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From Code-switching via Language Mixing to Fused Lects: Toward a Dynamic Typology of Bilingual Speech

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In recognition of the enthusiasm he has brought to all aspects of the study of spoken verbal interaction, we dedicate this series to Professor Dr. Aldo di Luzio, University of Konstanz.

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Introduction

Over the last few decades, a wide range of phenomena have been described in which two languages are juxtaposed in discourse and/or within a sentence, variously called language alternation, code-switching, code-mixing, etc. It seems worthwhile (and possible) at this stage of research to consider the ways in which these phenomena may be subject to a typology. The present paper aims at such a typological approach. A continuum of language alternation phenomena will be presented which spans out between three well-documented cases (conceived as prototypes) which will be labelled code-switching (CS), language mixing (LM) and fused lects (FLs), with CS and FLs representing the polar extremes of the continuum and LM a point inbetween. Since these three prototypes have been amply documented in the literature, the continuum rests on relatively secure empirical grounds. However, I will also suggest an interpretation of it which is somewhat more tentative, i.e., to see the continuum CS → LM → FL as a case of structural sedimentation which some might call "grammaticalization". Particular attention will therefore be given to the transitions, CS → LM and LM → FL. The possibility of such transitions has been hinted at, in particular, by Scotton 1988 who suggests that "overall switching as an unmarked choice seems to be the first step to what has been called the development of a semi-autonomous 'Mix'" (165), for which she also uses the term "fused variety" (158). Generally speaking, however, particularistic, differential and historical studies of bilingualism have often been hidden under the more universalistic interests dominating the past decades of research. For this reason, little is known about the dynamic aspects of speech in individual bilingual communities over a period of time.

The terms CS, LM and FLs will be used in the following way: CS will be reserved for those cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants. The term LM, on the other hand, will be used for those cases of the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense, i.e. when seen as a recurrent pattern. The transition from CS to LM is therefore above all an issue to be dealt with by interpretive sociolinguistic approaches since it is located on the level of how speakers perceive and use the 'codes' in question. Stabilized mixed varieties will be called fused lects. The transition from LM to FL is primarily an issue for grammatical research; essential ingredients of this transition are a reduction of variation and an increase of rule-governed, non-variable structural regularities.¹

1. Code-switching

(Conversational) code-switching defines the pragmatic pole of the continuum to be discussed. In CS, the contrast between one code and the other (for instance, one language and another) is meaningful, and can be interpreted by participants, as indexing (contextualizing) either some aspects of the situation (discourse-related switching), or some feature of the code-switching speaker (participant-related switching). Discourse-related code-switching is part of the realm of everyday rhetorics, not part of grammar (the scholastic grammarians' ars obligatoria). It is one of the available strategies used by bilinguals to convey meaning. As a contextualization strategy, it represents a metapragmatic comment² on the on-going interaction which marks it as bilingual. Participant-related code-switching covers instances of diverging language preferences and competences.

Code-switching (understood in this sense) has been dealt with by many scholars (cf. the pioneering work by Gumperz 1982:59ff, as well as Li Wei 1994, 1998; Alfonzetti 1992, 1998; Auer 1984, 1995; Sebba/Wootton 1998, among many others). Its significance must not be equated with the 'social meaning' of the various languages within a multilingual repertoire, as it is often believed to exist in diglossic situations (such as language A being the 'we code', 'informal code', 'solidarity code', etc., and language B being the 'they code', 'formal code', 'deference code', etc.³). Although the languages involved in code-switching may index some kind of extra-conversational knowledge, code-switching can never be analysed as a mere consequence of such indexing, without taking into account the sequential position in which it occurs and from which it receives its meaning. The following illustrative example is taken from di Luzio's analysis (1984:67) of reproaches and teasing among children and youngsters in the Italian/German group of speakers also investigated in Auer (1984):

Ex. (1) (Italian underlined; transcription follows GAT⁴)

01 Ag.: noja am spielplatz
(well in the playground)
02 Cl.: am (spielplatz)
(in (the playground))
03 Ag.-m: wissen Sie wo der spielplatz isch?
(do you know where the playground is?)
04 m: das is:[:
(it is: :)
05 Cm.: [der kann ja h[ingehe
(he can pass by there)
06 m: [äh::
07 Ag.-Cm.: se: mo va ccamená propriə [llá
(oh I'm sure he will pass by there)

The switching in line 07 changes the 'footing' of the interaction; while the adolescents Ag., Cm. and Cl. have been trying to explain to adult m. the location of a playground - a purely 'technical', reference-establishing sequence without any emotional overtones - , Ag.'s Italian dialectal utterance in this line is directed at Cm.'s and responds to his previous suggestion that m. should 'pass by' there in order to see himself. In retorting in Italian dialect, Agostino marks his reply as ironical ('there is no reason why an adult should spend his time looking for playgrounds'), but also as reproachful and as a mild critique of Camillo's utterance. In his analysis, di Luzio shows that such switching into Italian dialect occurs regularly in this group of friends. It cannot, however, be derived from whichever 'meaning' one may want to attribute to this variety within the speakers' repertoire.

The prototypical case of (discourse-related) code-switching can be portrayed 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 until code-switching occurs; (b) through its departure 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, although previous episodes may also be brought to bear on the interpretation of the case at hand; (c) it seems possible to describe the mechanisms by which code-switching relates to the two codes and to the context in which it occurs in very general ways. Contexts are theoretically innumerable, of course, as are the interactional meanings of code-switching; however the ways in which these meanings are construed remain constant from one community to the next; (d) code-switching may be called a personal or group style. As a group style, its use may be subject to normative constraints valid within a speech community; however, it certainly is not a variety in its own right; (e) most code-switches occur at major syntactic and prosodic boundaries (at clause or sentence level). Since switching serves to contextualize certain linguistic activities, the utterance units affected by the switch must be large enough to constitute such an activity. For this reason, code-switching does not provide much 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.⁵

In order to ascertain that in a particular case of the juxtaposition of two co-occurring sets of structural parameters we are dealing with code-switching, it is essential to show that speakers orient towards this juxtaposition. Therefore the question of what counts as a code must refer to participants', not to linguists' notions of 'code A' and 'code B.' An 'objective' statement (i.e., one exclusively informed by the 'linguistic facts', such as (the absence of) phonological or morphological integration, or frequency) that a given

arrangement of signs constitutes a combination of elements of two systems is not only very difficult to make at times (cf. the Castilian/Galician example discussed in Auer 1998), it is also irrelevant. There may be cases in which the two codes juxtaposed are 'objectively speaking' very similar, but regarded by the members of a bilingual community as completely separate (as in some cases of dialect/standard switching; cf. Alfonzetti 1998 for Sicily), just as there may be codes which are 'objectively speaking' very distinct but nevertheless seen as non-distinct by the speakers (see section 2).⁶

