

Did Our Ancestors Code-switch? Inferring from Written Records

Joan A. Argenter
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

1. Introduction

William Labov (1974) talked about “the use of the present to explain the past” in order to characterize his method of approaching linguistic change as a society-embedded phenomenon. The further back a linguistic change happened, the easier to observe its final outcome but the harder to capture its social motivation. In contrast, change in progress does not permit an assessment of its final outcome but its social motivation may be empirically observed. His methodological proposal then is to study linguistic change in progress as a phenomenon embedded in society, to uncover a typology of social causality patterns and to project these patterns backward to changes in the past.¹

I contend that this methodological proposal may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the study of the organization of verbal culture in ancient societies. Verbal culture responds to deep-rooted underlying trends at the same time that it is shaped by current conflicts and choices. Hence I understand verbal culture as the result of speakers’ agency affording for both language reproduction and transformation through communicative practices –either situated discourse or script and written practices.²

The use of code-switching in discourse is part of this culture as are also the involved speakers’ metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness and agency. My purpose is to discover and analyze cases of code-switching brought about by communities of the past. This means that I will address code-switching as it appears in historical documents left behind by these communities.

Let us make it clear from the beginning that I am concerned with code-switching in written records to the extent that it may be reasonably guessed that this switching hints at a little piece –a “transient moment” (Errington 1998), indeed– of actual oral speech and interaction. Guesses may differ between scholars, but these may agree on the principle. Recently, scholars from the classical philology stance have become increasingly interested in the study of bilingualism and bilingual practices in late antiquity (Adams et al. 2002; Adams 2003). A lot of this research apparently deals with code-switching. Their goals, methods and findings suggested to me the need to clarify my concern.

For one thing, these authors are first and foremost interested in bilingualism, its form and function mainly in classical, pre-classical and post-classical Greek-Latin antiquity. The existence of bilingualism has long been a well known phenomenon in this historical context, but it is poorly understood in its macro- and microlinguistic specifics. These studies seek to fill this gap. The study of ancient bilingualism is their goal, but precisely because they follow –even if unconsciously– what I presented as a Labovian motto and strategy, they heavily rely on phenomena and concepts such as interference, borrowing, code-switching, language choice, language mixing, diglossia, accommodation, language shift, language death, i.e. the same concepts that the synchronic linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches to bilingualism have uncovered and deployed over the last half century. Among these, code-switching stands out .

¹ The research of which this paper is an outcome has been funded by the Departament d’Universitats Recerca i Societat de la Informació, Generalitat de Catalunya. Furthermore the author benefited from a visiting scholar stay at UC Berkeley in the Spring-Summer 2003 to pursue his research. An earlier abridged version was presented at the Fourth ISB. The ideas expounded there were later furthered in a seminar at the Department of Anthropology, UC San Diego. I thank Professors Aaron Cicourel and Kathryn Woolard for their suggestions and discussion there. Last but not least, I warmly express my gratefulness to Professor Joan Bastardas, who wisely advised me at the beginning of this research and daringly encouraged me to pursue it.

² On the complex nature of speech, written and script practices and their interrelations in medieval communities in Spain, see Argenter (2001).

The sources of evidence for these studies are both indirect and direct: the ancient comments on the existence of bilingualism or mixed speech, the evaluations that sometimes these comments contain, the texts themselves: letters, documents, literary works, funerary inscriptions.

