The processes of switching code and copying of the code from English language into French in popular magazines, social platforms and books as the most creative aspect of psycholinguistics

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ABSTRACT

Recently, code switching has become the key direction in contact linguistics, that is, the process of transition from one language to another in the course of speech or in literary and journalistic texts. Our approach to understanding the theoretical part of the process is based on the analysis of multiple examples, representing every aspect of the language theory mentioned in this work. We have combined all the approaches to systematic analysis of the phenomenon and we are trying to find the most suitable by comparing various linguistic theories. However, in this paper we will also try to study a phenomenon adjacent to code switching - the copying of the code. Despite the fact that these two phenomena are closely related, the copying of the code differs from code-switching, because the latter is a process of switching from one language to another, during which elements of one code are replaced by elements of another. Copying of the code can be considered a part of code switching and is often a source for the formation of foreign inclusions. As a rule, only a bilingual linguistic person who has mastered languages in an organic connection with the culture of peoples, who are considered to be carriers of these languages, is able to adequately perceive speech in different languages. Searching for the necessary word, several variants of verbalization are activated at once (including variants from alternative lexicons), and the speaker makes a choice in favor of the most suitable, while all possible alternatives are suppressed.

1. Introduction

The origins of the theory of code switching within various linguistic directions.

The problem of code switching is one of the most relevant topics in modern linguistics. The first studies appeared in the 1970s. W. Weinreich wrote that within the framework of the ideal linguistic paradigm, a person who speaks two or more languages must not consider switching to another language in the course of a communicative process. N.Frolova, relying on the theory of W. Weinreich, argues that in cases where a separate language personality or a group of people “usually uses language A and has the task of mastering the second language B, there is a number of possibilities for fulfilling this task” (Frolova, 1999). Firstly, language A can be completely replaced by language B. As a result, in this case we are talking about a language shift. Secondly, languages A and B can be used alternately, depending on the requirements of the conditions of communication; in this case we are experiencing a switching (switching) from A to B and vice versa. Then, merging of languages A and B into a single language system may occur (Weinreich, 1963). S. Poplak, who studied the syntactic aspects of code switching developed the theoretical foundations of this area of linguistics in the mid-1970s. Based on the work of the language scientists, we can give the following definition of the “code switching” phenomenon: the transition of a speaker in the process of speech communication from one language to another within certain communication conditions is called code switching. Since the 1970s the phenomenon of code switching is studied from three different positions: sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and linguistic. We base our research mainly on psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic approaches.
2. Methods and Materials

Our research is based on the works of linguists, who have been studying the process of code-switching and its influence on the languages. As the principal material for the research we have used modern magazine articles, social media posts and books by famous international authors. In the course of the research, we have studied more than 100 examples and have chosen the most relevant ones to analyze and use as the examples of the linguistic processes described in the works of the scholars.

The main methods of work were the procedures of legitimistic analysis along with lexical and semantic analysis, in the course of which we relied on various language theories, as well as on the data from encyclopedic dictionaries and thesauri, a list of which is given in the bibliography. In addition, we used the method of semiotic analysis, the method of content analysis, discursive and cognitive analysis, culturological analysis of examples with code switching.

3. Results

In the course of the study, we found that most often foreign language code-alterations into French are found in English-language journalistic publications of Australia and Great Britain, less often they are found in Asian periodicals. This may indicate that individuals for whom English is a native language are not against the spread of the vocabulary of the language at the expense of expressive means from the French language, while non-native speakers either do not have sufficient language competence to diversify the articles with lexemes from other languages. Recognition of a precedent text (text with a foreign language switch) in speech gives the reader the joy of understanding what the author had meant by the establishment of associative links. Speech creativity is characteristic of speech activity not only of the author, who uses foreign words in his speech, but also of the reader, who tries to understand what the author had had in mind. Some foreign language inclusions may be “prestigious” and “socially motivated”.

