

Code-switching and code-mixing among multilingual Eritrean communities:¹ examples and motivations

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SOMMARIO

Questo studio cerca dare una risposta alla domanda ‘perché si ricorre al code-switching?’, analizzando alcuni esempi in cui la commutazione di codice e il code-mixing si verificano in comunità multilingui dell’Eritrea. Vengono esaminate sette situazioni di commutazione, concentrandosi principalmente sul fattore motivazione. In ciascuno degli esempi sono implicati uno o più fattori. Alcuni sono legati alla funzione del linguaggio, cioè perché una certa varietà viene usata al posto di altre. Altri sono legati agli utenti del linguaggio, p. es., chi parla a chi, mentre altri ancora sono determinati dalla natura della situazione, vale a dire dove stanno parlando. Anche se gli esempi sono pochi, essi mostrano l'utilizzazione della commutazione di codice nell'esprimere solidarietà, nel manifestare la propria identità, nel mantenere un atteggiamento neutrale, nel segnalare formalità e status sociale, nel dimostrare potere e autorità. In uno degli esempi viene segnalato l'utilizzo della commutazione di codice nel quadro di una forma di citazione del discorso diretto per attirare l'attenzione degli ascoltatori, e per ottenere precisione.

Key words: *Code-switching, Code-mixing, Eritrean multilingual communities*
ISO 639-3 codes: aar, arb, ssy, tig, tir.

Introduction

People may switch between one language/code and another because they lack the necessary vocabulary to express their ideas in the first language or their addressee does not understand that language. But are these the only reasons why people resort to code-switching or code-mixing? For instance, Wardaugh (2006: 104) writes “A number of answers have been suggested, including solidarity, accommodation to listeners, choice of topic, and perceived social and cultural distance.”

Linguistic choices in most cases show the influence of one or more of the following components (Holmes 1992, Wardaugh 2006). The first component is related to the participants. Who is speaking and whom are they speaking to? The linguistic choice varies based on whether the interaction took place between close friends or people less intimately acquainted, between superior and subordinate, or between young and old, and so on. The second component is the setting or social context of the interaction: where are they speaking? This refers to the degrees of formality dictated by solidarity and status relationships. Some formal settings, such as meeting places and courthouses, influence the choice of the code regardless of who is speaking to whom.

¹ Eritrea is a country located in northeastern Africa along the west coast of the Red Sea, bordered by Sudan on the north and west, and by Ethiopia and Djibouti on the south. The indigenous Eritrean languages are Afar, Arabic, Bidhaawyeet (Beja), Bilin, Kunama, Nara, Saho, Tigre, and Tigrigna. English is the language of education beyond grade five. The former colonial languages of Italian and Amharic are also spoken by some individuals in restricted domains.

The third and final component, the topic under discussion in the present study, is the function of the language: why are they speaking? Are they speaking to give or ask for a favour? Are they speaking to convey information or to create some feeling? Wardhaugh (2006: 101) for example points out:

Code-switching (also called code-mixing) can occur in conversation between speakers' turns or within a single speaker's turn. In the latter case it can occur between sentences (intersententially) or within a single sentence (intra-sententially). Code-switching can arise from individual choice or be used as a major identity marker for a group of speakers who must deal with more than one language in their common pursuits. As Gal (1988: 247) says, 'codeswitching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations.'

Carol Myers-Scotton (1993: 3) defines code-switching as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety or (varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.” She adds “CS may take on any level of linguistic differentiation (language, styles, or dialects/registers).” A related communication strategy not treated in this article is pausing. An interdisciplinary study of code-switching and pausing by Penelope Gardner-Chloros, Lisa McEntee-Atalianis, and Marilena Paraskeva found that, like code-switching, pauses are also rationally motivated and “provide evidence of lexical and grammatical processing, e.g. demonstrate self-monitoring in the form of prefacing repetitions and repairs, and usually occur at predictable grammatical boundaries” (Gardner-Chloros et al. 2013: 22).

This article attempts to address the issue of why people employ code-switching through analysis of examples in which code-switching and code-mixing take place, mainly from the experiences of multilingual Eritrean communities. Some of the examples are the exact utterances of acquaintances, close friends, and relatives of the author, whereas others are drawn from experiences common within Eritrean society. Careful effort has been made to transcribe the exact wording of the speakers and to write them as they were uttered originally.

