

A Model for the Functional Interpretation of Code-Switching in NNS-NS Contact Situations

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1. Introduction

This paper has two interrelated aims. Firstly, to offer a model that examines different functions of code-switching within the speech of NNSs in a contact environment, and secondly, through the application of this model, to empirically investigate instances of code-switching (CS) within the spoken English of first generation Finnish Australians. I shall first offer a review of previous literature related to this study before presenting the model and methodology chosen for this investigation. My discussion of the results will clearly show that not all forms of CS are always successful communication strategies.

2. Literature review

In general, functional operational strategies of a speaker's use of CS are often related to communicative strategies in the maintenance of L1, on which there is a vast amount of literature. Yet, there appears to be no published empirical study on the actual communicative strategies underlying code-switching in a NNS-NS contact situation. Even so, this, and the ensuing, section will briefly review the earlier seminal, and more recent, studies on communicative strategies (Kachru 1978, Poplack 1980, Gumperz 1982, Bialystok 1983, Færch and Kasper 1983, Tarone 1983), briefly discuss more recent work in sociolinguistic interpretation of code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993, Määttänen and Nissi 1994, Milroy and Muysken 1995, Kasper and Kellerman 1997, Auer 1998) and then offer a discussion of potential various functions of code-switching in a NNS-NS situation, as a prelude to the taxonomic model being offered in this paper.

Kachru (1978:107) makes two suppositions, "that there is language (or dialect) contact, and that there are functional or pragmatic reasons for the use of code-switching (CS) or code-mixing (CM)". He equates CM with language dependency and CS with language manifestation. CS entails the ability to switch between code A and code B, the choice being determined by the function, the situation and the participants. "It refers to categorisation of one's verbal repertoire in terms of functions and roles. Functionally, CS may be used to express extreme anger, disapproval, in-group membership, asides and solidarity. CS can be a marker of an attitude, intensity of emotions, or various types of identities" (Kachru 1978:107-8). CM, on the other hand, is perceived by Kachru to be the transference of linguistic units from one code to another. This results in the development of a new restricted or not so restricted code of linguistic interaction (e.g. Westernised Hindi; register-specific mixing; Army Hindustani).

Kachru's approach seems to assume that bi/multilingual speakers are consciously aware of their use of CS and CM. That they deliberately code-switch when shifting register or identity. Likewise with CM, that they consciously mix to effectively communicate or identify with a particular group. He specifically states that "CM is used as a device for elucidation and interpretation - to avoid vagueness or ambiguity (Kachru 19878: 111)". However, what if the speakers are not competent in their L2? Their communicative strategies are likely to be quite different. Kachru's definition of CM differs considerably from that of Lauttamus (1990, 1991, 1998) and Watson (1998). This difference will be addressed in greater detail below. Even so, Kachru highlights the need to re-examine preconceived ideas surrounding CM:

It is evident that we generally seem to accept CM in its “fossilised” forms. We are, however, hesitant to accept CM as a synchronic linguistic phenomenon, and at most tolerate it as a communication device without seriously recognising its functional value. This attitude is clearly indicated in our attitude to CM varieties, such as Tex-Mex... on the whole, in linguistic literature, such phenomena has been treated as linguistic exotica. (Kachru 1978:119)

Poplack (1980: 581) states that “CS proceeds from that area of the bilingual’s grammar where the surface structures of L1 and L2 overlap, and that CS, rather than representing debasement of linguistic skill, is actually a sensitive measurement of bilingual ability.” This may be so, but this seems to only describe the speech of a “balanced bilingual”. Can one say the same for those bilinguals who have not so successfully acquired L2? Poplack (1980: 596) attributes a variety of functions to her informants’ use of CS: editing phenomena (hesitations, false starts), repetition, fillers, interjections, tags, quotations and idiomatic expressions. She also recognises (Poplack 1980: 608) that other extralinguistic factors contribute to the occurrence of CS, such as sex, age of L2 acquisition, reported bilingual ability, education, age, social network membership, ethnic identity and work place.

Gumperz (1982:75-80) addresses particular social functions for the use of CS. He, like Poplack, claims it is used for the marking of quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration and message qualification. Gumperz believes:

The study of CS exchanges leads to the conclusion that members have their own socially defined notions of code or grammatical system. Although such notions are often substantially different from those derived through linguistic analysis or taught in standard grammars, it is nevertheless clear that in situations such as we have discussed, effective speaking presupposes sociolinguistically based inferences about where systemic boundaries lie, speakers rely on these notions to categorise and lump together sets of grammatical rules at various levels of structure, to relate speech to non-linguistic environment and to generalise indirect conversational inferences. (Gumperz 1982:99)

Bialystok (1983: 100) discusses the implementation of various communication strategies employed by NNSs including language switching (CS), foreignising native language, and transliteration. She claims that the best strategies “are those which are based in the target language and take account of the specific features of the intended concept” and that “the best strategy users are those who have adequate formal proficiency in the target language and are able to modify their strategy selection to account for the nature of the specific concept to be conveyed (Bialystok 1983: 116).” This observation tends to suggest that when communicating with a native speaker of the target language CS is not the most successful communication strategy to adopt.