A methodology to prove participants' orientation at the juxtaposition is precisely to show that it is used as a contextualization cue (i.e., that it is 'functional'). Further evidence is provided by self- and other-corrections of language choice (cf. Gafaranga, MS) as they may also be found in the data from which ex. (1) is taken:

ex. (2): (same participants as in (1); Italian in italics; transcription according to GAT)

- 01 m: *di ch' di che cosa parlate general[mente=*
(what do you usually talk about together)
- 02 Ag.: [<pp> *tutte cose =*
(all kinds of things)
- 03 <mf> *della scule =*
(about school)
- 04 m: <f> *della [scuola*
(about school)
- 05 Ag.: [was wir WERde wolle (-) [*alor cos devo: (-)*
(what we want to be I mean what I need to)
- 06 Al.: [*compagn*
((about) our mates)
- 07 Ag.: <p> *devo (1.0)*
(I need to)
- 08 m: *cosa (d)*
(what (n))
- 09 Ag.: <p> *devenDAre;*
(become)

In this part of the conversation, the adolescents have temporarily accepted adult m's language choice (standard Italian); this is demonstrated by the fact that Ag's momentary 'excursion' into German in line 05 is immediately self-repaired, although the Italian version is not without linguistic difficulties for the speaker (who runs into trouble finding the standard Italian infinitival form for dial. *devendá* ~ std. *diventare* 'to become'). Together with language negotiation sequences in which participants (try to) find a common language-of-interaction (cf. Auer 1984: 13ff, 1995: 128ff, in prep.), such repairs prove participants' orientation to a preference for one language at a time.

To summarize, although we are used to approaching conversational code-switching from the presumption that there are two codes (languages) which are used alternately, and then proceeding to investigate the function switching between them may have, a strictly interpretive approach forces us to state the question the other way round. We need to

start from the observation that there are two sets of co-occurring variables between which participants alternate in an interactionally meaningful way, and then proceed to ask whether we can see them as belonging to or constituting two varieties or languages (cf. Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998, in prep.). The 'codes' may turn out to be 'languages', but they may also be 'dialects' or other varieties, or even sets of prosodic contextualization cues.

One final point needs to be made. The prototypical case of code-switching sketched above represents the alternational type: one in which a return after the switch into the previous language is not predictable. There is another type of code-switching where this is not the case and which may be called insertional.⁷ In this type of switching, a content word (noun, verb, rarely adjective/adverb) is inserted into a surrounding passage in the other language. As in alternational switching, participants show an orientation towards the 'other-languageness' of the insertion, either by deriving some particular interactional meaning from it, or by relating it to the speaker's (momentary) incompetence in the established language-of-interaction. In both cases, prosodic cues (extra emphasis, preceding pause) and verbal markers (metalinguistic comments, hesitation) may serve to underline the juxtaposition and turn it into a locally noticeable phenomenon.⁸ Note that the insertion may be morphosyntactically fully integrated; or it may carry over grammatical elements into the receiving language.⁹ The communicative function of insertions (and their status as CS) does not depend on its grammatical format.

2. Language mixing

The range of phenomena covered by the term CS according to the interpretive approach chosen here is considerably smaller than often suggested by the pervasive usage of the term in the literature. From this, it follows that there are many cases of the juxtaposition of two languages other than code-switching. One such case of language contact is 'mixing' (of languages, dialects, etc.).

From the early times of research onward data for the conversational juxtaposition of two languages have been presented which clearly do not fit the prototype of CS as presented in section one. This is true, for example, for the "frequent code-switching" (particularly of the non-emblematic type) investigated in the pioneering work by Poplack (1979 [1981]) on Puerto Rican bilingual language use in the USA, but also for most of the data collected in Africa (for instance, Scotton's "code-switching as the unmarked choice", 1993a).

Ex. (3) is taken from an European context and from the same language pair as ex. (1), (2), which were discussed in the preceding section as examples of code-switching. Nevertheless, we are clearly dealing with a case of LM here:

Ex. 3: (Preziosa Di Quinzio 1992: X, quoted from Franceschini 1998:59f)

[Italian immigrants in Switzerland, Swiss German dialect and Italian (underlined); author's transcription conventions]

p11: perché meinsch che se tu ti mangi emmentaler o se tu ti mangi una fontina isch au ('because, you mean, if you eat Emmentaler cheese or if you eat Fontina cheese, there is also

en unterschied, oder? schlussendlich è sempre dentro lì però il gusto isch andersch. (there is also a difference, isn't there? Actually, it's still there, but the taste is different')

p6: è vero!
('that's right!')

.
(ommission)

p11: es git verschiedeni fondue aso die heisset verschiedä, aso ja das isch en ('there are different kinds of Fondue, they have different names, well there's a

himmelwiitä unterschied se prendi questo o se prendi il chäs normal. (huge difference whether you take that one or whether you take the ordinary cheese.)

p6: ehrlich! beh, zum biispil io raclettechäs lo prendo sempre fresco. raclettechäs ('really! well, for instance me Raclette cheese I always get it fresh. Raclette cheese

hol ich immer im dings... äs git au im migros così implasticato gits au. (I always get at what's-its-name... they also have it at Migros, wrapped in plastic they have it, too')

In this case of the juxtapositions of Italian and Swiss German dialect it is difficult if not impossible to say whether the language of interaction is Italian or Swiss German dialect; rather than one of the varieties involved, it seems to be their alternating use which in itself constitutes the 'language'-of-interaction. It is equally difficult to argue that the juxtaposition of the two languages triggers a change of footing or is related to the competences or preferences of the speakers on each occasion; these juxtapositions do not seem to have local meaning, i.e. from an interpretive point of view, they cannot be called code-switching (although speakers will be well aware of the bilingual language mode in which they converse).

The fact that in LM of the type exemplified by (3) individual turns cannot be labelled language A or language B is mainly due to the frequency of turn-internal language juxtaposition. Since LM does not contextualize linguistic activities, such juxtaposition may affect units of any size, typically not only at clause boundaries but also below. LM is therefore much more intricately linked to syntax than CS. However, most researchers agree that it is not the case that 'anything goes' in LM; rather, the ways in which the two

languages in play may be intertwined are subject to certain constraints. It is these constraints that most syntactically oriented research on bilingualism has focused on.