These authors realize the apparent conflict that applying a category for the analysis of spoken language to ancient texts entails. Adams makes the following disclaimer: “The evidence of corpus languages may seem inadequate as a vehicle for studying code-switching in action, because code-switching is bound to be at its most creative in speech rather than writing.” (Adams 2003: 298).³ Then he argues his case, which I will not reproduce here. In the same vein, when arguing on funerary inscriptions as a source of evidence: “The genre may seem inadequate for deducing attitudes to code-switching, but I would argue on the contrary...” (Adams 2003: 409). Since in actual fact funerary inscriptions put to the test the idea of code-switching applied to ancient texts, I briefly dwell on Adam’s arguments in this point. These rely on the observation that the use of two languages or two scripts in these inscriptions is not chaotic, on the significance of the epitaph for both the dedicator and the deceased, on the fact that the funerary inscription confers identity in perpetuity –eventually achieved either by switching wording or by a transliterated script or both–, in short, on conveying intentionality. He even appears to understand these inscriptions as entailing a certain “interaction” –they are written to be read, and indeed there are well known examples explicitly emphasizing their conative function.

I do not doubt that funerary inscriptions were part of the culture of a people and epitaphs one of this people’s specific written verbal genres. As such they deserve study and from them we can infer particular aspects of the culture of this people –whether verbal or otherwise. Moreover, I am unable to question the impressive corpus, selected data and analysis of Adam’s work, as well as his ambitious comprehensiveness across time, space, languages, contact phenomena, genres, function and social worlds. But I wonder whether his extended construal of code-switching as language/alphabet juxtaposition in a bounded text does not imply a reification or objectification of a phenomenon defined by its dynamic transient character in face to face communication. The author is aware of this eventual flaw –more than this: though not in these terms, he recognizes the possibility of tackling the subject from these premises and justifies its exclusion from his work as a research option: “In corpus languages it is possible only to glean bits and pieces of information about *listening* and *speaking* [...] Evidence of this type has its place in the study of ancient bilingualism, but it will not be the main focus of this book” (Adams 2003: 6). He concentrates on *writing*. Eventually, I wonder to what an extent this objectification of code-switching has not been independently endorsed and spread by researchers of current day oral code-switching. Too often the transcript has replaced the flow of life-immersed discourse.

Opposite to Adams’ choice, then, the object of this article will be the gleaning of bits and pieces which could have corresponded to transient moments in the speech flow and the framing of the communicative event in social interaction.

2. The Book of Deeds of King James

I examine this subject in a medieval Catalan chronicle: the *Libre dels Feyts del Rei En Jaume* (*Book of Deeds of King James*),⁴ or Chronicle of King James I of Catalonia-Aragon, named the Conqueror (1208-1276).⁵ The *Book* narrates James’ life and feats. Allegedly its author is the King himself. Thus the narrative is written in the first person plural of majesty.

³ The term “corpus languages” is introduced by Langslow (2002) and his arguments exposed there.

⁴ I use Bruguera’s (1991) edition of the medieval text. As to the English texts, they are taken from Smith & Buffery’s unpublished English translation at the time of writing: *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon* (scheduled to appear in 2003). I thank the translators for making these passages accessible to me and allowing me to reproduce them here.

⁵ Jaume I, or James I, was one of the most important Catalan kings in the Middle Ages. He conquered the Balearic Isles and the Valencian kingdom from the Muslims, hence his surname. During his life the King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona dominated an extended zone of the eastern Iberian peninsula and a part of the Occitan countries in southern France.

This feature alone would confer the narrative an explicitly inherent monological character. However, the *Book* partakes of a dramatic dimension because the story is often structured around a number of dialogues preceding and following action, in such a way that they appear to be a forecast or a consequence of the events. This crucial use of dialogical structure opens a window onto certain aspects of the verbal culture at the time and the social values associated with it.

The *Book* is written in the medieval Catalan koine. To understand why code-switching appears at all in it, one should have in mind the position of Latin in medieval European culture and the fact that James's life and deeds brought Jewish, Arabic and Christian communities into continuous contact.

Couples of alternating languages in the *Book* are: Catalan/Latin, Catalan/Arabic, Catalan/Mozarabic, Catalan/Aragonese, Catalan/Castilian, Catalan/Occitan, Catalan/French –recently a scholar argued for a Catalan/Italian couple in one controversial case (Pujol, 2001). Latin was a liturgical, scientific and documentary language at the time –and so was Arabic, but not the precise variety found in the *Book*. This is rather the Hispano-Arabic vernacular. All the other mentioned languages are neighboring Romance languages, from either the Ibero-Romance or Gallo-Romance branches. There are important cultural and structural, as well as discursive, differences in the role these system-defined types of code-switching play in discourse and the values they display.