Færch and Kasper (1983) pay attention to the fact that CS can also be a sign of production difficulties in the target language. Speaking a second language can present problems in speech production which can lead to avoidance or reduction strategies or, alternatively, achievement strategies (1983: 37). Avoidance strategies include formal reduction strategies, that is, a reduced system (phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical) in order to avoid producing non-fluent or incorrect utterances, and functional reduction strategies, which may include modal reduction, reduction of propositional content through topic avoidance, message abandonment or meaning replacement (Færch and Kasper 1983: 52). With achievement strategies, the speaker tries to expand his communicative resources with the use of compensatory strategies which include code-switching, interlingual transfer, inter/intralingual transfer, interlanguage based strategies (generalisation, paraphrase, word coinage, restructuring) co-operative strategies and non-linguistic strategies. Færch and Kasper also refer to these achievement strategies as compensatory strategies. I shall show that, in the case of my Finnish informants, the use of CS should not always be regarded as an achievement strategy but, rather, also as a reductive one. There are several ways in which a speaker may indicate he is facing a problem in communication. These might include hesitation pauses, draws, repetition, self-repairs, and direct appeals for assistance, where he uses the interlocutor as a resource. These appeals for assistance can be sub-classified into three categories: direct self-initiated other-repair, indirect self-initiated other-repair and self-initiated self-repairs. These will be further discussed below.

Tarone (1983) raises a discussion on just what a communication strategy is. She makes the distinction between sociolinguistic competence and communication strategies, arguing that communication strategies “are used to compensate for some lack in the linguistic system, and focus on exploring alternate ways of using what one does not know for the transmission of a message, without necessarily considering situational appropriateness” (Tarone 1983: 64), whereas with sociolinguistic competence it is assumed that there is a shared knowledge of the social norms between the interlocutors. Tarone includes the following strategies for consideration: paraphrase (approximation, word coinage, circumlocution), borrowing (literal translation, language switch, appeal for assistance, mime) and avoidance (topic avoidance, message abandonment) and proposes (Tarone 1983; 65) the following criteria when defining a communication strategy:

1. a speaker desires to communicate a meaning X to a listener;
2. the speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate meaning X is unavailable, or is not shared with the listener;
3. the speaker chooses to:
 - (a) avoid - not attempt to communicate meaning X; or,
 - (b) attempt alternate means to communicate meaning X. The speaker stops trying alternatives when it seems clear to the speaker that there is shared meaning.

As a sequel to the seminal work found within Færch and Kasper (1983), Kasper and Kellerman (1997) have put together a collection of papers concerned with psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic interpretations of communication strategies. The most pertinent of these for this paper being the work of Yule and Tarone (1997) who address various approaches to communication strategies, offering various pros and cons, an examination of different types of communication strategies and various methodological and pedagogical issues.

Myers-Scotton (1993), with her markedness theory of CS, states that speakers make choices because they are able to consider the social consequences of these choices. Under this model CS occurs due to one of four motivations: (1) CS as a sequence of unmarked choices; (2) CS itself as the unmarked choice; (3) CS as a marked choice; and (4) CS as an exploratory choice. The underlying premise of this model is that all speakers have a “markedness metric”, an innate, internalised model which enables them to recognise that all code choices are more or less “unmarked” or “marked”. See Myers-Scotton (1993: 150) for further explanation.

Two recent publications, Milroy and Muysken (1995) and Auer (1998), both collected editions, present many articles on the intricacies of CS and borrowing, containing structural approaches, sociolinguistic standpoints or then articles that investigate the notions of power and negotiation in bilingual conversations. However, little of this recent work dwells upon the issue of CS in a NNS-NS contact environment, nor do they pay any particular attention to functional communication strategies.

As with previous scholarly work, the current underlying premise in this field seems to be that bilingual speakers are (a) balanced bi/multilinguals and (b) have a full understanding of the social norms of the targeted L2. But this is not always the case, in fact, in a contact situation, a second language acquisition environment, it most often is not the case. It appears that apart from the aforementioned work of Færch and Kasper (1983) and Tarone (1983) and more recent work by Ellis (1994) and Kasper and Kellerman (1997) there is a certain reluctance to recognise the role of CS in the interlanguage of NNSs or then the role of CS in what may not be their interlanguage but rather their more finalised form of the L2. As we shall see, CS is not necessarily always a successful communication strategy. Granted, speakers may recognise the markedness of their CS in an L2 environment and they may be consciously aware of their choice to code-switch, but usually in a NNS-NS contact situation CS more often than not leads to a breakdown in communication rather than to successful communication. The following section will propose a model designed to examine this apparently rarely researched, yet prevalently used, form of CS.

