CODE SWITCHING, LANGUAGE MIXING AND FUSED LECTS: LANGUAGE ALTERNATION PHENOMENA IN MULTILINGUAL MAURITIUS

by

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DECLARATION

Student Number: 4622-097-6

I declare that Code Switching, Language Mixing and Fused Lects: Language Alternation Phenomena in Multilingual Mauritius is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

04 June 2015
To my parents
ABSTRACT

Focusing on a series of multiparty recordings carried out between the months of October and March 2012 and drawing on a theoretical framework based on work of linguists such as Auer (1999), Backus (2005), Bakker (2000), Maschler (2000) and Matras (2000a and 2000b), this thesis traces the evolution of a continuum of language alternation phenomena, ranging from simple code-switching to more complex forms of 'language alloying' (Alvarez-Càccamo 1998) such as mixed codes and fused lects in multilingual Mauritius. Following Auer (2001), the different conversational loci of code-switching are identified. Particular emphasis has been placed upon, amongst others, the conversational locus of playfulness where, for instance, participants' spontaneous lapses into song and dance sequences as they inspire themselves from Bollywood pop songs and creatively embed segments in Hindustani within a predominantly Kreol matrix are noted. Furthermore, in line with Auer (1999), Backus (2005) and Muysken (2000), emerging forms of language mixing such as changes in the way possessive marking is carried in Kreol and instances of semantic shift in Bhojpuri/Hindustani words like nasha and daan have been highlighted and their pragmatic significance explained with specific reference to the Mauritian context. Finally, in the fused lect stage, specific attention has been provided to one key feature namely phonological blending which has resulted in the coinage of the discourse marker ashe and its eventual use in the process of discourse marker switching. In the light of the above findings, this thesis firstly critiques the strengths and weaknesses of the notion of the code switching (CS) continuum (Auer 1999) itself by revealing the difficulties encountered, at the empirical level, in assigning the correct label to the different types of language alternation phenomena evidenced in this thesis. In the second instance, it considers the impact of such shifts along the language alternation continuum upon language policy and planning in contemporary Mauritius and advocates for a move away from colonial language policies such as the 1957 Education Act in favour of updated ones that are responsive to the language practices of speakers.

Keywords: Mauritius, Multilingualism, Code-switching, Mixed Codes, Fusion.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents

DECLARATION ........................................................................................................... ii
ABSTRACT .............................................................................................................. iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ....................................................................................... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .......................................................................................... vi
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES ......................................................................... ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .................................................................................. xi
CHAPTER 1 ............................................................................................................. 1
The Language Situation in Mauritius ................................................................... 1
  1.0 Introduction .................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Background ................................................................................................. 1
  1.2 Aims and Research Questions ................................................................... 7
  1.3 Multilingualism in Mauritius: From the 18th century onwards .............. 7
  1.4 Mauritius in figures ................................................................................... 10
  1.5 A Period of change: 2000–2013 ................................................................. 18
  1.6 The Further Ethnicisation of language: The Creole Issue ..................... 33
  1.7 Multilingualism and Language Choice in Mauritius ............................ 38
  1.8 Overview of the Thesis ............................................................................. 46
CHAPTER 2 ............................................................................................................. 47
Literature Review ................................................................................................. 47
  2.0 Introduction ................................................................................................ 47
  2.1 Traditional perspectives on code-switching ........................................... 47
  2.2 Towards a redefinition of code-switching .............................................. 68
  2.3 Mixed Codes ............................................................................................. 77
  2.4 Fusion ........................................................................................................ 87
  2.5 CS continuum: A critique ...................................................................... 95
  2.6 Conclusion ................................................................................................. 109
CHAPTER 3 ............................................................................................................. 111
Methodology ....................................................................................................... 111
  3.0 Introduction ............................................................................................... 111
5.3 CS continuum in Mauritius: Performing multilingualism ........................................ 257
5.5 Directions for future research .............................................................................. 267
5.6 Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 270
BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................................................................ 271
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Ethnolinguistic groups and languages of Mauritius ......................................................... 10
Figure 1.2: Advertisement published by the National Telugu Federation ............................................. 14
Figure 1.3: Positions in discourse about language, culture and identity in Mauritius .......................... 17
Figure 1.4: Africa Day and Identity-related issues in Mauritius ......................................................... 33
Figure 1.5: Source of discontent: the logo of Mauritius .......................................................................... 43
Figure 2.1: Summary of major theoretical paradigms ............................................................................ 48
Figure 2.2: De Bot's model of bilingual processing ............................................................................... 71
Figure 2.3: Visual representation of the different language modes of a trilingual ............................... 73
Figure 2.4: The double pendulum at work ............................................................................................. 75
Figure 2.5: A function-based model of language contact ...................................................................... 85
Figure 2.6: LM and abstand value ....................................................................................................... 86
Figure 2.7: Inter-relation between Andean Spanish and Quechua in a specific FL situation.............. 90
Figure 2.8: Convergence, bilingualism and language death ................................................................. 93
Figure 2.9: Diagrammatic representations of orthodox and facilitated forms of CS ..................... 104
Figure 2.10: Movement of molecules across a semi-permeable membrane ....................................... 106
Figure 3.1: All eight groups of informants taking part in this study .................................................. 129
Figure 3.2: Characteristic network of modules for adolescent or young adult speaker ................. 151
Figure 4.1: Labov and Waletzky's 1967 Diamond Model ................................................................. 170
Figure 4.2: Permissible switch points ................................................................................................. 197
Figure 4.3: Representation of sentence (3) according to Poplack's Equivalence Constraint .......... 199
Figure 4.4: Interrelationship between intensity of bilingualism and system convergence ........... 227
Figure 4.5: Four key processes involved in interaction ....................................................................... 233
Figure 5.1 : Diagrammatic summary of the findings in this study ..................................................... 239
Figure 5.2 : Hierarchy of languages on a one thousand rupee note .................................................. 249
List of Tables