When scholars of literary history faced the switching phenomena, they had recourse to the stylistic “spontaneity”, the literary “truthfulness” or “realism” (Riquer, 1964: 425ss.) and the linguistic “likelihood” (Tavani 1994: 90) arguments. Such an approach interprets language alternation just as an issue of composition, and downplays its cultural or social content. Notice, nonetheless, that this approach implicitly assumes that there is some straightforward relationship between represented discourse in the *Book* and everyday speech. Badia (1987), himself a linguist, dealt with these cases as instances of code-switching. However, his approach was system-oriented and equated code-switching to language alternation. Interactional considerations and other types of code-switching were excluded.

3. Data and analyses

In what follows I give some instances of code-switching, comment on them and highlight their differences as to structural features and discursive, sociocultural or ideological roles.

3.1. Catalan/Latin

Excerpt [1] reproduces one case of Catalan/Latin code-switching. Basically this is very similar to many other cases in the *Book*. However, this is one of the most striking instances I could choose because it permits me to exemplify a series of phenomena that go well beyond language alternation. To begin with, it also contains one case of code-switching without language alternation –a contingency that has been traditionally ignored by those who have dealt with code-switching in the *Book*.⁶

[Excerpt 1]

After that the archbishop of Tarragona arose and said: “Viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum”.⁷ This phrase is from Simeon, when he received Our Lord in his arms and said,⁸ “My eyes have seen your salvation,” and my eyes likewise have seen yours. (52:1-5)⁹

The Archbishop initiates his discourse with a quotation from the Scripture in Latin –four elements then are evoked here: an authoritative holy source (vs. the speaker's word), a written text (vs. speech), Latin as a sacred language (vs. everyday Romance), and a distant past (vs. here and now). This

⁶ In this and following excerpts Non-Catalan text appears underlined.

⁷ Luke 2:30.

⁸ Luke 2:28.

⁹ *E sobre açò levà's l'arquibisbe de Tarragona e dix: “Viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum. Aquesta és paraula de Simeon quan reebé nostre Seyor entre sos brases, que dix: “Vist han los meus vuls la tua salut”, e els meus vuls veen la vostra salut.” (52:1-5)*

quotation has been decontextualized from its original source and entextualized in the reported discourse (Hanks, 1989). In the new context it acquires a new sense. Catalan/Latin code-switching usually belongs to the metaphorical type (Blom & Gumperz, 1970). Moreover, the quotation accomplishes a double task. In the first place, a textual function, by which it helps to structure the discourse insofar as this will be an expanded current-day paraphrase of the Latin text.¹⁰ Secondly, the quotation confers authority to the Archbishop's words before his audience: this can hardly contest either the quotation or the paraphrase. This use of quotation is not uncommon in formal discourses across the *Book*, but none has the saliency we find here in terms of the co-presence of voices and the speaker's metapragmatic and metalinguistic management in order to appropriate others' voices.

In the first place, a holy voice, represented by the Latin quotation from the Scripture, is incorporated into the Archbishop's speech. Then the assertion is metapragmatically attributed to Simeon who, through the speaker's metalinguistic agency, is presented as uttering his words in Catalan – the speaker's language. Finally the Archbishop takes up the words of Simeon and utters them as if his own.¹¹ This nested sequence of echoing voices across time, space and discourse passes the truth over generations and construes the here and now in terms of the there and then of truthful events and authority-making discourse.¹²

This strategy implies a figural or typological interpretation of history (Auerbach, 1970, 1974, 2003: 73-76; 156-162): events are the way they are because pre-figured by a holy script that was written long ago. They could not be otherwise. In fact, not only words but deeds have been appropriated, since just as Simeon took the child Jesus in his arms, so had the Archbishop himself taken up James in his arms at the court in Lleida when a six-year-old King took an oath of loyalty to his vassals. The figural interpretation relates events “vertically”, outside their historical anchorage, and appear as planned everlasting iterated events.