As a consequence of the frequent intrasentential juxtapositions of the two languages it is often difficult to maintain the distinction between insertional and alternational juxtapositions in LM. In fact, it is a typical feature of LM that alternational and insertional strategies converge. Yet, the distinction does not always collapse completely. Rather, it is often possible to identify mixing styles of a more insertional kind and those of a more alternational kind. Extract (3) above is clearly of the alternational type (and, incidentally, obeys the equivalence constraint suggested by Poplack 1979 [1981] which may be typical for alternational LM in general), and so are the bilingual data presented by Zentella on Puerto Rican bilingual speech (1997:15ff, cf. in particular her example on p. 117). On the other hand, an example such as the following is clearly on the insertional side:¹⁰

Ex. (4) (from Bentahila & Davies 1995:83)

[younger generation of Moroccan speakers; French in italics; clause numbers added; authors' transcription conventions]

(1) hadu *les cousins* djali žajjin men *la France* w šandhum
(these (the) *cousins* of mine were coming from *France* and they had)

la voiture ... (2) mša *la voiture* djal xali ... (3) merra *la*
(a *car* with the *car* of my uncle one day the)

plage, merra žžebel, merra *la forêt*, kul merra w fin.
(*beach*, one day the mountains, one day the forest, every time
somewhere different)

(4) šandna fih *des photos*, derna *les photos* bezzaf. (5) *On a*
(We have *photos* taken there, *photos* a lot *We even*)

même filmé, (6) hakka wlad šammi žabu *la caméra*.
(made a *film*. So my cousins brought the *camcorder*.)

(7) *filmaw*. (8) *filmana* bbahum f lbhar. (9) *filmana même* fe
(they *filmed* Their father *filmed* us in the sea. He *filmed* us *even*)

ttriq f *la ville*. (10) žabna mašna xir rrabbi djali *les*
(in the street in the *town*. We brought back with us a lot of)

souvenirs. (11) wahed ssuq šandhum, (12) men dakši šandhum,
(*souvenirs*. They have a market there what a market they have)

(13) *il est immense*. (14) šandhum ... (15) huwwa *un seul*
(it's enormous They have it's all one)

souk walakin *divisé en parties*, (16) bhal fih *la partie* djali
(market but *divided into sections* for example there is the)

yi *les poissons*. (17) haduk ... (18) kajnin *les pêcheurs*.
(section only for *fish* those there are *fishermen* there)

(19) *Les pêcheurs enfin* makajketru *la journée* djalhum f
(*The fishermen in fact* don't spend *the day* of them at)

lbhar, (20) kajžibu dak ... (21) duk *les poissons frais*,
(sea, they bring that those *the fresh fish*)

(22) w katelqaj lřjalat yi kajšriw ... (23) yi *les poissons*,
(and you find women buying only only *the fish*)

(24) yi lfenn.
(only the best)

It is intuitively clear that the 'matrix language' (to use a term coined by C.M. Scotton) of most clauses in this passage is Moroccan Arabic.¹¹ Into these grammatical frames, single French words, particularly nouns (and occasionally discourse particles/adverbs such as *enfin*, 19, and *même*, 9) are inserted, which are not part of this variety of Arabic (i.e., they are nonce borrowings, not integrated borrowings). Nouns take with them certain grammatical elements (in particular, the definite and indefinite articles), sometimes also their modifiers such as adjectives (cf. clauses 21, 15). French verbal stems may be transferred as well (cf. clauses 7, 8, 9) and can be integrated into Moroccan Arabic morphology. For all these reasons, the extension of an insertion is not necessarily restricted to its lexematic (V, N) 'core', but may affect larger (NP) or smaller units (stem). The only cases of alternational LM (or perhaps CS) are in clauses 5, 13 and 15. Only in the latter case is it difficult to assign a matrix language to the clause.

Most researchers on LM in the speech of the African elites agree that in their data, a matrix language can be identified; this implies a dominantly insertional mode of LM (cf., among many examples, Scotton 1996b, Haust 1995, Swigart 1992, Goke-Pariola 1983, Gafaranga, MS). Speakers may look upon insertional mixing as a variety of the language into which elements are inserted, i.e. the "matrix language" (as argued by Gafaranga MS, Swigart 1992), although this variety may be looked down upon in some cases. LM of the insertional type is also claimed by Backus 1996, writing on LM in Dutch-Turkish bilinguals.

Not all examples are unambiguous, however; a more complex case of both insertional and alternational LM (combined with CS) are, for instance, Luther's table conversations. As is well known, switching between Latin and the vernacular language (here: Early New High German) was a wide-spread practice among intellectuals in the 16th century:

Ex. (5): (*Luthers Tischreden*, Veit Dietrich's notes, Dec. 1531, No 122)

[Early New High German in italics]

(1) Qui autem vexantur Spiritu tristitiae, inquit, debent
(but those who are troubled by the spirit of sadness, so he [sc. Luther] said, should be)
summe cavere, ne sint soli, (2) *denn Gott hat societatem*
(most careful that they are not alone for God created the society of)
ecclesiae *geschafft* et fraternitatem *gebotten*, (3) sicut
(the church and called for brotherhood as)
scriptura dicit: 'Vae homini soli, quia cum ceciderit etc.'
(it is written: Woe to the lonely man, for when he dies etc.)
(4) Tristitia quoque cordis coram Deo non placet ei,
(For before God, sadness of the heart is (something) not pleasing to him)
quanquam tristitiam coram mundo permittat,
(even though he may permit sadness before the world)
(5) sed non vult, *das ich gegen yhm betruckt sol sein*, (6)
(but he does not want that I should be distressed before him)
sicut dicit: 'Nolo mortem peccatoris'; item: 'Laetamini in
(he says: I don't want the sinner's death; and: Rejoice in)
Domino.' (7) Non vult servum, *der sich nit guts zu yhm*
(God. He does not want a servant who is not on good terms)

versehe, (8) haec scio, (9) *sed wol zehen mal in einem tag*
(with him. This I know but surely ten times a day)
wurd ich anderst zu sinn, (10) et tamen resisto Satanae.
(my mind changed and still I resist Satan.)

In one of the first and most brilliant studies on the syntax of bilingual speech, Stolt (1964) shows that insertional mixing (which she calls *Einschaltung*) such as in clause 2 follows different regularities from alternational mixing (her *Umschaltung*) such as in clauses 5 or 7; Luther freely inserts Latin nominal and verbal elements into his German sentences, while German insertions into Latin sentences are rare and restricted in type (cf. clause 9, where the adverbial/discourse particle *sed* is preposed to a German sentence). Alternational switching on the other hand can go in either direction.

The very fact of selecting a mixing mode from the repertoire (to the exclusion of other, more 'monolingual' modes) can of course be of social significance; for instance, it may signal group identity.¹² Since LM is "such an integral part of the community linguistic repertoire that it could be said to function as a mode of interaction similar to monolingual language use" (Poplack 1988:217), speakers may also contrast this mixing mode with other (mixing or 'monolingual') modes within the repertoire; we then find locally meaningful alternation, i.e. in code-switching, of a second order (cf. Meeuwis and Bloomaert 1998 for discussion and an example).

