The Cambridge Handbook of

Linguistic Code-switching

edited by **Barbara E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio**

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Aims and content

This handbook overviews the major issues in the linguistic study of code-switching (hereafter CS), the alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker. Comprised of chapters written by experts in a concise, accessible, and comprehensive format, the volume is intended to serve multiple audiences as a guide to the main theoretical and empirical contributions to the study of CS.

The handbook is targeted to a readership ranging from advanced undergraduate students to researchers with specializations in syntax, phonetics/phonology, morphology, bilingualism, language contact, discourse pragmatics, language acquisition, language attrition, psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, speech science, and sociolinguistics. Most of the chapters are comprehensible to students and scholars of general linguistics who need not be experts in the study of bilingualism or in any of the specific theories pertaining to the subfields of linguistics.

Since the phenomenon of CS falls firmly within the fields of bilingualism and language contact, we expect that the chapters of this volume will serve as relevant companion readings to more general works such as Romaine's (1995) *Bilingualism*, second edition, Winford's (2003) *An introduction to contact linguistics*, and Myers-Scotton's (2006a) *Multiple Voices: An introduction to bilingualism*. A major goal of this volume is to provide its readers with the background necessary to move from introductory texts on bilingualism, sociolinguistics, or general linguistics to research articles devoted to the analysis and implications of CS. Our broader objective is to help dispel the myths and misperceptions that surround the bilingual practice of CS.

Bilingual speech practices such as CS have engaged the interests of scholars from diverse disciplines, among them Communication Sciences, Education, and Cultural Studies, to name but a few; this volume focuses on the analysis of CS within the discipline of Linguistics. In the introductory chapter, Bullock and Toribio present the broad themes in the linguistic

study of CS. Part I, "Conceptual and methodological considerations in code-switching," consists of three chapters: Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken (Chapter 2) survey and critique pertinent research techniques, and Sebba (Chapter 3), Treffers-Daller (Chapter 4), and Backus and Dorleijn (Chapter 5) seek to clarify the conceptual assumptions that underlie much CS research. Four chapters make up Part II, "Social aspects of code-switching." Gardner-Chloros (Chapter 6) addresses the social motivations implicated in CS practices and Gafaranga (Chapter 7) examines CS as a communicative resource. CS on the internet as a new community of practice is considered by Dorleijn and Nortier (Chapter 8), and CS as accommodation is the focus of Chapter 9 by Khattab. The coverage in this section, though by no means exhaustive, is intended to be representative of the various types of approaches to sociolinguistic research on CS. Part III, "The structural implications of code-switching," considers CS at all levels of linguistic analysis. Bullock (Chapter 10) addresses the phonetic/phonological patterns of CS, Chan (Chapter 11) considers the grammatical patterns attested in CS between typologically dissimilar languages, Müller and Cantone (Chapter 12) investigate CS patterns in bilingual first language acquisition, and Quinto-Pozos (Chapter 13) discusses CS in signed modality. Part IV, "Psycholinguistics and code-switching," contemplates developmental and psycholinguistic aspects of CS. Miccio, Hammer, and Rodríguez (Chapter 14) distinguish CS from disordered speech in children, Bolonyai (Chapter 15) distinguishes CS from language attrition, Wei describes and theorizes the bilingual mental lexicon (Chapter 16), and Kutas, Moreno, and Wicha (Chapter 17) overview the psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic facets of CS. Finally, Part V, "Formal models of code-switching," presents and further advances two influential theoretical models of bilingual morpho-syntactic patterns: MacSwan's generativist framework (Chapter 18) and Myers-Scotton and Jake's psycholinguistic processing and production model (Chapter 19).

The structure of this handbook follows a defined scheme, progressing from general methodological and definitional issues in the study of CS (Part I) through the three major linguistic approaches to CS – sociolinguistic (Part II), structural (Part III), and psycholinguistic (Part IV) – to formal models of CS (Part V). However, many issues recur throughout the volume. For instance, readers with interests in child language will benefit not only from the chapters in Part IV, but also from Chapter 9 and Chapter 12, both of which address first language acquisition; and language processing is invoked in Chapter 2, Chapter 4, Chapter 10, Chapter 16, and Chapter 19, as well as in Chapter 17, which is devoted to CS and the brain. Indeed, readers will discover a good deal of overlap among the themes discussed throughout this volume; this is to be expected, as linguists are converging on the view that CS must be examined from structural, social, and psycholinguistic perspectives concurrently.