Thus, a recent present event equals a distant past event, and this relationship makes sense of them in current life. Similarly, a Catalan text equals a Latin text, and this relationship makes sense of them in current discourse. Cazal (1998: 313) remarks that switching to Latin was intended to remind that Romance discourse was authorized to the extent that it had been earlier proffered in Latin. To be sure, she was referring to a time when Romance languages struggled for the access to written text. Indeed, well after this, when Romance languages were already full-fledged Medieval standards, Cazal's remark was still in order.

All this hints at the conclusion that what socially appears to be the metalinguistic interpreting code –Catalan– semiotically turns out to be the interpreted code, and what appears to be the linguistic interpreted code –Latin– semiotically turns out to be the ideological interpreting code. However, it is not only Latin per se that carries such an ideological import, but a Latin quotation of an ancient written text embedded in current day “replicated” discourse. Quotation in this sense, as distinct from everyday reported speech, emerges as a salient feature in the construction of authorizing formal discourse in the world the *Book* depicts.

3.2. Romance languages

Let us now turn toward code-switching between Romance languages. Code-switching between Romance languages surfaces with different structural properties according to whether the non-matrix language belongs to the Ibero-Romance or Gallo-Romance branch. Indeed, the speakers show a higher

¹⁰ This paraphrase extends well beyond the text in the excerpt.

¹¹ Note that the pronominal reference in the English translation (*yours*) corresponds in fact to a full-fledged noun-phrase in Catalan, thus preserving the whole content of the two previous quotations.

¹² Actually, this is but the tip of the iceberg of a transtextual and metalinguistic history. Let us assume that this history began with an alleged salient piece of Simeon's discourse, presumably spoken in an old Semitic language. This piece of discourse was later converted into a Greek text in Luke's Gospel. This was translated, in turn, into Latin in the canonical Vulgate. Let us assume the following step was its incorporation into the Archbishop's Medieval Catalan statement in lively discourse. Finally this became a text in James' chronicle –we cannot be absolutely sure that this is the whole transmission chain. Only the lapse dealt with here, however, was relevant to the participants, and so, to the interpretation of the *Book* 52: 1-5.

command of the former than the latter. Compare [2] and [3], i.e. Catalan/Spanish vs. Catalan/French code-switching.

3.2.1. Catalan/Spanish

[Excerpt 2]

Then Guillem Boí and Pere Sanç Martell entered into our presence and Guillem Boí said to the Queen: “Lady,” he said, “Do not weep, except as much as may comfort you. For through the tears that a man sheds he loses the rancour that he holds and these tears will all be turned into joy, and your anger will pass.” (22: 25-29)¹³ (p.40)

In [2], the speaker addresses Queen Elinor, King James’ first wife and King Alfonso of Castile’s daughter. It appears then as an addressee-oriented code-switching. Notice that the grammatically coherent Spanish fragments speak to an alleged competence in the language, so much so that pieces from the stock of Spanish idiomatic resources and ways of speaking are mobilized. Indeed, the chunk “through the tears that a man sheds he loses the rancour that he holds”, with its original parallelism (“per las lágrimas que hombre geta perde la sayne que homne ha”), looks like a proverb –which, moreover, means that two kinds of code-switching co-occur or overlap: cross-language and in-language alternation code-switching. This point is developed in 3.3.