The fact that LM, other than CS, sometimes has a folk name can be attributed to its identity-related functions; for instance, the LM mode employed by the speakers of ex. (2) is called *Italoschwyz* by its users (Franceschini 1998), Gibraltarians call their

English/Spanish mixing *Yanito* (cf. Moyer 1988), the Gurindji Aborigines of the Victoria River District in the Northern Territory of Australia their mixing of Gurindji (a Pama-Nyungan vernacular) and Creole/Aboriginal English *mikijimap* ('mix-im-up') (McConvell 1988:97), younger aboriginal people in the Western Torres Strait in Australia their LM of Torres Strait Pidgin and Kalaw Lagaw Ya *ap-ne-ap* ('half and half') (Bani 1976), etc. Bilinguals and monolinguals often have very strong positive or (more often) negative attitudes towards mixing (cf., e.g., Hill & Hill 1986 for the second case).¹³ Even among linguists, LM seems to provoke strong reactions, usually of the negative kind (Singh 1996:71ff may be the most recent example).

Compared to CS, LM seems to require a higher bilingual competence; in addition, there is some evidence that alternational LM requires more proficient bilinguals than insertional LM (Poplack 1979 [1981], Backus 1996, Bentahila & Davies 1996). On the continuum from CS to FL, the most balanced bilinguals are likely to be found here.

3. From CS to LM

Having sketched the prototypes of CS and LM, we can now proceed to look at the transition from CS to LM. The hypothesis is that both on the level of the individual and on that of the community, there is a tendency to move from CS to LM, but not in the opposite direction.¹⁴ (Note that I do not claim that CS → LM is the only way in which a mixed speaking style may emerge, but only that LM cannot develop into CS.) For instance, the Italian/German mixing found in ex. (3) represents as a later stage of Italian/German language contact after migration than the switching style in ex. (1) and (2).¹⁵

In the transition, phases occur in which the 'older' CS pattern and the 'newer' LM pattern co-exist; these phases may be quite prolonged. For this reason, one should be careful not to dismiss too early the possibility of discourse-functional switching in interactions in which mixing is observed: one does not exclude the other.¹⁶ "Campus Swahili" in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) seems to be one such speaking style:

Ex. (6) (from Blommaert 1992:61)

[English in italics; transcription converted into GAT]

A: manake (.) shule hata CHAkula hawapati siku hizi
 (because the schools don't even get)

 cha (.) chakula *standard* hawapatikani kule (-) basi
 (*standard* food it can't be obtained there so)

imebidi WA*withdraw* (-) wanasema <↑>ooohh nijilimie
(it was necessary for them to *withdraw* they say "oh!")

mwenyewe (-) na kila mwanafunzi wanacholima hakitoshi
(I'll work in the field myself. But with all the students
farming, even that isn't good enough)

<↑>even for TWO months (-) basi (.) mambo
(so things)

yame *deteriorate* (-) basi unakuta (.) ndiyo (-)
(have *deteriorated* and so there you are, yes)

B: sasa hivi wana (.) wanaanza kuaminii (.) lakini sasa
(right now they they start to believe but now)

haija *pickup* (.) haija *pick* (.) ni hali ambayo kwa kweli
(it hasn't *picked up* yet, it hasn't *picked* yet; it's a situation
which really)

it is *STILL deteriorating* (-) lakini kwenye
(but in a)

situation kama hiyo hata kama umepata nafasi ya kusoma
(*situation* like this, even if you get the occasion to study)

nafikiri it's just low (-) they <↓>can't go on (-)
(I think)

((etc.))

As Blommaert argues, this bilingual mode of speaking is made up of two different ways of juxtaposing Swahili and English. On the one hand, there are many cases of insertional mixing (which he calls borrowing) (cf. *standard*, *withdraw*, *deteriorate*, *pick up*, *situation*) which do not seem to carry any local meaning. In many ways, they correspond to the 'unmarked' way of speaking among the Tanzanian élites for which "speaking 'pure' Swahili seems to require special attention and effort" (Blommaert 1992:61), although corresponding terms in Swahili partly exist and are used on other occasions (cf. B's Swahili *hali* in line 8 and English *situation* in line 10). On the other hand, there are repeated cases of CS (in lines 5, 9, 11) which Blommaert analyzes as a conversational strategy used to add special emphasis to certain turn components, or to conclude a statement.

The Tanzanian case represents a fairly wide-spread way in which CS and LM co-occur: insertional contact phenomena are LM, alternational phenomena are CS. More generally speaking, insertions often seem to precede alternations on the way from CS via LM to FL. The opposite case (i.e., insertional switching co-occurring massively with alternational mixing) seems to be very uncommon.

How can a locally meaningful contextualization strategy such as code-switching lose its pragmatic force and turn into mixing? It is clear that the frequency of the juxtaposition of two codes within a speaker's turn plays a role here: frequent juxtaposition weakens the contextualization value of this cue. In gestaltpsychological terms, the figure of code-switching is most salient against a ground which is monolectal. The more frequently code-switching occurs, the less salient it becomes; as a consequence, the potential for using it in locally meaningful ways is diminished.

This, in turn, raises the question of why intra-turn code-switching should become more frequent at a certain point in the development of a bilingual community. From a sociolinguistic point of view, at least two answers suggest themselves, one couched in more negative, one in more positive terms. The more negative one is that the transition CS → LM may start when speakers feel obliged to resort to strategies of neutrality in an increasing number of cases; i.e., when they have social reasons to produce turns which cannot be assigned to one language or the other unambiguously. Heller (e.g., 1988) has drawn attention to this "strategic ambiguity" achieved by code-switching and analysed its social functions in various publications on French-English switching in Canada, in which she argues that intra-turn code-switching "can allow the simultaneous accomplishment of tasks through conversation and the management of conversation and of personal relationships through the avoidance of the conflict which categorical language choice would entail" (1988:82).

A more positive reason for frequent code-switching is that at a given point, the identity-related purposes of this style may become more important than the discourse-related tasks code-switching has served so far. The prevalent scenario for such a reevaluation of functions is one in which a bilingual group needs to define its own identity vis-a-vis both contact groups (for instance, in the case of the Italian migrants in Germany or Switzerland, both against Italian and against Swiss/German society). The transition is complete as soon as participants no longer actively avoid speaking one language or the other in an attempt to be ambiguous with respect to the language-of-interaction, but rather positively orient towards (i.e., accommodate) the mixing style of the other speaker.