Abbreviations

ABIL	Ability marker	FEM	Feminine
ABL	Ablative Case	FUT	Future
ACC	Accusative Case	GEN	Genitive
AD	Adessive Case	GER	Gerund
AFFIRM	Affirmative	HAB	Habitual
AOR	Aorist	IL	Illative Case
ART	Article	IMP	Imperfect
ASP	Aspect	IN	Inessive Case
ASSOC	Associative	INDEF	Indefinite
AUX	Auxiliary	INF	Infinitive
BEN	Benefactive Case	INFL	Inflection
C	Class	INT	Intransitive
CIS	Cislocative (near or	INTERJ	Interjection
	toward the speaker)	INTERROG	Interrogative
CL/CLIT	Clitic	IP	Inflectional Phrase
CLAS	Classifier	LOC	Locative Case
COND	Conditional	MASC	Masculine
CONSEC	Consecutive	ML	Matrix Language
CONT	Continuative	N	Noun
COP	Copula	NOM	Nominative Case
CS	Code-switching	NEG	Negation
DAT	Dative Case	NP	Noun Phrase
DEM	Demonstrative	NSF	Noun suffix
DET	Determiner	O	Object marker
DP	Determiner Phrase	OBJ	Object
DUR	Durative	P	Preposition or
EL	Embedded Language		Postposition
EMPH	Emphasis marker	PART	Participle
EVID	Evidential	PAST	Past

PERF	Perfective	REL	Relativizer
PP	Prepositional	S	Subject marker
	Phrase	SFP	Sentence Final
PL	Plural		Particle
POSS	Possessive Case	SG	Singular
PREP	Preposition	SUBJ	Subject
PRES	Present	SUBJUNC	Subjunctive
PRET	Preterite	SUBL	Sublative Case
PRT	Partitive Case	TAM	Tense or aspect
PROG	Progressive		marker
PRT	Participle	TNS	Tense
PST	Past	TOP	Topic marker
Q	Question marker	TP	Tense Phrase
QUE	Question particle	V	Verb
REDUP	Reduplication	VP	Verb Phrase

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Themes in the study of code-switching

Barbara E. Bullock
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1.1 Introduction

Of all of the contact phenomena of interest to researchers and students of bilingualism, code-switching (hereafter CS) has arguably dominated the field. Broadly defined, CS is the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages. This capacity is truly remarkable and invites scientific and scholarly analysis from professionals, but, at the same time, generates a great deal of pointed discussion that reflects popular misperceptions of the nature of CS in particular and bilinguals more generally. While CS is viewed as an index of bilingual proficiency among linguists, it is more commonly perceived by the general public as indicative of language degeneration. This disparity can be best understood by reference to notions of grammar. Most laypeople define grammar as a set of statements about how we should correctly use our language. Such an understanding of grammar is properly called *prescriptive*, because it attempts to mandate or prescribe the way language should be used. Linguists, who study language objectively, are more interested in *descriptive* grammars, which represent speakers' unconscious knowledge of their languages as manifested in their actual linguistic behavior. Bilinguals in language contact situations commonly use forms that integrate their two languages to some degree, a behavior that is disparaged by language purists, who insist that each language maintain its integrity according to prescribed norms. For the linguist, on the other hand, CS provides a unique window on the structural outcomes of language contact, which can be shown to be systematic rather than aberrant. Further, the act of CS can be studied as a reflection of social constructs and of the cognitive mechanisms that control language switching. From the perspective of linguistics, then, CS is worthy of study for a variety of reasons.

The significance of this phenomenon in illuminating bilingual cognition and behavior cannot be underestimated, first and foremost because CS is

exclusive to bilinguals. Nevertheless, many controversies exist in the study of CS, in large part because the phenomenon has been approached from different disciplinary perspectives, and as a consequence has evaded a uniform definition and explanation. The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of CS from the perspective of linguistics, with a view towards defining CS, identifying who engages in CS and for what purposes, and delineating the various approaches to the study of CS. The overarching goal of the chapter is to set out why the study of CS is important, and by so doing to dispel misconceptions regarding language alternation among bilinguals.