Table 1.1: 1962 census figures ................................................................. 11
Table 1.2: Diachronic evolution in census figures ................................. 13
Table 1.3: Number of bilingual speakers in Mauritius ......................... 15
Table 1.4: Debate on the recognition of Mauritian Creole .................... 24
Table 1.5: Section D10 of the 2011 Mauritius Population Census ......... 29
Table 2.1: Code-switching versus transfer in bilingual conversation ........ 58
Table 2.2: Difference between borrowing and transfer .................................. 62
Table 2.3: Example of mixed mode interaction at La Colombe Complementary School ................................. 92
Table 2.4: Definitions of CS in select articles ........................................... 97
Table 3.1: Language spoken (%) by youngsters with various family members .......... 122
Table 3.2: Descriptive features detailing the quality of the data collected ............... 136
Table 3.3: Locating transcription in the research process ........................ 144
Table 3.4: Features to be included in a transcript .................................... 146
Table 4.1: Font styles used to represent CS to specific languages ............. 155
Table 4.2: Rules governing polite interaction ........................................ 162
Table 4.3: Personal pronouns and possessive markers in Mauritian Creole ................... 196
Table 4.4: Types of verbs in Mauritian Creole ....................................... 223
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Code switching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Conversation Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FL</td>
<td>Fused lects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTA</td>
<td>Face Threatening Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEN</td>
<td>Personal Experience Narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Language mixing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBC</td>
<td>Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Markedness Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Rational Choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RO</td>
<td>Rights and Obligations</td>
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CHAPTER 1
The Language Situation in Mauritius

1.0 Introduction

The main aim of this thesis is to investigate the pragmatic significance of different types of language alternation phenomena in Mauritius. In order to meet the above objective and to delve into sociocultural and linguistic specificities of the island, Chapter 1 of this thesis will sketch out the linguistic profile of the country by focusing on the linguistic history of the island before moving on to problematise the issue of multilingualism in a country struggling with maintaining inter-racial peace in the face of existing ethnic tensions. It will attempt to sketch a thorough picture of the language situation in Mauritius, outlining the emergence of multilingualism as a by-product of colonisation and its subsequent development in later stages of the nation-building project. It will also highlight issues of ethnolinguistic insecurity characterising most of the languages forming part of the Mauritian mosaic. Particular attention will also be placed on the tentative toning down of the ethnic jargon in favour of a more unitary, nationalistic one through the use of multilingualism as a resource—a fact underscored by the use of a hybrid English-French language cluster in the new logo specifically designed for the Mauritian ministry for Tourism.

1.1 Background

Known for its sunny climate and picturesque beaches, Mauritius often claims the limelight as a highly sought-after tourist destination. An oasis of peace and tranquillity, the island along with its dependencies of Rodrigues and Agalega, is also reputed for its political stability as well as the harmonious co-existence of a multiethnic and multilingual populace. However, behind this nice little picture-perfect postcard lies a far more complex scene.
In contrast to its outlying island dependencies, the Mauritius metropole, due to its three successive waves of colonisation, is the only unit out of this three-island conglomerate that offers a true picture of cultural and linguistic métissage. This Mauritian “mongrel” culture (Eriksen 1999, 14) owes a big debt of gratitude to historical serendipity rather than to careful planning. Discovered by Arab and Portuguese sailors in the early 16th century, the island was fitfully inhabited by the Dutch for about two hundred years. Except for the occasional place name along the lines of Plaine Wilhems and Flacq, very little linguistic evidence of the Dutch settlement has survived the test of time (Eriksen 1999).

After the departure of the Dutch, the island was taken over by French colonial powers in the 18th century and transformed into a thriving sugar-producing plantation economy. Renamed ‘Ile de France’, the island reached its apex of administrative and economic success under the aegis of French governor Mahé de Labourdonnais who is widely considered as the founder of the country’s current capital, Port Louis. However, due credit should also be given to the large number of African slaves that were imported to the island as cheap and reliable sources of labour in order to till the land. In the words of Miles (1999, 213):

These [plantation workers] were again slaves, most of whom hailed from Mozambique and elsewhere in East Africa (40–45 percent) and from Madagascar (30–35 percent). […] Small numbers of slaves were transported to the island from Seychelles, Cape Verde, Rio de Janeiro, and West Africa. […] Benin has also been suggested as a source of Mauritian slaves.

One of the direct consequences of such a rich diversity in slave origin is the genesis of the Mauritian Creole that is spoken today in all parts of the island. It also explains the positivist attitude of nationalist pride that multilingualism still generates in present day Mauritius.

A small, isolated island, lost in the middle of the Indian Ocean, the one popular contribution of Mauritius to the world linguistic scene has been through the expression ‘as dead as the dodo’. According to Maas (2010), the dodo which is one of the mascots of the island, could also be considered as a symbol of the multilingual identity of the country. Indeed, the etymology of the term ‘dodo’ is one which still divides historians’ opinions. It is, in fact, widely speculated that
the word ‘dodo’ might originate from either the Portuguese term *doudo*, which means ‘crazy or stupid’ (Roots 2006), or from Dutch *dodoor* meaning ‘sluggard’ (Parish 2012). Actually, in contrast to many animal names which have their own local equivalent, the dodo does not benefit from the same privilege. This fact is pragmatically consequential since, as Fitzgerald (1993, 6) argues, in multicultural and by extension, multilingual communities, names transcend the denotational sphere and become “metaphors of identity”. In other words, the selection of a particular name during an interaction can reveal speakers’ attitudes and feelings towards a particular moniker. Wuthnow (2012), for instance, cites a Los Angeles study that showed how highly assimilated first generation Spanish migrants to the US opted for English-sounding names that were easily translatable into Spanish such as Juan (John) or Miguel (Michael). In contrast, those with lesser degrees of affinity with their Spanish-speaking Latin American home countries displayed very little convergence towards the linguistic practices of their host country and instead, opted for Spanish names only and often even actively discouraged the anglicisation of the names during conversations with non-Hispanics. Similarly, one of the first indications of the co-relation between code-switching (CS) and naming in Mauritius is provided through the historical records of the island which demonstrate the high degree of linguistic diversity that existed in Mauritius from the 16th century onwards (Vaughan 2006). The first instance of the existence of this multilingual repertoire is revealed through the difficulty in tracing the exact origins of the label ‘dodo’ with both the Portuguese and the Dutch, whose sailors are credited as being the ones of the first to use Mauritius as a pit-stop on the way to East Asia, staking their claims over it (Vaughan 2006). Today, the survival of the term ‘dodo’ bears testimony to the rich linguistic history of the island.

