

CODE-SWITCHING IN THE SPEECH OF
SPANISH-ENGLISH BILINGUALS

by

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is the investigation of (a) the motivations for code-switching; and (b) the process by which bilinguals perceive code-switching as meaningful. The empirical basis for the study is data gathered from Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S.

The results suggest that the motivations for code-switching and the conversational functions that code-switching often serves are the same. Speakers code-switch because doing so allows them to convey some meaning beyond the information contained in the proposition of an utterance.

The author proposes that the communicative value of code-switching among balanced bilinguals can be explained in relation to Grice's (1975) cooperative principle. The cooperative principle is composed of five maxims, rather than the original four, which are: Quantity, Quality, Relation, Manner, and Mode. The maxim of Mode directs speakers to use a single linguistic code for any given social event, and to use the linguistic code that is most appropriate for the given social situation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Research into societal and individual bilingualism is one of the most intriguing areas of study in sociolinguistics because the problems of bilingual language alternation underscore the fundamental connection between language and the context in which it is situated. At the societal level, two or more linguistic varieties often have compartmentalized functions, as with diglossia. A prestige language variety may be consistently used for formal contexts while a less prestigious vernacular language variety is used for more informal contexts. At the interactional level, changes in topic, setting, or participants often lead to code alternation.

Code-switching raises a number of interesting questions: Is switching random, unsystematic linguistic behavior? Do bilingual speaker-hearers switch because of a lack of proficiency in one or both languages? If not for lack of proficiency, why do bilinguals code-switch? Can code-switching, borrowing, and code-mixing be satisfactorily distinguished? Are the phenomena of bilingual performance the products of separate or amalgamated (cognitive) linguistic systems?

The first of these questions, at least, has been adequately addressed. Few if any modern researchers would claim that code-switching in the speech of balanced bilinguals is accidental or unsystematic. On the contrary, researchers have shown that bilinguals use the multiple linguistic resources available to them as communicative

resources, code-switching for specific stylistic and social purposes. Gumperz (1982) even suggests that linguists view code-switching as related to monolingual style or dialect shifting because both behaviors serve pragmatic functions. In addition, prior work on code-switching has shown that it is subject to a number of grammatical constraints.

1.1 Research Questions

The primary research questions for this study are: (a) Why do balanced bilinguals juxtapose distinct linguistic codes in conversation, i.e., what are the motivations for code-switching? and (b) Assuming that code-switching is a communicative resource available to balanced bilinguals, how do bilingual speaker-hearers determine the communicative value or meaning of a code-switch in any given conversation? The empirical basis for the study is Spanish-English data gathered in the U.S.

There is a substantial body of research into the syntactic constraints on code-switching. Studies on the structure of utterances that involve code-switching tend to concentrate on code alternation at the intrasentential level, as inter-sentential alternations involve the juxtaposition of clauses clearly constructed according to the grammars of distinct languages.

Sankoff and Poplack 1981, for example, proposes two grammatical constraints for code-switching: (a) the free morpheme constraint, which prevents switching between a stem word and a bound morpheme; and (b) the equivalence constraint, which stipulates that switches can occur only at points where the surface structures of the

languages involved overlap. For Spanish and English, then, code-switching could occur between NP and VP, or between verbs and their complement NPs, among other sites.

While questions about the syntactic constraints on code-switching may have some bearing on the motivations for and communicative value of code-switching, the syntactic structures of utterances that involve code-switching are not discussed in the present study.

1.2 Overview

Chapter 2 provides a synopsis of previous research into the motivations for code-switching. Sociologists of language have suggested models such as domain analysis and diglossia to account for code alternation from a macro-societal perspective; anthropological linguists such as John J. Gumperz have offered typologies like ‘metaphorical vs. situational’ code-switching and ‘we codes vs. they codes’ for classifying different types of code alternation; conversation analysts such as Peter Auer have insisted on the local production of meaning for code-switching; and researchers interested in the social-psychological motivations for code-switching have focused on bilingual speakers’ efforts to negotiate relationships via code alternation. These diverse approaches have yielded some common insights into the motivations for and meaning of code-switching, viz. that a change in topic, interlocutors, or setting precipitates code-switching, and that bilingual speakers must rely on their knowledge of macro-societal norms to assess the significance of individual code-switches in context.

Chapter 3 presents stretches of sample data collected in the study and attempts to identify some of the discourse functions of code-switching. If bilingual speakers do

in fact use code-switching creatively, as a communicative resource in conversation, then the motivations for code-switching and the functions of code-switching in discourse are likely indistinguishable. The sample data show that among other discourse functions, bilinguals use code-switching to set off reported speech, to add authority to commands, to make jokes, and to specify addressees. Chapter 3 suggests that bilinguals code-switch because they wish to convey information beyond the proposition of an utterance.

Chapter 4 proposes a theoretical model to explain the motivations for code-switching. The Gricean maxims for conversation are adapted to cover code-switching in bilingual speech by the addition of a maxim of Mode which directs speakers to use a single linguistic code for any given interaction, and to use the appropriate linguistic code for the given social situation. If the social situation changes during a talk exchange, bilingual speakers may code-switch in accordance with the maxim of Mode. If bilinguals code-switch when the social situation remains unchanged, then they are flouting the maxim of Mode. Flouting the maxim leads to a process of implicature as outlined in Grice (1975).

Chapter 5 summarizes the main findings of the study, discusses their implications, and suggests directions for future research into code-switching.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Early views of code-switching

Until the latter half of the twentieth century, researchers assumed that code-switching among bilinguals was irregular, accidental, or the result of a lack of proficiency in one or both languages. A frequently cited example of this view of language mixing is Leonard Bloomfield's (1927: 395) description of the inadequacy of English/Menomini bilinguals in both languages. Bloomfield belittles the linguistic skills of several individual speakers at length, stating of one speaker that "he may be said to speak no language tolerably," and of another "in both languages his love of words sometimes upsets his syntax."

In an article on linguistic borrowing, Einar Haugen (1950) denies the existence of code alternation altogether. He argues that bilingual speakers are always speaking a single language at any given time, although they may fall back on a second language when their linguistic skills in the first are inadequate:

Except in abnormal cases speakers have not been observed to draw freely from two languages at once. They may switch rapidly from one to the other, but at any given moment they are speaking only one, even when they resort to another for assistance. The introduction of elements from one language into the other means merely an alteration of the second language, not a mixture of the two (1950: 211).

Uriel Weinreich's (1953) dismissal of (intrasentential) code-switching in his abiding work on language contact phenomena must have confirmed this point of view. Weinreich makes the following comment on language alternation:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence (73).

Contrary to these early dismissals of code-switching, most current researchers believe that bilingual speakers use the multiple linguistic codes available to them as communicative resources. According to this view, code-switching is a systematic behavior which serves specific stylistic and social functions in conversation. The motivations for code-switching have been studied within the frameworks of sociology, anthropology, conversation analysis, and psychology.

2.2 Sociological perspectives on code-switching

Joshua Fishman (1972) claims that speakers' code choices are based in sociolinguistic domains of interaction. Fishman (1972: 441) defines domains as "institutional contexts and their congruent behavioral co-occurrences." Examples of domains include 'religion', 'family', 'work', and 'education' among others. Domains are abstract categories composed of a cluster of factors such as setting, participants' relative social statuses, and topic. In general, Fishman's macro-sociological analysis of code alternation implies a one-to-one correspondence between a specific type of interaction in a particular community and participants' code choice. Although the kind of language alternation that Fishman studies is different from code-switching proper,

domain analysis identifies the situational variables that affect code choice in almost all settings.

Greenfield and Fishman (1968) and Fishman and Greenfield (1970) use domain analysis to study language choice in a Puerto Rican community in New York City. They identify five distinct domains that determine code choice in the community: family, friendship, work, religion, and education. Each domain is then divided into the components of status/role relationship among participants, locale, and topic. The family domain, for example, carries the specifications of 'parent-child' for role relationship, 'home' for locale, and 'family matters' for topic. Predictably, most informants chose Spanish for the family domain and English for the work and education domains. It should be noted, however, that the study reports generalizations based on the code choices of the majority; not every informant chose Spanish and English in the same domains.¹

The concept of sociolinguistic domains is related to Charles Ferguson's (1964) notion of diglossia, a situation in which two historically related languages are employed in mutually exclusive domains. In diglossic communities, a prestige language, termed the (H)igh variety, is used in formal, public domains such as government, education, and religion. A vernacular language, termed the (L)ow variety, is used in more informal, private domains such as home, family, and friendship. Usually the L variety is acquired as a first language, whereas the H variety must be learned as a second

¹ In both of the interactions recorded for this study, the participants begin conversing in Spanish; the notion of sociolinguistic domain may be related to participants' initial language choice (cf. the second submaxim of Mode proposed in §4.2: use the appropriate linguistic code for the given social situation).

language in school. The definitive characteristics of diglossia are summarized in the following quote:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which...there is a divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson 1964: 435).