4. Discussion

The phenomenon of code copying has been attracting much attention of the linguists (Johanson, 2001; Comrie, 1995; Backus, 1996; Menz, 1994). For the first time this phenomenon was noted in the works of Weinreich and Haugen (Haugen, 1972). They study the donor language and the target language and, also, the stages of development of contacts of such languages within the framework of linguistic diachrony. Code A, which is influenced by the code B, is able to take into its lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic composition much more new elements of the dominant code B, replacing them with existing lexical units. Code A under the influence of external codes can undergo simplification of its system due to the weakening of its structure. Not only can a part of the basic structure of the native language disappear from it, but also there are losses in the morphology and syntax. Usually the tendency of language withering is observed in endangered languages, the boundaries of language categories are erased, and mass copying takes place from the dominant language. Simplification of the structure of the language can occur due to the influence of more common codes in the framework of copying the code. Despite the fact that code copying and code switching are closely related, code copying differs from code switching because the latter is a process of switching from one language to another, during which elements of one code are replaced by elements of another. While the phenomenon of copying is a broader concept. It includes various phenomena, such as borrowing and calculating, and copying treats them as similar linguistic phenomena within a single paradigm. This phenomenon combines synchronous and diachronic methods of linguistic analysis, acting as a variational model at the stage of development of structural aspects that contribute to a productive and creative approach to copying. Language A must contain functional units and structures that can combine linguistic elements which will be able to accept copies of the B language (Johanson, 2002). This phenomenon was called "loan phonology", "borrowed semantic units" and "borrowed syntax" (Haugen, 1972). Mixed copying includes elements of copies containing common elements, that is, a partial borrowing (loanblend), which manifests itself within the lexical composition of the language (Haugen, 1972). Mixed copying also includes phrases, complex and simple sentences, etc. Consider the types of copying. Material copying occurs when the phonetic elements of the language B (sound features, accents, phonotactics) are copied into the language A. Semantic copying means that the denotative and connotative component of the code B acts as a copying model and applies to the elements of the code A. Mixed copying means that the possibilities of combining the language B can be applied to the units of the language A. Duration copying means that the application models of the frequency properties for units of the language B can also be applied. For example, in A there already exist certain elements, but in B they are more understandable and well-known, due to this, the elements from language A can be absorbed by elements of the language B. For example:

That there should be an air of ambiguity about Chanel is perhaps appropriate, for her life was a series of contradictions, as well as having a consistency of hard work, ambition, genius and dedication to her craft as a couturière (Harper’s Bazaar UK October 2015). The use of the phrase feminine couturière is due to the fact that it is much more famous and more widespread than its counterparts in other languages, it is consistent with the English singular and is subject to all grammatical norms.

The interspersing of copies usually occurs on the principle of equivalence. However, the absence of a typological equivalent base can not prevent the use of copies (Johanson, 1992).

E. Hamp believes that languages that completely refuse to copy elements from other languages are more at risk of extinction than those who are not afraid of different types of copying and borrowing (Hamp, 1989). Copies can never replace the original, but they can successfully be assimilated into the structure of the language. Linguists B. Hain and T. Kuteva are considering such a phenomenon as “polysemantic copying”, during which translations of foreign inclusions without the use of grammaticalization occur. This phenomenon is rarely used in grammar (Heine; Kuteva, 2003). However, most scientists argue that the boundaries between different types of copying and code switching are not clearly defined.

In the case of copying, carriers of code A subjected to sociolinguistic changes use copies in speech that are divided into “borrowed” (borrowed, traced)
and "assigned" (substrate effect). Favorite copying occurs when it does not include segmental units of the language, but only material, semantic, combined blocks of lexical units of a foreign language. These extrapolated structural units of another language serve as models for creating copies that can be applied to units of the lexical composition of a given language.

In order to understand the processes of copying of morphological material from the source language and copying usage patterns from the language model, it is necessary to compare the cross-linguistic results of the code-switching process and to determine the context in which these phenomena are most often encountered and where the restriction on their use is put. Some structural limitations may be in the dissemination of the copying of morphological material from the source language and copying of usage patterns from the language model. Some structural entities, if they undergo the process of borrowing or copying, are influenced by the structure of the receiving language, such as a certain order of words.

For some language categories, the use of copied morphological material from the source language is impossible, although copying of the usage patterns from the language model is necessary. For example, in the temporal aspect category - the replication of matter is quite rare. Although, copying of the templates is more common. The same can be said about a certain article (Matras, 2007). Such a service word as a definite article is transferred to another language directly or connected to language elements using a specific language model. For example:

And could we have a Damien Hirst's sculpture, where the art world's enfant terrible depicted Egypt's ancient monarch using as inspiration Rihanna's mignon features? (Vogue Arabia, November 2017?)