The second step is describing the situation in which the code-switching or code-mixing took place. This step paves the way for the analysis and helps the reader to make his/her own judgement regarding the analysis. Based on the situation, an interpretation of the motivation is given. Some of the examples of code-switching may have been motivated by more than one factor. In such cases, an attempt has been made to account for only the major motivations involved.

Examples, analysis and interpretations

Example 1:

Baqla ቦቅለ is small, remote village found in the Northern Red Sea region of Eritrea. Its inhabitants speak the Ḥabāb ሐባብ dialect of the Tigre language. The Ḥabāb dialect, like those of Mārya ሻሊሎም and Beni-Ḷāmār/MinḶāmār ሻጊጊጊጊጊጊ, does not distinguish between *ṣ* and *ʃ* and between *d* and *z*, respectively. In each case only the

first member of the pair is used, both in its place and in place of the other. Accordingly, *ṣahāy* ጸሓይ ‘sun’ is pronounced as *ṭahāy* ጠሓይ and *zanab* ረብሽ ‘tail’ as *danab* ደብሽ.

In the written variety of the Tigre language, however, *ṣ* and *z* contrast with *ṭ* and *d*, respectively, in minimal pairs. Accordingly, they are treated as distinctive phonemes. Students start to use them distinctively when they discuss their school materials. They also incorporate them in their writing when they prepare assignments for their teachers. School teachers, radio broadcasters, administrators, army officers, and other civil servants use these phonemes in their speech as well as in their writing, because either they are speakers of the dialects where the phonemes are distinguished or they acquired them through education. Hence, government institutions are regarded as if they were using the dialects where these phonemes are distinguished, although they are actually only incorporating the use of these phonemes in all dialects of the Tigre language represented therein.

The ordinary people of the village of Baqla use their Ḥabāb dialect, which does not distinguish between *ṣ* and *ṭ* and *z* and *d*, respectively, in their daily life. Nevertheless, they are aware of the function of the ‘standard’ Tigre in which these sounds are used as four distinctive phonemes. Let us now examine the following utterances made by newly-elected local parliament member Ibrāhim, a resident of the village of Baqla, as he was preparing to chair his first meeting of the village, in and by his friend Osman. (Note: Tigre is in italics and English translation inside inverted commas. Description is inside parentheses and relevant sounds are in bold.)

Ibrāhim: (After meeting his friend Osmān on his way to the chair.) *malhay mən ’aya maṭ’aka?* ‘Oh friend, where did you come from?’

Osmān: *mən ṭabra* ‘from Ṭabra’

Ibrāhim: *ṭabra dālmat ta mām?* ‘Does Ṭabra have rain?’

Osmān: *rabbi ḥammadna, ’ade lātu ṭamu’ la’ala sata.* ‘We thanked God, whoever was thirsty has now drunk [satisfied].’

Ibrāhim: (He is now in the position of the chairman) *kulkum māṣ’ām mən təhallu ’əḡtama’na ’əḡəl na’astabze. yom ’əb kusus barāməḡ taṣwir zəra’at ’əḡəl nəhdag tu.* ‘If you all are here we may start our meeting. Today we will discuss agricultural development programs.’

In the first two utterances, when Ibrāhim was discussing daily life with his friend Osmān, they used the dialect of Ḥabāb. He said *maṭ’aka* ‘you 3sgm came’ instead of *maṣ’aka*, and *dālmat* ‘it has got rain’ instead of *zālmat*. Just a minute later, when he reached the chairperson’s chair, he switched into ‘standard’ Tigre. His motivation for this code-switching may be the type of interaction. He used the Ḥabāb dialect with his friend to discuss their daily life informally, and the ‘standard’ variety to discuss the more formal topic in the formal setting, i.e., the agricultural development projects in the meeting place.

His code-switching could also be attributed to another motivation. Ibrāhim is now a member of parliament, which means a rise in his social status. In line with this new social position he has to speak Tigre in the way educated people speak it. What makes this claim more convincing is his decision to use these two phonemes without adequate knowledge of their proper usage. He hypercorrectly replaced all *t* and *d* by *ʃ* and *z* respectively. As a result he said *naʼastabze* ‘let us start’ instead of *naʼastabde*, and *taṣawər* ‘development’ instead *taṭawər*. This shows that his code-switching was not the result of his mastery of the variety, but only of his awareness of its function and status.