Ferguson referred to the alternation of classical and vernacular Arabic in the Middle East, the alternation of Dhimotiki and Katharevousa in Greece, and the alternation of Kreyòl and Standard French in Haiti as examples of diglossia. In each case a prestige language coexists with a vernacular in a community, and the two language varieties are spoken in complementary distribution across various domains. Fishman, then, extends the concept of diglossia to encompass situations in which bilingual individuals employ two separate (and often unrelated) languages in complementary distribution between public and private domains. Thus a distinction can be made between the Ferguson's "classic" definition of diglossia and Fishman's "broad" definition of diglossia (Winford 2003: 113).

2.3 Anthropological perspectives on code-switching

2.3.1 Situational vs. metaphorical code-switching

Perhaps the most influential work on code-switching is Blom & Gumperz 1972, a study included in a collection of readings on sociolinguistics edited by John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (1972). Blom and Gumperz studied code-switching between dialects in the Norwegian fishing village of Hemnesberget. They found that residents of the town alternated between two dialects, Ranamål (the vernacular) and Bokmål (the standard variety), in a situation suggestive of diglossia with Bokmål as H and Ranamål as L. Ranamål is associated with local kinship networks and values, whereas Bokmål is associated with education, government, and national Norwegian values.

Blom and Gumperz conclude that language choice in Hemnesberget depends in large part on network ties. Manual laborers, artisans, and low-level white-collar workers make up a first network group associated primarily with local networks and values, while merchants and factory managers make up a second network group with both local and non-local network ties. Hence, members of the second group identify with both local and external, Pan-Norwegian values. A third network group, composed of teachers, doctors, retail owners, and high-level white-collar workers, has primarily non-local, middle-class values. Blom and Gumperz observe that the standard-vernacular dialect alternation occurs most frequently in conversations between members of the first and third network groups.

In addition to a detailed ethnographic study of language choice in Hemnesberget, Blom and Gumperz 1972 presents a typology for code-switching that

many researchers continue to find useful. The authors divide language alternation into two categories: situational switching and metaphorical switching. According to Blom and Gumperz, situational switching occurs “when within the same setting the participants’ definition of the social event changes” (1972: 424). ‘Social event’ is a theoretical construct that centers around one or a limited range of topics and is characterized by formulaic openings and closings. It is subsumed by the ‘social situation’, a category associated with particular participant constellations, in particular physical settings, during specific spans of time. Social situations “form the background for the enactment of a limited range of social relationships within the framework of...systems of complementary distribution of rights and duties” (1972: 423). In other words, situational switching occurs when the social situation changes and a new set of governing norms becomes operative.

As a first example of situational switching, Blom and Gumperz observe that lecturers in Hemnesberget often switch from Bokmål to Ranamål if they want to encourage open group discussion. As a second example of situational switching, Blom and Gumperz cite the case of Hemnes residents switching from Ranamål to Bokmål when Blom and Gumperz, both non-local outsiders, enter into a conversation among locals. In this example, the social situation changes on account of a new participant constellation, and the participants’ code choice is narrowly constrained by the operative norms for the new social situation. Change in the social situation results in significant changes in “participants’ mutual rights and obligations” (1972: 425), which in turn precipitates situational switching.

Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is not precipitated by a change in the social situation or a change in governing norms. Instead, metaphorical switching “relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation” (1972: 425). As an example of metaphorical switching, Blom and Gumperz recount the case of a local man who conducts official community business with a government clerk in Bokmål, and then switches to Ranamål to ask the clerk for a private chat as friends. In their roles as customer and clerk, the two men speak the standard variety, but when they are speaking as friends, the two men converse in the vernacular. No change in physical setting or participant constellation brought about the switch. Metaphorical switches, then, provide for the performance of two or more different relationships among the same participants, in the same physical setting.

Several researchers have questioned the distinction between situational and metaphorical switching (e.g. Auer 1984a; Myers-Scotton 1993). Indeed, situational switching and metaphorical switching are never explicitly defined in the article. The introduction to the article provides the clearest contrast between the two types of code alternation: “In Hemnes situational switching involves change in participants and/or strategies, metaphorical switching involves only a change in topical emphasis” (Blom & Gumperz 1972:409). However, the difference between a change in strategy and a change in topical emphasis is never made explicit (Myers-Scotton 1993: 52). Furthermore, it is unclear later in the article why the first example of situational switching, the example of Hemnes lecturers switching from the standard to the vernacular in order to encourage open group discussion, should be considered an

example of situational switching. Presumably neither the participant constellation nor physical setting would change in this case.

Despite the problems with the situational/metaphorical switching typology, almost every article on code-switching since 1972 refers to Blom and Gumperz's pioneering study. Blom & Gumperz 1972 is significant because unlike previous accounts it does not describe code-switching as accidental or deviant; instead the study treats code-switching at the micro-interactional level as a type of skilled performance. Additionally, although the results of the study do not directly contradict the results of domain analysis, they indicate that a one-to-one correspondence between one linguistic code and one type of interaction cannot be maintained.

2.3.2 We codes vs. they codes

Gumperz later associated situational switching with diglossia and metaphorical switching with conversational code switching, or "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (1982: 59). He proposed that the two languages in a bilingual community signify the divergent cultural norms of the ethnically identifiable minority community and the larger society or majority community with which the minority community is linked. The 'we code' according to this model is the language of in-group, informal activities, while the 'they code' is the language of out-group, formal interactions (1982: 66). Stereotypical metaphorical switches occur when bilinguals switch from the minority 'we code' to the majority 'they code' to add authority to their arguments or commands. Gumperz stresses that the associations between languages

and group identity do not directly predict language choice; he rejects the notion of a precise correlation between a particular language and an identifiable constellation of extralinguistic factors. Instead, Gumperz argues that bilingual speakers employ generally recognized associations between languages and group identity for communicative effect.

Gumperz (1982:94) also suggests that speakers use code-switching to generate a process of conversational inference, akin to H. Paul Grice's (1975) notion of implicature. The juxtaposition of distinct linguistic codes prompts the listener to make an inference, and the listener then draws upon his knowledge of the macro-context (i.e., his understanding of the 'we code' and the 'they code') for the interaction to infer the speaker's intended meaning. The following example of English-Spanish code-switching provided by Gumperz (1982:79) may be used to illustrate this point:

We've got all...all these kids here right now. *Los que están ya criados aquí, no los que están recién venidos de México* (those who grew up here, not the ones that have just arrived from Mexico). They all understood English.

The listener in the example above must first perceive the shift from English to Spanish as potentially meaningful and then search his or her background knowledge for an explanation that coincides with the meaning of the contrast between the two languages in this particular circumstance. According to Gumperz, Spanish is the minority, in-group language and English is the language of the dominant majority for the speech community in which this interaction took place. Hence, the listener might infer that the children referred to above are members of the 'we group' because the

qualifying noun phrase that follows the English sentence “we’ve got all these kids here” is in Spanish.

In essence, Gumperz 1982 proposes that code-switching is a contextualization cue used to organize discourse. Contextualization cues comprise “all those activities which make relevant/maintain/revise/cancel some aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence” (Auer 1995: 123)². Applicable aspects of context include the topic, the social relationship between the interlocutors, the speech act the participants are engaged in, or the setting, among others. Gumperz suggests that speakers use code-switching like other contextualization cues such as prosody, rhythm, pauses, and gesture, to induce the listener to infer intended meaning.

Most researchers agree with Gumperz that code-switching is a type of skilled, meaningful performance used to accomplish interactional goals. Additionally, Gumperz’s typology of we/they codes captures the fact that bilingual speakers can use code-switching to make relevant ethnic identity for the interpretation of an utterance. However, little agreement has been reached on: (a) precisely how code-switching produces meaning beyond the literal interpretation of an utterance; and (b) the relative utility of macro-sociological explanations and micro-interactional explanations for code-switching. The alternatives to Gumperz’s ground-breaking work can be divided into two broad categories: they will be described below as discourse-related code-switching and social-psychological motivations for code-switching.