Along similar lines, the selection of the name ‘Mauritius’ itself was not such a straightforward process. Historians (for example, Teelock 1998) have all emphasised the contribution, environmental and otherwise, of the different waves of visitors that passed through the island. Grove (1995, 130), for instance, draws attention to the fact that the Arabs were the first known visitors of the island and cites a 1508 map where Mauritius is shown bearing what he presumes is the Arabic name of Dina Robin. However, even this historical fact is mired in linguistic controversy with other historians such as Renaud (1986) arguing for a more pan-Indian explanation for this label by indicating that *Dina arobi* can, in actual fact, trace its roots to
Sanskrit since the Arabic word *Dina* can be linked to the Sanskrit stem *dvipd* meaning ‘island’ (Panyandee and Hugo 2002, 12). This linguistic conundrum was, according to Macmillan (1914) and Correia (2003), further complicated by the foray of the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean. One of the first explorers who can be credited with the naming of Mauritius is Diogo Fernandes Pereira who in 1507, sailed eastwards from Madagascar in the hope of eventually going to Goa, in India (Correia 2003). He first came upon the island of Reunion, today a French territory, and named it ‘Saint Apolonia’ before finally reaching Mauritius which he, in turn, designated as *Ilha do Cerne* — or *Cirne*, as Macmillan (1914) labels it — Swan island, after his ship the *Cerne*. In 1513, the island was visited by Pedro Mascarenhas who used the appellation *Mascarenhas* (present day Mascarene Islands) to refer to Mauritius, Reunion and Rodrigues islands (Correia 2003). When the Dutch reached the island in 1598, historical records reveal that as a symbol of their sovereignty over it, they renamed it *Mauritius* after one of their ships which, coincidentally, happened to have been named in honour of the then Dutch Prince Maurits Van Nassau (Correia 2003). So far, the co-relation between the choice of names, code selection and the need to foreground feelings of loyalty and nationalism towards the colonising country seem to be fairly obvious.

However, as Correia (2003) argues, 16th century usage did not always follow such clear-cut naming patterns. In fact, she reveals that despite the formal change in name, in practice, switches to Portuguese when referring to the island were far more common. This fact is corroborated by contemporary maps which, all tended to eschew the formal label *Mauritius* in favour of its Portuguese counterpart and concurrently labelled it as *Ilha do Cerne, Ilha do Cirne* or *Ilha do Cisne*, all contemporaneous names for ‘swan’. The impact of Portuguese in the multilingual repertoire of the settlers persisted during the French era (1710–1810) as well. Indeed, Correia (2003) draws attention to the fact that despite renaming the island *Ile de France* when they took over the island a few years following the departure of the Dutch, the shift to the national language of the coloniser never seemed to be viewed as a definitive one. In actual fact, in a nod to the Portuguese connection, maps drawn by the French carried on referring to the island as *Ile du Cigne* (or ‘Island of the Swan’).  

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1 Piat (2010, 54) provides an example of a French map depicting the presence of the Ile du Cigne, a few miles off the eastern coast of Madagascar.
With the arrival of the French, though, the co-existence of French with other languages was no longer restricted to lone lexical items such as names. As a matter of fact, the linguistic transformation of the island can be attributed to the French who set about planning and executing the development of a harbour and eventually a fully functional administrative centre in what is now the capital of the country, Port Louis (Teelock 1998). Their ambitious endeavour resulted in the peopling of the country through the large-scale importation of slaves (see Section 1.2 for more detail) and secondly, through the emergence of Port Louis as a key transit point during the long trip to East Asia (Teelock 1998). Vaughan (2005, 35) takes the above argument one step further and highlights the fact that for the French, the take-over of Mauritius was merely a strategic political move: it was “never a jewel in the crown of French colonialism, never the source of riches represented by the sugar colonies of the Antilles”. Its main use for the French was its geographical position as the “key to India” (Vaughan 2005, 35) even after France lost India to the British post the Seven Years' War (Vaughan 2005, 35). For the inhabitants of *Ile de France*, warfare was at the heart of all the socio-political and demographic developments taking place on the island. In fact, though the actual wars all took place on foreign shores, in the bigger picture of the ““theater of war”, their repercussions reverberated through the social fabric of the island. According to the biography of the then governor of Ile de France, Mahé de Labourdonnaïs, in the mid to late eighteenth century, Port Louis served as a base during French conflicts with India and played host to large fleets of ships that needed repairs and reprovisioning (Vaughan 2005, 35).

Consequently, as early as the eighteenth century, multilingualism became part and parcel of daily life on the island. In addition to the slaves and slave-owners already cohabiting on the island, the “huge crews of these ships constituted multicultural and multiracial microsocieties with their own naval patois, their own rules of conduct and their own hierarchies” (Vaughan 2005, 35). Ewald (2000, 70) provides more insight into the naval patois spoken by the crew members and labels them as “boundary crossers”, because of the ways in which they combined elements from East African and Indian vernacular languages during conversational exchanges. Further contributing to this picture of linguistic diversity was the fact that Labourdonnais also imported both skilled and unskilled workers from India and other parts of the world. The demographic heterogeneity of eighteenth century Mauritius becomes particularly noticeable when the district
registers presenting a consolidated list of fugitive workers are consulted. These record the presence of “Abyssinians, Bambaras, Bengalis, Cafres, Guineans, Lascars, Malabars, Malambous, Malays, Talingas and Timorians among the country’s fugitives” (Allen 1999, 42). Interpersonal communication, therefore, could prove to be a challenge since the chances of finding a common linguistic platform were fairly slim.