3.2.2. Catalan/French

[Excerpt 3]

Then, at that, Alart de Valery got to his feet and said: “Sire, this matter is a great matter, and though many men having gone there over such a long time, they have never been able to take it. Now, if kings and many great men have crossed to Outremer, and they have not been able to obtain it, so I hold for good advice what the Master of the Temple has said.”¹⁴ (534: 1-5)

This extract is from the narrative on the Church council assembled in the French town of Lyon, to which James was called by Pope Gregory X to debate on the contingent launch of a crusade to the Holy Land. Mimic-French words repeatedly appear in the actors’ speech across this and adjacent chapters. Opposite to what we observed in [2], in [3] there is no display of a high competence in the language. Instead, a number of instances of mainly insertional code-switching appear in Valery’s discourse.

Mimic-words in one of the languages in a code-switching style may range from mere unskillful imitation –because of an incomplete knowledge of the language– in one extreme to mocking in the other. Even if difficult to assess, mocking must be excluded here –although it is not quite sure that it is to be excluded everywhere in the *Book*, mainly in less formal circumstances and passages.

However, the important point here is whether such a style did ever exist in actual face to face communication or is to be understood just as a literary trick or a “sociostylized” description. We cannot judge [3] in terms of our current concept of a monolithic national standard modern language. We know that intercultural communication between Catalan Christians and Muslims was usually mediated by translators –as a number of passages in the *Book* itself attest. It is not implausible, however, that

¹³ *E entrà denant nós G. Boý e Pere Sanç Martel, e dix G. Boý a la reyna: “Dona –dix él–, no plorets, pero tanto vos porets conortar, que per las lágrimas que hombre geta perde la sayne que homne ha. E estas lágrimas tornaran todas en goyo, e passársevos á la ira.” (22: 25-29)*

¹⁴ *E sobre açó levà’s en peus N’Alart de Valari e dix: “Sire, cesta xosa, sí és gran xosa, que tant home à lay passat tan lonch temps e anch aquel no l’an pou haver. Ora, sí a passet en Oltramer reys e molt alt hom e no l’an pou haver; per què je tench por bien le conseyl que dist lo maestre del Temple”. (534: 1-5)*

communication between Christians who spoke close languages –then closer than now– might occasionally be an unmediated unskillful approach to each other’s language.¹⁵

Turning to the code-switching structure of [3], not only the number of insertional switches occurring in it is relevant, but their grammatical type too. Indeed, we observe vocatives (*Sire*), discourse markers (*ora*), generics (*xosa*), determiners (*cesta*), nouns (*Outremer*), pronouns (*je*), verbal forms (*pou, passet, dist*) as well as locutions (*tench por bien*). Both the number and variety of cases cast doubt over whether this should not be interpreted as mixed-code or lectal-fusion-like types of bilingual communication rather than code-switching.¹⁶ Indeed there are cues that eventually might suggest such an interpretation. However, since conscious linguistic mimicry is at work here, social/pragmatic meaning –proper to code-switching– is conveyed. And since other formal conditions –predictability, grammaticalization– are not met, I tentatively interpret Valery’s discourse as a token of a really peculiar type of code-switching. A fresh sense of orality is transmitted through a deliberate use of sociostylistic means and meanings.

3.3. Code-switching without language alternation

Let us now comment on the case of code-switching without language alternation or in-language code-switching.¹⁷ Notice what has been remarked apropos of [2], in which language alternation code-switching (Catalan/Spanish) and code-switching within one language (Spanish) co-occur or overlap. For the sake of convenience I repeat the piece of reported discourse therein as [4]:

[Excerpt 4]

“Lady,” he said, “Do not weep, except as much as may comfort you. For through the tears that a man sheds he loses the rancour that he holds and these tears will all be turned into joy, and your anger will pass.”