2.4 Conversation analytic perspectives on code-switching

Code-switching can be studied as skilled, meaningful performance without assuming that the meaning of every individual code switch ultimately depends on macro-level social structures. Peter Auer and other researchers who closely follow conversation analytic methodology insist on the local production of meaning for code-switching. Like Gumperz, Auer discredits the idea that code-switching can be fully explained by the techniques of domain analysis. But even Gumperz's typology of *we/they* codes is too macro-sociological for Auer because it asserts that bilingual speakers always invoke ethnic contrasts, which are features of macro-societal context, when they code-switch. As Auer (1984b:105) writes, "There is a certain danger for the pendulum to swing too far...i.e., to treat each and every instance of language alternation as meaningful in the same 'semantic' way."

Auer (1995) argues instead that code-switching in any given interaction must be considered independently from the macro-societal context in which it is embedded. Following Gumperz (1982), Auer claims that code alternation is best analyzed as a contextualization cue. Like other contextualization cues, code alternation is non-referential, and it prompts a process of inferencing by establishing a contrast. Code alternation bundles together with other cues like prosody and gesture such that the analyst can check the local interpretation of code-switching against the conversational functions of other, redundant contextualization cues. In addition to indicating a contrast, code alternation can come to have an inherent meaning and therefore restrict the number of possible inferences as to what the meaning of a contrast might be. Auer

² In this sense, contextualization cues may serve to bring about a change of 'footing' (Goffman 1981).

claims that in the case of code alternation, an inherent meaning may be derived from natural facts, as with the correlation between diminishing fundamental frequency and turn termination, or meaning may simply become conventionalized if code alternation is repeatedly used for the same discourse function (1995: 124).

Auer's unique contribution to research into code-switching is the idea that the sequential environment of a code switch critically determines its meaning:

While the preceding verbal activities provide the contextual frame for a current utterance, the following utterance by a next participant reflects his or her interpretation of that preceding utterance. Therefore following utterances are important cues for the analyst and for the first speaker as to if and how a first utterance has been understood (1995: 116).

Auer argues that the direction of a code-switch factors into its interpretation because of the sequential embeddedness of code-switching. As proof of this point, he cites an example of Hungarian-German code-switching from Susan Gal's (1979) study of bilingualism in Oberwart, Austria. Hungarian-German bilinguals in Oberwart switch from Hungarian (the vernacular variety) to German (the prestige variety) in order to "win" an argument. At the peak of disagreement in an argument, speakers often switch into German to deliver a coup de grace, a last word that cannot be trumped. A switch from German to Hungarian at the same point in the conversation would not have the same significance; i.e., a switch in the opposite direction would not confer the same authority upon the speaker's contribution.

In an effort to define the specific contextualization value of code alternation relative to other types of contextualization cues, Auer identifies four patterns for code alternation. The first pattern, used to mark a shift in topic, a change in participant constellation, or a change in activity type, is termed “discourse-related code-switching” (1995:125). Discourse-related code-switching has two variants, exemplified by Tables 2.1 and 2.2³:

Table 2.1: Discourse-related code-switching: pattern Ia

speaker	language
1	A
2	A
1	A
2	A
1	B
2	B
1	B
2	B

Table 2.2: Discourse-related code-switching: pattern Ib

speaker	language
1	A
2	A
1	A
2	A
1	A/B
2	B
1	B
2	B

In Pattern Ia, a base language A has been established, and at some point in the conversation speaker 1 switches to a new language B. Speaker 2 then accepts language

³ Auer presents his four patterns for code alternation in a linear format. The tables in this section are my

B as the new language-of-interaction and thereafter only B is spoken. In Pattern Ib, speaker 1 switches from the established language-of-interaction A to new language B within a single turn. As in Pattern Ia, speaker 2 then accepts B as the new language-of-interaction such that beyond the point of alternation, only B is spoken.

The second sequential pattern, “preference-related” code-switching, reveals something about speakers’ preferences for one language or the other. A speaker may wish to avoid a language in which he or she is unconfident, or a speaker may avoid a language for political reasons, for example. Auer stipulates that the precise nature of the speakers’ preferences can only be determined with reference to specific social contexts (1995:125). Variants of this second pattern are represented in Tables 2.3 and 2.4:

Table 2.3: Preference-related code-switching: pattern IIa

speaker	language
1	A
2	B
1	A
2	B
1	A
2	B
1	A
2	B

Table 2.4: Preference-related code-switching: pattern IIb

speaker	language
1	A
2	B
1	A
2	B
1	A
2	A
1	A

In Pattern IIa, speaker 1 consistently uses language A, while speaker 2 consistently uses language B. In Pattern IIb, speaker 2 eventually accepts speaker 1's language as the language-of-interaction after a period of conflicting language choice. Auer labels this sub-pattern "language negotiation" (1995:125). He also notes that this type of code alternation is participant-related as opposed to discourse-related.

Unlike Patterns I and II, in which a language-of-interaction has been clearly established, Pattern III treats situations in which there is no clear language-of-interaction, situations in which language choice is kept open by the participants. Auer states that this sequential pattern is often used in topic/comment switching or other-language reiterations for emphasis (1995: 126). Tables 2.5 and 2.6 below illustrate possibilities for Pattern III:

Table 2.5: Open language choice: pattern IIIa

speaker	language
1	A/B
2	A/B
1	A/B
2	A/B

Table 2.6: Open language choice: pattern IIIb

speaker	language
1	A/B
2	A
1	A
2	A

The language-of-interaction remains ambiguous in Pattern IIIa, with both participants switching turn-internally. In Pattern IIIb, speaker 1 switches between languages within a single turn, and speaker 2 then selects the language he or she thinks is most suitable for the interaction. Auer observes that this type of code alternation can be either discourse-related or participant related.

The fourth pattern describes interactions in which “a word or other structure in language B is inserted into a language A frame” (1995:126). This type of code alternation does not affect the base language of the interaction, so it is classified as “transfer” instead of code switching. This fourth pattern for code alternation, which like Pattern III may be discourse-related or participant-related, is represented in Table 2.7 below:

Table 2.7: Transfer: pattern IV

speaker	language
1	A/B/A

The overlapping dichotomies of discourse- vs. participant-related code alternation and code switching vs. transfer supply a theory for the contextualization value of code alternation. Auer 1983, Auer 1984, and Auer 1991 carry out empirical investigation into code alternation within the framework of this theory.

2.5 Social-psychological perspectives on code-switching

2.5.1 *The markedness model*

Other researchers have emphasized that the bilingual speaker is a creative actor who attempts to negotiate relationships with other speakers via code-switching. Myers-Scotton (1993), for example, proposes a “markedness model” for CS in which code-switches index (point to) rights-and-obligations sets (RO sets) among participants. RO sets are abstract concepts constructed from situational factors such as topic, setting, and the social identities of participants, together with the attitudes and expectations of the participants (1993: 84-5). “Unmarked” code choices conform to societal norms for a given interaction, whereas “marked” code choices signal a departure from societal norms and thus some intended meaning on the speaker’s part not contained in the proposition of the utterance. Although the markedness model seeks to explain code-switching within a normative framework, the theory does not analyze code choice as a direct resultant of the operative norms for a given interaction. Instead, “the range of linguistic choices for any specific talk exchange can be explained by speaker motivations based on readings of markedness *and calculations of the consequences of a given choice*” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 110).

The markedness model for code-switching consists of a general principle and three derivative maxims. The negotiation principle, which is proposed as operative for all code choices, is: “Choose the *form* of your conversation such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange” (Myers-Scotton 1993:113). The negotiation principle

exemplifies the main claim of the theory, specifically that code alternation is best analyzed in terms of the social-psychological motivations of the speaker.

The maxims resulting from the negotiation principle are: (a) the unmarked-choice maxim; (b) the marked-choice maxim; and (c) the exploratory choice maxim. The unmarked-choice maxim directs speakers to choose the language that is the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set for a particular interaction when they wish that RO set to be in force. In contrast, the marked-choice maxim directs speakers to choose a language that is *not* the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set when they wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for a particular interaction. Code-switches executed according to the marked-choice maxim may be used to express anger, to confer authority, or to add emphasis via repetition. Marked code choices signal a departure from the normal, expected code choice and therefore indicate otherness, or an intended meaning on the speaker's part beyond the referential meaning of the utterance. As Myers-Scotton states, marked code-switching serves to "negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing it or decreasing it" (1993:132).