In this example, we can observe how the French adjective mignon is copied to the B language directly.

There are language categories for which both types of copying may be applicable. For example, unions, comparative particles, as well as prepositions. The choice between two types of copying for language inclusions may depend directly on the availability of structural resources in the B language, allowing the speaker to recognize the functional component of a given language construct. Let's consider an example:

The blush pretzel-shaped tour de force memes, opinion pieces, and even a duplicated Facebook page, threatening to upstage the bride (Vogue Arabia, July / August 2018).

In this example, we can observe how the French phrase tour de force is included in the structure of the English phrase due to the multifunctionality of the language model. The result of this process is grammaticalization of copying, gradual or spontaneous. The choice of the speaker needs not to be limited to the more specific semantic values of the language B (Matras, 2007). The motivation for choosing a particular phonological substance from a suitable language, as well as the use of structures and linguistic-communicative structures that are available to the speaker in his speech repertoire, which appears during different communicative situations that support the theory of diachronic changes in conjunction with the spontaneity of the communicative act of bilinguals and individuals, who speak this language. Linguists B. Hain and T. Kuteva consider such a phenomenon as "polysemantic copying", during which translations of foreign inclusions without the use of grammaticalization occur. This phenomenon is rarely used in grammar (Heine; Kuteva, 2003).

However, most scientists argue that the boundaries between different types of copying and code switching are not clearly defined. Consider the example: Combining savoir faire and art, the Peninsula Paris hotel is a contemporary ode to luxury à la françoise.

In English-language journalistic texts, the use of code switching is usually motivated by the author’s intention to update cultural symbols or attract associations accompanying conceptual education of other cultural backgrounds (Markelova, 2014). Thus, most of the material studied can be attributed directly to the metaphorical type of switching identified by Gumperz (Blom, Gumperz, Hymes, 1986). Comparing the situational and metaphoric code switches, we can notice that the situational switch implies a change in the language situation to a greater degree, and the metaphorical remains unchanged, since this type of switching is more related to the speaker’s inner motives. Let’s consider an example:

Their baguette, le traditionnel, was a must, as was their dense, not very sweet chocolate loaf [Vogue USA August, 2016].

In this example, code switching acts as an application, complementing the subject and referencing to traditional French stereotypes. The logical meaning of the sentence without the selected application will not change, but will lose its special linguistic connotation, sending the reader’s mind to the cozy French streets of the morning Paris, filled with the smells of freshly baked baguette.

According to the theory of O. Rodionova, the theory of Gumperz was often criticized by the linguists (Rodionova, 2015). For example, K. Myers-Scotton notes the ambiguity of difference in the motivations which characterize “metaphorical code switching” (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The psycholinguistic approach to code-switching explains which aspects of the bilingual language ability allow the bilingual individuals to change codes. The study of the psycholinguistic aspect of code switching is of particular interest to linguists, since this phenomenon, before its formal expression in speech, passes a certain algorithm in the human mind. Most often, linguists turn to psycholinguistic models of bilingual speech in order to identify points of contact between the structural parameters which define it from a grammatical point of view (Markelova, 2014).

K. Myers-Scotton believes that in every multilingual community, any language is associated with certain social roles. She call this theory - Rights and Obligations Set (Balakina, Sosnin, 2014). The main idea of this theory is the "negotiation principle": during the dialogue, the choice of code occurs in such a way that it defines the sets of rights and obligations of interlocutors in the presented communicative situation (Balakina, Sosnin, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Therefore, three principles are based on this principle:

The rule of unmarked choice: by choosing an unmarked code, the speaker confirms an already existing set of rights and obligations (Balakina, Sosnin, 2014). As proof of this thought, let's consider an example:

It's time to take the après-gym look one step further (Elle Malaysia April, 2015). An example of a foreign language switch can be considered as unmarked or arbitrary.

The rule of the marked choice: by choosing the marked code, the speaker sets a new set of rights and obligations.