Typical alternational switches spearheading the transition from CS to LM are those that serve to structure turns internally, such as CS on emphatic repetitions and summaries (cf. ex. 6), CS for different 'voices' (including reported speech), CS in order to contrapose material of high or low relevance (such as asides or parenthetical remarks), CS for marking personal vs. objective passages, etc. (Many examples for such a transitional stage may be found in Sebba and Wootton's 1998 account of switching between London English and London Creole.) Trigger words (Clyne 1967) such as diamorphs of the two languages (including established borrowings) may play a role in the development of a non-functional, mixing style as well.

Insertional switches typical for the transition from CS to LM are those that are not restricted to lexemes (nouns, verbs) but spread to larger constituents in which this lexeme is embedded (such as, typically, a noun or verbal phrase, a verb plus its 'incorporated' object, etc.; cf. the examples in ex. 4). Thus, the distinction between alternation at a point in time and insertion of a unit of speech dissolves, on the one hand, because alternational switching on its way to alternational mixing no longer questions the language of interaction (which is ambiguous anyway), on the other hand, because insertional switching spreads out to larger constituents.

4. Fused Lects

The difference between mixing and fused lects¹⁷ is mainly a grammatical one; pragmatically speaking, neither type of language contact is locally meaningful. On the surface, a FL may look similar to LM. Often, the difference becomes visible at a deeper grammatical level only. While LM by definition allows variation (languages may be juxtaposed, but they need not be), the use of one 'language' or the other for certain constituents is obligatory in FLs; it is part of their grammar, and speakers have no choice. Thus, structural sedimentation (grammaticalization *sensu* Givón 1979) of ML into a FL presupposes a loss of variation and the stabilization of function-form relationships. Comparing the FL grammar with that of the two languages involved, this means simplification, since alternatives are lost. But in addition, structures from language A and B which are more or less equivalent in monolingual use may develop specialized uses in the fused lect AB. Also, fused lects may have to adapt structurally to the massive combination of elements from A and B by developing new structures identical neither to those of A nor B (see below, section 5).

Speakers of a fused lect AB may but need not be proficient speakers of A and/or B.

Good candidates for full-fledged FLs (but certainly not the only ones) are so-called "mixed languages" (cf. Bakker & Mous, eds., 1994¹⁸), at least those which develop in second and third generation speakers after first generation mixed marriages between colonizing men and indigenous women have occurred. The best-known example of such a mixed language is probably Michif (Bakker 1997), the language of the Métis Buffalo hunters in Canada, in which almost all nouns are said to be taken from French, while Cree provides most of the verbal structures (with the exception of the French copula). Other examples of fused lects (which presumably emerged as closed-group languages, certainly not as dual ancestry languages) are many of the European Romani dialects. The following extract is from the *Rómanes* dialect (*Sinti*) spoken by the *Hamelner Sinte* (Gads&kene Sinte, Germany), who have been biligual in Romani and German for many generations:¹⁹

Ex (7): (from Holzinger 1993:324f)

[author's transcription conventions and translation into German; German underlined]

((extract from a longer narrative))

Ap jek kopo del ir kamlo dad ap mande gole: 'Tsava, dsa vri,
o grai hi los!'

Auf einmal ruft mir mein seliger Vater zu: 'Bub, geh raus, das Pferd ist los!'

(All of a sudden my blessed father calls out at me: Son, go out, the horse is loose!)

Na, rivom i xoleb an, dsajom vri.

Na, ich zog die Hose an, ich ging raüs.

(So, I put on my trousers, I went out.)

Taprom i graies, pandevom es pale an.

Ich packte das Pferd (und) band es wieder an.

(I grabbed the horse (and) I tied it up again.)

Me homs noch nicht an o vurdi dre, his o grai son pale los.

Ich war noch nicht im Wagen drin, (da) war das Pferd schon wieder los.✓

(I was hardly back in the car, the horse was loose again.)

Tsava, hoi kerdal denn, pandal i graies gar richtig fest? Dsa
vri, pande i graies fest!'

'Bub, was hast du denn gemacht, hast du das Pferd nicht richtig festgebunden? Geh raus, binde das Pferd fest!'

(Son, what have you done, didn't you tie the horse up properly? Go out, tie up the horse.)

Me pre, taprom pale i graies, pandevom les pale an, kerdom
knote dre, menschenunmögliche knote.

Ich (stand) auf, packte wieder das Pferd und band es an, ich machte Knoten hinein, völlig unmögliche Knoten.

(I (got) up, grabbed the horse again and tied it up, I tied knots, completely impossible knots.)

Dsajom dre an o vurdi, tek pants minute, o grai pale los.

Ich ging rein in den Wagen, keine fünf Minuten, (war) das Pferd wieder los.

(I went back into the car, no five minutes, the horse was loose again.)

((...))

Und koi his svaiso ap leste.

Und da war Schweiß auf ihm.

(And there was sweat on him.)

Draus i naseloxe phudehs o grai.

Aus den Nasenlöchern schnaubte das Pferd.

(The horse snorted out of its nostrils.)

O khas tel leste his vegslaifedo, futer grabrehso.

Das Heu unter ihm war weggeschliffen, so sehr hatte es gegraben.

(The hay had been ground away from under him, so much he had dug.)

Ach tsave, pandel miro dad kote fest und me kate fest.

Ach Jungs, mein Vater bindet es dort fest und ich hier fest.

(Oh boys, my father ties it up there and I tie it up here.)

((etc.))

Apart from numerous German nominal, verbal and adjectival stems (*wegschleifen, graben, Nasenloch, Schweiß, Knoten, menschenunmöglich*) which are partly integrated into an older Romani morphology, there are many German particles, conjunctions and adverbials inserted into Romani (*noch, denn, und, ach*); for these, there are no equivalents of genuine Romani origin in this variety. In addition, this Romani dialect has borrowed various converbs from German corresponding to the separable verbal prefixes of that language (*an, fest, los*), various prepositions (such as *draus*, used as a preposition here but an exophoric adverbial - *daraus* - in standard German) and modal verbs (not documented in the extract; but cf. Holzinger 1993:82ff). What looks like a case of insertional LM is in fact quite different from 'mixing', for the 'German' elements in this (and other *Sinti*) dialect(s) are an obligatory part of its grammar and lexicon.

As outlined before (section 2), the distinction between alternation and insertion is far less clear in LM than in CS; nevertheless it often remains possible to distinguish more insertional from more alternational types of LM. In FLs, all the available evidence suggests that they can only be of the insertional type. (This not only applies to example (7), in which Romani clearly is the matrix language, but also to Michif and other "mixed languages"; the fact that no verbs are taken over from French is easily explained by the agglutinating grammar of this language which makes verbal insertions into Cree matrices virtually impossible.)

