Seminar in Sociolinguistics

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Lecture (2)

Language choice in multilingual communities
Linguistic Repertoire

- The variety of languages used by the members of a particular speech community.
- The number of languages an individual can speak.

This may involve:
- The national language
- The Official language(s)
- The varieties of a language

The languages an individual speaks in a multilingual community are ‘varieties’ or ‘codes’.
Example 1
Kalala is 16 years old. He lives in Bukavu, an African city in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire with a population of about 240,000. It is a multicultural, multilingual city with more people coming and going for work and business reasons than people who live there permanently. Over 40 groups speaking different languages can be found in the city. Kalala, like many of his friends, is unemployed. He spends his days roaming the streets, stopping off periodically at regular meeting places in the market-place, in the park, or at a friend’s place. During a normal day he uses at least three different varieties or codes, and sometimes more.
Linguistic Repertoire

Map 2.1 Bukavu, Democratic Republic of the Congo-Zaire
How do you choose your variety or code in a multilingual speech community?

"A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language. The boundaries between speech communities are essentially social rather than linguistic... A speech community is not necessarily co-extensive with a language community." (Romaine, 1994)
Linguistic Repertoire

Exercise 1

(a) There are many degrees of ‘knowing’ a language. Table 2.1 is a simplification since it does not take account of how well Kalala and his addressee know any particular variety. Consider how well you know a language other than your mother tongue. How would you rate your knowledge? What factors are relevant to your assessment? Do these include social factors?

(b) Using the information provided in the section above, which varieties do you think Kalala will use to

(i) talk to his younger brother at home?
(ii) plan the morning’s activities with his best friend?
(iii) greet a stranger from a different tribe whom he met in the street?

Answers at end of chapter
Domains of language use

- The underlying concept
  - different settings characteristically call for the use of different languages in a multilingual society.

- A domain
  - Typical interactions between typical participants in typical settings
    - Participants
    - Setting
    - Topics
  - The domain helps determine which language (variety or code) you would use
Domains of language use

Example 2

’Anahina is a bilingual Tongan New Zealander living in Auckland. At home with her family she uses Tongan almost exclusively for a wide range of topics. She often talks to her grandmother about Tongan customs, for instance. With her mother she exchanges gossip about Tongan friends and relatives. Tongan is the language the family uses at meal-times. They discuss what they have been doing, plan family outings and share information about Tongan social events. It is only with her older sisters that she uses some English words when they are talking about school or doing their homework.
### Domains of language use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Variety/Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Planning a family party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td>How to play beach tennis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Choosing the Sunday liturgy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Solving a maths problem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>Workplace</td>
<td>Applying for a promotion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Based on Fishman 1972: 22.*
Domains of language use

Exercise 2

(a) Fill in the column labelled variety/code for your speech community. If your community is monolingual, remember that the term variety includes different dialects and styles of language.

(b) Ask a bilingual friend or neighbour which languages they would use in the different domains. It is useful to guess in advance how they will answer and then check your predictions against their responses. When you are wrong see if you can identify the reason for your error.

If you do not know anyone who is bilingual, think of where you might meet people who are bilingual. In Wellington, New Zealand, students have found that bilingual people in local shops and takeaway bars are very interested in this topic, and are pleased to talk about their language use. You could consider asking a bilingual worker in a takeaway shop, a delicatessen or corner shop about their patterns of language use. But don’t ask when they are busy!
Domains of language use

Example 3

In Paraguay, a small South American country, two languages are used – Spanish, the language of the colonisers, and Guaraní, the American Indian indigenous language. People in Paraguay are proud that they have their own language which distinguishes them from the rest of South America. Many rural Paraguayans are monolingual in Guaraní, but those who live in the cities are usually bilingual. They read Spanish literature, but they gossip in both Spanish and Guaraní.
### Domains of language use

#### Table 2.3 Domains of language use in Paraguay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Planning a family party</td>
<td>Guaraní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Café</td>
<td>Funny anecdote</td>
<td>Guaraní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Choosing the Sunday liturgy</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Telling a story</td>
<td>Guaraní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Solving a maths problem</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>Official</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>Getting an import licence</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* This table was constructed from data provided in Rubin 1968.