The exploratory-choice maxim accounts for the fact that bilingual speakers are sometimes uncertain of the expected code choice for a particular interaction. This third maxim directs speakers to use code-switching to explore potential candidates for an unmarked code choice when an unmarked code choice is unclear. Exploratory code-switching may be used when the identities of the participants are unknown, when there

is a clash of norms, or when societal norms are in a state of fluctuation (Myers-Scotton 1993: 142).

The markedness model purports to explain both code choices that conform to macro-societal norms and code choices which seem to defy macro-societal norms. The markedness model ultimately lacks explanatory power, however, because indexicality, a foundational concept upon which the theory rests, is never adequately defined. That is, it is unclear how certain code choices come to index specific RO sets in a given situation. The most explicit formulation of indexicality is presented in the Unmarked-Choice Hypothesis (1993:89): “A continuum of relative frequencies of occurrence exists so that one linguistic variety can be identified as the most unmarked index of a specific RO set in a specific interaction type, in comparison to other varieties also in use.” Thus the theory begs the question by arguing that a code choice indexes a specific RO set because it usually indexes that particular RO set.

2.5.2 Speech accommodation

Many other researchers share Myers-Scotton’s interest in the social-psychological motivations for code-switching. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), for example, view code switches as acts of identity in which bilingual speakers indicate their position in social space relative to that of their interlocutors. According to this point of view, a speaker models his linguistic patterns “so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished” (1985: 181).

Howard Giles's Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) also contributes to our understanding of the social-psychological motivations for code-switching. The central idea of CAT is that speakers may change their speech in order to gain interlocutors' social approval or to sustain a favorable social identity. When speakers desire the social approval of their interlocutors, they engage in a strategy of convergent accommodation, i.e., they adjust their pronunciation, rate of speech, or other linguistic features toward the speech patterns of their interlocutors. When speakers wish to dissociate or distinguish themselves from their interlocutors, or when speakers perceive an interaction to be an in-group interaction and desire a positive in-group identity, they employ a strategy of divergent accommodation, i.e., they adjust their linguistic features away from the speech patterns of their interlocutors (Street & Giles 1982: 213-14). Much like Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, then, CAT analyzes linguistic choices as means by which speakers establish social and psychological distance between themselves and their interlocutors.

2.6 Summary of previous findings on the motivations for code-switching

Three distinct frameworks for studying the motivations for code-switching have been identified: (a) code choices have been associated with particular sociolinguistic domains, in a manner reminiscent of diglossia; (b) code-switching has been analyzed as a discourse strategy (contextualization cue) intended to accomplish interactional goals; and (c) code alternation has been studied as an act of identity, a means by which bilingual speakers negotiate their relationships with their interlocutors or maintain social and psychological distance. Most current researchers agree that code-switching

is a type of skilled performance used to convey some information beyond the content of the proposition, and most recognize the need to supply an explanation that accounts for both the macro-societal and micro-interactional factors that influence code choice. Several valid generalizations have emerged from inductive analysis of code switching. All of the previous models document that a change in topic, interlocutors, or setting precipitates code-switching, and all of the models note that bilingual speakers rely on their knowledge of macro-societal norms to evaluate the meaning of individual code-switches in context.

Taking these findings into account, Chapter 4 proposes a Gricean explanation for code-switching which builds on Gumperz (1982). The process of conversational inference which bilingual speakers set in motion by code-switching is indeed similar to the process of implicature which monolingual speakers set in motion by flouting one of Grice's conversational maxims. By proposing an additional conversational maxim, Chapter 4 will argue that the two processes are one and the same.

CHAPTER 3

CONVERSATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

This chapter presents the empirical results of the study. Stretches of discourse which involve code-switching are transcribed below, and the conversational function of each token of code-switching is then discussed. As the sample data illustrate,⁴ the Spanish-English bilinguals who participated in the study use code-switching for reported speech, reiteration, addressee specification, commands and requests, and jokes. The findings of this chapter coincide with those of other researchers who have investigated the conversational functions of code-switching, such as Zentella (1981) and Gumperz (1982).

3.1 Reported speech and reiteration

In the following stretch of talk transcribed from interaction one, Manuel and José discuss the relative status of Spanish and English in the United States. First, Manuel notes that many large businesses now provide telephone assistance in Spanish. José confirms Manuel's observation, adding that occasionally telephone customers are offered assistance in Spanish before they are offered assistance in English. Manuel mentions the use of Spanish at ATMs, too, and he highlights the significance of having to deliberately choose between Spanish and English.

(1)

M: (1) Pues aquí *todos* los negocios, todos los que están grandes, como

⁴ Appendix B details the methods for obtaining the sample data, as well as demographic information on the participants in the two interactions recorded.

- (2) 'Well here all the businesses, all the big businesses, like'
 los tele-teléfonos, eh, Cingular y Verizon y (all esos están eh)
 'the telephone companies, eh, Cingular and Verizon and (all those are eh)'
- (3) anunciando en-en español...mucho:...
 'announcing in Spanish...a lot of...'
- J: (4) sí
 'yes'
- M: (5) [asistencia en español]
 'assistance in Spanish'
- J: (6) [Now es que ahor-] ahora me ah-me agrada...Me agrada porque
 'Now it's that now that pleases me...It pleases me because'
 (7) es muy importante que están entra sentar comunicar,
 'it's very important that they're beginning to communicate,'
- M: (8) Mm.
- J: (9) Yo sé como ya no dicen...Uh: me-me gusta más como
 'I know how they no longer say...Uh what I like most is how'
 (10) respo:nden en español *primero*,
 'they answer in Spanish *first*'
- M: (11) Ah
- J: (12) y después for English press two, ya know,
 'and then "for English press two," ya know,'
- M: (13) @ sí
 'yes'
- J: (14) Es muy, me parece, me [parece fascinante.]
 'It's very, it seems, it seems fascinating to me.'
- M: (15) [Sí, eh: también los] ATMs.
 'Yes, eh: and also the ATMs.'
- J: (16) Ah huh. sí, sí.
 'Ah huh. yeah, yeah.'
- M: (17) Si prefiere inglés,
 'If you prefer English,'
- J: (18) sí.
 'Yes.'
- M: (19) Pues, a mí, me nunca imaginaba que debe usted...oprime eh el
 'Well, to me, I never imagined that you should...press eh'
 (20) uno si quiere *español*, pero no si que prefiere *inglés*...If you
 'one if you want Spanish, but not if you prefer English...If you'
 (21) prefer English, y'know, you gotta hit that button. Si nec-...Nunca
 'English, y'know, you gotta hit that button. If...I never'
 (22) me imaginaba que: cuando yo estaba más joven que el día
 'imagined that when I was younger that the day'
 (23) llegaría en que tuviera escoger *inglés*...para comunicar primero.

- ‘would arrive in which you’d have to choose *English*...to communicate first.’
- J: (24) Que interesante, [verdad?
‘How interesting, right?’
- M: (25) [Mhm. Muy interesante.
‘Mhm. Very interesting.’

In addition to providing an interesting commentary on the relative status of Spanish and English in the U.S., this stretch of discourse illustrates two conversational functions of code-switching: reported speech and reiteration. In line 12, José switches from Spanish to English in order to set off the reported speech of a telephone operator. In lines 20-21, Manuel switches from Spanish to English to reiterate an idea, viz. that now one must often deliberately choose between Spanish and English at an ATM.

3.2 Addressee specification

In the following stretch of discourse transcribed from interaction two, John asks Humberto, Sr., his father-in-law, whether he would like a decorative fountain. John then suggests to his wife Cándida that they give her father a fountain they already own.

- (2)
- J: (1) Usted no quiere uno de esos, esos fuentes?
‘You don’t want one of those, those fountains?’
- H: (2) [Qué es
‘What is it’
- J: (3) [Como [tenemos en la casa.
‘Like we have at home.’
- H: (4) [Ah:, sí. ...sí [()
‘Ah, yes....yes’
- J: (5) [Hey, baby, we should, we should bring that over here.
- C: (6) What is it? The water [fountain?
- J: (7) [The little fountain.
- C: (8) Oh, yeah. Mire.
‘Oh yeah. Look.’
- J: (9) So your dad [can-

- C: (10) [Mire, se levantó su tío. Say hola tío.
'Look, your uncle has gotten up. Say hi uncle.'

John speaks Spanish with his father-in-law in lines 1-3, and then speaks to his wife in English in lines 5, 7, and 9. It appears that John switches from Spanish to English in order to designate Cándida as the addressee of his contributions in lines 5, 7, and 9.

