MULTILINGUALISM AS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTACT PHENOMENON WITH REGARD TO CURRENT FORMS OF MULTILINGUAL COMMUNICATION
CODE-SWITCHING AS ONE OF THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNICATION TRENDS

VIŠEJEZIČNOST KAO SOCIOLINGVISTIČKI FENOMEN KONTAKTA
IMAJUĆI U VIDU SUVREMENE OBLIKE VIŠEJEZIČNE KOMUNIKACIJE
MIJENJANJE KODOVA KAO SUVREMENI KOMUNIKACIJSKI TRENĐ

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Abstract
One of the basic principles of interpersonal contact in the world is language contact. Understanding the language and thoughts mediation vehicle has been subject to continuous development for decades. With the abolition of many frontiers, various limits and language barriers have been reduced. A more intense mixing of people naturally leads to a more intense mixing of languages. As such, we currently speak about the so-called multicultural society, a concept that has been gaining more and more attention. This of course is due to mutual interference of individual languages, particularly influencing the strong language by the not so strong language. Multilingualism has thus gradually become a natural trend in our globalized world and has probably been included as a natural part of social development among the logical circumstances.

Sažetak
Jedan od osnovnih principa međuljudskih kontaktata u svijetu je jezik. Razumijevanje jezika i misli podložno je neprekidnom razvoju već desetljećima. Uz uklanjanje mnogih granica, razna ograničenja i jezične barijere također su smanjene. Intenzivnije miješanje ljudi, naravno, dovodi do intenzivnijeg miješanja jezika. Trenutno govorimo o tzv. multikulturalnom društvu, koncept koji dobiva sve više i više pozornosti. To, naravno, zbog međusobnog miješanja pojedinih jezika, osobito utječe na odnos snažnog jezika na ne tako snažne jezike. Višjezičnost je tako postupno postala prirodni trend u našem globaliziranom svijetu, te prirodni dio društvenog razvoja.

1. Multilingualism as a term
Multilingualism is known as a person’s ability to speak more than one language, while, on the other hand, this term is used to mean the validity or widespread use of multiple languages in a society or in a state.

The online version of the Duden dictionary mentions multilingualism only in connection
with “die Fähigkeit, mehrere Sprachen zu sprechen”, which means the ability to speak several languages. /1/ The term polylingualism can be found as a synonym to the term multilingualism according to the Duden dictionary. /2/ Another name used for multilingualism is bilingualism. A nice definition of bilingualism as follows: bilingualism is a specific case of multilingualism, which has no limit on the number of languages a speaker may know. /3/ According to von Bargen, this is characterized as a selective use of two or more languages by an individual. The causes of bilingualism or multilingualism are different; there are often personal reasons, but there can also be social, socio-economic or even political reasons. /4/ One can question whether multilingualism or the second language serves a specific purpose in society. Today, bilingualism or multilingualism is already a natural part of interpersonal communication, because today’s globalized world is based on a co-existence between socio-cultural facts and the true entities. Various types of bilingualism have also been described and many studies and research in the field of children’s language acquisition have been carried out, for example Wendlandt’s language pyramid (see Note 4). However, multilingualism has not always been welcome in history. In the 20th century, many European countries began to implement immigration policy (in particular Germany, where labourers were sought after the Second World War). As a result, this led to the influx of many migrants, who brought their own native languages with them. This especially affected countries that received strangers and foreigners. Therefore, bilingualism was initially held in rather low esteem because the non-native speakers negatively impacted the development of intelligence quotas in Germany. /5/

2. Other possible language contact phenomena

Under the concept of language contact phenomena, one can imagine a large number of resources that encourage the development of acts of communication. Multilingualism represents one of those aspects. All the aspects of language contact phenomena may be observed from the linguistic point of view, but also from the point of view of sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics. In this paper the linguistic and sociolinguistic points of view are important.

2.1 The definition of the concepts

Apart from multilingualism, there are such language contact phenomena as for example diglossia, the use of foreign words, the use of derived words (loanwords) or, where appropriate, ad-hoc-borrowings, code-switching, code-mixing, polylingualism and more. Diglossia refers to a “situation in which there are two different forms of the same language used by a community, used in different social situations”. /6/ According to another source diglossia represents “1. Form der Zweisprachigkeit, bei der die eine Sprachform die Standardsprache darstellt, während die andere im täglichen Gebrauch, in informellen Texten verwendet wird, 2. Vorkommen von zwei Sprachen in einem bestimmten Gebiet (z. B. Englisch und Französisch in Kanada), 3. das Auftreten von zwei ausgebildeten Varianten der Schriftsprache in einem Land (z. B. Bokmal und Nynorsk in Norwegen)” /7/ In translation it means approximately 1. A form of bilingualism in which one form of language represents the standard form of the default language, while the other form is employed in daily use, in informal texts, 2. Occurrence of two languages in a particular area (for example, English and French in Canada), 3. The occurrence of two cultivated variants of literary language in a country (for example Bokmal and Nynorsk in Norway).