This table describes the situation 40 years ago, but patterns of language use have steadily changed in Paraguay, especially in the urban areas. The complementary patterns of language use identified by Joan Rubin in the 1960s have given way to much greater bilingualism in most domains in 21st century Paraguay. City dwellers use both Spanish and Guaraní in the home as well as in school, and some fear that Guaraní may eventually be displaced in urban areas.
Modelling variety or code choice

Example 4
Maria is a teenager whose Portuguese parents came to London in the 1960s. She uses mainly Portuguese at home and to older people at the Portuguese Catholic church and community centre, but English is the appropriate variety or code for her to use at school. She uses mostly English in her after-school job serving in a local café, though occasionally older customers greet her in Portuguese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Variety/code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home/family</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church/religion</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work/employment</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/education</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Modelling variety or code choice

Figure 2.1 Appropriate code choice in different domains among the Portuguese community in London
Modelling variety or code choice

A model like this is useful in a number of ways.

- First it forces us to be very clear about which **domains** and **varieties** are relevant to language choice.
  - The model *summarises* what we know about the patterns of language use in the community.
  - It is not an account of the **choices** a person must make or of the process they go through in selecting a code.
  - It is simply a description of the **community’s norms** which can be altered or added to if we discover more information.
  - It would be possible, for instance, to **add other domains** after ‘school’, for instance, such as ‘the pub’ or ‘the law court’.

- A second reason why an explicit model is useful is that it provides a clear basis for **comparing patterns of code choice** in different speech communities.
  - Models make it easy to compare the varieties **appropriate** in similar domains in different speech communities.
  - And a model is also useful to a **newcomer** in a community as a summary of the appropriate patterns of code use in the community.
  - A model describes which code or codes are usually **selected** for use in different situations.
Example 5

Oi Lin Tan, a 20-year-old Chinese Singaporean, uses three languages regularly. At home she uses Cantonese to her mother and to her grandfather who lives with them. With her friends she generally uses Singapore English. She learned to understand Hokkien, another Chinese language, in the smaller shops and market-place, but in large department stores she again uses Singapore English. At primary school she was taught for just over half the time in Mandarin Chinese, and so she often watches Channel 8, the Mandarin television station, and she regularly reads a Chinese newspaper *Liánhé Zǎobào*, which is written in Mandarin Chinese. During the other part of the time at primary school she was taught in a formal variety of Singapore English. This is the code she uses when she has to deal with government officials, or when she applies for an office job during the university holidays. She went to an English-medium secondary school and she is now studying geography and economics at an English-medium university. Her text books are all in English.
## Social factors affecting language choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Who are the speakers?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>In what context is the language used?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>What are the speakers talking about?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social distance</td>
<td>How well do the speakers know each other?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>The social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social roles</td>
<td>Teacher-student; doctor-patient; father-son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formality</td>
<td>Formal vs. informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function/goal of the interaction</td>
<td>What is the language being used for?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 6

In Eggenwil, a town in the Aargau canton of Switzerland, Silvia, a bank-teller, knows two very distinct varieties of German. One is the local Swiss German dialect of her canton which she uses in her everyday interactions. The other is standard German which she learnt at school, and though she understands it very well indeed, she rarely uses it in speech. Newspapers are written in standard German, and when she occasionally goes to hear a lecture at the university it may be in standard German. The national TV news is broadcast in standard German, but weather broadcasts now use dialect. The sermons her mother listens to in church are generally in standard German too, though more radical clerics use Swiss German dialect. The novels Silvia reads also use standard German.
Diglossia

In the narrow and original sense of the term, diglossia has three crucial features:

1. Two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community, with one regarded as a high (or H) variety and the other a low (or L) variety.
2. Each variety is used for quite distinct functions; H and L complement each other.
3. No one uses the H variety in everyday conversation.
# Diglossia

## Examples of Diglossia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region/Country</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Standard German</td>
<td>Local Swiss German dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>Classical Arabic</td>
<td>Local Arabic dialects (Iraqi, Moroccan, Egyptian, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Katharévusa (‘puristic’)</td>
<td>Dhimotiki (‘demotic, popular’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Haitian Creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>Colloquial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ferguson gave the following sample listing of situations where H or L is used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sermon in church or mosque</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal letters</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech in Parliament, Political speech</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University lecture</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation with family, friends, colleagues</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News broadcast</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio “soap opera”</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caption on political cartoon</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk literature</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attitudes towards the two codes in a diglossia situation are complicated.