A similar argument is put forward by Michaelis and Rosalie (2009) who draw attention to the substrate and superstrate languages of the Creole spoken in Seychelles, and by extension, the one spoken in Mauritius. Given the fact that the French colonial administration grouped Seychelles together with Mauritius and Rodrigues and peopled it in much the same way that they did in Mauritius, Creole Seychellois has been through the same historical and developmental milestones as Mauritius resulting in the possibility of today, drawing effective parallels between the two. Michaelis and Rosalie (2009, 217) believe that the formation of the Creole in both countries occurred on the plantations and used French as the superstrate lexifier language. Substrate languages consisted of Malagasy and much more prominently Bantu languages spoken in an area spanning from Zanzibar to Mozambique. Prominent amongst these were languages such as Bemba, Kongo, Makua, Swahili, Sena and Yao (Michaelis and Rosalie 2009, 221). However, they also emphasise the existence of so-called adstrate languages, defined by Pusch and Kabatek (2011, 394) as being “a language that is in (long-lasting) contact with (an)other language(s) and exerts influence on it (them)”. In other words, adstrates were, according to Michaelis and Rosalie (2009), languages that had not been involved in the genesis of the Creole or absorbed by the Creole later on. Instead, they existed alongside it and became part of the multilingual repertoire of speakers, allowing for CS from the Creole to other languages to occur. This observation goes against most popular views regarding the perceived circles of monolingualism that existed during French colonial rule in Mauritius. Indeed, the assumption is that while, on the one hand, slave owners were monolingual in French, on the other hand, slaves born on the island were all monolingual in Mauritian Creole. Michaelis and Rosalie (2009), in contrast, believe that, given the large volume of human traffic on the island during the eighteenth century, such a situation was highly unlikely. Instead, they advocate for the existence of adstrates which, in eighteenth century Mauritius, were likely to be varieties of mainly South Indian languages, Portuguese-influenced Indian Ocean maritime jargon or snippets of Dutch that were
the relics of the initial Dutch settlement of the country. As example, they provide words such as *dalon* (derived from the Tamil term *kadalon*, meaning ‘friend’), the Portuguese-derived lexical item *cascavelle*, which is today the name of a popular tourist village in the west of the island or the large number of Dutch place names such as *Vandermeesch* which are all still used in contemporary Mauritius. Drawing from the above lexical evidence, these researchers believe that CS, far from being the product of the large-scale importation of Indian indentured labour in the nineteenth century, was, in actual fact, always present in Mauritius. Admittedly, at that point in time, language alternation limited itself to lone lexical items and did not occur with the same frequency that it would later do in postcolonial Mauritius. However, viewed from a historical perspective, multilingualism can be a staple of the Mauritian interactional scene.

1.2 Aims and Research Questions

In deference to the multilingual history of the island, the aim of this thesis is to investigate and explain the different patterns of language alternation taking place in face-to-face interactions in the Mauritian context and intends to reveal the complex inter-relationship between macro-societal factors and micro-interactional elements by answering key research questions:

- Firstly, can the typology of language alternation phenomena ranging from simple CS to mixed lects to fusion as put forward by researchers such as Auer (1999), Matras (2000a and 2000b) and Muysken (2000) be observed in the Mauritian context?
- Secondly, does the emergence of such a typology reveal creation of new trends with regards to language alternation phenomena in contemporary Mauritius?
- Lastly, can a sophisticated understanding of the pragmatic significance of such novel forms of code alternation be achieved by looking at mixed codes and fused lect compounds in their respective loci and highlighting their importance with specific reference to the Mauritian context?

1.3 Multilingualism in Mauritius: From the 18th century onwards

Despite the economic prosperity under French rule, the key event in Mauritian history remains the successful takeover of the island by the British in 1810; therein lies the birth of the melting
pot that is Mauritius today. Even after 158 years under British rule, English never became the main language of the land and even today enjoys the paradoxical status of a national tongue that is almost universally shunned in daily life by both the general population and an overwhelming majority of both the written and the broadcast media. Indeed, though unusual in the history of colonial conquest, the terms of the 1810 Act of Capitulation which officially bequeathed Mauritius to Great Britain, guaranteed minimal linguistic and cultural interference on the part of British colonial powers. As Miles (2000, 217) puts it:

The 1814 Treaty of Paris reinforced this understanding. Implicitly, the French language was preserved. Mauritius thus continued to be a French and French Creole speaking society under the relatively unintrusive umbrella of British sovereignty. The one significant exception to Anglo-Saxon aloofness was the judiciary. In 1845 it was decreed that English would become the language of the higher courts.

One immediate consequence of British rule was the abolition of slave trade and subsequently of the institution of slavery itself. Finding itself short of labour, the newly established colonial power turned its attention to newer horizons. In 1829, an experimental group of ‘coolies’ was brought in from India and its success led to the large-scale importation of Indian indentured labourers which saw a dramatic increase as from 1834 (Miles 2000).

Consequently, Mauritian society underwent an important demographic and above all, linguistic revolution. Along with the European languages of French and—to a lesser degree—English and the by now popular Kreol tongue, the Indian languages of Bhojpuri, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil and Telugu\(^2\) were integrated into the Mauritian linguistic mosaic, with Hindi and Urdu valued liturgically as well. With the arrival of Chinese traders from mainland China, Chinese (especially Hakka Chinese) was also embraced by the populace. Of these Asian languages, Bhojpuri underwent the greatest evolution as it was adopted and subsequently nativized by a large majority of the immigrant population. But no language could compete with Kreol for its nationwide utility as a medium of inter-ethnic communication. Consequently, by the mid-

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\(^2\) Throughout this thesis, the labels ‘Creole’ and ‘Kreol’ and secondly ‘Telegu’ and ‘Telugu’ will be used interchangeably. This reflects standard linguistic practice in Mauritius where despite the minor alterations in spellings, both entities refer to the same overarching category.
nineteenth to early twentieth century, there emerged, according to Miles (2000, 217), a “four-part harmony” of Mauritian languages:

Kreol as the uncontested lingua franca; French as the inherited language of social and cultural prestige; English as the language of education, law, public administration and to a [small] degree commerce; and the panoply of Indian and Asian languages.

A similar situation prevails in contemporary Mauritius where multilingualism is more often than not associated with particular ethnic groups highlighting their affiliation to the language of their forebears. The following chart (see Figure 1.1) presents a diagrammatic representation of the Mauritian linguistic melting-pot, in which the fourteen languages enshrined in the Mauritian constitution are represented.

A similar picture of linguistic diversity can be drawn at the metonymical level as well. The island of Mauritius itself, is named after Dutch prince Maurits Van Nassau (McColl 2005); its coat of arms bears the Latin inscription of Stella Clavisque Maris Indici (literally translated as ‘the star and key of the Indian ocean’) while the national anthem is in English. The Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation act of 1982³ constitutionally mandates the sole provider of television broadcasts in Mauritius to show an equal degree of deference to all fourteen of its local languages resulting in a specific channel being dedicated to almost all the above languages, the exceptions being Kutchi and Gujerati which are demographically weaker and consequently, seem to attract a lower level of investment, financial and otherwise, from the government (Rajah-Carrim 2005).

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Thus, viewed as an asset, multilingualism is touted as the key to opening the doors of academic and professional success.

1.4 Mauritius in figures

One of the earliest census reports still cited today remains that carried out by the British colonial powers in 1962, a mere six years prior to the strategic national elections that were to result in the independence of the island. The key question of ‘language most used at home', one which is still unfailingly included in the census today, is sketched in Table 1.1.