The key to his access was the cut, contour and craftsmanship of his clothes, but also his much-celebrated joie de vivre (Harper's Bazaar Arabia March, 2015).

In this case, the author purposefully uses code switching to cause a certain cognitive reaction in the reader’s mind. K. Myers-Scotton believes that this is done in order to make the reader focus on social motivation, which is in charge of the code-switching process, and thus emphasizes language
competences, as well as reflects certain “rights and obligations” assigned to each language code.

The rule of trial choice: if the speaker does not know which code is unmarked, he turns to code switching in order to understand (depending on his pragmatic preferences regarding the set of rights and obligations) which code should be used further in the framework of communication (Balakina, Sosnin, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 1993). As proof of this thought, let’s consider an example:

Au contraire my mother dressed me in pale blue, allegedly to match my eyes and, later on, mustard, which matched nothing but was very big in the Seventies (Vogue UK July, 2015).

In this example, the author uses the French adverbial phrase at the beginning of the sentence, as if trying to figure out which code would be more acceptable in this situation.

Scientists, who were the pioneers of research on the psycholinguistic aspect of code switching, believed that there are two bilingual language systems that can be “activated” and “deactivated” independently (Gerard, Scarborough, 1989). In the course of the research it was found that some bilinguals read texts containing switchings in both languages, more slowly than monolingual texts. Linguists explained this phenomenon by the fact that the mental mechanism of switching requires more time to determine which language system to “turn on” or “turn off” (Ostapenko, 2014). The authors of subsequent studies put forward a theory about the joint storage of two language systems in a single mental space and their simultaneous activation at the time of verbal communication or reading a bilingual text (Graininger, 1993; Li Wei, 1998). The theory mentioned above served as the basis for the creation of a psycholinguistic theory of triggering by M. Clyne (Clyne, 2003). This theory considers the psycholinguistic motivated switching of codes due to the specific conditions of speech production along with the speaker's intentions (Ostapenko, 2014). For this theory, the main thing is the mechanism that ensures the functioning of language systems in the speaker's brain: identical lexical units act as triggers in the process of language switching.

K. Myers-Scotton developed a special linguistic model based on the concept of the matrix language. According to this model, when switching of the code takes place, it is worth distinguishing the matrix language and the guest language. The matrix language is the main language of communication. A language with the elements, included in the matrix language is considered a guest language (Myers-Scotton, 1993). In this example we can observe English language being the matrix language of communication and French - the guest language:

Physical evidence alone aligns the two great monuments histories of France (Vogue USA July, 2016).

The matrix language creates a morphosyntactic frame in which foreign language elements can be included, both as individual lexemes and as several related lexical-grammatical forms (Markelova, 2014).

In this example, we can observe not a single lexical switching, but the use of a phrase unit consisting of the indefinite pronoun “quelques”, the preposition “de” and two nouns “arpents” and “neige”.

Voltaire famously dismissed Canada as «quelques arpents de neige» – several acres of snow – but then, he’d never visited [Harper's Bazaar UK October, 2015]. This method is still quite controversial, since it initially used a quantitative criterion - most of the language units come from the matrix language, and the others - from the guest language (Markelova, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Myers-Scotton, 2002).

In the following example, the guest language units are French lexical units: a noun with auxiliary words.

Whether you’re tanning by the shore or toasting with aperitifs à la piscine, it's guaranteed to make a splash (Vogue USA September, 2015).

K. Myers-Scotton also developed a model in terms of which we can divide all morphemes into three categories - the 4M model:

1) informative morphemes that are activated at the conceptual level.

In this example, we see French lexemes, which represent ballet terms. Even a person, who is not acquainted with chorographical terminology will imagine a graceful ballerina due to the conceptual symbols;

2) early systeme morphemes, which are activated at a conceptual level and complement the semantics of morphemes, representing the concept (Markelova, 2014).

We invented the slow life – leisurely meals, rosé en terrasse, comfortable homes, easy styles [Glamour October USA, 2015].

In this example, the phrase consisting of two cognitive units - “pink champagne” and “on the terrace” acts as a code alteration, representing the meaning of a good, calm, luxurious holiday getaway;

3) late systeme morphemes, which are used to create more complex structures, such as phrases. They are activated at the level of morphological implementation (Isaeva, 2010).