The Ḥabāb dialect is used at home and in other non-formal settings to discuss daily life matters. It is used by non-educated peasants in all aspects of life, even though some of them attempt to use the standard variety in formal situations. On the other hand, the written standard variety of Tigre is used in all formal circumstances by people who have some educational background. Similarly, there is an attempt to use the standard variety by people who think that they have made a step up in social status. This could mark the beginning of a diglossic situation, a situation in which two varieties of a language, one serving as the high variety (H) and the other as the low variety (L), coexist based on the dimensions of formality or social status.² It may also be the beginning of the convergence of the spoken dialects into the written standard variety.

Example 2:

Hāni, the son of a friend, was six years old at the time of the situation we will discuss in this example. Hāni was born to a Tigre-speaking father and a Tigrinya-speaking mother. His parents are bilingual in Tigre and Tigrinya. Both of them use English to discuss their academic topics. In addition, his father also speaks Arabic and Saho. Hani was born in a multilingual environment. Nevertheless, he learned only Tigrinya with native competency. Between the ages of four and five parents and family friends were encouraging him to speak Tigre. As a result, by the age of six he was able to speak it.

Hāni uses Tigre only in situational conditions. For example, he never uses Tigre with his mother, because he thinks she does not know Tigre, even though she was one of the few people whom I ever knew who spoke Tigre as their second language with native-like fluency. He speaks Tigre with his father’s parents and sometimes with his father. Despite my continuous insistence to speak with him in Tigre, he does not use Tigre with me, because he knows that I know Tigrinya.

One day, however, Hāni was willing to talk to me in Tigre. On that day his father was on a long trip outside Asmara and his mother was teaching at a nearby school. Hāni was alone at home having some quarrel with his peers in the compound where they live. When I came to see him, and greeted him in Tigrinya, he immediately replied to

² In this essay, the dimension of formality refers to a situation in which one variety of a language is used for formal purposes and the other for non-formal purposes. The dimension of social status refers to a situation in which one variety of a language is used by the educated or elite, whereas the other is used by the uneducated.

me in Tigre. (Note: Tigrinya is in small caps, Tigre in italics, and English translation inside inverted commas).

Me: KÄMÄY ᵀALOKA HĀNI? ‘How are you Hāni?’

Hani: *Gurruᵀm, ᵀabuye Saleḥ, kafo ḥalleka?* ‘I am fine. How are you uncle Saleh?’

Me: (with mixed feelings of surprise and happiness) *Marḥaba bu Hāni. ᵀana sannī ḥalleko. ᵀanta kafo ḥalleka?* ‘You are welcome Hāni. I am fine. How are you?’

Hani: *ᵀana gurruᵀm ḥalleko.* (A long pause) ‘I am well.’

I thought he was going to tell me something secret about their quarrel and thus wanted to avoid revealing the secret to the other children by using Tigre, a language that the other children do not understand. But he said nothing of that type. Instead Hāni said:

Ġelato³ tazābe ᵀagalye? ‘Can you buy me ice-cream?’

I bought the ice-cream for him. After I bought him the ice-cream, I expected him to switch into Tigrinya, but he did not. He requested me in Tigre *ᵀasək yemma tēmaṣṣəᵀ mäsalye ṣənah* ‘stay with me until my mum comes back home.’ Our communication of that day started and ended in Tigre. Another day, when I visited the family in the presence of his parents, Hāni was back to his old habit. He was no longer motivated to talk to me in Tigre.

On that particular day, when he spoke to me in Tigre, Hāni was in need of someone to talk to. He wished to avoid both his aggressive peers and his loneliness. In other words he was asking for a favour. The other days, in the presence of his parents, he was providing a pleasure, because we were enjoying his talk in general and the way he speaks Tigre in particular. This example shows that people may switch codes based on whether they are asking for or providing a favour. When they provide a favour, they tend to use the language/code which is associated more with their identity, or at least with what they think they know best. When they ask for favour, on the other hand, they switch to the language that they think might best serve the purpose, regardless whether it is their favourite language or not.