What is immediately noticeable in Table 1.1 is the high number of respondents in the not applicable/ not stratified category. This is particularly significant since the deliberate exclusion of Mauritian Bhojpuri as well as varieties of Chinese such as Hakka may have puzzled quite a
few respondents and consequently, skewed the figures presented in this data set. Another anomalous but socially significant fact, remains the quasi-similar results provided by speakers for the adoption of Creole and Hindi as a medium of interaction. The high number of respondents for other Asian languages such as Urdu, Tamil and Chinese also raised quite a few eyebrows given the fact that all the above mentioned languages (except possibly for Chinese), had never been privileged in the home domain even by the original immigrants themselves.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Users</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1,824</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>53,367</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>289,122</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>206,972</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>7,420</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>6,721</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>17,970</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>40,667</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>13,621</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable/Not Stratified</td>
<td>42,873</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: 1962 census figures (adapted from Furlong and Ramharai 2006, 524)

Expressing his ire at such blatant over-reporting and deliberate misrepresentation, linguist Viarahsawmy (cited in Furlong and Ramharai 2006, 524)\(^4\) wrote in a newspaper article for *L’Express* on 22 January 1968:

\(^4\) Furlong and Ramharai’s (2006) anthology consists of a collection of old newspaper clippings dealing with the language issue in Mauritius. This is the most accessible source of information with regards to the language issue in pre-Independence Mauritius.
Firstly, as there is a tendency to despise or even denigrate Creole, those who are ashamed to acknowledge that they are current speakers of the language many have made false entries. The language which from a statistical point of view has benefited from this attitude is undoubtedly French, especially when so many still believe that Creole is ‘only a slightly corrupt form of French’. Also we must not ignore the fact that people who are current speakers of Creole tend to speak Frenchified Creole in the presence of strangers ‘to show that they are not uneducated’. Secondly, language loyalty to the ancestral language must have been prejudicial to Creole. Many, especially those for whom language was the only criterion of distinction made false entries for political ends. This has made Siamese twins of politics and language loyalty.

The above statements are not the spawns of idle ideological chitchat. In fact, the wilful distortion of facts due to linguistic, political and ethnic loyalties is corroborated by stories that form part of Mauritian folklore today. Indeed, popular opinion is quick in acknowledging the 1962 census as a point of non-return in Mauritian history, since it marked the beginning of the long public referendum process that would culminate in the freedom of the country from the British colonial powers. As per the diktats of the British parliament, nationwide suffrage was conditional upon adequate proof of functional literacy—in any language dotting the linguistic landscape—being provided by eligible voters (Furlong and Ramharai 2006). Forced to usher in functional mass literacy, political activists chose to be very strategic in their approach and to focus on the teaching and learning of ancestral languages amongst descendents of indentured labourers (Furlong and Ramharai 2006). Given the fact that the political scene has, from its outset, been dominated by the Indo-Mauritian faction of the population, heightened loyalty to ancestral Asian languages was a foregone conclusion. The atypical linguistic trends brought to light by the 1962 census bear testimony to this fact.

Indeed, this politicisation of language is one that is conspicuous in contemporary Mauritius as well. From a statistical perspective, figures for Creole speakers have always remained high. Yet, deliberate acts of what some social commentators term as linguistic sabotage by pure-blood and fiercely loyal Indo-Mauritians have always skewed figures by artificially inflating the number of speakers for Asian languages in Mauritius (Carpooran 2005). Table 1.2 shows a diachronic evolution in ‘the language most used at home’ question in the last three censuses held in 1983, 1990 and 2000 respectively. Out of all the languages, the only language that has displayed a consistent level of significant increase is Creole while a steady erosion in figures is noticed for
most of the so-called ancestral languages, with the biggest decrease being for Arabic which has nosedived by a margin of 70.7%. Despite this encouraging trend, researchers such as Rajah-Carrim (2005) feel that the 2000 census has still failed to provide an accurate representation of the use of Creole in daily life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1983</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2 028</td>
<td>2 240</td>
<td>3 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>1 813</td>
<td>280 000</td>
<td>82 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>197 050</td>
<td>201 618</td>
<td>142 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>4 707</td>
<td>2 620</td>
<td>6 796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>521 650</td>
<td>652 193</td>
<td>826 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>36 048</td>
<td>34 455</td>
<td>39 953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>111 134</td>
<td>765 000</td>
<td>610 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>12 420</td>
<td>7 535</td>
<td>1 888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>35 646</td>
<td>8 002</td>
<td>3 623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>15 364</td>
<td>6 437</td>
<td>2 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>23 572</td>
<td>6 810</td>
<td>1 789</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2: Diachronic evolution in census figures (Adapted from Carpooran)

While 69% of the total population lay a direct claim on Creole as the language of communication in the home, statistics from the educations sector reveal that approximately 80% of nursery school children (Virahsawmy 2002, Rajah-Carrim 2005) are fluent speakers of Creole, thus hinting at a far more pervasive and dynamic role of the language within families. Such under-reporting of actual usage can be linked, not only to the social stigma attached to Creole but also to the strong ethnic undercurrents that vibrate throughout the Mauritian linguistic community.

In fact, it is not unheard of for socio-religious groups to use the national media as a means to garner mass support for their linguistic ideals, ahead of each decennial census. Rajah-Carrim
(2005) highlights the case of National Telugu Federation which published the following advert (see Figure 1.2) in one of the leading newspapers during the data collection phase for the 1983 census:

```
National Telugu Federation
All Telugus of Mauritius are asked, as regards the new population census, to write in the columns 11-12-13: Telugu-Telugu-Telugu.
Thank You
```

Figure 1.2: Advertisement published by the National Telugu Federation (Cited by Rajah-Carrim 2005, 328)

In Figure 1.2, columns 11, 12 and 13 refer to the categories of ‘resident population by language of forefather’, ‘resident population by language spoken at home’ and ‘resident population by geographical location and language spoken at home’ respectively. Indeed, the conflation between linguistic and ethnic identity in the above advertisement is quite clear. Similar to their Telugu counterparts, such linguistic brainwashing is common in other major ethnic groups as well where the artificial inflation of statistics is viewed as being directly proportional to the loyalty of fellow group members. Eriksen (2007, 159) accurately diagnoses the island with a case of latent ethnic separatism when he reveals that:

Within the Indo-Mauritian communities, notably North Indian Hindus, North Indian Muslims, and Tamils, there are ongoing controversies regarding “cultural purity”, the relationship to Kreol and Western languages (English and French) and Western culture in general, questions of “roots” and so on.