For convenience –with no theoretical intention–, let us represent code-switching transition points in our material as sets of ordered pairs in which the first element represents the last word of one code sequence and the second element represents the first word of another code sequence.¹⁸ In [4] Catalan/Spanish (or vice-versa) code-switching points are (*weep, except*), (*as, may*), (*through, the*). I contend that a new type of in-language code-switching appears in the transition point (*holds, and*).¹⁹ As noted, this point introduces what probably was a Spanish proverb. I understand that this implies a switch in the codes out of which this piece of discourse is built up. A new voice –not the wise ancient

¹⁵ Clear cases of this appear in passages such as chapter 479, in which a successful non-convergent dialogue between the kings of Castile, King James and a third person takes place. Here again a difference in the mastering of Ibero-Romance vis-à-vis Gallo-Romance emerges.

¹⁶ I take advantage of Auer’s (1998) proposed stages from insertional code-switching to lectal fusion in his evolutionary view of bilingual conversation, at least from a descriptive (proto)typological point of view. This entails neither acceptance nor refusal of his developmental thesis –indeed this is meant to establishing directional patterns of transition rather than incontrovertible diachronic evolution (e.g. his examples are taken from different language-pair cases, which highlights his –at least provisional– typology-like suggestions).

¹⁷ Some authors allow for a fourth possibility: the occurrence of language alternation without code-switching. This foregrounds the idea that the notion of “language” remains as strictly “structural” or “systematic”, while the notion of “code” –which may imply or not the use of systematically distinct material– is clearly to be defined at the level of intentionalities, discourse, interaction and social meaning. See, e.g. Álvarez-Cáccamo (1998). This fourth possibility has not been investigated here.

¹⁸ This is relatively easier to apply in our material because of its written character. Obviously, it will be inapplicable to oral code-switching because of both the intrinsic issue of segmenting speech into units, with the obvious consequence of defining what an “oral word” is, and the intrinsic issue of defining sequentially these code-switching transitions. As it is well known, code-switching may be triggered by overlapping ambivalent elements whose definition in terms of exclusive codes would be to the least questionable (Woolard 1999). This makes this notation a misrepresentation even for written language code-switching, since both “languages” and eventually both “codes” may overlap in one word. The reader will do better to take the use of this procedure here as an arbitrary notation.

¹⁹ In the original text: (*plorets, pero*), (*vos, porets*), (*per, las*); (*ha, e*), respectively.

sacred voice as was the case in [1], but the common people's voice of wisdom— incorporates into discourse. The use of this proverbial voice adds reliability to Guillem Boí's already cross-language switching voice in addressing Queen Elinor. That is, both language alternation and in-language code-switching entail changes in the speaker's voice and cause the appearance of a double-voiced or even polyphonic discourse. The addresser takes advantage of verbal resources deeply associated with Queen Elinor's earlier language experience to create new alignments. In a way his multiple-voiced discourse indexes her source identity and his change of footing indexes what is going on.

What is at stake is neither mere accommodation nor mere situational code-switching, but again the social actors' metalinguistic and metapragmatic management of verbal resources. Analyses that equal code-switching to language alternation have only recognized a part of the resources that are being mobilized here. Moreover these analyses have interpreted this cross-language code-switching as backwardly presupposing the situational context in terms of which actors make up meaning (Badia 1987). Actually all the resources uncovered here forwardly entail a new definition of the context and the actors' roles and relationship.²⁰

Many cases of Catalan in-language code-switching could be brought in both reported and narrative discourse in the *Book*; some of them also involve recourse to proverbial material while others are based on the juxtaposition of other kinds of contrastive verbal resources and intentional voices.

4. Final remarks

So far I have remarked certain similarities and differences between [1], [2] and [3] in terms of language systems, structural features, textual function in discourse, intentions and cultural meaning. I have foregrounded the metalinguistic and metapragmatic management of resources in all types of code-switching. Further I have commented on the difference between cross-language and in-language code-switching, as it appears exemplified at a time in [2].²¹ Multiple-voiced discourse has appeared to be highly relevant in the interpretation of code-switching, mainly in [1] and [2].²² Moreover I have suggested that some cases, namely [2], usually interpreted as situational code-switching, i.e. situation-induced, might be looked at as redefining the relationship and alignments between participants in the communicative event.