3. Model

The nature of this model is exploratory. It is one in progress and open for discussion. It draws, in part, upon the work of Færch and Kasper (1983), Lauttamus (1990, 1991, 1998), and Yule and Tarone (1997). I propose that with CS there is a continuum of interactional co-operation between two or more interlocutors in any given NNS-NS situation, ranging from least successful communication strategies to most successful communication strategies. The degree of co-operation is dependent upon whether the speaker adopts an achievement strategy or then a reduction strategy when attempting to overcome the difficulty at hand in conveying or understanding a message. Achievement strategies are more interactional than reduction strategies. Before presenting the placement of particular CS strategies along this proposed continuum it is best to define each of them in turn. Hence, this section will first present the particular strategies under consideration for inclusion before presenting the model in question. The following section will then discuss the methodology applied.

3.1 Appeals for assistance

Yule and Tarone (1997: 20) offer a comprehensive list of types of communication strategies (building upon the earlier work of Færch and Kasper (1983) *et al*), making a distinction between those which are holistic, analytic, instances of transfer, morpho-creation, reduction and interactive. Yet, for our purposes we need to be able to recognise finer distinctions between the types of CS being employed, that is, there are many differing forms of “transfer”. In agreement with Yule and Tarone’s (1997: 20) categorisation I would state that appeals for assistance are the most interactive form of communication. Along these lines we can have communication strategies known as repairs. These can be further divided into three sub-categories: direct self-initiated other repairs (DSO), indirect self-initiated other-repairs (ISO), and self-initiated self-repairs (SS).

3.2 Direct self-initiated other repairs (*dso*)

(1) Heart, uh diamonds, cross, and uh, how you [called] that, last one, the English name. **Pata**, what’s a **pata**? **Pata, kattila suomeksi**, Finnish?
(FAEC 1 A 16)ⁱ

In (1) the informant is unable to correctly recall the four suits in a deck of cards. He mistakenly refers to clubs as “cross” (a case of semantic contiguity from the Finnish “risti” for “cross”) and is unable to recall the English for spades, instead using “pata”, the Finnish equivalent. He then directly asks for assistance, in both English (“what’s a pata?”) and then switches to the same appeal in Finnish (“Pata, kattila suomeksi”ⁱⁱ, Finnish?). This sample is an obvious case of direct self-initiated other repair. He appeals directly to his interlocutor to provide the missing lexicon.

3.3 Indirect self-initiated other repairs (*iso*)

(2) (What do you call that evening meal?)
Itapala. In suomi.
(What would you call it in English? What would Aussies call it?)
I ((WHISPERS))
(FAEC 1 A 37)

Sample (2) is indicative of an indirect self-initiated other repair (ISO). The informant’s reply to the question is in the form of a CS. In the following sentence she then signals to the listener that she has switched, by stating “In suomi”, which is a mixed sentence meaning *in Finnish* (stemming from **Suomeksi** = suomi + translatiivi). The original question by the interlocutor is left open, unanswered, as such, because the Finnish answer has been left unattended to, awaiting interpretation, or explication by the listener. But because this is not provided communication breaks down. In sample (2), the appeal for assistance is subtle yet unsuccessful. However, in sample (3) the informant is more successful:

(3) Aa, ja taas en minä muista suomen sanat ää, his vocal cords.
(Nii-i äänihuulet.)
Were seared by the heat.
(Source: Määttänen and Nissi 1994: 26)

In this extract we have a maintenance situation, L1 being Finnish. The informant is struggling to recall the Finnish term for vocal cords and actually informs the listener of his difficulty (**ja taas en minä muista suomen sanat ää** = and again I don't remember the Finnish words, ah). In this case the interlocutor's appeal for assistance is successful, the listener provides the required term (äänihuulet) and the conversation continues, but in English.

3.4 Self-initiated self-repairs (SS)

(4) Uh I + uh went through **kansakoulu**. When it's uh, uh, ++ it's , it's not really uh what you, I, I don't know, uh, **peruskoulu ny**, these days they, I think they talking **peruskoulu**, this is, this means that you have uh, six years, ++ six years in the school.
(FAEC 1 A 41)

Sample (4) is an example of a self-initiated self-repair (SS). The English equivalent of **peruskoulu** is primary school. Although the informant is unable to call upon this term, he repairs his CS by offering an explanation of what peruskoulu means. This technique could also be referred to as circumlocution via CS or, alternatively, exemplification of CS. It is a clear example of interactive communication in an attempt to breakdown the potential misunderstanding.

3.5 Reinforcement by repetition (RR)

All of the above instances of repairs are examples of achievement strategies. However, another co-operative achievement strategy, one which requires less co-operation between the speaker and listener, is reinforcement by repetition. Note, a repeated utterance would be categorised as such if it consisted of L1 embedded amongst L2. However, if it were the reverse it would be classified as a repair. Sample (5) highlights the use of reinforcement by repetition.