Underscoring ethnic identity through the erroneous acknowledgement of linguistic usage fits in with the campaign waged by socio-religious groups to prevent the severance of the umbilical cord between the Indian subcontinent and Mauritius while simultaneously promoting intra-community cohesion.
Yet, despite its very obvious drawbacks, the 2000 census remains innovative in its explicit acknowledgement of the growing bi- and multilingualism in contemporary Mauritian society. Contrary to previous censuses which focused only on monolingual linguistic usage, the 2000 census investigates the prevalence of bilingual language clusters in the home environment. Table 1.3 offers a diagrammatical representation of the use of each language combination in descending order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>No. of Speakers</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>No. of Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Bhojpuri</td>
<td>64,105</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; European</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; French</td>
<td>33,795</td>
<td>Bhojpuri &amp; Telugu</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri &amp; Hindi</td>
<td>7,298</td>
<td>Chinese &amp; Oriental</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Other European</td>
<td>5,952</td>
<td>Bhojpuri &amp; Other Oriental</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Hindi</td>
<td>4,572</td>
<td>Hindi &amp; Marathi</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Urdu</td>
<td>3,536</td>
<td>Hindi &amp; Tamil</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Tamil</td>
<td>3,274</td>
<td>Hindi &amp; Telugu</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Telugu</td>
<td>2,841</td>
<td>Bhojpuri &amp; Tamil</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European &amp; Oriental</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>Hindi &amp; Urdu</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Other Oriental</td>
<td>1,881</td>
<td>Marathi &amp; Tamil</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French &amp; Other European</td>
<td>1,719</td>
<td>Tamil &amp; Other Oriental</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Marathi.</td>
<td>1,656</td>
<td>Marathi &amp; Other Oriental.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole &amp; Chinese</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>Tamil &amp; Telugu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French &amp; Oriental</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>Marathi &amp; Telugu</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri &amp; Urdu</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>Marathi &amp; Urdu</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri &amp; Marathi</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Tamil &amp; Urdu</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3: Number of bilingual speakers in Mauritius (Table D8, 2000 census, adapted from the Central Statistics Office, Housing and Population Census 2000 report)
The above table is amazingly detailed in its attempt to provide figures for as many language combinations as possible. Surprisingly, despite the bilingual education system and the multilingual everyday interactions, only 5% of the total population claim to speak more than one language in the home, with Creole and French and Creole and Bhojpuri leading the pack (please see underlined text in the first two cells). In fact, a numerical disparity is seen in the case of language clusters such as Marathi and Telugu, Marathi and Urdu and finally Tamil and Urdu which are not spoken by any member of the Mauritian populace. One plausible explanation for the above phenomenon remains the ethnic subdivision of the island. As Rajah-Carrim (2007) highlights, one of the primary concerns of the contemporary Mauritian remains his/her loyalty to his/her ethnic group and with each community laying claim to an ancestral language (Rajah-Carrim 2007), the mere fact of using or claiming to use the language of the other is construed as an act of betrayal that may result in complete communal ostracism (Rajah-Carrim 2007). The above table provides eloquent support to the ethnic lines criss-crossing the island: Marathi is deemed to be the ancestral tongue of the Marathi community, Telugu of the Telugu faction of the Indo-Mauritian population while Urdu is considered as that of the Muslim community. The concurrent utilisation of both tongues would imply ethnic miscegenation—a fact that, despite its increasing prevalence, is still frowned upon by many (Bissoonauth 2012). Indeed, it would seem that significant bilingualism flourishes only in the case of Creole and Bhojpuri as base languages with other more socially or ethnically prestigious ones acting as embedded codes. This is hardly surprising given firstly, the status of Creole as the nation-wide lingua franca and secondly, the status of Bhojpuri as the language transported to Mauritius and spoken by most of the indentured labourers, irrespective of their ethnicity, caste or religious belonging (Bissoonauth 2012).

One striking omission in the above table remains its complete disregard for language clusters of more than two languages. This is particularly problematic since as far as the Mauritian context is concerned, languages such as Hindi and Bhojpuri for example exist in a diglossic relationship resulting in frequent code-switching depending on the H or L function of the interaction. Therefore, speakers of Bhojpuri are, by default, also users of Hindi since both languages are mutually intelligible and are utilized depending on the formality of the domain. In rural areas, especially, this embryonic stage of bilingualism generally paves the way to multilingualism as the ethnic languages are spoken in conjunction with Creole. In any case, such heightened focus
on bilingualism reveals processes of re-negotiations of identity at work (Rajah-Carrim 2005). Typically, Mauritian politics, being dominated by the Indo-Mauritian faction of the populace, is focused on promoting the linguistic diasporic links with India, sometimes even at the detriment of national unity. However, over the years, this issue of dual allegiance has been successfully solved by speakers through their overt preference for two languages instead of one, thus indexing a local as well as a supralocal identity. The official acknowledgement of the existence of bilingualism bears testimony to the ongoing métissage in current Mauritian society.

While commenting on the numerical representation of languages in Mauritius, Eriksen (2007) puts forward the following quadrant (see Figure 1.3) in order to explain the oppositional duality characterising sociolinguistic discourse in Mauritius.

![Figure 1.3: Positions in discourse about language, culture and identity in Mauritius (Eriksen 2007, 164)](image)

As the above table indicates, in Mauritian public discourse, “notions of change, flux, personal choice, and hybridity are routinely contrasted with tradition, stability, commitment to fixed values and purity” (Eriksen 2007, 163). On the one hand, ethnic separatism calls for both linguistic purity and similarity, emphasising the need for a monolingual medium within in-group
interactions. However, as Eriksen (2007), himself points out, the large majority of the communicative acts taking place amongst his informants displayed levels of cultural mixing and difference resulting in the first instance, in the utilisation of languages such as English and French, touted as being more ‘westernised’ due to their association with former colonisers and in the second instance, in the espousing of more local tongues such as Bhojpuri and Creole, especially in contexts where cross-cultural differences need to be glossed over and multiculturalism remains the *maitre mot* of the interaction. Despite its usefulness, the above quadrant can be seen as an oversimplification of the issues of ethnic belonging and fails to adequately represent the cultural heterogeneity of the island. In actual fact, judging from the responses received regarding their bilingual competence, participants seem to hint at their move away from monolingual modes of interaction. Consequently, the above census figures highlight that an increasing number of Mauritians view languages in Mauritius as being part of an all-encompassing spectrum where identity is a question of both multiculturalism and creolisation while ethnic nationalism and cosmopolitanism go hand in hand. The census, therefore, provides empirical proof of the fact that the gap between linguistic essentialism and hybridity is being effectively bridged. The rainbow island is generating its own rainbow language where mixing and matching is a skill rather than a hindrance (Bissoonauth 2012).

