Code-switching or code-mixing

Participants, solidarity and status

Example 8

[*The Māori is in italics.* THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
Sarah: I think everyone's here except Mere.
John: She said she might be a bit late but actually I think that's her arriving now.
Sarah: You're right. *Kia ora Mere. Haere mai. Kei te pehea koe*?
[HI MERE. COME IN. HOW ARE YOU?]
Mere: *Kia ora e hoa. Kei te pai*. Have you started yet?
[HELLO MY FRIEND. I'M FINE]

People sometimes switch code within a domain or social situation. When there is some obvious change in the situation, such as the arrival of a new person, it is easy to explain the switch. In example 8, Mere is Māori and although the rest of the meeting will be conducted in English, Sarah switches to Māori to greet her. The Māori greeting is an expression of solidarity. So a code-switch may be related to a particular participant or addressee. In a Polish family living in Lancashire in the 1950s, the family used Polish in the home. When the local English-speaking priest called, however, everyone switched to English. In both of these cases the switch indicates a change in the social situation and takes positive account of the presence of a new participant.

A speaker may similarly switch to another language as a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee. Even speakers who are not very proficient in a second language may use brief phrases and words for this purpose. Scottish Highlanders who are not proficient speakers of Gaelic nevertheless express their identification with the local Gaelic speech community by using Gaelic tags and phrases interspersed with their English. Māori people often use Māori words and phrases in this way too, whether their knowledge of Māori is extensive or not. Such switches are often very short and they are made primarily for social reasons – to signal and actively construct the speaker's ethnic identity and solidarity with the addressee. Here are some examples.

Example 9

(a) Tamati: *Engari* [SO] now we turn to more important matters.
(Switch between Māori and English)
(b) Ming: Confiscated by Customs, dà gài [PROBABLY]
(Switch between English and Mandarin Chinese)
(c) A: Well I'm glad I met you. OK?
M: ándale pues [OK SWELL], and do come again. Mm?
(Switch between Spanish and English)

In (a), Tamati uses a Māori tag at the beginning of his utterance while the Mandarin speaker in (b) uses a final tag. This kind of switching is sometimes called emblematic switching or tag switching. The switch is simply an interjection or a linguistic tag in the other language which

serves as an ethnic identity marker. The exchange in (c), for instance, occurred between two Mexican Americans or Chicanos in the USA. By using the Spanish tag, M signalled to A that she recognised the relevance of their shared ethnic background to their future relationship. The tag served as a solidarity marker between two minority ethnic group members whose previous conversation has been entirely in English.

Switches motivated by the identity and relationship between participants often express a move along the solidarity/social distance dimension introduced in chapter 1. While example 9(c) illustrates a tag contributing to the construction of solidarity, switches can also distance a speaker from those they are talking to. In Pamaka, a village in Suriname, young people switch between their local community language, Pamaka, and Sranan Tongo, the language of Suriname urban centres. Pamaka is the usual language of interaction in the community, but young people often switch to Sranan Tongo to signal their sophistication and identification with modernity. In one conversation, two young women and a young man are discussing local music. While the women use Pamaka, their community language, the young man deliberately switches to Sranan Tongo and avoids Pamaka. His language switch distances him from the other participants, while also signalling his alignment with the urban Western world.

A switch may also indicate a change in the other dimensions mentioned in the first chapter, such as the status relations between people or the formality of their interaction. The examples above have illustrated that different kinds of relationships are often expressed or actively constructed through the use of different varieties or codes. More formal relationships, which sometimes involve status differences too, such as doctor–patient or administrator–client, often involve the H variety or code: e.g. Bokmål in Hemnesberget, Spanish in Paraguay, standard Swahili in Bukavu. Friendly relationships involving minimal social distance, such as neighbour or friend, generally involve an L code: e.g. Ranamål in Hemnesberget, Guaraní in Paraguay, Indoubil, Kingwana or a tribal language such as Shi in Bukavu.