(5) Or I do weaving sometimes, but I haven't got my loom in up now because, the school.
Weaving, you know.
(Mhm.)
Kutoo kangaspuilla.
(Mhm. Um...)
Exercise and walking, that's what I do.
(FAEC 1 A 14)

In (5) the informant replies to an enquiry about favourite hobbies or pastimes. The listener is told that she likes to weave on a loom. This seems quite clear but the informant feels the need to reinforce this statement with a Finnish explanation: **kutoo kangaspuilla**. *Kutoa* is the verb to weave and *kangaspuut* is a weaving apparatus (to weave on a loom). After this reinforcement she then moves onto other favourites pastimes. In this procedure we can notice a reverse procedure from the above mentioned repairs. In those, the listener receives the CS and then has it repaired or receives a request to help in the repair. Here, we receive the answer in English, but then also receive a subsequent CS, as if the informant is trying to consolidate her original statement. Of course, to a listener unfamiliar with L1 this only leads to a reduction in the success of the original communication. Although the speaker is employing a form of co-operation, trying to expand upon her earlier explanation in L2, as it were, this leads to potential misunderstanding. Hence, along a cline, this communication strategy is less successful than the earlier mentioned repairs because it is less successfully interactional.

Along a cline from most to least successful communication, arranged in descending order, the above communication strategies would be arranged DSO, ISO, SS, and RR. DSO and ISO strategies are co-operative in nature because the speaker either directly or indirectly invites the listener to interact, to assist in the repair. SS strategies, however, are less co-operative because the speakers attempt to solve the communicative problems by themselves. RR strategies are even less co-operative because the reiteration of the utterance in L1, originally stated in L2, creates potential confusion, even though the objective of the strategy is one of achievement, rather than reduction.

To this point I have only discussed achievement strategies, but speakers can also, and often do, employ reduction strategies, those which avoid searching for the appropriate lexical items or substitutes. So far I have used the expression CS as a blanket term, but for this model I claim that there are different sub-classifications of CS: code-changes (CC), code-mixing (CM) and nonce loans (N). These, too, are arranged along a cline of successful communication, with nonce loans being less successful than RRs but more successful than code-mixing, and code-changing being the least successful strategy of them all, apart from complete topic avoidance through silence.

3.6 *Nonce loans (N)*

The operational grammar of a nonce loan is the morpho-syntactic recipient language (RL) grammar. The phonology can be source language (SL) or RL. Nonce loans are:

“Characterised by smooth transitions from English into Finnish and demonstrate a high degree of morphological and syntactic integration into the host language discourse.” (Lauttamus 1990: 43)

The phonology, however, can be either SL or RL. Often the nonce loan is an instance of lexical borrowing from the SL, but it is in the form of the common case, or base form, (with respect to English) of the RL operational grammar.

From a functional perspective:

“The transition is smooth, and no hesitation phenomena can be detected. By and large, items such as these can be analysed as part of the speaker’s interlanguage vocabulary, on a ½ way point between a code-mix and a fully established loan. From a functional point of view, nonce loans are best characterised in terms of the strategy called interlingual transfer.” (Lauttamus 1990: 43-44)

Although some nonce loans cannot be deemed as smoothly integrated, the presence of RL grammar determines it to be a nonce, rather than a mix.

(6) Well, today, I speak uh, I’d say , 80 **prosent** Finnish, 20 **prosent** English. (FAEC 1A17).

(7) **Fiiili**, you know, the Finnish, what the Finnish, what the Finnish people eat, the **fiiili**? (FAEC 1A16)

(8) Ja concert what, with was only the last Friday, that’s uh, Pavarotti and uh, [Feliciano], you know, those, uh 3 [famous] **tenoris** concert. (FAEC 1A16)

(9) Ette working those, uh, now, how you [called] the place? [Embassy], you know. The **Sveitsi’s** embassy. (FAEC1A16)

3.7 *Code mixes (CM)*

The operational grammar, particularly the morphology, of a code mix is the SL grammar. The “majority of code-mixes are single-word items” (Lauttamus 1990:39). The SL word is not typically grammatically fully integrated into the RL and usually (if not a discourse particle) the transition is non-

smooth. That is, it has not been smoothly incorporated into the surrounding discourse. The morphology is SL. Most SL discourse markers and slips of the tongue are recognised as mixes.

(10) But this, this is a rich country and uh, they can do much more to make money to **Australiaan** if they + like, I don't know why.
(FAEC 1A3)

(11) And we eat it when it's hot and uh, we can eat it in [cold] too, but sometime we + heat it..., it in oven, then **voi** eat later.
(FAEC 1A3)

(12) Oh, here, oh, **joo**, oh, young when I was at the Finland...
(FAEC 1A16)