However, there is a difference between the German and English interpretations of a word – a foreign word - which comes from another language. The Longman Dictionary interprets it as “a word taken into one language from another, SYN borrowing”. /8/ The Macmillan online dictionary describes it as “a word from one language that is used in another language without being changed”. /9/ These definitions correspond to the definition of the German term Foreign Word (Fremdwort) which is: “aus einer fremden Sprache übernommenes od. in der übernehmenden Sprache mit
Wörtern od. Wortteilen aus einer fremden Sprache gebildetes Wort". /10/ Translated into English: a word acquired from a foreign language or a word created in the receiving language from words or parts of words from a foreign language. German lexicology draws a line between a foreign word and a loanword. A loanword means "aus einer fremden Sprache übernommenes Wort, das sich in Aussprache, Schreibweise, Fexion der übernommenen Sprache angepasst hat (z. B. Mauer aus lat. murus)." /11/. In English: a word adopted from a foreign language whose pronunciation, spelling and inflection was adapted (for example Mauer from lat. murus).

German lexicology also distinguishes another kind of the loanword, ad-hoc-borrowing. In the case of ad-hoc borrowing, the point is the embedding of a word or lexeme (of a foreign element) in the grammatical structure of another language. Poplack calls the ad-hoc borrowing "nonce borrowings", and she is of the opinion that this is a kind of intermediate form between the change of the language (code-switching) and the loanword. Linguistically, they behave like loanwords (they undergo a grammatical or even phonological integration); sociologically, they behave as code-switches. /12/ In code-mixing a clear-cut language of interaction is missing and it is not clear which of the two languages is the matrix language. According to Schwitalla, the change of the language often has no semantic or discourse-controlling function anymore. /13/ The term code-switching is explained as "the practice of changing from using one variety or register of language to another, for example between a more formal and more informal style of speech". /14/ Definition of terms according to Siebenhaar: (Ad-hoc-Entlehnung = ad-hoc-borrowing)

**Diglossia**

- **A**
- **B**

**Code-Switching**

- **A**
- **B**
- **A**

**Ad-hoc-Entlehnung**

- **B**
- **A**

**Code-Mixing**

- **A**

The figure can be found at: Siebenhaar, Variantionslinguistik. /15/

2.2 The origin of language contact phenomena

The process of using all possible language contact phenomena in spoken language has its origin in multilingualism. For multilingualism there are several different reasons, and therefore there are different types or kinds of multilingualism derived. According to Riehl, there are:

1) individual multilingualism – which refers to the individual speaker
2) territorial multilingualism – the use of language in multilingual countries or regions
3) institutional multilingualism – the use of multiple working languages in the institutions. /16/

Other linguists also include the category of so-called societal multilingualism; in this case it is about the mutual penetration of communities, like in cross-border territories. /17/

The causes of multilingualism are different. However, in general they are based on political reasons (colonialism, globalization), on socio-economic reasons (migration) and personal reasons (bilingualism = natural multilingualism, one’s own language learning = school or artificial multilingualism). The causes closely depend on the above-mentioned types of multilingualism. This contribution deals with individual multilingualism, and treats the topic with respect to the existing forms of code-switching.

2.3 Code-switching as a current language contact phenomenon

2.3.1 Previous research

Code-Switching belongs today to a special language contact phenomenon, although it is not new. Since the middle of the 1950s, it has been investigated by various linguists and in the context of the current globalization underway, it evokes more and more interest by linguists. There are different interpretations of the code-switching concept and the notion of it.

The term itself comes from the English “code” and “to switch”. /18/ The word “code” is understood as referring to the sociolinguistic point of view, “by belonging to a certain social class given way to the use of language”. /19/

According to Romaine, the code means different languages, dialects, or styles. /20/

Although several years have already been devoted to the language contact research, there is no unity in defining of the individual terms. This applies both to the description of the term code-switching (or Code-switching, Codeswitching [Dudenversion], Code Switching etc.), and to the term designation. The often-used synonymous or parallel terms include Codewechsel (German designation), language change, Kodeumschaltung (German designation), code-shifting, code-alternation or alternance langagière (French designation). /21/

The definition of code-switching is primarily based on Haugen; the language shift is defined as: “[code-switching] occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech.” /22/