In the little village of Hemnesberget (described in example 6 in chapter 1), Bokmål or standard Norwegian is the variety to use when you go to the tax office to sort out your tax forms. But the person you will deal with there may also be your neighbour. The conversation might look like this.

Example 10

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

Jan: Hello Petter. How is your wife now?

Petter: Oh she's much better thank you Jan. She's out of hospital and convalescing well.

Jan: That's good I'm pleased to hear it. DO YOU THINK YOU COULD HELP ME WITH THIS PESKY FORM? I AM HAVING A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY WITH IT.

Petter: OF COURSE. GIVE IT HERE . . .

Nothing appears to change except the topic of discussion and with it the code. In fact, the change of topic here symbolises a change in the relationship between the men. They switch from their roles as neighbours to their roles as bureaucrat and member of the public. In other words, they switch from a personal interaction to a more formal transaction. This kind of role switch is commonly associated with a code-switch in multilingual communities. Exactly the same kind of switching occurs in Beijing when a government administrator deals with a query from someone who comes from her home town in Guangzhou. They begin sorting out their business in Mandarin, but when they realise they went to the same school they switch to

Cantonese to exchange stories about the school and their teachers. And in shops in bilingual communities, salespeople often switch to the language of their customers. In Strasbourg, for instance, a city in Eastern France, where French is the official language and Alsatian (a Germanic dialect) is the local variety which marks Alsatian identity, salespeople switch between the two varieties according to the preferred language of the shoppers they are serving.

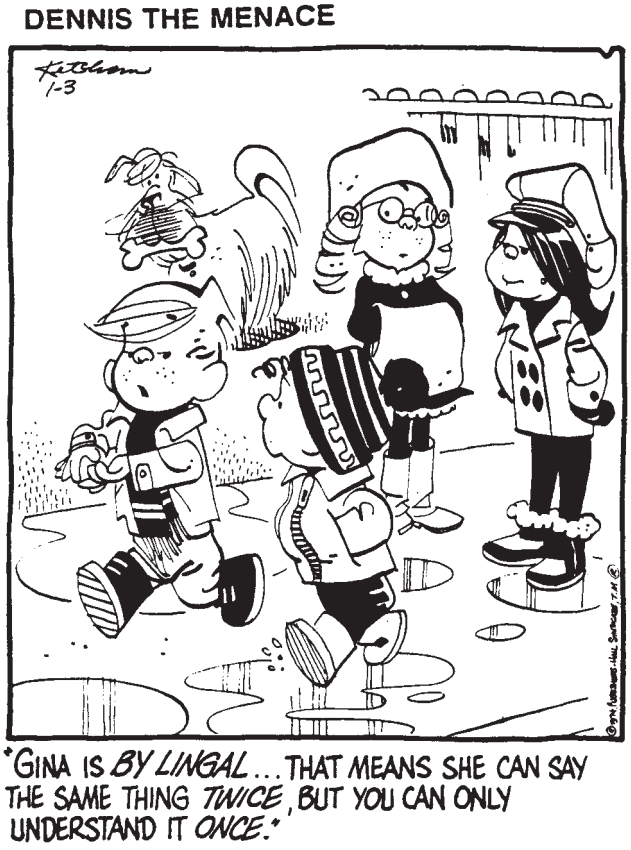
Exercise 10

When people switch from one code to another for reasons which can be clearly identified, it is sometimes called *situational switching*. If we knew the relevant situational or social factors in advance in such cases, we could usually predict the switches. Which code would you predict the speaker will switch from and which code will they switch to in the following situations and why?

(a) A Hemnesberget resident chatting to a friend in the queue at the community administration office gets to the counter and speaks to the clerk.

(b) Three students from the Chinese province of Guangdong are sharing a flat together in London. They are discussing the ingredients of the stir-fry vegetable dish they are cooking. One of them starts to discuss the chemical composition of the different ingredients.