3.8 Code-changes (CC)

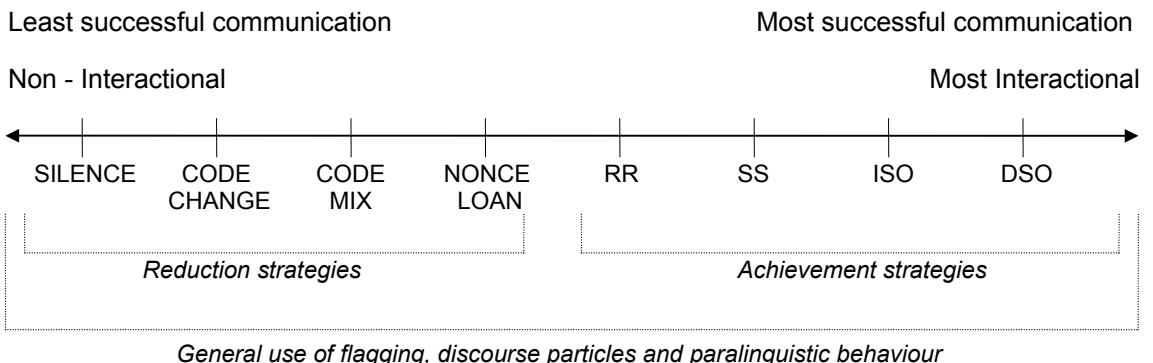
Unambiguous code-changes are “multi-word fragments which are lexically, syntactically and morphologically” (Poplack *et al* 1987:38) source language material in the recipient language. It is characteristic of code-changes that the SL (Finnish) grammar and lexicon are operational on the switched items (cf. Pietilä 1989: 194-197; Lauttamus 1990: 6-9; 32-36). (Lauttamus 1998). Extracts (13) and (14) exemplify instances of code-changes.

(13) But most of the Australians they did what I said, they did, they don't care, Australians they don't care, somebody say the work, they do the work and they don't care, but Italians, they all, they do their own way. They think, Au..., Australians they stupid, **pahastiha sitä sanottiin mutta nii** they not, they not, they nice, but they more uh free [thinking] than what's, what's are the, many [others]. You know, the easy going.
(FAEC 1A3)

(14) And then I, I work on the summer time but winter time wasn't that much work on uh, had to do the something and < > on Finland, **Keikyä, nii, me ollan käsityön tekijöitä, mentiin, joka, joka talossa tehdään käsitöitä.**
(FAEC 1A3)

The proposed continuum, which is based on the above descriptions of achievement and reduction strategies, is:

A Continuum of Interactional Co-operation



Across the two key strategies of achievement and reduction we can have shared domains, that is, both strategies can, and often do, employ other functional techniques. These include flagging (which includes pauses, filled pauses, fillers, elongated syllables and repetition) and discourse particles or markers (these can include, for example, “what you call”, “you know” and so on). In addition to these functions, the speaker may also employ a variety of paralinguistic behaviour.

The main claim of this paper is to show that CS should not always be considered a fully successful strategy in a NNS -NS contact environment. A second, related, claim is that in this environment CS exists in different forms and that these very forms can be then subdivided yet again, into those discussed above. Achievement strategies are more indicative of more successful communication than reduction strategies. However, as shall be shown in the discussion section, it is possible for instances of code-changes, code-mixes or nonces to be classified as RR, SS, ISO or DSO. For instance, extract (1) is an example of a code-change but the speaker has employed a DSO communication strategy, so it has been categorised as an achievement strategy rather than a reduction strategy.

4. Methodology

This model was applied to the Finnish Australian English Corpus (FAEC), which contains a total of 120 recorded interviews. Of these there are 60 1As (first generation Finns), 30 1Bs (children of that first generation) and 30 2NDs (second generation Finns born in Australia). All 60 first generation interviews have been fully transcribed and digitised. Both sexes are equally represented in this generational group. Refer to Watson (1996) for a detailed description of the FAEC.

This article is concerned with the spoken English of first generation Finnish emigrants living in Australia. Each interview consists of approximately 6, 000 words. Hence, the total, approximate size of the corpus being examined here is 360 000 words. A computer search of this corpus isolated all instances of Finnish. Any instances of Finnish which may have been inadvertently initiated or prompted by the interviewer were disregarded. I also disregarded other cases where the speakers referred to proper nouns for which there are no English equivalents. For example, the following refers to a type of Finnish folk dance:

(15) And quite a few of them haven't been there before so they want to learn little of **Jenkka** and these Finnish dances before we go.
(FAEC 1A53)

The remaining instances were then sorted according to the classifications presented in the above model. All samples were cross-checked by a Finnish assistant. After this initial search all findings were then sub-classified according to gender. Other extralinguistic criteria, such as social network membership, age, ethnic identity, reported bilingual ability, educational level and age of L2 acquisition is virtually homogenous for this group under study, hence sub-classification according to these criteria would prove fruitless. As a group, the Finnish immigrants under study all arrived in Australia in their late 20's to mid 30's during the 1960s and 1970s (their mean age upon arrival was 30 and their current mean age is 59), they interact at all social levels with other Finns, identify strongly with the local Finnish community and Finland, and recognise that their fluency is not equal to that of *balanced bilinguals*, most having not known English at all upon arrival to Australia. Collectively, most of the informants had had no further schooling than lower secondary school.