4.1. Code-switching, reported discourse, metapragmatic regime and verbal culture specifics

Now I shall refer to some differences and similarities between [1], [2] and [3], and between [2] and [1], respectively. The former refer to the metapragmatic regime (Silverstein, 1993) of their reproduced reported discourse—here I take this label as a cover term. The latter refer to the distinctive ideological role of different forms of “reported discourse” or, better, “voice-appropriation”. In a sense then all these remarks are related to this cover-term notion of reported discourse.

Actually all the excerpts present the reported discourse as framed within the narrative, i.e. their metapragmatic regime is established within the narrative itself and grammatically they are cases of direct reported discourse.²³ There are, however, subtle differences between these reproduced speeches. [1] is the only case in which reported speech appears within reported speech. In [1] then there appear different metapragmatic regimes too: one introduced by the narrative itself, hence by the narrator's agency, another introduced by the actor's. Moreover, as has been remarked, the propositional content of the embedded reported speech equals the propositional content of the quotation with which the embedding reported speech opens. In [2] there is no trace of reported speech within reported speech itself. Finally in [3] a speech act and its discursive content (a would-be reported discourse) is pointed at

²⁰ In fact this is not Badia's formulation. He keeps to the earlier Blom and Gumperz's notion of “situational code-switching”. For the indexical relations of “backwardly presupposition” and “forwardly entailment”, see Silverstein (1996).

²¹ Obviously, what is stated apropos of [2] holds straightaway for [4], from which it has been extracted.

²² Indeed, I skipped to analyze [3] in terms of multiple-voiced discourse, given its ambiguity in several respects.

²³ With some variation, such as the reduplicated regime that appears in [2]: “and Guillem Boí *said* to the Queen: “Lady,” *he said*, “Do not weep...”

or alluded to, namely, the Master of the Temple's advice –which has a transposed metapragmatic regime.²⁴

In [1] we find not only a code-switching into a highly linguistically connoted code, but indeed a quotation from an ideologically connoted source as a type of authority-making discourse. I think that quotation as such should be distinguished from plain reported speech from everyday life as it appears in [2] and [3]. Notice, however, that the in-language code-switching in [2] takes on a quotation-like character if the Spanish stretch contains, as suggested, a proverb. This, though an orally transmitted verbal genre, is after all a quotation from the language repository of metaphorical and formally patterned ways of speaking. However, we should not be led to a contingent dichotomy. As a matter of fact, both the quotation from written sources might have been acquired through oral transmission and the proverb, a *prima facie* oral genre, might have been acquired from written sources. The unmarked assumption is, however, that decontextualization is at play in the former but not the latter. Entextualization and eventually double-voicing are at play in both.

Let us pursue our argument. Both traditional-source quotation and plain reported discourse have an immediately indexical value, but not an identical one. They are forms of voice-appropriation, but they are enacted at different orders of semiotic relevancy. A Latin quotation and a Spanish proverb have different kinds of ideological purport for the speakers. Finally, the value of plain reported speech is not uniquely defined. It depends on contextual and social features, such as the social hierarchy of the person whose discourse is reported or the speaker's entitlement to reproduce another's discourse.²⁵ We observe then a typological gradation in the ideological and social meaning of forms of reported speech, understood as a cover-term identifying a discursive and interactive pragmatic category that later may be culturally modulated.

In view of these considerations, I suggest that a split of the single opposition “direct reported speech/indirect reported speech” into (i) “quotation/reported speech” and (ii) “direct/indirect style” is needed. The latter is rooted in grammar and discourse, the former in discourse and verbal culture. Or, were one to believe that everything in language is cultural –or at least that both (i) and (ii) are embedded in verbal culture–,²⁶ it should be admitted that quotation from Latin sources has a higher ideological import –and is hardly challenged– than everyday reported oral discourse has, and both convey higher ideological and authorizing meaning than either direct or indirect style *per se*.