People generally admire the H variety even when they can’t understand it.

Attitudes to it are usually very respectful. It has prestige in the sense of high status.

These attitudes are reinforced by the fact that the H variety is the one which is described and ‘fixed’, or standardised, in grammar books and dictionaries.

People generally do not think of the L variety as worth describing.
Diglossia

Exercise 6

(a) Using the information provided above, summarise what you now know about the differences between H and L in diglossic communities.
   (I) How are they linguistically related? Are they distinct languages or varieties of the same language?
   (II) How are they used in the community?
   (III) Which is used for conversation with family and friends?
   (IV) How is each variety learned?
   (V) Which has most prestige?
   (VI) Which is codified in grammar books and dictionaries?
   (VII) In which variety is literature usually written?

(b) Judged by these seven features would you say that Hemnesberget described in example 6 in chapter 1 qualified as a diglossic community? Why (not)?

Answers at end of chapter
Diglossia

Diglossia with and without bilingualism

• Diglossia is a characteristic of speech communities rather than individuals. Individuals may be bilingual. Societies or communities are diglossic. In other words, the term diglossia describes societal or institutionalised bilingualism, where two varieties are required to cover all the community’s domains.

• There are some diglossic communities where there is very limited individual bilingualism; e.g. in Haiti more than 90 per cent of the population is monolingual in Haitian Creole. Consequently, they cannot actively contribute in more formal domains.
Diglossia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Arabic Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>I don’t know what to do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordanian Arabic</td>
<td>مش عارف شو اعمل</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinian Arabic</td>
<td>شو بدي اعمل</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirati Arabic</td>
<td>معرف شو اسوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Arabic</td>
<td>لا اعلم ماذا افعل</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Arabic</td>
<td>مش عارف اعمل ايه</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisian Arabic</td>
<td>منعرفش</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algerian Arabic</td>
<td>ما على بالي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwaiti Arabic</td>
<td>ما ادرى شو اسوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Diglossia

## Table 2.4 Relationship between diglossia and bilingualism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIGLOSSIA</th>
<th>BILINGUALISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fishman (2003: 360).*
Extending the scope of ‘diglossia’

- it was suggested that bilingual communities like Sauris and Paraguay should also be considered as examples of diglossia.
- ‘Diglossia’ is here being used in a broader sense which gives most weight to feature or criterion (ii) – the complementary functions of two varieties or codes in a community.
- Features (i) and (iii) are dispensed with and the term diglossia is generalised to cover any situation where two languages are used for different functions in a speech community, especially where one language is used for H functions and the other for L functions.
Diglossia

Polyglossia

• Diglossic situations involve two contrasting varieties, H and L. Sometimes, however, a more sophisticated concept is needed to describe the functional distribution of different varieties in a community.

• People like Kalala in Bukavu use a number of different codes for different purposes. The term polyglossia has been used for situations like this where a community regularly uses more than three languages.
# Diglossia

## Polyglossia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>Singapore English formal variety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Cantonese, Hokkien</td>
<td>Singapore English informal variety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.5 Polyglossia in Singapore**

![Signage in Singapore](image1.png)

![Signage in Singapore](image2.png)
Changes in a diglossia situation

• Diglossia has been described as a **stable situation**. It is possible for two varieties to continue to exist side by side for centuries, as they have in Arabic-speaking countries and in Haiti for example.

• Alternatively, one variety may gradually displace the other.