It appears that Cándida also code-switches to specify an addressee. During her turn in line 8, her brother Humberto, Jr. enters the room. She then directs her child to look at his uncle. Cándida begins her turn in line 8 by speaking to John in English, and she designates her son as the addressee of the rest of her contribution by switching from English to Spanish.

3.3 Commands and requests

In line 10 of talk exchange (2) transcribed above, Cándida switches from Spanish to English to issue a command to her child.

- (3)
Mire, se levantó su tío. Say hola tío.
'Look, your uncle has gotten up. Say hi uncle.'

She exhibits similar behavior in the following utterance, also from interaction two.⁵

- (4)
Quiere ponerlo ahí? Baby, could you put the: cup on his highchair.
'He wants to put it there? Baby, could you put the cup on his highchair.'

⁵ This token can also be analyzed as an instance of addressee specification. The first part of Cándida's turn 'Quiere ponerlo ahí?' may be addressed to her father. In this case, Cándida may switch from Spanish to English to indicate that the latter part of her turn is addressed to John, and not her father.

One might assume that Cándida's switches from Spanish to English lend authority to her requests, given the relative statuses of the languages in U.S. society. English is currently the language of the dominant majority (the prestige variety), while Spanish remains a minority language, despite its ever-increasing importance.

3.4 Joking

During the following stretch of conversation from interaction two, Humberto, Jr. is preparing to leave the house to go study at a local coffee shop. Humberto's brother-in-law John makes a joke in English about Humberto meeting women at the coffee shop.⁶

(5)

- C: (1) Adiós. Adónde vas?
'Bye. Where are you going?'
- Hj: (2) Voy a estudiar.
'I'm going to study.'
- C: (3) Oh: hay que mover un carro.
'Oh, you'll have to move a car.'
- Hs: (4) Dile-dile cuidado con los coyotes @
'Be careful with the coyotes.'
- J: (5) What's up with that long line uh women.
- C: (6) @
- Hs: (7) @
- J: (8) *(in falsetto)* Oh, it's Humberto...he's come to study and he's so smart.

3.5 Motivations for code-switching

This chapter has illustrated some of the various conversational functions of code-switching: reported speech, reiteration, addressee specification, commands and

requests, and jokes.⁷ Assuming that code-switching does in fact serve these conversational functions, it seems reasonable to infer that balanced bilinguals use code-switching simply to imply a meaning beyond the literal interpretation of a proposition. In other words, the motivations for code-switching and the conversational functions that it can serve are indistinguishable.

However, while lists of the conversational functions of code-switching may adequately describe the data, they do not explain why code-switching has these particular functions in conversation; i.e., the process by which hearers actually glean speakers' intended meaning from a code-switch is still unclear. Chapter 4 addresses the questions of why code-switches have a conversational function or meaning, and how hearers determine what that meaning is.

⁶ Again, this token may serve more than one conversational function. John's contribution in line 9 of (4) may be analyzed as an instance of reported speech instead of a joke.

⁷ This list should by no means be considered exhaustive if code-switching among balanced bilinguals truly is a communicative resource that can be used creatively. Other researchers have found that code-switching can also be used for parentheses or side-comments, puns, and topic/comment structure, among many other conversational functions.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRAGMATICS OF CODE-SWITCHING: A GRICEAN APPROACH

This chapter argues that pragmatics, the branch of linguistics concerned with how speaker-hearers infer intended meaning from context, provides a suitable framework within which to discuss the meaning of code-switching. More specifically, by the addition of a maxim of Mode, the Gricean maxims for conversation are adapted to cover the motivations for code-switching in bilingual speech. The concept of conversational implicature as outlined in Grice (1975) maintains.

4.1 Logic and natural language

Philosophical questions about the truth conditions of sentences in natural language have had a significant influence on the field of pragmatics. Scholars have long recognized that logical operators and their natural language analogues do not always have the same truth conditions. This observation has led some philosophers of language to call for the construction of an ideal language that uses logical operators to produce sentences that have a definite truth value independent of context (Grice 1989:23).

For example, the logical symbol for conjunction, \wedge , has the natural language analogue 'and'. The proposition $x \wedge y$ is true as long as both x and y are true. The order of the conjuncts has no effect on the truth conditions of the proposition; i.e., the proposition $x \wedge y$ has the same truth conditions as the proposition $y \wedge x$. However, the

order of the conjuncts in natural language propositions is often important. Sentences containing the conjunction 'and' seem to imply a chronological order, and often a causal relationship, among the conjuncts (Fasold 1990:125). The sentence 'Mary tripped over a wire and broke her leg' implies that first Mary tripped and then Mary broke her leg, and also that Mary broke her leg because she tripped. The hearer would probably feel deceived if he learned that Mary broke her leg two years ago and tripped over a wire just five minutes ago. Likewise the hearer would feel misled if he learned that Mary first tripped over a wire and then broke her leg, but that her leg was broken because the television attached to the wire fell on top of her.

The truth conditions of a proposition depend on the referents involved in the proposition, too. Deictics, words whose referents depend on the specific context of an utterance, therefore present problems for determining the truth conditions of some natural language sentences. For example, the sentence 'I am the President of the United States' is true if and only if it is uttered by George Bush, and only if he utters the sentence during his term in office. Because this proposition contains a deictic indexical (viz. the first person pronoun), the truth conditions of the sentence depend critically on the identity of the person who utters the sentence, and when the sentence is uttered.

Because the truth conditions of sentences in natural language are not always the same as those of their logical counterparts, rules of inference are needed to determine the truth conditions of natural language propositions that contain conjunction and deixis. Rules of inference are also needed to determine the truth conditions of

contradictions, tautologies, and sentences that contain negation, quantifiers, conditionals, and disjunction (Fasold 1990:120).

The information conveyed by a code-switch is in fact similar to the information carried by a deictic expression. The meaning of a code-switch depends crucially on the time, setting, and participants involved in the conversation. Like deictics, code-switches have no identifiable referents independent of the contexts in which they are embedded. Thus pragmatics may provide a suitable framework within which to analyze code-switching.

4.2 Gricean maxims

The distinguished philosopher of language H. Paul Grice argued that natural languages are just as orderly as logical systems once the rules for conversational inferences are factored out. Grice proposed the cooperative principle, an implicit agreement among participants in a conversation to cooperate for the common goal of communication. The cooperative principle, which is assumed to be universal, requires interlocutors to make suitable contributions to the conversation at any given point in the talk. Grice (1975:45-7) divides the cooperative principle into a set of conversational maxims and submaxims:

Quantity

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation: Be relevant.

Manner: Be perspicuous.

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

With the addition of a fifth maxim, Grice's cooperative principle can be adapted to account for how bilingual speaker-hearers infer the intended meaning of code-switching. Thus I propose the maxim of Mode:

Mode

1. Do not use more than one linguistic code in a single social event.
2. Use the appropriate linguistic code for the given social situation.

The term 'linguistic code' is used in a general sense to refer not only to distinct, mutually unintelligible languages, but also to language varieties or dialects, and registers within a language. Adopting a broad definition for the term 'linguistic code' makes the maxim of Mode applicable in a wide range of language alternation in both monolingual and bilingual communities (see §4.6.2 below). The terms 'social situation' and 'social event' are used in the sense of Blom & Gumperz 1972:423. 'Social situation' refers to a particular setting, participant constellation, and span of time, whereas 'social event' refers to a type of interaction (within a social situation) focused

on at most a limited range of topics, with recognizable openings and closings. The concepts ‘social situation’ and ‘social event’ are illustrated in Figure 4.1 below, where ‘setting’ refers to a specific physical locale:

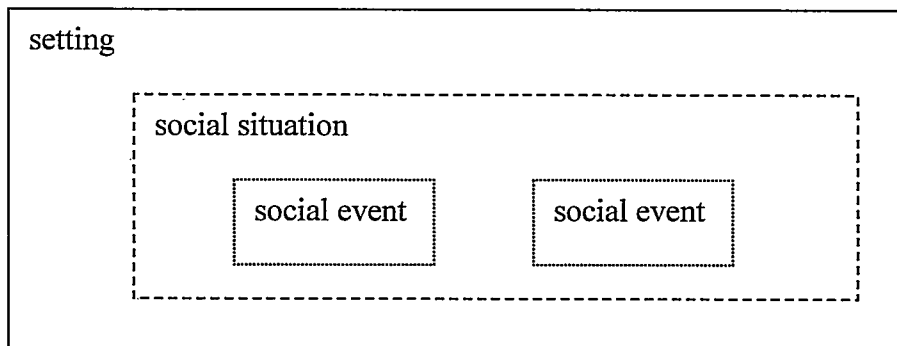


Figure 4.1: Setting, social situation, and social event

4.3 Implicatures

As Grice pointed out, there are a number of different ways that participants can treat the maxims. First, a speaker may follow the maxims in a straightforward way. Second, a speaker may unobtrusively violate a maxim, and in so doing mislead the hearer. Third, a speaker may opt out of the cooperative principle or one of its maxims by overtly stating that he is indisposed to observe the tacit rules for a communicative exchange. For instance, someone who has promised to keep a secret may opt out of the maxim of Quantity by explicitly stating ‘I can say no more because I promised to keep the information secret’. Fourth, a speaker may have to deal with a clash of maxims; he may not always be able to fulfill the maxim of Quantity (be as informative as is required) and the maxim of Manner (be brief) equally well at the same time. Finally, a

speaker may obtrusively violate or flout a maxim. Speakers can generate an implicature, a process of inferring intended meaning from context, by following or flouting a maxim (Levinson 1983).