Answers at end of chapter



Source: DENNIS THE MENACE ®

Topic

Example 10 illustrated that people may switch code within a speech event to discuss a particular topic. Bilinguals often find it easier to discuss particular topics in one code rather than another. In Hemnesberget, Bokmål is the more appropriate variety for discussing a business matter. Topic relates to the function dimension introduced in chapter 1. For many bilinguals, certain kinds of referential content are more appropriately or more easily expressed in one language than the other. Japanese war brides in the USA, for instance, found it easier to use Japanese for topics they associated with Japan such as 'fish' and 'New Year's Day'. Chinese students from Guangzhou who are flat-sharing in an English-speaking country tend to use Cantonese with each other, except to discuss their studies when they switch to English. This is partly because they have learned the vocabulary of economics or linguistics or physics in English, so they do not always know the words for 'capital formation' or 'morpheme' or 'electron' in Cantonese. But it goes further than simply borrowing words from English. They often switch to English for considerable stretches of speech. The technical topics are firmly associated with a particular code and the topic itself can trigger a switch to the appropriate code.

Another example of a referentially oriented code-switch is when a speaker switches code to quote a person.

Example 11

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

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

The switch involves just the words that the speaker is claiming the quoted person said. So the switch acts like a set of quotation marks. The speaker gives the impression – which may or may not be accurate – that these are the exact words the speaker used. A related reason for switching is to quote a proverb or a well-known saying in another language, as illustrated in the following example.

Example 12

[*The Mandarin Chinese is in italics.* THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
A group of Chinese students from Beijing are discussing Chinese customs.

Li: People here get divorced too easily. Like exchanging faulty goods. In China it's not the same. *Jià goǔ súi goǔ, jià jī súi jī.* [IF YOU HAVE MARRIED A DOG, YOU FOLLOW A DOG, IF YOU'VE MARRIED A CHICKEN, YOU FOLLOW A CHICKEN.]

The code-switch corresponds exactly to the proverb being recited from Chinese. The similarity of quotation and proverb recitation is very clear. Both are referentially motivated switches in that the speaker wishes to be accurate – the exact words are important. But switches often

serve several functions at once. In these examples, the switches not only emphasise the precise message content, they also signal ethnic identity. In other words, they have an affective as well as a referential function.

Switching for affective functions

In the twentieth century, the use of Jamaican Creole or Patois alongside standard English by those who belong to the African-Caribbean or West Indian Black communities in Britain followed similar patterns to those described above for a range of multilingual and bilingual communities. At school, for instance, Black British children used Patois to their friends and standard English to their teachers. (In the twenty-first century, the varieties are less clearly distinguishable as we shall see in chapter 8, though the distinct functions remain the same.)

Example 13

Polly is a young British Black woman. She speaks standard English with a West Midlands accent, as well as Patois, a variety of Jamaican Creole, learned from her parents. On one occasion, a schoolteacher annoyed her intensely by criticising a story Polly had written about British West Indians. In particular, he corrected the use of Patois by one of her characters – something he knew nothing about. Her response was to abuse him in Patois, swearing at him only just below her breath. The effect was electrifying. He seemed terrified. He threatened to send her to the headmaster but in fact he didn't, and she noted with satisfaction that he left her alone after that.

Polly's switch to Patois was here used to express affective rather than referential meaning. The teacher didn't need to understand the words – he simply needed to get the affective message. In other contexts too, switching between Patois and standard English can achieve a range of interesting rhetorical effects. Just as the use of ethnic tags signalled ethnic group membership for speakers in the utterances in example 9 above, a switch from Patois to standard English with the local British regional pronunciation can signal a person's identity as a West Midlander in a conversation where local regional values are relevant. In an argument with a West Indian from another area over the best soccer team, for instance, the use of the localised English accent can serve just this kind of function.

Example 14 demonstrates not only Polly's code-switching ability – it also illustrates her rhetorical skills.