• Latin was ousted from its position as the H language in Europe, for example, as the L varieties gradually expanded or leaked up into more formal domains.
Diglossia

Changes in a diglossia situation

- England was diglossic (in the broad sense) after 1066 when the Normans were in control. French was the language of the court, administration, the legal system and high society in general. English was the language of the peasants in the fields and the streets. The following words provide a nice illustration of this relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ox</td>
<td>boeuf</td>
<td>beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>mouton</td>
<td>mutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>veau</td>
<td>veal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>porc</td>
<td>pork</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Code-switching or code-mixing

Participants, solidarity and status

Example 8

[The Maori is in italics. THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
Sarah: I think everyone’s here except Mere.
John: She said she might be a bit late but actually I think that’s her arriving now.
Sarah: You’re right. Kia ora Mere. Haere mai. Kei te pehea koe?
[Hi Mere. Come in. How are you?]
Mere: Kia ora e hoa. Kei te pai. Have you started yet?
[Hello my friend. I’m fine]
Code-switching or code-mixing

Participants, solidarity and status

- when there is some obvious change in the situation
- as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee.
- to signal their sophistication and identification with modernity.
- to distances oneself from the other participants
- change of topic
Code-switching or code-mixing

Example 9

(a) Tamati: **Engari** [SO] now we turn to more important matters.

(Switch between Maori and English)

(b) Ming: Confiscated by Customs, **dà gà** [PROBABLY]

(Switch between English and Mandarin Chinese)

(c) A: Well I’m glad I met you. OK?
M: **ándale pues** OK SWELL], and do come again. Mm?

(Switch between Spanish and English)

signal of group membership
Example 10

[BOKMÅL IS IN SMALL CAPITALS. Ranamål in lower case.]

Jan: Hello Petter. How is your wife now?
Petter: Oh she’s much better thank you Jan. She’s out of hospital and convalescing well.
Jan: That’s good I’m pleased to hear it. DO YOU THINK YOU COULD HELP ME WITH THIS PESKY FORM? I AM HAVING A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY WITH IT.
Petter: OF COURSE. GIVE IT HERE . . .

change of topic
أيا فلنا السلام...، في نفس الوقت مع العروض المبرمة في القرى، نشوفو كيف نعمل كيف العبادة المنتقلة مع العروض، اللي
عندو مشاكل يفحصو طبيب متع نظر، و تو أشنو من شيرتنا نتكلفو باقتنا و توصيل النظارات اللازمة لأصحابنا
الحاصل، كلاك أوفتالمو (طبيب نظر) ولا تعرف أوفتالمو، ولا تعرف جمعية تونسية متع أوفتالمو
و الحكاية بانتلك باهية و تحب تم فيها يدك، سيكون من دواعي سرورنا (ما لقنت كلمة أخرى) أنا ننظموها مع بعضنا
بارتاجي بالك توصل لشكون مهتم و ينجم يساهم...
When people switch from one code to another for reasons which can be clearly identified, it is sometimes called *situational switching*. If we knew the relevant situational or social factors in advance in such cases, we could usually predict the switches.
Code-switching or code-mixing

Topic:

- it’s is easier
- to quote
- affective function
Code-switching or code-mixing

Example 11

[The Maori is in italics. THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
A Maori person is recalling the visit of a respected elder to a nearby town.

‘That’s what he said in Blenheim [Ki a mātou Ngāti Porou, te Māoritanga i papi ake i te whenua.] [WE OF THE NGĀTI POROU TRIBE BELIEVE THE ORIGINS OF MĀORITANGA ARE IN THE EARTH.] And those Blenheim people listened carefully to him too.’
Code-switching or code-mixing

Example 12

[The Mandarin Chinese is in italics. THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
A group of Chinese students from Beijing are discussing Chinese customs.
Li: People here get divorced too easily. Like exchanging faulty goods. In China it’s not
the same. [jià gǒu sǔi gǒu, jià jī sǔi jī] [IF YOU HAVE MARRIED A DOG, YOU FOLLOW A
DOG, IF YOU’VE MARRIED A CHICKEN, YOU FOLLOW A CHICKEN.]

to quote
Code-switching or code-mixing

Example 15

[The German is in italics. THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
In the town of Oberwart two little Hungarian-speaking children were playing in the woodshed and knocked over a carefully stacked pile of firewood. Their grandfather walked in and said in Hungarian, the language he usually used to them:
‘Szo! ide dzüni! jeszt jerámunyi mind e kettüötök, no hát akkor!’
[WELL COME HERE! PUT ALL THIS AWAY, BOTH OF YOU, WELL NOW.]
When they did not respond quickly enough he switched to (dialectal) German:
‘Kum her!’
[COME HERE!]

affective function
Metaphorical switching

Example 17

At a village meeting among the Buang people in PNG, Mr Rupa, the main village entrepreneur and ‘bigman’, is trying to persuade people who have put money into a village store to leave it there. This is a section from his skilful speech.