Other linguists such as Weinreich (1953), Gumperz (1971) or Pfaff (1997) in principle agree on a universal definition, which describes the phenomenon as selective use of two languages of a speaker within a speech situation: “Code-switching has been broadly defined as the use of more than one linguistic variety (language or dialect) by a single speaker in the course of a single conversation”. /23/

Poplack sees it in a similar way, defining it as “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent”. /24/

Over the course of time, the scope of multilingualism is naturally becoming increasingly broad, and the phrasal formulation and the nature of code-switching is getting more and more attention. At the turn of the century, we can observe an extended version of the definition of code-switching by some linguists. For example, Bußmann limits the term not only to two languages, or to bilingual people, but claims that code-switching also applies “between different languages ... or varieties of a language system ... by bi / multi-lingual and / or bi / multidialectal speakers within a conversation”. /25/

After 2000, more and more researches have tried to deal with the phenomenon of Code-Switching, for example Myers-Scotton (2002), Onysko (2007), Banaz (2002) or Gardner-Chloros (2009) among others.

There have also been several works on this topic published over the last ten years, if only as shorter texts, as contributions in anthologies and practical student project works, or as longer texts such as diplomas or dissertations and monographs by authors like Munukka (2006), Hänninen & Karikoski (2011), Kadamani (2013), Roth (2013), Riehl (2014) and Knospe (2014).

The development of exploration of this subject depends on the development of society. Nevertheless, in spite of the previous linguistic
research in this field, some interpretations are inconsistent, especially in the nuances. For example, Hänninen and Karikoski, on the basis of their observations of the theoretical studies by other linguists, claim that the boundary between borrowing and Code-Switching is not clearly defined based. Code-switching does not necessarily involve borrowing a single word or a multi-word unit. Therefore, there is also a single-word code-switchings in addition to the type called phrasal Anglicism (as loanwords to be categorized), for example *Ups and Downs*, *learning by doing*, or possessive syntagmatic phrases such as *loss of control*. /26/

The studies and research of the above-mentioned authors are frequently based on authentic language analysis, mostly on observations made on immigrants or bilingual children. Other research is corpus-based.

2.3.2 Code-switching in spoken language

The respective types of code-switching are divided according to their functionality, into functional and non-functional code-switching. A) functional code-switching involves intentional use of a second language motivated by external factors or strategic reasons. Therefore, situational and conversational code-switching is distinguished.

The external factors of the situational code-switching may include, for example, the person, the place or the topic. In the case of conversational code-switching, the discourse-strategic reasons to change the language include, for example, personal opinion, quotation, the need to imitate a speech sound exactly or to reproduce the tone of voice.

B) the non-functional code-switching refers to internal processes of speech production. A change of language occurring unintentionally is known as psycholinguistically motivated code-switching. It can be caused by so-called trigger words. /27/

2.3.3 Code-switching in written language

A different type of code-switching, also called grammatical, occurs in written language. As in spoken language, this type of code-switching is nothing new. This was proven by Gardner-Chloros with her mention of historical texts - the letters of Cicero from the first century. /28/ Other researcher refer to present media and computer-mediated communication such as e-mails. /29/

In any case, code-switching in written language, unlike spoken language, may function each their own way (there are specific factors which define spoken language and written language and their structures), and that is why we need to observe the written form of code-switching from a different perspective. According to Bußmann there are two typological distinctions made at a formal level: “intrasentential” code-switching and “intersentential” code-switching. /30/ However, this classification may be difficult to apply unambiguously. According to Onysko, typical English syntactic units (syntagmatic phrases) belong among intrasentential code-switchings. These occur sentences of the Matrix-language, or they are an obligatory part of a larger German syntactic framework. This means that the matrix-language-sentence without the included code-switching would be incomplete. The single-word code-switchings are also a natural part of the intrasentential code-switching. /31/ Multilingual speakers use them often for similar reasons as in the case of spoken code-switching.

Intersentential code-switching means that a grammatically complete English sentence occurs in a German text. However, without this English sentence, the whole text would also be understandable. /32/

3. Empirical observations

Various forms of multilingualism can currently be encountered in the easily accessible media discourse. Code-switching happens both in spoken and in written language. The spoken form of code-switching has become an indispensable, even essential part of TV-programmes, be it a documentary or news. The written form of code-switching can be found nowadays in all possible media interpretations which have a written form and which are meant to be read. Newspaper texts are one area of media discourse where written code-switching occurs.
Due to the process of the formation of the whole newspaper, where texts have to be edited, the written form of code-switching is created intentionally, less spontaneously, and is not at all the same as the spoken form of code-switching. In spite of these factors, newspaper publishers strive to create an illusion of immediacy, although they may do so mainly for stylistic purposes.