Example 14

[*Patois is written in italics.*]
With Melanie right you have to say she speaks *tri different sort of language when she wants to. Cos she speak half Patois, half English and when im ready im will come out wid*, 'I day and I bay and I ay this and I ay that. I day have it and I day know where it is' . . . And then she goes '*Lord God, I so hot'*. Now she'll be sitting there right and she'll go. 'It's hot isn't it?', you know, and you think which one is she going to grow up speaking?

This is not simply code-switching for the purposes of accurate quotation. The Patois is being used here for amusement and dramatic effect. Melanie is being parodied and sent up. Polly is again using her ability in the two codes for affective purposes.

Many bilinguals and multilinguals are adept at exploiting the rhetorical possibilities of their linguistic repertoires. Standard Norwegian is the language of the school, for instance, but while they are in class, children may make rude remarks or jokes about the teacher in their local dialect. In Paraguay too, Guaraní, the L variety, is considered more appropriate for joking and humorous anecdotes. So while discussing a serious political issue in Spanish a Paraguayan might switch to Guaraní with a humorous example or a witty aside. Fijian people switch from Fijian to Hindi for joking, and because Hindi is not normally used for communication between Fijians, just the switch itself is often considered to be amusing.

A language switch in the opposite direction, from the L to the H variety, is often used to express disapproval. So a person may code-switch because they are angry.

Map 2.2 Oberwart, Austria

Example 15

[*The German is in italics.* THE TRANSLATION IS IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
In the town of Oberwart two little Hungarian-speaking children were playing in the woodshed and knocked over a carefully stacked pile of firewood. Their grandfather walked in and said in Hungarian, the language he usually used to them:

'Szo! ide dzüni! jeszt jerámunyi mind e kettüötök, no hát akkor!'

[WELL COME HERE! PUT ALL THIS AWAY, BOTH OF YOU, WELL NOW.]

When they did not respond quickly enough he switched to (dialectal) German:

'Kum her!'

[COME HERE!]

Exactly the same content is expressed first in Hungarian and then in German. The children in fact know only Hungarian so the reason for the switch is clearly not to convey referential content. In Oberwart, German is the language of the school and officialdom. So in families where Hungarian is the usual language of the home, a switch to German is significant. In these homes Hungarian expresses friendship and solidarity, and a switch to German puts the addressee at a distance. German symbolises authority, so by using German the grandfather emphasises his anger and disapproval of the children's behaviour.

In a Chinese immigrant family in the north-east of England, Chinese is the usual language of the home. When a mother switched to English to ask her son why he had not finished his homework, he recognised he was being indirectly told that he had better finish his homework before starting to play on the computer. Example 16 illustrates a similar code-switch between two different styles of English. Its purpose is similarly to reprimand a child and the switch involves a move from an intimate and friendly style to a formal style which distances the speaker from the addressee.

Map 2.3 Papua New Guinea

Example 16

Father: Tea's ready Robbie.
(*Robbie ignores him and carries on skate-boarding.*)
Father: Mr Robert Harris if you do not come in immediately there will be consequences which you will regret.

Exercise 11

Identify the linguistic features in example 16 which signal that Robbie's father has switched code between his first and second utterance.

Answer at end of chapter

Metaphorical switching

Example 17

At a village meeting among the Buang people in PNG, Mr Rupa, the main village entrepreneur and 'bigman', is trying to persuade people who have put money into a village store to leave it there. This is a section from his skilful speech.
[*Tok Pisin is in italics*. Buang is not italicised.]

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

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

In many of the examples discussed so far, the specific reason for a switch can be identified with reasonable confidence. Though it would not be possible to predict when a switch will occur without knowing what a speaker intended to say next, it is often possible to account for switches after they have occurred (i.e. post hoc). Example 17, however, moves switching into a different dimension. It is an example of what can be achieved by a really skilled bilingual. In this situation, there are no obvious explanatory factors accounting for the specific switches between Buang and Tok Pisin. No new person joined the audience at any point. There was no change in the setting or in the topic – 'bisnis'. There are no quotations or even angry or humorous utterances. What is the social meaning of these rapid switches?