5. Results

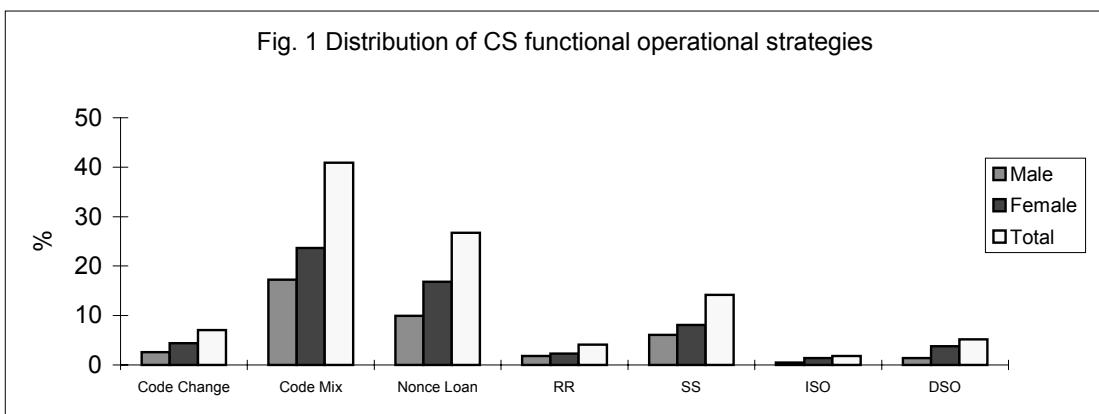
Overall, there were 655 instances of Finnish-origin material eligible for classification into the categories along the proposed continuum of interactional co-operation. Table 1 presents the raw data, and further sub-classifies this into male and female divisions. Table 2 compares this same data in percentages. Figure 1 then visually presents the male, female and total divisions for all the categories under study.

Table 1: Raw data of the occurrences of CS functional operational strategies.

	Code Change	Code Mix	Nonce Loan	RR	SS	ISO	DSO
Male	17	113	65	12	40	3	9
Female	29	155	110	15	53	9	25

Table 2: Percentage distribution of CS functional operational strategies.

	Code Change	Code Mix	Nonce Loan	RR	SS	ISO	DSO
Male	2.6%	17.25%	9.94%	1.83%	6.1%	0.46%	1.37%
Female	4.43%	23.64%	16.8%	2.29%	8.1%	1.37%	3.82%
Total	7.03%	40.89%	26.74%	4.12%	14.2%	1.83%	5.19%



6. Discussion

This section will discuss and compare the above results in greater detail. Several broad trends seem to be apparent. Firstly, the codeswitching of my Finnish informants is overwhelmingly reductive in nature. This observation is quite significant ($p = 0.0004$)ⁱⁱⁱ, with a total of 74.66% of their code-switched responses being reductive in nature compared to the 25.34% which used achievement strategies. Of this reductive material they used significantly ($p = 0.0004$) more code-mixes than nonce loans, which, in turn, was used significantly ($p = 0.0004$) more than code-changes. These results were consistent for both sexes and tend to suggest that the informants were mindful of the need to avoid code-changing to L1 but were unable to overcome their need to code-mix or call upon nonce loans when conversing in English, which accounted for 40.89% and 26.74% of the total data respectively. This observation confirms that these informants are not balanced bilinguals. It also confirms the underlying premise of this paper, that not all bilinguals are able to control their use of codeswitching, and when this code-switching is used it is not always done so in a successful manner. Extracts (1) (2) and (3) add credence to this claim:

(1) Yes, course Australia, Australia change a lot, lot in a, even, even last 30, 35 years do they everything different when we coming in Australia. Now all, all shopping, all factor, last, how you say, last like last, last [model]. Not so like before, **se oli** average here. Australia was a **Mitä se sanotaan?** ++ Sorry I, I not can say.

(No, no keep talking you're doing okay.)

((LONG PAUSE))

Minun on hankala sanoo nyt. En minä nyt ymmärrä.

(FAEC 1A51)

(2) When winter time war start I was 17 years old and I not go army but I, we go making that, we call **korsuja, linno..., linnutus**, where, where people go and, and around is coming big bomb.

(FAEC 1A51)

(3) And uh when she's hm couple years at the school she's, she's got to 10 spelling, all < > from spelling English.

(10?)

Yeah.

(What, what do you mean?)

What we, I think ... **sanapas nytte sinä**.

(Now, you explain to me.)

Yeah.

(You try and tell me.)

Yeah, uh when they have a, when they spelling at the school,

(yes)

and she got all go..., all [dright].

(I, I think you mean a 100)

100. Ah 100, yeah, that's the word I was thinking, 100 yes.

(FAEC 1A52)

With (1) the informant is unable to express the concept that Australia has changed, that it has modernised, that it is now “up to date” with European ideas and architecture in relation to shopping. The informant states **Mitä se sanotaan?** meaning “How can I say it?” or “How do you say this?” Even after encouragement he switches entirely to Finnish (**Minun on hankala sanoo nyt. En minä nyt ymmärrä** - It's difficult for me to say now, I don't now understand.). Essentially, this part of the conversation has come to a standstill. With extract (2) the informant switches to Finnish in an attempt to describe the making of bunkers and military fortifications. However, despite his flag (“we call”) to indicate he is about to switch to Finnish, this communication strategy is unsuccessful, the listener does not understand. Extract (3) is an interesting case which clearly indicates misunderstanding on both sides of the interaction and lays weight to the claim that CS is not always a successful communication strategy. The informant speaks of a “10” in the Australian schooling system. However, this is a direct carry-over from the Finnish system, which speaks of a “10” for a perfect score, but this is lost on the listener. The informant then tells the listener to **sanapas nytte sinä**, which means “you tell me, or “you explain to me”. Yet, the listener does not understand this and tells the informant to “explain to me”. The informant, however, takes this to mean that the listener did understand his Finnish. This exchange leads to obvious confusion before the two return to the issue at hand.