These considerations are hence relevant to the extent that, as it can be easily seen, the cases presented here suggest that code-switching in the *Book* appears in direct reported speech in a broad sense. This is the prototypical case, but not the only one. Switching in indirect speech or even narrative itself also occurs (Argenter, forthcoming).²⁷

4.2. Code-switching and multiple-voiced discourse

A clear relationship between code-switching and multiple voiced discourse emerges both in [1] and [2]. In a natural way, then, these cases of code-switching are properly handled as cases of a multiple-voiced discourse –and maybe this shall be extended to code-switching in general.

To the extent that voice may be defined as the social intentions words are invested in situated discourse across an everlasting history of continuous meaning-construction, “speakers never are sole owners of the intentionality the words communicate”, and meaning-construction is a social open-ended process. As the analyzed excerpts suggest, “voices are evoked by circumstances, and can speak through people at the same time as people speak through them” (Woolard, forthcoming).

²⁴ “...so I hold for good *advice* what the Master of the Temple *has said*.” Slightly different, to my ears, from the original “...per què je tench por bien *le conseil que dist* lo maestre del Temple.”

²⁵ Argenter (ms.) analyzes this point.

²⁶ Actually neither all languages at any given moment in their evolution know the direct/indirect style distinction nor do they make the same use of these resources. The distinction involves the use of different grammatical mechanisms, but both styles serve to a discourse-driven communicational strategy.

²⁷ I have detected even a surprising, if dubious, case of free indirect style –a too modern feature, indeed, for a medieval chronicle.

Though eventually code-switching, with or without language alternation, may be handled as double- or multiple-voiced discourse, this cannot be equated to the former. It has been remarked that multiple-voiced discourse is not necessarily linked to code-switching in either sense. Rather code-switching is just one of the formal means through which multiple-voiced discourse surfaces –that is, one of the possible ways in which intentionalities are encoded in surface linguistic forms in a certain context, with special purposes.

5. Conclusions

Code-switching has usually been analyzed as an oral and synchronic phenomenon. This paper explores whether code-switching appeared in earlier times and communities, and whether, were this the case, it can be studied through written records, to the extent that these permit the retrieval of small pieces of transient moments from oral discourse at the time. This means that we are concerned with verbal culture understood as an outcome of the speakers' metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness and agency.

These issues are explored in a Medieval Catalan chronicle. Cases of code-switching have been identified and typologically described. These cases involve the pairs Catalan/Latin, Catalan/Spanish, Catalan/French, which are just a sample of language pairs in the chronicle. Besides cross-language code-switching, in-language code-switching has been considered too.

The selected code pairs differ not only as to the language systems involved, but as to structural features, typological form of code-switching, metalinguistic and metapragmatic management of verbal resources, textual processes, multiple-voicing, metapragmatic regimes, and ideological import. This variation is related to discursive purposes and to the role of code-switching styles in the organization of verbal culture. Intentionality appears as an underlying commonality in these categories.

The particular role of Latin in Medieval culture entails a curious phenomenon in Latin/Catalan code-switching. What socially appears to be a straight metalinguistic relationship between interpreted and interpreting codes, semiotically turns out to be reversed into an ideological relationship between interpreting and interpreted codes. This is not a property of the use of Latin language, but of Latin quotations from a culturally highly connoted source in the context of a duplicated or paraphrasing Catalan discourse.

Descriptive categories such as metaphorical vs. situational code-switching are superseded by an indexical (contextualizing) and multiple-voiced approach. On the evidence of the qualitative complexity of the relationship between codes, "direct/indirect reported discourse" is understood as a cover-term and a split is suggested into "quotation/plain reported discourse" and "direct/indirect styles". The latter are rooted in grammar and discourse, the former in discourse and verbal culture. This implies a scale of ideological and cultural relevance.

I think that the question in the title of this article has been tentatively answered. The reader will realize that, in the long run, it was a bit of a rhetorical question.

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