By switching between codes with such rapidity the village bigman effectively draws on the different associations of the two codes. Buang is the local tribal language. By using it Mr Rupa is emphasising his membership of the Buang community – he belongs here and everyone knows him. He is using Buang to construct his local identity. But he is also a skilled businessman with contacts in the outside world of money and marketing. Mr Rupa's use of Tok Pisin ('talk pidgin'), a creole which is a valuable lingua franca and an official language in PNG, emphasises this role of entrepreneur, as well as his superior knowledge and experience as a man of the

wider world. His use of Tok Pisin constructs his professional identity as a businessman. Buang symbolises high solidarity, equal status and friendly feelings. Tok Pisin represents social distance, status and the referential information of the business world. Mr Rupa is getting the best of both worlds. He is code-switching for rhetorical reasons, drawing on the associations of both codes. This type of switching has sometimes been called *metaphorical switching*. Each of the codes represents or symbolises a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each, just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings. The term also reflects the fact that this kind of switching involves rhetorical skill. Skilful code-switching operates like metaphor to enrich the communication.

Example 18

[THE WORDS ORIGINALLY SPOKEN IN SAMOAN ARE IN SMALL CAPITALS.]
Alf is 55 and overweight. He is talking to a fellow Samoan at work about his attempt to go on a diet.
My doctor told me to go on a diet. She said I was overweight. So I tried. BUT IT WAS SO HARD. I'D KEEP THINKING ABOUT FOOD ALL THE TIME. Even when I was at work. And in bed at night I'D GET DESPERATE. I COULDN'T GET TO SLEEP. So I'd get up and RAID THE FRIDGE. THEN I'D FEEL GUILTY AND SICK AND WHEN I WOKE UP NEXT DAY I WOULD BE SO DEPRESSED because I had to start the diet all over again. The doctor wasn't sympathetic. She just shrugged and said 'well it's your funeral!'

In this example, the speaker draws on his two languages to express his ambivalent feelings about the topic he is discussing. Though there is no exact and one-to-one correspondence, it is possible to see that in general personal feelings are expressed in Samoan while English provides some distance and objectivity about the topic. English is used for referential content such as 'My doctor told me to go on a diet', while Samoan expresses his shame and embarrassment ('I'd get desperate', 'I would be so depressed'). Similarly, in Swiss Germany, people in internet chat rooms switch between Swiss German dialects and Standard German to indicate their attitudes to chat messages. The switches serve as a subtle means of conveying their approval or disagreement or ambivalence about previous messages.

Some people call the kind of rapid switching illustrated in the last few examples 'code-mixing', but we prefer the term metaphorical switching. Code-mixing suggests the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps because of incompetence, whereas the switches are very well motivated in relation to the symbolic or social meanings of the two codes. This kind of rapid switching is itself a specific sociolinguistic variety; it has been labelled a *fused lect.* It is a distinctive conversational style used among bilinguals and multilinguals – a rich additional linguistic resource available to them. By switching between two or more codes, the speakers convey affective meaning as well as information. 'Code-meshing' is another term which aims to capture the way in which codes are integrated or blended in this variety.

We have to recognise, then, that sometimes we simply can't account for switches. Luxembourg is a multilingual nation where language switching is very common. Where people are equally fluent in three or more languages, it is often difficult to explain why they use one rather than another, even in writing.