Following the publication of the 2000 census report, commentators voiced their expectations regarding the perpetuation of the above trends (Carpooran 2005). However, as the following subsection highlights, the aftermath of the 2000, 2005 and most particularly the 2010 general elections brought about far-reaching changes to the existing status-quo.

1.5 A Period of change: 2000–2013

As elaborated upon in the previous section, the publication of the 2000 census report was met with mixed reactions on the part of linguists and social commentators. Nevertheless, what no one anticipated at that point in time was an overhaul in the whole organisational framework responsible for the design and implementation of the census. Indeed, the new millennium brought with it a change on the political scene in Mauritius as the Movement Militant Mauricien (MMM)-led government was ousted in favour of a coalition government spearheaded by the
Parti Travailliste (also known as the Mauritian Labour Party). From an ethnic perspective, this shift was momentous and its ramifications in the linguistic field are multi-faceted.

In fact, from the very inception of independent Mauritius, the Prime Minister of the island had always hailed from the Indo-Mauritian ethnic faction of the populace. In addition, the father of the nation, the first ever prime minister of the country and one of the founders of the Mauritian Labour Party, Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, was also ethnically a Hindu and he is often credited for his fight during colonial rule for the recognition and teaching of oriental languages at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in Mauritius (Ramloll 2009). Showcasing his strong attachment to his Indian roots and his deep-seated commitment to the promotion of oriental languages, on 29 December 1942, nearly three decades prior to the independence of Mauritius, Ramgoolam, then a member of a select committee set up by the colonial government to deal with education-related issues, eloquently argued for the maintenance of the diasporic ties of Indo-Mauritians with mainland India. In his words (Ramgoolam 1942, cited by Ramloll 2009, emphasis mine):

The Indian community of this island has a strong attachment for its languages. We may spend all our life learning other languages and imbibing other cultures, but until we know what is ours, we will never be able to become a man in the true sense of the world nor we will be able to understand and cherish our culture. The Indians on this island must be taught their languages and that properly and effectively, because that is the only way in which they can preserve their culture and also because they have not the least intention of being denationalised in the process of time.

The overt rhetoric of communal belonging, as expressed so powerfully by Ramgoolam, might initially seem surprising, given the efforts made over the years by all governments to ensure the maintenance of racial harmony by trying to remain politically correct at all times. Yet, the matter-of-fact acceptance of the hegemony of Indo-Mauritians and their need to forge a collective consciousness for themselves by being empowered, both at the social and political

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5 The historical development of oriental languages in Mauritius was presented during parliamentary sessions dealing with the first and second readings of the Hindi Pracharini Sabha (Amendment) Bill presented for the parliament on the 21st of September 2009.

6 Unfortunately, Mauritius has been the scene of two violent racial riots: the first one, in February 1968, just one month before the country parted ways with the British and the second one in February 1999, following the death of popular Seggae (a mixture of Mauritian Sega music with Reggae) singer Kaya while incarcerated at Alcatraz jail (Miles 2000).
levels, with the linguistic tools to do so, has led to theorists such as Eisenlohr (2006, 5) to label Mauritius as being a “Little India”. According to Eisenlohr (2006, 5), viewing language loss as an act of “denationalisation” is but an extension of the ‘Little India Syndrome’ since it denotes a heightened state of sociocultural, linguistic and political symbiosis between the land of origin, India, and its diaspora, resulting in a “hegemonic basis for cultural citizenship in Mauritius”.

This hegemony can be felt in the spheres of language policy and education as well. As a rule, the endorsement of any language at the level of educational policy has often been considered as a strategic move designed to further national unity (Eisenlohr 2006). Mauritius has, to a large extent, refused to adhere to this axiom. In actual fact, in Mauritius, the demographic and sociopolitical clout of the Indo-Mauritians has allowed them to exert powerful lobbies upon successive governments resulting in oriental languages being taught as regular subjects in government-funded primary and secondary institutions (Eisenlohr 2006). The pressure of the Indo-Mauritian electorate proved to be such a strong one that in 1995, campaigns were waged by predominantly Hindu sociocultural organisations to allow all oriental languages to be counted at par with other core subjects such as English, French and Mathematics in the compilation of the final grades and overall ranking achieved by primary level students during the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE). These exams are usually held in Standard Six (the final year of primary schooling in Mauritius) and determine access to a small minority of prestigious secondary schools, known locally as ‘star schools’ (Eisenlohr 2006). Every year, approximately 30,000 Mauritian children take part in the CPE exams and while today, most of them are in a position to be channelled to regional, Catholic or private secondary schools, in 1995, the situation was far more difficult. The ranking system took into account the performance of students in all core subjects (excluding oriental languages) and their weighted average marks was used to classify them in ascending order of excellence (Boswell 2006). Ranks were provided for only the top 3000–5000 students. Others, deemed unranked, could either opt to sit for the CPE exams once more or they could seek admission to any private secondary institution willing to admit them to Form 1 (the first year of secondary schooling). Students having failed the CPE exams twice in a row were—and still are—encouraged to opt for more technical streams such as electric work, plumbing or woodwork and were directed to specialist organisations known as ‘vocational schools’ (Boswell 2006). Many simply dropped
out of the education system altogether. Describing this overly competitive environment as a form of “Indian ocean Mandarinism”, Miles (2000, 219) describes the Mauritian education system as an elaborate “weeding out process” which uses the CPE exams as a platform through which a tiny elite is singled out and through its admission to star schools, is groomed for future financial and professional success.

Traditionally, only core subjects (English, French, Mathematics and Environmental Studies) were considered while calculating the rank of a student. However, in 1995, Indo-Mauritian organisations waged a very vocal campaign in favour of the inclusion of oriental languages as core subjects in the CPE curriculum. Consequently, they attracted the ire of Mauritians of non-Indian origin and of the Catholic church, both of whom claimed that students of Indian origins would be afforded with an unfair advantage over those who did not study any oriental language at all (Eisenlohr 2006). Legal advice was sought and in October 1995, the Mauritian Supreme Court branded the government’s decision to include oriental languages in the CPE ranking as unconstitutional. Angered at what he considered as the slighting of the Indo-Mauritian majority by an ethnic minority, the then prime minister of the island, Aneerood Jugnauth, called for general elections to be held as soon as possible and despite winning himself the support of all major Hindu sociocultural organisations, his party was vanquished by the Labour Party-MMM coalition at the polls (Eisenlohr 2004b and 2006).