Gricean implicatures generated by flouting a maxim entail a three-step process, as Fasold (1990:131-2) explains. First, the speaker says something that appears to violate the cooperative principle or one of its maxims. Next, the speaker expects nonetheless to be considered to be observing the cooperative principle, and the hearer actually does think that the speaker is observing the cooperative principle. Third, the speaker expects, and expects the hearer to know that he expects, that the hearer will determine the conditions under which the speaker's apparent violation of the cooperative principle is, in fact, cooperative.

4.4 The maxim of Mode and code-switching

Presumably speakers can deal with the maxim of Mode in all five of the ways discussed above. For code-switching, two ways of dealing with the maxim of Mode are particularly interesting: following the maxim and flouting the maxim. Code-switching performed in accordance with the maxim appears to be an instance of what Blom and Gumperz call 'situational switching', while flouting the maxim appears to exemplify 'metaphorical switching'.

4.4.1 Following the maxim of Mode

If the social situation or social event changes (i.e., if there is a change in topic, setting, or participant constellation), bilingual speakers may follow the maxim of Mode by switching to the linguistic code most appropriate given the new constellation of

factors. The example of situational switching from Blom & Gumperz 1972 discussed in §2.3.1 above illustrates this treatment of the maxim nicely. Hemnes residents switch from Ranamål to Bokmål when Blom and Gumperz, both non-local outsiders, enter into a conversation among locals. In this example, the social situation changes on account of a new participant constellation, and the participants follow the maxim of Mode by switching to Bokmål, the code most appropriate for the new social situation.

4.4.2 Flouting the maxim of Mode

If bilinguals code-switch when the social situation and social event remain unchanged (i.e., if there is no change in topic, setting, or participants), they are flouting the maxim of Mode. This precipitates a process of implicature as outlined in §4.3. A token of code-switching first discussed in §3.1 illustrates how a speaker might flout the maxim of Mode, and the process of inference that results.

(6)

- | | | |
|----|-----|---|
| J: | (1) | Yo sé cómo ya no dicen...Uh: me-me gusta más cómo
'I know how they no longer say...Uh what I like most is how' |
| | (2) | respo:nden en español <i>primero</i> ,
'they answer in Spanish <i>first</i> ' |
| M: | (3) | Ah |
| J: | (4) | y después <u>for English press two, ya know,</u>
'and then "for English press two," ya know,' |
| M: | (5) | @ sí
'yes' |
| J: | (6) | Es muy, me parece, me [parece fascinante.] |
| | (7) | 'It's very, it seems, it seems fascinating to me.' |

José has clearly violated the maxim of Mode (do not use more than one linguistic code in a single social event) by switching from Spanish to English in line 4 when there has been no change in topic, setting, or participants, and thus has set in

motion a process of implicature. Presumably, José expects to be considered to be conforming to the cooperative principle despite the apparent violation, and Manuel also thinks that José is being cooperative. José then expects Manuel to determine the circumstances under which his contribution is actually cooperative. Manuel must draw on his knowledge of the context for the interaction to discern the implicatum (what José has intended to implicate). In this case, Manuel must be aware of the topic, viz. the languages used on the telephone menus of major companies, in order to determine that José has intentionally flouted the maxim of Mode in order to set off reported speech.

4.5 Characteristics of conversational implicatures

Grice distinguishes implications, which result from inferences attached by convention to particular words and phrases, from implicatures, inferences which result from the cooperative principle and the conversational maxims. Conversational implicatures, which are context dependent,⁸ are not part of the (semantic) meaning of the proposition. They generally share the following four properties (Grice 1975:57-8; Levinson 1983; Hirschberg 1985; Fasold 1990:132; Stvan 1993):

1. Cancelability. An implicature may be cancelled by a following utterance that explicitly states the speaker has opted out of a maxim, or by a following utterance that produces an implicature that contradicts the previous implicature.

⁸ Conversational implicatures are context dependent in that they depend on the contextual and background information shared by all of the participants in the interaction. The same exchange between two different sets of participants, in two different conversations might produce entirely different implicatures.

2. Non-detachability. Implicatures are associated with the semantic content of what is said, not with the linguistic form of an utterance. Hence, it should not be possible to detach an implicature from an utterance by exchanging one of the words for a synonym.⁹
3. Indeterminacy. Implicatures are often indeterminate because an ostentatious violation (flouting) of the cooperative principle or one of its maxims may be accounted for by more than one process of inference.
4. Reinforceability. Because conversational implicatures are not part of the conventional meaning of a proposition, it should be possible to explicitly state the implicatum without being redundant.

At least some implicatures generated by code-switching are cancelable.

Consider an example from Gumperz (1982:92) taken from the speech of a mother to her children:

(7)

Ven acá. Ven acá. Come here, you.
 ‘Come here. Come here. Come here, you.’

Gumperz asserts that Spanish-English bilinguals interpret the switch to English in this example as a warning. The speaker might cancel this implicature by uttering something like (8):

(8)

Ven acá. Ven acá. Come here, you. Don't take this as a warning, but come when you're able to.

⁹ Because the maxims of Manner and Mode by definition involve the linguistic form of an utterance, implicatures due to the maxims of Manner and Mode are exceptions to the property of non-detachability.

‘Come here. Come here. Come here, you. Don’t take this as a warning, but come when you’re able to.’

The indeterminacy of some implicatures generated by code-switching has already been discussed in Chapter 3; i.e., several tokens of code-switching in the data appear to have more than one possible conversational function. An example from §3.3 is repeated as (9) below:

(9)

Quiere ponerlo ahí? Baby, would you put the: cup on his highchair.
‘He wants to put it there? Baby, would you put the cup on his highchair.’

This instance of code-switching may serve to add authority to a request or to specify the addressee, depending on the line of inference followed by the hearer. Indeed, the indeterminacy of conversational implicatures may be precisely what makes code-switching an attractive communicative tool; i.e., the indeterminacy of the implicatures generated by code-switching makes it a strategy for doing face-threatening acts ‘off the record’ (Brown & Levinson 1978).

Likewise, the implicatures generated by code-switching are often reinforceable. Because the implicatum (the warning) in (7) is not a part of the semantic meaning of the utterance, the speaker can make the implicatum explicit without being redundant, as in

(10):

(10)

Ven acá. Ven acá. Come here, you, right now. I’m warning you.
‘Come here. Come here. Come here, you, right now. I’m warning you.’

4.6 Support for the maxim of Mode

According to Auer (1984a) and many other estimates, at least half of the world's population is bilingual. While this fact alone may supply sufficient reason to adapt the Gricean maxims to account for the pragmatic effects of bilingual code-switching, analogies between conversation and other types of rational human behavior, as well as parallels between bilingual code-switching and monolingual style-shifting, supply evidence for a maxim of Mode.

4.6.1 Analogies

Assuming that conversation is just one of many rational human behaviors, Grice (1975:47) suggests analogies between the expectations generated by the cooperative principle and its maxims and the expectations commonly assumed for other purposive, cooperative human behaviors:¹⁰

1. Quantity: If you are helping me fix a car, and I ask you to hand me four screws, then I expect you to hand me exactly four screws, not two or six. I expect your contribution to be neither more nor less than is required.

¹⁰ These analogies between the conversational maxims and other purposive human activities illuminate a number of fundamental assumptions behind the theory of implicature in general: (a) participants in talk have a common purpose, which might be called communication or the exchange of information; (b) the contributions of the participants are mutually dependent, i.e. whether a particular contribution is cooperative at any given point in the conversation depends crucially on the contributions that preceded or followed it; and (c) interlocutors are engaged in a type of contractual relationship for the duration of a talk exchange; adherence to the "contract" (the cooperative principle and its component maxims) is beneficial for all participants for achieving the ultimate goal of communication. In claiming that the theory of implicature accounts for the conversational functions of code-switching, one must make the same assumptions for bilingual discourse.