5. From LM to FL

In this section it will be argued that, given the appropriate sociolinguistic context, there is a tendency in communities of speakers who code-mix to further constrain the possibilities of juxtaposing the two languages and to develop functional specializations. LM therefore usually does not develop towards a loss but rather towards an increase of linguistic structure. Note again that we do not claim that in each and every case FLs can be traced back to LM; there are certainly other origins (such as relexification). The contention is, rather, that the development FL → LM is not possible.

In order to investigate the transition LM → FL one can either look at FLs and uncover where they originate, or look at LM moving towards a FL and try to establish the mechanisms which prompt this transition. Starting from established FLs such as the so-called "mixed languages", it is revealing that most specialists in this field hypothesize prior mixing. For instance, Bakker (1994: 22) notes that the fused patterns of Michif are very similar to LM between other Algonquian languages such as Montagnais and

French.²⁰ He concludes from this observation that Michif may have originated among bilingual children with a slight dominance of Cree, "as a humorous extension of code-mixing in the community" (1994:23). Golovko (1994: 118), who investigates Copper Island Aleut (a fused variety of Russian and Aleut), also believes that "code-mixing is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the emergence of a mixed language". (The sufficient condition for him is the sociolinguistic need of the Creoles to delimit their own group against the Aleuts.). Scotton (1993:220ff) assumes that the mixed Bantu language Ma'a (Mbugu) goes back to code-mixing²¹ between a Kshitic matrix language and Bantu insertions with subsequent change of the matrix language.

These statements are, of course, plausible guesses rather than empirically based; in FLs such as Mbugu, Copper Island Aleut or Michif the transition from whatever prior stage they may have originated from is already complete. For this reason, it is also useful to look at incipient transitions of the type LM → FL. There are certain indications as to where processes of this type start.

One of these starting points are relatively unbound elements of grammar, such as discourse markers, conjunctions and certain adverbials which typically serve the function of modalizing the utterance ("utterance modifiers" in the sense of Matras 1998), i.e. they have a discursive function rather than a referential one. Ex. (8) demonstrates this development for a variety of *American German* as spoken by immigrants from Germany:

Ex. (8) (Sabine Behling, Hamburg, unpublished interview data)

[Low German, Northern Standard German (italics), American English (boldface); A = interviewer, B = interviewee]

- B: **see**, *wir sind ausnandergegangen*, **see**.
 ('you see, we went to different places, you see')
du gehst hierhin, du machst dein lebn (-)
 ('you go this way, you make your living')
now *Kurt, der is ungefähr so hunnert miles from Chicago*,
 ('Now Kurt, he is about hundred miles from Chicago')
wo er gewohnt hat da und hat sein geschäft da (.)
 ('where he lived and had his business')
und Erwin auch, **see**.
 ('and Erwin as well, you see.')
- Erwin kann auch nich viel Plattdütsch schnacken*.
 ('Erwin can't speak much Low German either.')
- A: *nee, aber häi versteht dat*.
 ('No, but he understands it.')
- dat [hätt häi mi sä]cht*.
 ('So he told me.')
- B: [ja/ ja, er versteht, [because er/
 ('yes yes he understands because he')

- A: [aber häi kann dat nich selbst
schnacken.
(‘but he can’t speak it himself.’)
- B: **see**, äh (.) sin mudder un vadder de hebt ja ümmer tosomm platt/
plattdütsch schnackt.
(‘you see, ehm (.) his mother and his father always spoke Low/ Low German
together.’)
- A: jo.
(‘yes’)
- B: **see**, de hebt ümmer tosomm plattdütsch schnackt.
(‘you see, they always spoke Low German together.’)

Salmons’ (1990) analysis of *Texas German*, shows that 3rd-6th generation speakers almost exclusively use American English discourse markers and conjunctions (such as *see, now, because* in ex. (8)). At the same time, all German particles, discourse markers and conjunctions have been lost, i.e. one system of discourse and text organisation has been replaced by another. It does not seem to be of any relevance whether German and American particles/conjunctions/discourse markers are equivalent on a one-to-one basis or whether they function quite differently (cf. *because/weil (denn)* for the first case, *see* and the German modal particles for the second case).

Another example for a complete replacement of a particle subsystem of one language by another (and thus a case of fusing) can be taken from *Unserdeutsch* (Rabaul Creole German), the German ‘creole’ that originated in Papua New Guinea during German colonial times in a missionary school among the children of indigenous women and German colonialists. Rabaul Creole German is best described as a simplified variety of German with influences from English, German dialect/vernacular, and, above all, Tok Pisin (cf. Volker 1982). In some cases, code-mixing between ‘German’ and English, and subsequent structural adaptation and sedimentation took place. For instance,²² RCG borrowed the English answering particles *yeah* and *no*, which, however, are used according to the Tok Pisin system which diverges both from German and English usage; thus, there is no special particle for negative answers to negative questions (such as German *doch*), and the answer paralleling the question is (unlike in English) always *yeah*:

Ex. (9): Rabaul Creole German [Volker 1982:38]

Question: du weiß ni wir?
‘kennst Du uns nicht?’
you don’t know us?

agreeing answer: yeah, i weiß ni euch.
‘nein, ich kenne Euch nicht’
no, I don’t know you

disagreeing answer: no, i weiß eu
‘doch, ich kenne Euch’

yes, I know you

In order to decide if in a given community or speaker certain discourse markers, adverbials or conjunctions have become 'grammaticized', the following questions need to be asked: (a) Are the insertions the only resources available for the speaker(s) or do they compete with corresponding ones in the surrounding language? (b) If there are competing resources provided by the surrounding language, are they used interchangeably (i.e., without a difference in meaning), or have they rather specialized in function? (c) Have both the insertions and the competing resources of the surrounding language retained their meaning and/or function when compared to monolingual usage? In the examples from Texas American and Rabaul Creole German, question (a) clearly is to be answered positively, and there can be little doubt that fusion has occurred.²³ A more subtle development is implied when the answer to questions (b) and (c) is negative. For instance, various investigations of bilingual communities have found functional specialization of markers/conjunctions going back to language A and those originally from language B.

One such case is reported by Oesch Serra (1998) and concerns the connectives/markers *mais*, *ma* and *però* in the bilingual speech of Italian migrants in French-speaking Switzerland. Oesch Serra demonstrates that the discourse functions of (Italian) *ma* and *però* and those of (French) *mais* in bilingual speech differ from monolingual usage. The differences point to a functional specialization and therefore a reduction of possible contexts of usage. One of Oesch Serra's findings is that, due to the fact that there are now three connectives available (while Italian has only two and French just one), an ordering principle has developed which could not exist in the monolingual varieties; this principle organises the hierarchy of arguments and places *ma* on the lowest level of a scale of argumentative strength, followed by *mais* and finally *però*, which is used to introduce the strongest argument.