1.2   What is code-switching?

All speakers selectively draw on the language varieties in their linguistic repertoire, as dictated by their intentions and by the needs of the speech participants and the conversational setting. Even monolinguals are capable of shifting between the linguistic registers and the dialects they command and, as such, there are parallels that can be drawn between monolingual and bilingual language use. For convenience, we can refer to such monolingual behavior as *style shifting*. In turn, bilinguals have available not only different registers and dialects of one language, but of two. As is true of monolingual style shifting, it is not uncommon for bilinguals to segregate their languages, speaking exclusively in one language in certain domains (e.g. at home, with friends) while shifting to another in other contexts (e.g. school, work), a bilingual behavior commonly referred to as *language shifting*. Given the appropriate circumstances, many bilinguals will exploit this ability and alternate between languages in an unchanged setting, often within the same utterance; this is the phenomenon understood as CS.

CS comprises a broad range of contact phenomena and is difficult to characterize definitively. First, its linguistic manifestation may extend from the insertion of single words to the alternation of languages for larger segments of discourse. Second, it is produced by bilinguals of differing degrees of proficiency who reside in various types of language contact settings, and as a consequence their CS patterns may not be uniform. Finally, it may be deployed for a number of reasons: filling linguistic gaps, expressing ethnic identity, and achieving particular discursive aims, among others. Given these factors, it is not surprising that there exists debate in the literature concerning the precise characterization of CS and how various kinds of language contact varieties are to be classified.

An incontrovertible example of CS is to be found in the English–Spanish bilingual title of Poplack's (1980) seminal article:

(1)   *Spanish–English*
      Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish [*sic*] *y termino en español*
      " ... and I finish in Spanish."

Note that there are readily identifiable constituents from English and Spanish and that their combination here does not violate the grammar of either language. This type of language alternation has been termed *Classic* CS (Myers-Scotton 1993a) or *alternational* CS (Muysken 2000), but is most widely known as *intra-sentential* CS (Poplack 1980). This contrasts with *inter-sentential* CS, as in (2), where alternation occurs at clause boundaries.

(2) *Swahili–English*
    That's too much. **Sina pesa**.
    " ... I don't have [much] money."

                                      (Myers-Scotton 1993a:41)

Like intra-sentential CS, inter-sentential switching requires an advanced level of bilingual proficiency as it often entails the production of full clauses in each language. However, the former, but not the latter, can offer insights into the ways in which the two grammars of the bilingual interact at the sentence level.

    Muysken (2000) advances a typology of CS patterns, suggesting that bilinguals employ three distinct strategies: *alternation*, where the two languages remain relatively separated in an A–B configuration, as exemplified in (1) and (2) above; *congruent lexicalization*, in which the two languages share a common grammatical structure that can be filled with lexical elements from either language, as in (3); and *insertion*, which involves the embedding of a constituent – usually a word or a phrase – in a nested A–B–A structure, as in (4).

(3) *Dutch–Sranan*
    wan heri **gedeelte** de ondro **beheer** fu **gewapende machten**
    one *wholepart* COP under *control* of *armed force*
    "One whole part is under control of the armed forces."
                      (Bolle 1994:75, cited in Muysken 2000:139)

(4) *Persian–Swedish*
    xob pàs *falsk-an* pesa-â
    well then false-COP3PL boy-PL
    "Well then boys are false."
                                (Naseh Lotfabbadi 2002:101)

Congruent lexicalization is most prevalent between languages that are closely related typologically (Sranan in (3) is a Dutch-based creole). Alternations such as in (3) have been analyzed as constituting a *composite matrix language* (Myers-Scotton 2003), which arises "when speakers produce structures for which the source of structure is split between two or more varieties (2003:99)." Myers-Scotton further maintains that composite structures arise in contexts of language shift. For this reason alone, congruent lexicalization differs from Classic CS, i.e. intra-sentential CS, for