The bouche dorée is not for me (Vogue USA March, 2016).

In this example, the phrase “bouche dorée” is used as an example of a late systeme morpheme.

Late systeme morphemes can be divided into late connecting and late outer morphemes (Isaeva, 2010).

The examples of late outer morphemes:

1. Quelle surprise! Helen, Harrods’ fashion director of womenswear, women’s shoes, accessories, fine jewellery and childrenswear – aka practically everything – shops for a living (Vogue UK October, 2015).


In these examples, foreign language code switches appear in separate sentences. Most often, they represent the exclamatory elements of modality, connotatively complementing the sentences.

An example of a late connective morpheme:

This is not only because it is where I am about to witness the unveiling of Dior’s latest lipstick collection, Dior Addict, but also because the French Riviera is where you can witness a very special kind of fabulous Frenchwoman; a lady d’un certain âge whom you’ll find taking a leisurely promenade along the seafront in her gold sandals, animal-print capri pants and perfectly coiffed hair (Vogue UK October, 2015).

Early systemic morphemes or directly elected ones go through the activation process at the level of the lemma along with morphemes representing the
concept (Chirsheva; 2003); that includes flexions, which are considered to be morphological doublets.

The structural roles of late systeme morphemes are defined in the process of speech later, when the lemma has already given instructions at the level of the formulator (Chirsheva; 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2000). Late joint morphemes appear after the early ones. They are necessary for building links between morphemes within a syntagma, since with their help morphemes representing the concept are included in the phrase.

According to the theory of G. Chirsheva, “late external morphemes differ because when they are used, they focus on syntactic links outside the syntagma” (Chirsheva, 2003). G. Chirsheva, relying on the theory of K. Myers-Scotton, explains that “the choice of the late morpheme in the phrase money is dependent on the presence of a negative adverb”. If the lemma contains a complex lexeme that includes a late morpheme, it is the late morpheme that determines the time the lexeme entered the larger structure”(Chirsheva; 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2000). K. Myers-Scotton presents us with a certain sequence of establishing the framework of the matrix language: Step 1: The speaker first chooses a lemma to transmit the message. At this stage, it is decided whether a single code or a code switch will be selected. Step 2: The beginning of the process of building of the framework of the matrix language, including informative morphemes, begins. Step 3. The lemmas send information to the formulator, which activates grammatical copying. Step 4. There is a single surface structure with phonological representations (K. Myers-Scotton, 1997; Chirsheva, N.N., 2003).

T. Markelova believes that “informative morphemes and early system morphemes are formed on a conceptual level, encoding all semantic and pragmatic information, which is further formed using internal system bundles within a word or a phrase and within external ones within a sentence” (Markelova, 2014). Using the example of these models and theories, K. Myers-Scotton tries to combine grammatical and psycholinguistic approaches in order to explain the principles of code connection (Myers-Scotton, 2002). T. Markelova adds that the main disadvantage of these models is that “K. Myers-Scotton uses the concepts of meaningful and systemic morphemes, which are differentiated miscellaneous in languages and in some cases cannot be differentiated at all ”(Markelova, 2014; Muysken 2000). Also, the universality of the use of the matrix language, which in some cases cannot be determined is still questioned by the scholars.

One of the main models of speech generation in psycholinguistics belongs to V. Levelt. He divides the process of speech-generation into four stages: 1) the stage of preparing a preverbal message, which becomes the base for the direct processes of cognitive-linguistic formulation; in other words, this message is considered as a non-linguistic representation, consisting of concepts and their respective roles (agent, subject, recipient); 2) the processes of grammatical coding, which determine the syntactic structure of the future utterance; 3) phonological coding, or the creation of a phonological form of utterance; 4) pronunciation of the utterance (Levelt, 1989). The grammatical and phonological coding takes place simultaneously with the process of extracting lexical units from the mental lexicon. This process consists of two components: the choice of a lemma and the extraction of a specific word form. During the extraction of the word form, the speaker determines its phonological segments and the metric frame. Metric frames are combined and form phonological words. Based on this understanding of phonological coordination, two conclusions can be made: 1) the phonological form of the word is not extracted by the speaker as a kind of complete unit, it is built from smaller units — phonemes; 2) syllables occur at a later stage. The syllabic structure of words is not extracted from the mental lexicon, but is determined when the extracted phonological segments are associated with the metric frame of the phonological word (Andreeva, 2006).