The reason why Hāni switches from Tigrinya to Tigre when he talks to his father’s parents seems to be clear. It could be due to the change of participants in the conversation. Since his father’s relatives do not speak Tigrinya, or at least he thinks that they do not know the language, he feels compelled to speak to them in a language which they understand. It could also be seen from the dimension of solidarity and shared ethnicity. He wants to show his father’s side that he is one of them by using their language in order to receive the highest degrees of affection, care, and acceptance. To expect a six-year-old child to understand a very complicated concept such as ethnicity and to behave in such a sophisticated way might defy credibility. But the child does not need to understand what ethnicity is or know who belongs to each

³ The word *gelato* ‘ice-cream’ is a loanword from Italian in many Eritrean languages.

ethnic group. He can simply understand it on the bases of the first attention he might have received when he used Tigre for the first time or the other way round.

Even adults most of the time do not resort to code-switching as a result of a conscious decision. Janet Holmes, in her book *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, argues that people employ code-switching even when, attitudinally, they oppose such a practice. She supports her argument by, among others, an example of university students in Hemnesberget⁴ who were recorded while unconsciously switching between the local dialect and standard Norwegian according to the topic. According to Holmes, when they heard the tapes they showed disapproval of their own behaviour and promised not to switch in such a way in the future. In the same line of argumentation, Wardhaugh (2006: 105), referring to Blom and Gumperz (1972), writes:

Tape recordings revealed switches to Bokmål to achieve certain effects. Moreover, the participants were not conscious of these switches, and even after such switching to Bokmål was pointed out to them and they declared they would not do it again, they continued to do so, as further tapings revealed.

Since code-switching seems to be part of humans' unconscious manipulation of language, it does not make much difference whether the speaker is a child or an adult. In fact, Jennifer A. Vu, Alison L. Bailey, and Carollee Howes, from the University of California, who studied 97 pre-school children of Mexican-heritage in the USA, found that very early in life children employ code-switching strategically for socio-pragmatic and non-linguistic purposes, such as filling gaps in lexical knowledge, by borrowing single words from the other language, and seeking affiliative interaction.

Example 3:

I recently visited one of my relatives (Idris) who asked me to help his first-grade son (Musa) with reading readiness activities. Musa was busy playing with some toys. (Note: In the following conversation Arabic is in small caps and Tigre is in italics.)

Idris: *Na'a Musa, 'abuka Saleh salām ballu.* 'Musa, come here greet your uncle Saleh.'

Musa: (No response)

Idris: *Na'a walye fādāb, Ustaz Saleh 'əgəl la'afhəmakka māṣə' halla.* 'Come here my clever boy, teacher Saleh is here to help you.'

Musa: *Yəbba, 'ana aze 'əttalhe həlleko.* 'Dad, I am now playing.'

Idris: TA'ĀL YĀWILĒD. 'Hey, you little boy, come here.'

Musa: (quietly responded to the order/warning in Arabic and came to us).

⁴ "Hemnesberget, [is] a small Norwegian town of 1,300 inhabitants located close to the Arctic Circle" (Wardhaugh 2006: 105).

Some Tigre-speaking parents make the switch from Tigre to Arabic in order to give warnings such as ʾASKUT YĀWILĒD ‘Hey you little boy! Shut up!’ to their children, who do not respond to the same warning in Tigre, even when the parents’ competence in Arabic is limited and the children do not understand Arabic. The children take Tigre as the language of intimate relations and Arabic—or probably any other language which is not their home language—as the language of power and authority. The switch from the home language to languages such as Arabic or Tigrinya signals that there is a change in the seriousness and determination of their parents. The children understand that reluctance to respond appropriately to this kind of signal can lead to undesired consequences. It is highly probable that Musa’s positive response to the order in Arabic is due to this motivation.

Example 4:⁵ The use of quotations

Some bilingual Eritreans use sentences or phrases in another Eritrean language in the form of direct speech to make their stories vivid and/or humorous, as in example 4b, or for purposes of precision, as in example 4a. This type of code-switching coincides with the findings of Carla Jonsson’s (2010) research, in which she found the use of quotations one of the five most important loci in which code-switching is frequently used.

Example 4a: (Tigrinya is in small caps and Saho in italics)

Suleman: *Aḥmado*, “*Mäḥarillä aduwaaki*, ‘SULEMAN NĀBAKA SĀDIDUNNI’ *akkerheḥ.*” ‘Ahmed, “go to Mehari and tell him, ‘Suleman has sent me to you.’”