A second major trend to emerge from this study was that my female informants tended to code-switch more often than men, the difference between 60.45% and 39.55% being a significant one ($p = 0.0004$). This observation holds collectively and across almost all categories of the model under study, except for RR ($p = 0.42$), where the male to female ratio was almost equal. This major trend is suggestive of several points. Firstly, women seem to be more willing to draw upon reductive measures in an attempt to enhance conversational flow, even though this flow may ultimately be impeded by such strategies, and secondly, through their greater use of achievement strategies, they seem to need to try to account for their reductive strategies by trying to explain their previous use of CS. The men were significantly less likely to do this ($p = 0.0004$)

(4) (Yeah, what type of mining?)

Uh...

(Coal, copper...?)

No, no, copper, copper, yeah?

(Coal?)

I think so copper and uh, uh, what that other, the..., copper and uh + what's that name is? You know what they making those, uh, pencil? You know, how you writing, how you called that, **lyijykynä**?
(£Mhm)
Lyijy. \$ Do you know **lyijy**?
(Yeah.)
Yeah, that's it.
(But what's that in English?)
That's right, I c..., I forgetting that name.
(((LAUGHS)) Lead.)
Lead, that's a right.
(Yeah.)
Yes.
(FAEC 1A16)

(5) I'm **merkonomi**, um I've done the three-year course, which means I didn't do, do highschool till the end to get the white hat ((MATRICULATE)), I finished um, you know **keskikoulu**, what **keskikoulu** is?
(FAEC 1A53)

(6) Who take the ball. Uh, **mitä se s...**, what a uh, that **syöttäminen**? If you, if you, uh, throw the ball and uh, other ones is uh, hit the ball.
(FAEC 1A 16)

Extracts (4) to (6) are all indicative of achievement strategies. In (4) the informant directly appeals to the listener to fill in the lexical gap. This is an instance of DSO. With (5) we have a clear case of SS as the informant tries to explain what a **merkonomi** is and then another case of DSO as she asks what **keskikoulu** is. With (6) we have another case of DSO. Interestingly, the informant first begins to ask in Finnish but switches her grammar to English before inserting the word in question, **syöttäminen**. However, then she goes on to explain what **syöttäminen** is, even though she lacks the appropriate gerund in question, pitching. This a clear example of SS.

A third trend becomes apparent as we examine the figures for achievement strategies. One category, self-repairs, is used significantly more than any of the others ($p = 0.0004$). It seems that my informants are pre-disposed to using this strategy in preference to the others when searching to expand upon their original L1 utterance, which also tends to suggest that they may be actually more proficient in L2 than they first appear (or believe themselves to be), for their need, or rather their predisposition, to resort to ISO or DSO strategies is significantly less ($p = 0.0004$) than that of SS.

(7) (Um..., that..., I mean for the whole week, like you go shopping and you do everything, so, you wouldn't only speak Finnish?)
Oh, **joo, joo tiet...**, of course when I going to shopping um, have to speak e..., e..., English but uh, on home.
(At home?)
Yeah, uh Finnish.
(FAEC 1A4)

(8) Oh yeah, **omalla autolla**.
(Yeah, English, in English.)
<med> own car.
(FAEC 1A37)

(9) and I studied two years **kauppaopisto**, which is economic institute, commercial college or something like that. That's the two years, the **ylioppilaslinja**.
(FAEC 1A45)

Extracts (7) to (9) are all examples of SS. In (7) the informant stops herself midway through the expression **joo, joo, tie...(tenkin)**, which means “yes, yes, of course” and then provides the English equivalent. Extract (8) is an interesting case. When asked to speak in English the informant provides a translation for **omalla autolla**, which means “with one’s own car”. However, the informant’s reply is not exactly clear, because she uses the Swedish preposition **med** for “with”. This is an interesting case which highlights cross-lingual interference and also highlights the continuum of the model being presented in this article, because it is, admittedly, arguable whether this example should be classified as SS or a nonce loan. In this case the use of Swedish complicates matters. With extract (9) we see an initial, clear instance of SS. The informant clearly explains the meaning of **kauppaopisto**, but then, interestingly, fails to correctly explain the meaning of **yliopilaislinja**, assuming the listener understands. This is yet another example of how CS is not always a successful communication strategy.