2. Quality: If I am making a cake and I ask you to hand me sugar, then I do not expect you to hand me salt. I expect your contributions to be genuine and honest.

3. Relation: If I am mixing the ingredients for the cake, I do not expect you to offer me a good book or an oven mitt (although these might be relevant contributions at some later time). I expect a partner's contributions to be appropriate to the immediate needs of the activity.

4. Manner: If I ask you to hand me sugar for the cake, I expect you to do so within a minute or so. I expect a partner to make it clear what his contribution is, and to make his contribution with reasonable dispatch.

One might add another analogy to Grice's list to serve as a parallel to the expectations generated by the maxim of Mode:

5. Mode: If the recipe stipulates that the cake should be baked in a conventional oven at 400 degrees, I would not expect my partner to put the unbaked cake on the stovetop or in the microwave. I expect my partner to use the appropriate instruments or mode for completing an activity.¹¹

4.6.2 Code-switching and style-shifting

The similarities between bilingual code-switching and monolingual style-shifting may provide more support for a maxim of Mode. As with code-switching, monolingual style-shifting is conditioned by contextual factors such as the setting, the topic, and the relationships among the participants in an interaction. Hence, if any of

these factors changes, the social situation or social event may change, and a monolingual speaker may style-shift in accordance with the maxim of Mode. On the other hand, if a monolingual speaker shifts styles when there is no noticeable change in setting, topic, or participants, he flouts the maxim of Mode and generates an implicature. Adopting a maxim of Mode allows for a unitary analysis of the conversational inferences (or lack thereof) generated by the two behaviors.

4.6.3 The distinction between Manner and Mode

Code choice has been related to the maxim of Manner in previous research; Prince 1982, for example, considers speaking “in the wrong language” to be a violation of Manner. Indeed, Manner essentially directs speakers to make their contributions comprehensible to hearers, and choosing a language that the hearer does not understand certainly makes one’s contribution incomprehensible.

However, within the framework of this study code choice clearly falls under Mode. If a speaker chooses a language that the hearer does not know, the speaker is violating the second submaxim of Mode (use the appropriate linguistic code for the given social situation). The participant constellation for any given interaction in part determines the social situation; thus, in choosing a linguistic code that is not available to the addressee, the speaker fails to use the linguistic code appropriate for the social situation.

If Mode relates to code choice, then Manner relates to how the speaker utilizes the linguistic code he chooses. Manner directs speakers to omit needless words, to use

¹¹ The fact that a discrete analogy can be proposed for Mode is also evidence for the distinction between

definite, concrete language, to speak audibly, and to maintain an appropriate rate of speech, regardless of the particular linguistic code the speaker is using. (Presumably, one can be verbose, vague, or inaudible in any language.) Manner relates to speakers' judgments of whether something is well said or poorly said in any given language (Prince 1982:8).

4.7 Other proposed revisions of the Gricean maxims

The ideas presented in this chapter follow in a long line of proposed revisions to the Gricean maxims. Although it is unclear to me at present how a maxim of Mode relates to other proposed revisions to the maxims, two widely influential recasts of Grice (1975) are worth mentioning.

Horn (1984) argues that the Gricean maxims can be reduced to a hearer-based Q-principle and a speaker-based R-principle. The Q-principle, which states 'Make your contribution sufficient' and 'Say as much as you can given R', is an reflection of the first submaxim of Grice's maxim of Quantity (Make your contribution as informative as is required). The R-principle, which states 'Make your contribution necessary' and 'Say no more than you must given Q', is a synthesis of Grice's second submaxim of Quantity, the maxim of Manner, and the maxim of Relation.¹² Horn retains the maxim of Quality in his model because unless a standard of truthfulness obtains, he says, "the entire conversational and implicatural apparatus collapses" (1984:12).

Manner and Mode.

¹² It seems likely to me that a maxim of Mode as proposed in this study would fall under Horn's R-principle.

Taking a step further, relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986) reduces the Gricean maxims to a single principle of relevance, which guarantees that a speaker's contribution is sufficiently relevant for it to be worth the time and effort the hearer spends in processing it, and that the way a speaker makes his contribution is the most relevant stimulus available to the speaker.

Sperber and Wilson dispense with the traditional idea that communication is either an encoding or a decoding of a message, arguing instead that any activity in which human beings manifest an intention, communication included, should be considered simply 'ostensive' behavior, or 'ostension' (ibid., 49). As a type of ostensive behavior, communication requires some effort on the parts of the participants, and therefore is only commenced if there is the potential for some reward, i.e. receipt of some relevant information. Hence, with any act of communication comes the presupposition of optimal relevance. Utterances which generate inferences (utterances which require extra processing effort) are cooperative because of the extra information they convey.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary

This study is an attempt at answering the research questions posed in Chapter 1:

(a) Why do balanced bilinguals juxtapose distinct linguistic codes in conversation, i.e., what are the motivations for code-switching? and (b) Assuming that code-switching is a communicative resource available to balanced bilinguals, how do bilingual speaker-hearers determine the communicative value or meaning of a code-switch in any given conversation?

Regarding the first question, the findings of Chapter 3 indicate that the motivations for code-switching and the various conversational functions (e.g. reported speech, reiteration, commands and requests, joking) that code-switching can serve are the same. Bilingual speakers code-switch because doing so allows them to convey some meaning beyond the information contained in the proposition of an utterance.

Regarding the second question, Chapter 4 proposes that the communicative value of code-switching among balanced bilinguals can be explained in relation to Grice's cooperative principle. The cooperative principle is composed of five maxims, rather than the original four, which are: Quantity, Quality, Relation, Manner, and Mode. The maxim of Mode directs speakers to use a single linguistic code for any given social event, and to use the linguistic code that is most appropriate for the given social

situation. Bilinguals may code-switch in accordance with the maxim of Mode if there is a change in the social event, or the social situation that subsumes it. Bilinguals may also flout the maxim of Mode when the social event and social situation remain constant (i.e., when there is no change in topic, setting, or participant constellation), and thereby give rise to a process of implicature.

Significantly, the pragmatic analysis of the motivations for and meaning of code-switching presented in this study validates Blom and Gumperz' well-known situational/metaphorical typology for code-switching. Code-switching executed in accordance with the maxim of Mode can be equated with situational switching, while code-switching that violates or flouts the maxim of Mode can be viewed as metaphorical switching.

5.2 Directions for future research

The question of whether the Gricean maxims can account for what has been called 'exploratory' code-switching, or 'language negotiation,' requires further research. Exploratory code-switching is a means by which interlocutors attempt to find a common language of interaction. In such a situation, it seems highly unlikely that a speaker could ostentatiously violate the cooperative principle or one of its maxims, as he has yet to determine what cooperative behavior is. The speaker in an exchange that involves exploratory switching lacks crucial information about the hearer and by extension the social situation; hence, he does not know what code is most appropriate for the given social situation, and it seems unlikely that the manner of Mode could apply.

As suggested in §4.6.2, the maxim of Mode as proposed in this work may be applicable to monolingual style-shifting. If monolingual style-shifting is meaningful in relation to the cooperative principle in the same way as bilingual code-switching, the two types of verbal behavior should probably be seen as points along a continuum, rather than as dissimilar behaviors; perhaps the linguistic codes from which monolinguals can choose are simply more structurally similar than the codes from which bilingual speakers can choose. More research is needed to determine whether this is the case.

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT SELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant Selection Questionnaire

Please indicate how often you use Spanish and/or English on a daily basis according to the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English only	mostly English, very little Spanish	mostly English, some Spanish	English and Spanish in equal amounts	mostly Spanish, some English	mostly Spanish very little English	Spanish only

APPENDIX B
METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

B.1 Participant selection

Participants in this research are adult balanced bilingual speakers of Spanish and English. The difficulty of defining balanced bilingualism has been noted frequently in the literature (Romaine 1989, Milroy & Muysken 1995). After all, as the work of Fishman (1972) and others indicates, bilinguals probably do not use both languages in every sociolinguistic domain, so they cannot be expected to be equally proficient in both languages for all situations. A full discussion of the problems associated with adequately defining balanced bilingualism is beyond the scope of the present study. This research aims to discuss code-switching which is socially motivated and used for communicative purposes; to that end, the researcher simply wishes to exclude code-switching that is dependent on speakers' degree of proficiency of Spanish or English from analysis. For the purposes of this study, self-reported balanced bilingualism is sufficient for participation.