Tok Pisin is in italics. Buang is not italicised.

Ikamap trovel o wonem, mi ken stretim olgeta toktok. Orait. Pasin ke ken be, meni ti ken nyep la, su lok lam memba re, olo ba miting autim olgeta tok . . . moni ti ken nyep ega, rek mu su rek ogoko nam be, one moni rek, . . . moni ti ken bak stua lam vu Mambump re, m nzom agon. Orait, bihain, bihainim bilong wok long bisnis, orait, moni bilong stua bai ibekim olgeta ples.

English translation

If any problem comes up, I will be able to settle all the arguments. OK. This is the way – the money that is there can’t go back to the shareholders, and the meeting brought up all these arguments . . . the money that’s there you won’t take back, your money will . . . this money from the bulk store will come back to Mambump, and we’ll hold on to it. Now later, if we continue these business activities, then the store money will be repaid to everyone.
Metaphorical switching

• there are no obvious explanatory factors accounting for the specific switches between Buang and Tok Pisin.

• Mr Rupa’s use of Tok Pisin (‘talk pidgin’), a creole which is a valuable lingua franca and an official language in PNG, emphasizes this role of entrepreneur, as well as his superior knowledge and experience as a man of the wider world.

• His use of Tok Pisin constructs his professional identity as a businessman.
Metaphorical switching

- Buang symbolizes high solidarity, equal status and friendly feelings.
- Tok Pisin represents social distance, status and the referential information of the business world.
- Mr Rupa is getting the best of both worlds. He is code-switching for rhetorical reasons, drawing on the associations of both codes.
Luxembourg is a multilingual nation where language switching is very common. Where people are equally fluent in three or more languages, it is often difficult to explain why they use one rather than another, even in writing.
Lexical borrowing

- accounted for by lack of vocabulary in a language.
- When speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use a term from their mother tongue or first language because they don’t know the appropriate word in their second language.
- These ‘switches’ are triggered by lack of vocabulary.
- People may also borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using.
- Borrowing of this kind generally involves single words – mainly nouns – and it is motivated by lexical need.
Some sociolinguists believe there are very general rules for switching which apply to all switching behavior regardless of the codes or varieties involved.

They are searching for universal linguistic constraints on switching.

It has been suggested for example that switches only occur within sentences (intra-sentential switching) at points where the grammars of both languages match each other. This is called ‘the equivalence constraint’.

So you may only switch between an adjective and a noun if both languages use the same order for that adjective and noun, as illustrated in the following example.
## Linguistic constraints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example 20</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Possible switch point?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>red boat</td>
<td>bateau rouge</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big house</td>
<td>grande maison</td>
<td>YES: i.e. ‘big maison’ or ‘grande house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Linguistic constraints

• Another suggestion is that there is always a ‘matrix language frame’ (MLF) which imposes structural constraints on code-switched utterances.

• So, for example, system morphemes (such as tense and aspect inflections) will always come from the matrix language; and the order in which morphemes may occur in code-switched utterances will be determined by the MLF. The other language is called the embedded language.
Linguistic constraints

Example 21
Leo si-ku-COME na-BOOK z-angu
'Today I didn’t come with my books'
Attitudes to code-switching

Example 22
(a) In Hemnesberget, two linguists recorded university students home on vacation. The students unconsciously switched between the local dialect and standard Norwegian according to the topic. When they later heard the tapes some were appalled and promised they would not switch in this way in the future.
(b) ‘When I switch (inadvertently), I usually realise soon afterwards and correct myself, but it is still embarrassing.’
(c) ‘Code-switching is not very pure.’
(d) ‘My attitude towards code-switching is a very relaxed one.’
Attitudes to code-switching

- Reactions to code-switching styles are negative in many communities, despite the fact that proficiency in intra-sentential code-switching requires good control of both codes.

- This may reflect the attitudes of the majority monolingual groups in places like North America and Britain.
End of class 02