The next most popular achievement strategy after SS tended to be DSO closely followed by RR, there is no significant difference between these two categories ($p = 0.35$). The ISO strategy was used the least ($p = 0.0004$). Interestingly, for the RR category ($p = 0.42$), there was no noticeable difference in usage between male and female informants, but there was so for the ISO and DSO category, with significantly more females resorting to these techniques than males ($p = 0.0004$).

On the whole, there were very few cases which presented difficulties for categorisation, 9 in total. However, along the achievement strategies end of the continuum there were some which offered the possibility to be placed in one of two, or more, categories. Refer to Watson (1998) for strong documentation of the indecisive nature of the continuum for the reductive end of the continuum.

(10) He’s a + what, what’s that in English, k..., **kelloseppä**, clock, um, he prepares a clock and sells +
 (Um?)
 clocks and jewellery.
 (FAEC 1A9)

(11) Oh yeah, and uh, you know, those, uh, for + that..., you know, the [picture] uh, uh, **näyttely**, you know.
 (Beg your pardon?)
 Pi..., ta..., you know those uh, those, uh, oops. Uh, how you call it, if you go to the + [picture] uh, [exhibition], you know?
 (Oh, you mean the art gallery?)
 That’s right, yeah. We go to there if, when is coming those difference.
 (FAEC 1A16)

(12) The one who was hitting, and if the ball goes far away enough you run to the first **pesä**, first um, I don’t know how you call the **pesä**, net? How can you call, like net, you go, run there, when you served here, you run to the net, first one and then you, if you can, if your ball enough far, far enough you can run all the three through, or if it went, didn’t went you wait other one to hit and then you run again and you try to get back to your home, where do you serve.
 (FAEC 1A45)

Extracts (10) to (12) exemplify some classification problems. Extract (10) could be classified as either DSO or then SS. The informant initially asks for direct assistance “what, what’s that in English” but then, after stating the Finnish, actually provides her own explanation, hence seemingly making this a SS. I chose to classify this as SS, for the explanation followed the initial DSO. Extract (11) is a little less clear. The informant, searching for the correct word, constantly calls upon the listener to provide it, but in a rather indirect manner: “Oh yeah, and uh, you know, those, uh, for + that..., you know, the [picture] uh, uh, **näyttely**, you know.” She then becomes more overt: “Uh, how you call it, if you go to the + [picture] uh, [exhibition], you know?”. I classified this as DSO. Finally, extract (12) is quite an interesting case because it first appears to be an instance of ISO (I don’t know how you call the **pesä**,

net^{iv}?), then DSO (How can you call, like net), and then SS (you go, run there, when you served here, you run to the net, first one and then you, if you can, if your ball enough far, far enough you can run all the three through). I chose to classify this as SS because the explanation of how one plays Finnish baseball and gets to each base (the word she was searching for) is quite sophisticated. Extracts (10) to (12) all add weight to the concept of there being a continuum of functional operational strategies.

7. Conclusion

The model presented here of a continuum of interactional co-operation seems to be a useful tool that can be applied to any corpus of natural speech for the measurement of the functional use of code-switching in a NNS-NS contact situation. When applied to the FAEC three broad trends became apparent. Firstly, the nature of code-switching amongst the Finnish community in Australia is overwhelmingly reductive. Secondly, the female informants code-switched significantly more than the men and tried to account for their code-switching more than the men. Thirdly, of all the achievement strategies measured Self-Repairs were used most prevalently, which suggests that, at times, Australian Finns use code-switching unnecessarily, that they are more proficient in L2 than they first appear to be. Finally, the results from my findings tend to support my claim that code-switching should not always be perceived to be a wholly successful communication strategy.

Notes

ⁱ Note: Unless otherwise stated, all extracts are from the Finnish Australian English Corpus (FAEC). For example, FAEC 1A16 = first generation informant (1A) number 16 (16) from the FAEC. See Appendix 1 for explanation of the transcription symbols. Refer to Watson (1996) for further details of the FAEC.

ⁱⁱ Interestingly, the informant mentions the associated meaning of **pata** in Finnish, **kattila**, which means a saucepan: **Pata, kattila, suomeksi**. He makes this semantic link, but is unable to recall the required English word. His request for assistance in Finnish is also ungrammatical. It should be **Mikä on pata englanniksi?** (What is pata in English?). His flag at the end of this sentence "...Finnish?" indicates he is aware that he has switched and informs the listener of this realisation.

ⁱⁱⁱ Unless otherwise stated, all p values are in relation to an application of a Z test for the significance of differences between 2 proportions (Butler 1985: 92-95). Where there are three variables or more these figures have been adjusted using the Bonferroni inequality method, as documented in Miller (1981: 67-70). In accordance with this method, to adjust the initial p value one needs to multiply that value by the number of comparisons that equals $N(N-1)/2$, where N represents the number of items to be compared.

^{iv} The literal translation of **pesä** is *nest*. The informant has almost correctly recalled this through her reference to *net*. However, she appears to be aware that this is incorrect by then asking the listener to help her retrieve the correct lexical item, which in this instance is *base*.

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