A similar case of a functional specialization was found by Maschler (1998) in a study on Hebrew/English bilingualism. Maschler, too, analysed the emergence of a fused variety in the structural field of discourse markers and connectives. Her main finding is a separation of conjunctions and discourse markers: discourse markers overwhelmingly are in Hebrew, conjunctions overwhelmingly (i.e., with the exception of structural markers) in English.

Borrowing of content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives) of course represents the best-known of the continua from a bilingual into a monolingual mode. It is easy to follow the route of integration into the receiving language system from purely discourse- or competence-related insertional CS, meaningful on each single occasion of occurrence, via nonce borrowings for which no such local interpretation can be given, to established borrowings. The final step on this route is the use of the inserted materials to the

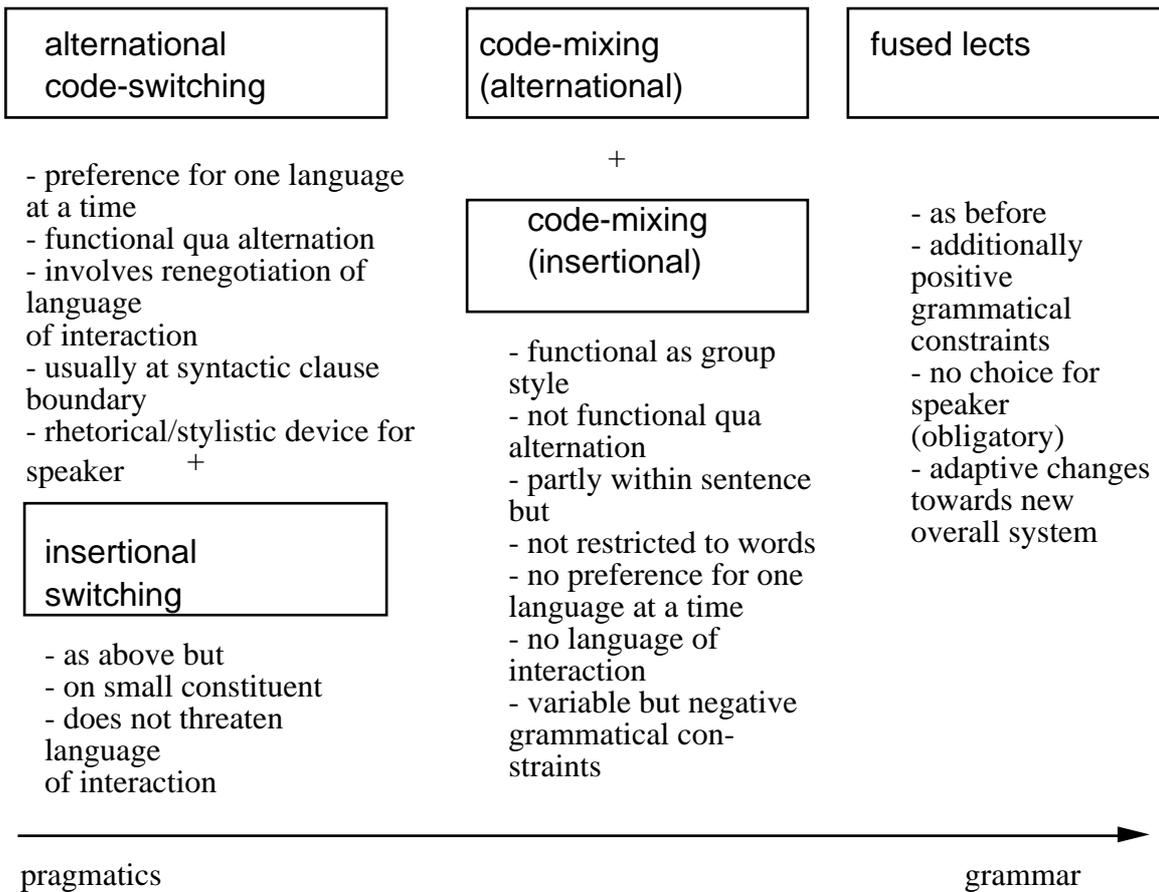
exclusion of the equivalent forms in the surrounding language. But obviously, such borrowing alone is not enough to speak of a FL since it only superficially affects the language system (i.e., its lexicon) but as such has no consequences for grammar. (In fact, it may be argued that integration of borrowings provides evidence for the intactness of the receiving language's grammatical system and the absence of fusion.) However, massive lexical borrowing can have repercussions that go beyond the adding of certain lexical elements to the lexicon of the receiving variety; this restructuring may represent a step towards a FL. For instance, the insertion of other-language materials often requires the development of special grammatical formats. Backus (1996) presents an in-depth analysis of such a format which has developed in the variety of Turkish spoken in the Netherlands²⁴ and based on the Turkish verb *yapmak* ('to make/do') which is used in order to accommodate Dutch infinitival verbs in a Turkish sentence frame (cf. ex. 10). (Because of the agglutinating morphology of Turkish, the insertion of bare Dutch stems or words is avoided.)

Ex. (10) [Backus 1992/1996:278]

bir sürü taalları beheersen yapıyorken
 many language-PLUR master (INF) make/do-while
 'while s/he spoke many languages'

The Dutch infinitival form *beheersen* (together with its direct object, *taal* 'language') is preposed to the Turkish verb *yapmak* which carries the necessary affixes. In this variety, so Backus argues, *yapmak* has been grammaticalized into an auxiliary (or even suffix). Evidence for this grammaticalization comes from a comparison with Turkey Turkish where *yapmak* is (almost) exclusively employed as a nativization strategy for nouns but not for verbs, and where other verbs or affixes are used for adapting foreign verbs (such as the verb *etmek*, as in *stop etmek* 'to stop', or the suffix *-IE* as in *faxlamak*, 'to fax'); thus, variation is reduced in the Netherlands. Semantically, Dutch Turkish *yapmak* is bleached; it may be combined with practically all full verbs of Dutch, including non-perfective ones (despite the fact that Turkey Turkish *yapmak* is a perfective verb).²⁵

A third phenomenon which may indicate transition to a FL is (obligatory) double marking of certain grammatical functions by functionally equivalent but structurally divergent strategies. Such double marking is a well-known exception from the generalization that grammatical elements should always be taken from the matrix language (cf. the discussion in Myers Scotton 1993b: 110f, 132f). Ex. (11) presents a case from bilingual language use in the 16th century:



7. Conclusion

I have argued in this paper that three forms of the juxtaposition of two varieties or languages in bilingual speech should be distinguished: code-switching, mixing and fused lects. The diagram on the following page summarizes their main features.