Example 4b: (Tigrinya is in small caps and Afar in italics)

Kimal ‘*Asab genḍa iggidih gital nenketteh ibayto* ‘*ambālak nen. Too uddur tirāfik yemeeteh*, “ABZI ʾONTAY TĒGABRU ʾALĀKUM?” *iiyeh didda nee hee.* ‘Yesterday we were gathered in the street waiting for transport in order to go to Assab. The traffic police came and frightened us, saying “What are you doing here?”’

Example 5: (Note: Tigre is in small caps and Tigrinya in italics)

Tesfay: *Nāta qwāl’a ḥakkəmənna do wäsidkəya?* ‘Did you take the girl to the hospital?’

Meryem: ʾəwwe wäsidäyya. ʾab kābabi vagina gele infection ʾallowa ʾilom. ‘Yes, I took her. “She has some infection around the vagina,” they said.’

Tesfay: (At this moment their daughter came into the room) MI TU SABABU BELAW? ‘What did they say was the cause?’

⁵ Examples 4a and 4b were provided by my colleague Suleman Mohammed from the Saho panel in the Ministry of Education of the State of Eritrea, who speaks both Saho and Afar.

the word for Friday, which is *‘arbi* in Tigrinya. None of the Ğeberti uses the word *‘arbi* for Friday. Instead they use *ġum‘at*, the Arabic word for Friday.

Friday is the holy day in the Islamic world. For this reason, at first glance, one might think of this situation as one involving code-switching motivated by the topic of religion. This interpretation leads to a conclusion that Friday is a Muslim holiday and should be named in the language of the Koran. But this is not the case among the other Muslims of Eritrea. For example, those Tigre-speaking Muslims who learned Tigrinya as a second language see nothing wrong with using *‘arbi*. Similarly, both Muslim and Christian speakers of the Bilin language use *‘arəb*, the Bilin word for Friday. None of them attempts to use the day’s name in the language of the Koran or the language of the Bible. Taking these facts into consideration, the motivation of the use of *ġum‘at* by the Ğeberti people should be something else rather than the function dimension.

It seems more reasonable and convincing to interpret their motivation as an expression of group membership rather than code-switching motivated by topic. They are telling the world that they are Muslims, unlike most of the Tigrinya-speaking population. The reason they chose Friday instead of any of the other six days of the week to be the symbol for their distinctive group membership could be because Friday can tell the intended identity more easily than the other days. Other Arabic tags which have no religious connotations such *‘abšur* instead of አጃኻ *‘aġġoka* ‘be courageous’, as well as non-linguistic expressions, are also used by the Ğäbärti to demonstrate their distinctive identity from their Christian brothers.

Example 7: (Tigre is in italics, Tigrinya in small caps, and English in side inverted commas.)

Musa: *‘Ādəm laġibu ‘arqab bədibu* (a big explosion of laughter). ‘There is a scorpion in Adem’s pocket.’

Osman: *‘Ādəm ‘akəl ‘əlli ṭamma‘ kəmsal tu na‘ammər yə‘alna*. ‘We didn’t know that Adem was mean to this extent.’

Suleman: *lākin ṭamma‘ kəmsal tu kafo ‘Āmarkum?* ‘But how did you know that he is mean?’

Musa: *‘ənde teḥaġazka missed call⁶ mən təwadde dibu ‘iballəs dibka*. ‘When you are in need and give him a missed call, he doesn’t respond.’

Saleh (me): *sanni māsyaām?* ‘Good evening?’

(All together): *Marḥabābu Ustaz ker māsi?* ‘You are welcome Professor. How is your evening?’

⁶ When there is not enough prepaid balance in your mobile phone to make long calls, you can simply call your friend and cancel the call before your friend picks it up. Your friend takes this ‘missed call’ as a message which shows that there is not enough balance in your account, so he/she calls you back. Some mean people, however, can do this even when they have enough money or they may not call you back. This is the background information of their jokes.

Osman: *walat gabʼat mængabbəʼ lākin ʼagid balləs diba* (a big explosion of laughter).
‘If the caller is a girl, however, he calls back immediately.’

Adem: *ʼəlli wədāyu kəm tu ʼana ʼəsbāt bəye*. ‘I have evidence that this is his own behaviour.’

Birhane: *Yahaw sanni māsyām?* ‘Good evening guys?’

(Group): *Marhaba Birhane*. ‘Welcome Birhane.’