K. de Bot suggested that the lexicons of different languages and their characteristics are stored together, within a single language system where each element of this system is capable of indicating its affiliation to any language, thus forming two subsystems within one [De Bot, 2000]. So, K. de Bot offers a solution to one of the main issues of psycholinguistics regarding the place of storage of information about various languages, putting them into a single system of interconnected elements. Many linguists share De Bot’s opinion on this issue. [Clyne, 2003, etc.].

T. Markelova believes that, according to K. de Bot, the adapted model of bilingual speech represents the following algorithm: at first, a bilingual refers to a unified conceptual system of two lexicons by means of a conceptualizer, whereas at the stage of grammatical coding, it uses different formulators that process multilingual lemmas in accordance with the coding rules of a language [Markelova, 2014]. In this case, speech gets either monolingually or bilingually (when code switching occurs) designed at the articulation stage, depending on the communicative intentions of the speaker [De Bot, 2000]. So, based on the theory of T. Markelova, we can understand that “the fundamental difference between the mechanisms of monolingual and bilingual speech, according to the model of K. De Bot, is the presence of several formulators, the number of which corresponds with the number of languages that the speaker is able to communicate in” (Markelova, 2014).

Scientists, in terms of the concept of "lemma", put forward the so-called lexical hypothesis about the primary meaning of the lexicon, which contains information about grammatical characteristics, words and the connection between them at the syntactic level. In the terms of this theory, code switching is always grammatically correct, since the lemmas are combined correctly according to the code (Markelova, 2014).

The representatives of the school of generativist linguistics explore a language modeled on the natural sciences as well as the patterns of code switching, guided by the principle of control, which embodies the theory that code switching between a controlling element and one that is subordinate to it is impossible. This principle operates at the level of deep structures (Di Sciullo et al., 1986). It was repeatedly refined, but the new research did not confirm its universal nature. Cases of code switching where this principle was not observed even in the usual subordinate connection between the verb and the direct object were later revealed (Nortier, 1990). For example: «Recovering himself, Professor Oon put on his blasé, clinical tone» [Rich People Problems, K. Kwan]. In this example, the adjective blasé acts as a foreign language inclusion, it subordinates to the grammatical norms of the English language and is used with the English preposition “on” and a pronoun “his”.

The word “blasé” is a substitute for the English word “jaded”. This switch of the code is probably done to make the description of the situation less serious and more frivolous. Thus, code switching can be regarded as a way to create contrast at the paradigmatic level and the language alterations themselves can be considered as expressive means and can participate in the creation of stylistic tools along with other language resources.

B. Spolsky admits that bilinguals change language for convenience. For example, if the addressee speaks only one of two languages that the speaker knows, then the latter, of course, should use this more familiar language to the addressee, although he can use another language or both alternately in communicating with bilingual interlocutors (Spolsky, 2009). Bilingualism is a heterogeneous phenomenon. The degree of proficiency in each of the languages and attitudes towards them can greatly vary.
5. Conclusion

A bilingual does not commonly seek to follow the rules of any language. The choice of language in each situation is not always easy. It can be influenced by various interdependent factors. Two main factors are the interlocutor and which language is preferred by the bilingual individual. Studies on the switching of code and social identity led to a better understanding of the place of language in the formation and transmission of social traditions and foundations. The interspersing of the copies usually occurs by the principle of equivalence. However, the lack of a typological equivalent base cannot prevent the use of copies (Johnston, 2002). In conclusion, we quote E. Hemp, who believes that "languages that completely refuse to copy elements from other languages are more at risk of extinction than those which are not afraid of different types of copying and borrowing (Hamp, 1989)". It can not be denied that copies can never replace the original, but they can successfully assimilate into the structure of the language. Code switching and code copying have a huge linguistic potential for creating new lexical units of the language due to the large number of social and pragmatic functions of this phenomenon. We have discovered that the sociolinguistic approach to code switching is able to answer the question - why people switch from one code to another in a conversation. The psycholinguistic approach shows which aspects of language ability allow people to change codes.

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