. dissertation, Departamento de Lingüística Xeral e Teoría da Literatura, University of Coruña, Spain.
- Sajavaara, Kari (1988) 'Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural intelligibility', in Peter H. Lowenberg (ed.) *Language Spread and Language Policy: Issues, Implications, and Case Studies* (GURT 1987), Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 250–264.
- Sankoff, David, and Shana Poplack (1981) 'A formal grammar for code-switching', *Papers in Linguistics: International Journal of Human Communication* 14, 1: 3–45.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de (1993 [1910–11]) *Troisième cours de linguistique générale (1910–1911) d'après les cahiers d'Emile Constantin/Saussure's Third Course of Lectures on General Linguistics (1910–1911) – from the notebooks of Emile Constantin*, ed. Eisuke Komatsu and Roy Harris, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Sgall, Petr, Jiří Hronek, Alexandr Stich, and Ján Horecký (1992) *Variation in Language: Code Switching in Czech as a Challenge for Sociolinguistics*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Penn.: John Benjamins.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen (1983) 'Code-shifting patterns in Chicano Spanish', in Lucía Elías-Olivares (ed.) *Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest*, Rosslyn, Va.: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 69–87.
- Sobrero, Alberto A. (1992) 'Paese e città del Salento: Come cambia il cambio di codice', in Alberto A. Sobrero (ed.) *dialetto nella conversazione: Ricerche di dialettologia pragmatica*, Galatina: Congedo Editore, 31–41.
- Stroud, Christopher (1992) 'The problem of intention and meaning in code-switching', *Text* 12: 127–155.
- Swigart, Leigh (1990) 'Gender-based patterns of language use: The case of Dakar', *Plurilinguismes 2 (Dynamique des langues au Senegal)*: 38–66.
- Swigart, Leigh (1992) 'Two codes or one? The insiders' view and the description of codeswitching in Dakar', in Carol M. Eastman (ed.) *Codeswitching*, Clevedon, England/Philadelphia, Penn./Adelaide: Multilingual Matters, 83–102.
- Vogt, Hans (1954) 'Language contacts', *Word* 10, 2–3: 365–374.
- Weinreich, Uriel (1953) *Languages in Contact*, The Hague: Mouton.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. (1989) *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.