Birhane: *mi tu laʼashəqakum lahalla? həbruna*. ‘Why are you laughing? Let’s join you.’

Osman: *ʼĀDƏMʼSI WÄDDI YƏKUN GUAL missed call ZƏGÄBÄRÄLÄY ʼƏMƏLLƏS ʼƏYE YƏBƏL ʼALLO. ʼƏNTAY RƏʼƏYTOK?* ‘Adem is saying that he responds to whoever gives him a missed call, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. What is your opinion?’

Birhane: *hassāy tu. ʼamʼəl hatte kəmsal ʼaba ʼəgəlna ʼĀmna missed call wəday dibu belnaha. ʼəgla balsa diba*. ‘He is a liar. One day when he didn’t respond to our missed calls, we asked Amna to give him a missed call. He called her back immediately.’

(All together laughed with great joy): *HƏĞĞI KƏTʼƏMMÄN ʼALLOKA*. ‘Now you have to accept it.’

Example 7 was recorded in one of the teashops of the town of ʼAfʼabät አፍብት in northern Eritrea. A group of school teachers were engaged in an intimate discussion making jokes about each other’s deeds and speech. They were using Tigre, which happened to be their common mother tongue. Since they were my acquaintances, I joined them. Neither the topic nor the language changed. A few minutes later, one of their colleagues called Birhane joined us. Birhane is a native Tigrinya-speaker who also speaks Tigre, but with quite a recognizable accent. With the arrival of Birhane the discussion started to shift into Tigrinya without a change in topic. Within a few minutes it became all-Tigrinya with the exception of Birhane, who insisted to make his contribution to the discussion in Tigre. Why did they switch to Tigrinya? And why did Birhane insist on speaking Tigre despite the others’ shift into his mother tongue?

Generally it is considered impolite among Eritreans to exclude a person in the group by using a language that he/she cannot understand in a condition where the choice of language/code that accommodates everyone in the group is available. In such situations people in Eritrea tend to switch to what Myers-Scotton (1995) calls the ‘unmarked choice’ as opposed to the ‘marked choice’.⁷ Quite often the unmarked choice is Tigrinya, but sometimes, in the lowland regions, Arabic, Tigre or even one of the other Eritrean languages, depending on the kind of the group involved, may serve as the unmarked code. From this perspective, the group’s switch to Tigrinya can

⁷ According to Myers-Scotton 1995 and Wardhugh 2006, the marked-unmarked distinction does not carry any connotation of prestige, unlike the distinctions of high-low, standard-substandard, and language-dialect.

be accounted for as an automatic code-switching to the unmarked choice in order to accommodate Birhane. They know that Birhane can speak and understand Tigre, but that is only part of their conscious knowledge. In their unconscious pre-programmed pattern of behaviour, which is responsible for code-switching in the majority of cases, Birhane is a Tigrinya speaker and he should not be excluded from the discussion by the use of Tigre, a language that most Tigrinya speakers do not master.

Birhane's response on the other hand, can be accounted for from a different perspective. Tigre is the intimate language of the group of teachers with whom he has been very much associated for the last several years. In his interpretation Tigre is the language that expresses 'we-type' solidarity among an intimate group of members, while Tigrinya is the 'they-oriented language' used for impersonal out-group as well as formal communications. The teachers' switch to Tigrinya to accommodate Birhane, which was meant to facilitate communication, yielded the opposite feeling in him. He felt alienated, because their switch associated him with the 'they-oriented language'. He continued to use Tigre to show his group-membership identity. Their switch to Tigrinya might also have signalled to him that they underestimated his competence in the Tigre language. Accordingly, he wanted to prove that he is capable of using Tigre for this kind of communication.

Conclusion

In this short paper, seven situations of code-switching practices, focusing mainly on motivating factors, were examined. In each of the examples one or more factors are involved. Some are related to the function of the language, i.e., why a certain variety is used instead of others. Others are related to the users of the language—who is speaking to whom—while still others are dictated by the nature of the setting, i.e., where the speaking takes place. Though the examples are few in number, they show us the use of code-switching in expressing solidarity, declaring identity, maintaining neutrality, signalling formality and social status, and showing power and authority. In one of the examples the skillful dramatic usage of code-switching in a form of direct speech quotations to attract the audience's attention is reported. Furthermore, the use of code-switching to send warning signals to children is discussed in one of the examples.

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