Example 19

An agenda from a meeting in Luxembourg

	Translations
■ Procès-verbal	[Minutes: French]
■ Budget Anschaffungsetat	[Acquisition budget: German]
■ Plan trimestriel	[Quarterly plan: French]
■ Internet Präsenz	[Internet presence: German]

Luxembourg has traditionally been regarded as triglossic, with German and French as H varieties and Lëtzebuergesch or Luxembourgish as the L variety. German and French are mostly used for written material in domains such as the media (e.g. newspapers), education (e.g. for acquiring literacy and in textbooks) and administration (e.g. official forms), and Luxembourgish is mostly used in speech contexts. But the boundaries are very permeable. In example 19, the agenda uses the two H varieties, while the discussion during the meeting was entirely in Luxembourgish. The participants were not able to explain the reasons for choosing French vs German for particular items. Perhaps it was just a matter of the first word which came to mind for the fluent multilingual who drew up the agenda, or perhaps the specific topics were associated with particular languages. Though sociolinguists like to try, it is not always possible to account for choices among languages in situations where the participants are all multilingual.

Lexical borrowing

It is obviously important to distinguish this kind of switching from switches which can be accounted for by lack of vocabulary in a language. When speaking a second language, for instance, people will often use a term from their mother tongue or first language because they don't know the appropriate word in their second language. These 'switches' are triggered by lack of vocabulary. People may also borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using. Borrowing of this kind generally involves single words – mainly nouns – and it is motivated by lexical need. It is very different from switching where speakers have a genuine choice about which words or phrases they will use in which language.

Borrowings often differ from code-switches in form too. Borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker's first language. They are pronounced and used grammatically as if they were part of the speaker's first language. New Zealand English has borrowed the word *mana* from Māori, for instance. There is no exact equivalent to its meaning in English, although it is sometimes translated as meaning 'prestige' or 'high status'. It is pronounced [ma:nə] by most New Zealanders.[1] The Māori pronunciation is quite different with a short *a* in both syllables. The word *Māori* is similarly adapted by most English speakers. They use an English diphthong [au] rather than a longer [a:o] sound, and they pluralise the word by adding the English plural inflection *s* and talk of the *Māoris*. In the Māori language, the plural is not marked by an inflection on the noun. By contrast, people who are rapidly code-switching – as opposed to borrowing the odd word – tend to switch completely between two linguistic systems – sounds, grammar and vocabulary.

Exercise 12

Where possible insert in the appropriate column an example number from this chapter which illustrates the relevant reason for switching

Reasons for code-switching	Quote an example number from this chapter
Change in a feature of the domain or social situation	
Setting	_____
Participant features	
Addressee specification	_____
Ethnic identity marker	_____
Express solidarity	_____
Express social distance	_____
Assert social status	_____
Topic	_____
Quoting someone	_____
Proverb	_____
Aspect of the function or purpose of interaction	
Add emphasis	_____
Add authority	_____
Express feelings (vs describing facts)	_____
Can you add any further reasons for code-switching?	

Because there are several possible acceptable answers to this exercise, we have not supplied any one answer. You may find it interesting to discuss your answers with fellow students.

Exercise 13

Hip hop is associated with young people and with African American culture and rap music in particular. Often English hip hop expressions are borrowed into other languages, including terms like *dis* (to verbally attack or humiliate someone), *crunk* (good, fine), *fly* (awesome, cool) and *wack* (poor quality, inauthentic). Have you heard any of these or similar expressions in your speech community? If you want to read more about the languages of hip hop, see Terkourafi (2012).

Linguistic constraints

Sociolinguists who study the kind of rapid code-switching described in the previous section have been interested in identifying not only the functions or meaning of switches, and the stylistic motivations for switches, but also the points at which switches occur in utterances. Some believe there are very general rules for switching which apply to all switching behaviour regardless of the codes or varieties involved. They are searching for universal linguistic constraints on switching. It has been suggested for example that switches only occur within

sentences (*intra-sentential switching*) at points where the grammars of both languages match each other. This is called 'the equivalence constraint'. So you may only switch between an adjective and a noun if both languages use the same order for that adjective and noun, as illustrated in the following example.