Potential subjects were given a questionnaire in which they rate their relative frequency of use of Spanish and English in everyday conversation on a scale of one to seven, with one signifying use of English only, and seven signifying use of Spanish only. Intermediary points two through six on the scale represent varying degrees of use of both Spanish and English in everyday interactions, with four signifying the use of Spanish and English in equal amounts (see Appendix A). Potential subjects who self-reported a score of three, four, or five on the questionnaire are considered balanced bilinguals for the purposes of this study. Two interactions were recorded, and a total of

six subjects participated in the study. Table B.1 summarizes the background variables of the participants in the study:

Table B.1: Participants

	Age	Sex	Length of stay in U.S. (years)	Occupation
Manuel	59	M	59	tax preparer
José	26	M	24	graduate student
Humberto, Sr.	59	M	19	custodian
Humberto, Jr.	26	M	19	financial consultant
Cándida	28	F	19	teacher
John	29	M	29	real estate agent

B.1.1 Participants in Interaction One

The first interaction was recorded on January 28, 2004 in the basement of the Central Library at the University of Texas at Arlington. Participants Manuel, a male aged fifty-nine, and José, a male aged twenty-six, were introduced when they met in the library. Both men volunteered to participate in the study after seeing a recruitment flier on campus.

Manuel, a business student, was born in the United States. He currently works for H & R Block tax preparation service, interacting with Spanish-speaking clients and translating English materials into Spanish. José was born in Allende, Nuevo León, Mexico, but has lived in the U.S. since he was two years old. He is a student in the Department of Modern Languages and a graduate teaching assistant at the time of writing. Both men report that they speak Spanish at work and at home.

B.1.2 Participants in Interaction Two

The second interaction was recorded on February 21, 2004 during mealtime in the home of the participants. Participants were Humberto, Sr., a male aged fifty-nine, Humberto, Jr., a male aged twenty-six, Cándida, a female aged twenty-eight, and John, a male aged twenty-nine. Humberto, Sr. was born in Guatemala and lived there until 1985, when he and his children, Humberto, Jr. and Candida, moved to the United States. John, Cándida's husband, was born in the United States. All participants in the second interaction live in Irving, Texas at the time of writing.

The participants in the second interaction are personal friends of the author. They often use Spanish in their professional lives: Humberto, Jr. works as a financial consultant in Latin America, Candida is a middle school teacher who works with Spanish-speaking students, and John is a real estate agent who works with Spanish-speaking clients. As the recording illustrates, the participants also regularly use Spanish at home in each other's company.

B.2 Data and data collection methods

Both interactions were recorded with an Olympus DS-330 digital voice recorder. The machine offered three significant advantages: (a) production of a digital sound file; (b) the ability to incorporate index marks into a sound file during recording or playback, in order to mark a particularly interesting stretch of conversation for future reference; and (c) portability.

The researcher gave participants oral instructions in English for operating the recorder, but she was not present for either of the recorded interactions. Participants

were instructed (also in English) to talk on any topic of their choosing for at least one half hour. A total of one hour and five minutes of conversation was recorded between both interactions.

Once the recordings were made, stretches of conversation that contained code-switching were transcribed. Symbols for discourse transcription are adapted from Schiffrin 1994:422-33 (see Appendix C).

B.3 Units of analysis

B.3.1 Code-switching vs. borrowing

Although the distinction between code-switching and borrowing is not itself the subject of this study, it is nonetheless important to distinguish between the two. The distinction between code-switching and lexical borrowing is significant because borrowing is usually discussed in terms of lexical gaps in the recipient language; hence the names of culture-specific items such as food, clothing, and dress are usually the first items to become established borrowings in a contact situation. On the other hand, balanced bilinguals do not usually code-switch to fill lexical gaps; instead the motivation for code-switching among balanced bilinguals is most often analyzed in terms of social factors and meaning (Li 1994:5). Thus in a study of the social motivations for code-switching, lexical loans must be excluded from consideration.

There is little agreement in the literature regarding the difference between code-switching and borrowing. In general terms, borrowing is the insertion of a single morpheme into the matrix of another language, while switching takes place at the phrase level or higher (Romaine 1989). As noted by Winford (2003:107), the most

common criteria used to distinguish code-switching from borrowing are (a) the frequency with which a particular lexical item is used by monolingual speakers of the recipient language; and (b) the degree to which a particular lexical item is integrated into the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the recipient language. Presumably a high frequency of use by monolingual speakers or a high degree of morphophonemic integration indicates that a lexical item is a borrowing, and not a single-morpheme code-switch.

However, there are problems with both of these criteria. Regarding frequency of use, what specific number of uses should be considered frequent? For Myers-Scotton (1990), a lexical item is borrowed if it is used three times per every ten hours of recorded discourse; for Poplack et al. (1988), at least ten occurrences in a corpus of more than two million words was sufficient to classify an item as an established borrowing. Any specific number of uses used to distinguish borrowings from switches seems arbitrary at best.

Whether morphophonemic integration is indicative of borrowing also remains open for debate. In a study of the speech of Spanish speakers in Texas, Sobin (1976) claims that some English items adapted to the phonological system of Spanish must be considered code-switches. Elias-Olivares (1976) argues that some nouns related to business, education, government, and other domains of the dominant U.S. culture should be considered part of the Spanish lexicon of some Chicano speakers, even though the nouns remain unintegrated morphologically or syntactically. Pfaff (1979) mentions that lexical items from different syntactic categories often undergo different

degrees of morphophonemic integration: verbs in particular are often integrated to a greater degree than other syntactic categories because of their close relationship with tense and aspect markers.

In a study of Tamil-English code-switching, Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan (1986) argue that if the syntax and morphology of an utterance can clearly be identified with only one of the languages of an interaction, any lexical items that are obviously taken from a second language are borrowings. Single-morpheme switches are then termed "nonce borrowings." Likewise, Poplack and Meechan (1995) analyze single-noun French switches in French-Wolof and French-Fongbe bilingual interactions as nonce borrowings. Single-noun switches in their data are indistinguishable from established borrowings because they are fully integrated into the morphological and syntactic patterns of the recipient languages.

It may be the case that single-morpheme switches and lexical borrowings are points along a diachronic continuum. Bilingual language phenomena must be considered on two levels, that of the individual and that of the community. At the individual level, single-morpheme switches may be idiosyncratic attempts to fill a lexical gap in the recipient language, or they may be cases of code-switching proper (i.e., the juxtaposition of two distinct linguistic codes). However, an established borrowing may result from repeated single-morpheme switches within a particular speech community over time.

In the present synchronic study, single-morpheme switches will be considered nonce borrowings, following Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan 1986 and Poplack &

Meechan 1995. Nonce borrowings are excluded from analysis by defining code-switching as “the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally phonological) rules of its lexifier language” (Poplack & Meechan 1995:200).

B.3.2 Code-switching vs. code-mixing

Most researchers also distinguish between code-switching, a type of skilled performance that highly proficient bilinguals use to accomplish discourse strategies, and code-mixing or interference, language alternation related to second language acquisition and imperfect learning (Winford 2003). Code-mixing is usually associated with intrasentential alternation which does not serve specific social functions or adhere to recognized grammatical constraints on code-switching.¹³

Code-mixing is excluded from analysis in the present study by collecting data only from self-reported balanced bilinguals, as discussed in §B.1 above. The data presented in Chapter 3 show that the participants do, in fact, use inter-sentential code alternation to accomplish specific conversational functions.

¹³ Stavans 2003 claims that in some parts of the U.S., Latin America, and Spain, a mixed variety of Spanish and English (‘Spanglish’) is spoken.

APPENDIX C
TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Transcription symbols are adapted from Schiffrin 1994:422-33.

- . indicates sentence-final falling intonation
- , indicates continuing intonation
- ? indicates rising intonation followed by a noticeable pause (as at the end of an interrogative sentence)
- ! indicates exclamatory intonation
- ... indicates a pause of 1/2 second or longer
- indicates halting or abrupt cut-off (when dashes hyphenate the syllables of a word or connect streams of words, the stream of talk has a stammering quality)
- : indicates lengthened syllable or consonant
- [] indicates the beginning/end of overlapping speech
- () indicates transcriptionist doubt (if empty, the string of speech in question was inaudible)
- italics* indicates emphatic stress
- @ indicates laughter

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