As a source for the research of the various forms of code-switching, texts and headlines of different online versions of the newspapers Die Welt and Bild were taken. There are differences between the occurrence of code-switchings in the headlines and in the individual press releases. The reason for this is the brevity and conciseness of headlines in general, which naturally include a high proportion of elliptical forms. On account of this, the boundary between code-switching and an ad-hoc-borrowing is very close.

Following are the excerpts from the online version of Die Welt:
The intrasentential Code-Switching occurs for example in following sentences:

1/ So viel Geld, dass sie ein Investment in ein „private island“ locker verschmerzen können. (Die Welt, 12.4.2015)
2/ Heute kann man auf Bransos Privatinsel, die zu den British Virgin Islands zählt, in aller Abgeschiedenheit „barefoot luxury“-Urlaub der feineren Art verbringen. (Die Welt, 12.4.2015)
3/ „Away from the crowd“ sind dann ganz sicher Prominente wie die Sänger Faith Hill und Tim McGraw, die sich auf den Bahamas auf ihr Inselchen Goat Cay zurückziehen können. (Die Welt, 12.4.2015)

The following excerpt includes phrasal Anglicism:

5/ Doch „the place to be“ oder besser: „the place to own“, sind die Bahamas, auch wenn sie geographisch nicht zur Karibik zählen. (Die Welt, 12.4.2015)

The following excerpts are taken from the headlines in the Bild:

6/ Extrem-Schnäppchen durch „Error-Fares“ (Bild, 16.8.2015)
7/ Wie Passagiere ein Upgrade ergattern wollen (Bild, 16.8.2015)

Example 7 contains an ad-hoc-borrowing because the spelling is integrated into the German grammar, the word upgrade is capitalised.

8/ Newcomer auf dem Balkan (Bild, 16.8.2015)
9/ Michael Douglas: Finca-Verkauf (Die Welt, 16.8.2015)
10/ Die schönsten Dirndl und Trachten-Looks für Kinder (Die Welt, 16.8.2015)

Excerpt number 10 can also be considered as an ad-hoc-borrowing because of the use of the capital letter.

With respect to intersentential code-switching, many cases have been found. In contrast to the intrasentential code-switching, where code-switching is realised within a sentence, in this case code-switching has been realised outside of the sentence. Intersentential code-switchings are independent syntactic units, which are often either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. This type of single-code-switchings often includes welcome phrases, parting words, answers, etc.

11/ Happy Birthday, Cara Delevingne: Ihre schönsten Grimassen (Die Welt, 16.8.2015)
12/ Teambuilding-Trip – Mainzer Profis zelten in den Alpen (Die Welt, 5.1.2016)

Conclusion

Multilingualism currently belongs among frequently discussed topics, whether they focus on linguistics, sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics. The factors that influence the development of languages and their use are related to the geographical setting of languages and their variants, and to the social situation in the respective countries. Present-day media discourse may serve as a source of the different contact forms of language. As is evident from the research based on the exploration of newspaper texts, the language contact phe-
nomenon of code-switching represents one of the very frequent phenomena occurring even in written language and therefore it deserves further monitoring and research. Multilingualism develops in parallel with language development and use. By monitoring the changes new information may be gained in the field of language contact phenomena.

Notes
/1/ Duden online. http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Mehrsprachigkeit [retrieval date 18.4.2015]
/2/ Duden online. http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Polylingualismus [retrieval date 18.4.2015]
/7/ Duden online. http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/diglossie [retrieval date 17.6.2015]
/10/ Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch, 2003, p. 575
/11/ Duden Das Universalwörterbuch, 2003, p. 1004
/12/ Poplack/ Meechan, 1995, p. 200
/15/ Siebenhaar. http://home.uni-leipzig.de/siebenh/kurse/SS09/v_sprachliche_variati on_09_variationslinguistik.pdf [retrieval date 17.6.2015]
/17/ http://www.lingfang.de/wiki/Mehrsprachigkeit [retrieval date 15.6.2015]
/18/ Duden online. http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Codeswitching [retrieval date 18.4.2015]
/19/ Duden online. http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Codeb2-Bedeutung-3 [retrieval date 18.4.2015]
/24/ Poplack, Shana (1980). Sometimes I’ll start a sentence in spanish y termino en español: toward a typology of code-switching. Linguistics 18, 581-618., p. 583
/29/ Hinrichs, 2006, p. 29
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Excerpts 1-3:
Excerpt 4:
Excerpt 5:

Literature


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