Example 20

English	French	Possible switch point?
red boat	bateau rouge	NO
big house	grande maison	YES: i.e. 'big maison' or 'grande house'

Another suggestion is that there is always a 'matrix language frame' (MLF) which imposes structural constraints on code-switched utterances. So, for example, system morphemes (such as tense and aspect inflections) will always come from the *matrix language*; and the order in which morphemes may occur in code-switched utterances will be determined by the MLF. The other language is called the *embedded language*. In example 21, the content words (the verb and the noun in capitals) are from English, the embedded language, but the system morphemes, the prefixes signalling negation, subject, person, number and gender, are from Swahili, the matrix language; and they occur in the order which is normal in Swahili.

Example 21

Leo si-ku-COME na-BOOK z-angu
'Today I didn't come with my books.'

Other sociolinguists argue that it is unlikely that there are universal and absolute rules of this kind. It is more likely that these rules simply indicate the limited amount of data which has been examined so far. They also criticise the extreme complexity of some of the rules, and point to the large numbers of exceptions. These sociolinguists argue for greater attention to social, stylistic and contextual factors. The points at which people switch codes are likely to vary according to many different factors, such as which codes are involved, the functions of the particular switch and the level of proficiency in each code of the people switching. So, it is suggested, only very proficient bilinguals such as Mr Rupa will switch within sentences, intra-sententially, whereas people who are less proficient will tend to switch at sentence boundaries (*inter-sentential switching*), or use only short fixed phrases or tags in one language on the end of sentences in the other language, as illustrated in the utterances in example 9.

It is easy to see how these issues generate more questions. Is all code-switching rule-governed? How do social and linguistic factors interact? What kind of grammar or grammars are involved when people code-switch? When people switch rapidly from phrase to phrase for instance, are they switching between the two different grammars of the codes they are using, or do they develop a distinct code-switching grammar which has its own rules? There are still no generally accepted answers to these questions.

Attitudes to code-switching

Example 22

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

People are often unaware of the fact that they code-switch. When their attention is drawn to this behaviour, however, many tend to apologise for it, condemn it and generally indicate disapproval of mixing languages. Among Mexican Americans the derogatory term *Tex Mex* is used to describe rapid code-switching between Spanish and English. In parts of French-speaking Canada, *joual* is a similar put-down label for switching between French and English, and in Britain [tuʈi fuʈi] ('broken up') Panjabi refers to a style which switches between Panjabi and English. In Malaysia codeswitching between the national language, Bahasa Malay, and English and other local dialects has been dismissed as 'Manglish' by officials. In Hemnesberget, the speech of young students who were switching between the local dialect and the standard was condemned as *knot* or 'artificial speech'. Reactions to code-switching styles are negative in many communities, despite the fact that proficiency in intra-sentential code-switching requires good control of both codes. This may reflect the attitudes of the majority monolingual groups in places like North America and Britain. In places such as PNG and East Africa, where multilingualism is the norm, attitudes to proficient code-switching are much more positive. The PNG bigman's status is undoubtedly enhanced by his ability to manipulate two or more codes proficiently. It seems possible that an increase in ethnic self-consciousness and confidence may alter attitudes among minority group members in other communities over time.

These issues will be discussed further in the next chapter. Attitudes to a minority language are very important in determining not only its use in a code-switching style, but also its very chances of survival.

In this chapter, the focus has moved from macro-level sociolinguistic patterns and norms observable in multilingual and bilingual contexts, to micro-level interactions between individuals in these contexts. Individuals draw on their knowledge of the norms when they talk to one another. They may choose to conform to them and follow the majority pattern, using the H variety when giving a formal lecture, for example. Or they may decide to challenge the norms and sow the seeds of potential change, writing poetry in the L variety, for instance. People also draw on their knowledge of sociolinguistic patterns and their social meanings when they code-switch within a particular domain. Skilful communicators may dynamically construct many different facets of their social identities in interaction. This point will be developed further in Section B.