In addition, I have argued that there is a 'cline' from pragmatics/discourse to grammatical structure, which links the three prototypes. CS presupposes liberty of the individual speaker, it is a contextualization device which can be used in creative ways by participants; FLs, on the other hand, presuppose positive structural regularities. Code-mixing is a frequent type of bilingual speech between these two extremes in which the juxtaposition of the two languages lacks pragmatic-stylistic function and in which grammatical structure not-yet sedimentated (as shown by variation, non-obligatory regularities, and negative constraints).

Although moving from from CS in the direction of FLs is the 'natural' tendency (while the opposite movement FL → LM → CS is prohibited), such a move does not necessarily take place; rather, a bilingual community may stabilize on a certain point on the continuum. In order to find out about the sociolinguistic correlates of movement or non-movement on the continuum, more differential studies will be needed particularly on differences within one bilingual community (but cf. Backus 1996, Li Wei 1994, Bentahila & Davies 1991/1995; Blommaert 1992, Poplack 1988 for steps in this direction).

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Endnotes

The term grammaticalization is used roughly in the sense of Givón (1979, etc.), not in the more restricted one of, e.g., Lehmann (1985) or Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer (1991). Parallels can also be found in the idealistic tradition of German linguistics, e.g. in Spitzer's or Voßler's contention that grammatical structures always have a precedent in 'stylistic' strategies (see Voßler 1904).

¹Those of my readers who happen to be familiar with my previous publications on language alternation and code-switching (from Auer 1984 onwards) I should warn that the terminology introduced here is not completely identical with my own earlier usage (although certainly similar in spirit). In particular, "language alternation" is no longer used as a cover term. The 'new' notion of code-switching (but cf. Auer 1990) owes much to discussions with Celso Alvarez-Cáccamo (see references in the bibliography).

²In the sense of Silverstein's "metapragmatics"; cf. 1992.

³But see Auer 1984b as well as the contributions by Jørgensen, Sebba & Wootton, Stroud, Rampton in Auer (ed.) 1998 for a critical discussion of the 'social meaning' of CS and, in particular, the distinction between 'we-code' and 'they-code'.

⁴Cf. Selting et al. (1998).

⁵Cf. note 10 for an example.

⁶Earlier research (e.g. Gumperz 1982: 84f) has already stressed the fact that the languages involved in code-switching in a bilingual community may be considerably different from their monolingual relatives due to convergence as a consequence of long-standing language contact (also cf. Clyne 1987). For this reason, a definition of language alternation as proposed in Poplack 1993:255 (my italics) is problematic: "Code-switching is the juxtaposition of sentences

or sentence fragments, *each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance*). Note that my distinction between CS and LM/FLs is independent of structural considerations such as convergence or integration.

⁷This terminological opposition is also used by Muysken 1997; Nait M 'barek & Sankoff 1988 speak of "constituent insertion"; Haust 1995:63 of "Insertionen" vs. "ML-Wechsel"; "insertional code-switching" roughly corresponds to "transfer" in Auer 1984.

⁸For examples of competence-related insertions, cf. Auer 1984: 55ff, for examples of discourse-related insertions, cf. Auer 1998: 6f as well as Hill & Hill 1986:387ff.

⁹For instance, the English verb *to fax* (< *fax* (N) < *facsimile* (N)), nowadays an established loan in German and integrated into its verbal morphology (*faxen Sie mir das mal!, faxst Du mir das? hab's Dir schon rübergefaxt*), was used in the same grammatical formats until some ten years ago in order to achieve a comical effect (being a pun on *Faxen* (N), 'silliness' as in *Faxen machen* 'to fool around'). The discourse-functional effect was reached precisely because the word (which was still perceived as a nonce borrowing from English at that time) was morphologically integrated (the non-comical variant would have been *ein Fax schicken* 'to send a fax'). The example also shows that code-switching does not presuppose any kind of deep knowledge of the language from which the insertion comes.

¹⁰The authors argue that this insertional LM is typical for younger generation speakers while the more balanced bilinguals of the older generation mainly employ the alternational style; cf. in particular the examples in Bentahila & Davies 1991:383f.

¹¹A general definition of the matrix language and a generally valid methodology of establishing it in each and every given case is quite difficult however; cf. the discussion in Auer, in prep.

¹²Cf. Blommaert 1992 on Tanzania and Hill & Hill 1986 on Malinche Indians in Central Mexico for the complex relationship between LM and identities.

¹³A notable exception from the often negative attitudes towards mixing are the mixed varieties used by the African elites - showing, among other things, that it is not varieties or "codes" that are evaluated but their speakers.

¹⁴Of course, higher level CS between mixed varieties may develop from LM.

¹⁵The Swiss data are from adult speakers and were recorded in the mid-80s, while the Constance data are from youngsters and were recorded 15 years earlier. The same development holds for the German-Turkish mixed style which has emerged in the large German

cities in recent years.

¹⁶See my re-analysis of Scotton's data in Auer 1995:130f.

¹⁷The term is taken from Matras 1996.

¹⁸The precise relationship between "mixed languages" according to Bakker's definition (1994: 5) and FLs is unclear. Bakker does not require a mixed language to show surface juxtapositions of the two underlying languages, i.e. there may be "mixed languages" which are no FLs. On the other hand, not all fused languages are mixed languages.

¹⁹ Romani dialects such as *Sinti* which have undergone massive convergence with the respective contact language (here, German) should not be equated or confounded with so-called para-Romani varieties (often called "mixed varieties of Romani"); according to Boretzky & Igla (1994) the latter may be the result of conscious though incomplete relexification at a stage of imminent language shift, and have lost more or less all Romani syntax and most morphology. The reader is referred to Matras 1998b for an overview. Both "converged" Romani and Para-Romani may qualify as "fused lects" in the present sense (but certainly the former).

²⁰ Like Michif, Montagnais/French LM only allows the insertion of French nouns or noun phrases, but there is variation between Montagnais and French nouns according to semantic domains (greetings, calendrical reckonings, time expressions, numerals, expressions of quantity and measures, conjunctions, exclamatives, interjections, adverbs and discourse particles are taken over from French). In Michif, practically all NPs are French.

²¹She uses the term "code-switching" to designate LM.

²²Further examples are the 'borrowing' of various prepositions such as Engl. *by* (Unserdeutsch *bei* which is only graphically matched with the German preposition) or Engl. *around* (Unserdeutsch *rund*, again only graphically adapted to look like the German adjective for 'round').

²³Many more cases are discussed in Stolz & Stolz 1996, Hill & Hill 1986 and Matras 1998.

²⁴The same holds for Turkish in Germany.

²⁵The same strategy of nativization can be observed in other mixed codes on the way to fused lects; cf., e.g., Agnihotri 1980: 287ff and Romaine 1989:123ff on Panjabi compound verbs used to syntactically accommodate English verbs, nouns and adjectives. For a general discussion, also cf. Sebba 1998.

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