Far from being the end of a very unpleasant episode in Mauritian history, matters worsened when the decision of the supreme court was overturned by the Privy Council in London in 1998 and the language issue was, once more, thrust into the sociopolitical limelight (Eisenlohr 2006). Caught in a very difficult situation, the government chose to remain silent. This inaction was further compounded by the breakup of the Labour Party-MMM coalition which saw the former—headed by a Hindu prime minister—take full control over the government (Richards 2012). The next general elections, held in the year 2000, witnessed another drastic change on the political scene as an MMM-led coalition emerged victorious. The 2000 census, therefore, came at a time of political upheaval in Mauritius and despite the worries of linguists regarding

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7 At present, Environmental Studies is no longer offered. Instead, it has been broken down into its constituent components of History, Geography and Science and students need to sit for these three subjects separately.
ethnic biases impacting negatively upon the responses provided by participants, the rise in the percentage of speakers claiming to use Kreol in the home domain foreshadowed a gradual change in attitudes towards the local lingua franca (Richards 2012).

Indeed, history the translation of the national anthem from English to Kreol in 1983 (one year after an MMM coalition government acceded to power) bears testimony to the fact that each time the MMM has been at the forefront of Mauritian politics, its support has proved to be invaluable to the Kreol language (Miles 2000). In 2000, the MMM, together with its partner, the Movement Socialiste Mauricien (MSM), was voted back to power for the second time in the history of independent Mauritius (Richards 2012). The MSM-MMM were old allies and had been in a similar power-sharing position before (Richards 2012). However, their second pairing was founded upon a very unusual arrangement. Conventionally, owing to the demographic majority of the Indo-Mauritians, prime ministers of the island have always tended to hail from the Hindu ethnic group (Richards 2012). The new millennium upset the existing status quo irrevocably when the final two years of the tenure of the MSM-MM government resulted in the first ever non-Hindu prime minister of the country⁸. In the words of Mehta and Mehta (2010, 137):

> It was agreed that the term of prime minister would be split into two halves, and the coalition leader of each party by turn, shall assume the office and each Party shall secure 30 parliamentary seats [out of a total of 60].

Consequently, in a groundbreaking move, the MSM-MMM chose to share the premiership by allowing the leader of the MSM, Aneerood Jugnauth, to govern for three years (2000–2003). Paul Bérenger, the leader of the MMM and crucially, a member of the White, Franco-Mauritian community, took over from his partner in 2004. The latter, after his stint at the head of the country, went on to become its president⁹ (Richards 2012).

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⁸ Elections are held every five years.
⁹ In Mauritius, the president functions only as a ceremonial figurehead who is elected by the National Assembly. Through the power-sharing mechanism established with Paul Bérenger, Aneerood Jugnauth became the fourth president of the country (Richards 2012).
As generally expected, political change became the harbinger of linguistic reforms. On 31 March 2004, a mere three months after the transfer of power from one prime minister to the other, the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research informed the University of Mauritius that the government had agreed to “a proposal of this Ministry to entrust to the University of Mauritius and the Mauritius Institute of Education, under the responsibility of Prof. Vinesh Y. Hookoomsing, Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mauritius, the task of proposing a harmonized way of writing Mauritian Kreol with a view to making use of that language in the education of young Mauritians” (Hookoomsing 2004, i). A team of collaborators comprising linguists and educators from the University of Mauritius and the Mauritius Institute of Education, was subsequently set up and the first ever politically and officially sanctioned orthography was born. So far, in contrast to its neighbour, the Seychelles, where attempts to standardise its Creole had come to fruition, despite its popularity as an intra-island lingua franca, Mauritian Kreol had no official written standard (Hookoomsing 2004). In 1967 as the country was poised on the threshold of independence, linguists like Dev Virahsawmy had expressed their concern about the lack of a national symbol able to unite all Mauritians, irrespective of religious and ethnic belonging (Hookoomsing 2004). Yet, this issue never graced the headlines of any newspaper, neither did it engender any kind of political debate. Newspapers remained conspicuously silent, except for L’Express which, in 1967 and 1968, bravely decided to publish articles by a young linguistic graduate, Virahsawmy (Hookoomsing 2004). A brief chronology of this debate is provided below (see Table 1.4).

Combining the drive of nationalism, the insights of linguistics and the power of rhetoric, these articles were the first to set down the agenda for the recognition, development and standardisation of Mauritian Kreol. Subscribing to the ‘one nation, one language’ policy, Virahsawmy (1967–1968) tried his best to persuade Mauritians to discard their prejudicial attitudes vis-à-vis Kreol by conferring upon it the status of national language. He even went so far as to introduce a tentative spelling system for the language which he used in his maiden Mauritian Kreol play Li (literally translated as ‘Him’, Hookoomsing 2004). The spelling system, called Grafi Aksan sirkonfleks, adhered to phonemic orthographic conventions and used diacritics (the Aksan Sirkonfleks or circumflex accent) to indicate nasalisations. From 1968 to 2004, Virahsawmy would keep modifying and updating the proposed spelling system, teaming
up with *Ledikasyon Pou Travayer* (LPT), an organisation promoting adult literacy and translating many Shakespearean classics such as *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* into Mauritian Creole (Hookoomsing 2004). However, for almost two decades, his efforts were greeted mainly by apathy from the general public.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Title of article</th>
<th>Extract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12th August 1967</td>
<td>Language problems in Mauritius</td>
<td>We, Mauritians, have something in common. It is a very useful tool for the creation of a nation. It can release the feelings of loyalty, self-respect and complete participation. It is the Creole which we speak […] People should not be ashamed of being a Creole speaker. On the contrary, we should be proud of it as it is the most genuine aspect of Mauritian culture. Whether we like it or not, it is our national language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th November 1967</td>
<td>Purism and linguistic prejudices</td>
<td>Creole is here to stay, whether we like it or not. We might as well start using it constructively without shame, prejudice and a feeling of inferiority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd February 1968</td>
<td><em>Mauricien</em>: A need for solidarity</td>
<td>The recent outbreak of violence [the 1968 racial riots] seems to suggest that in general Mauritians of one community often cannot find any element in common with their fellow countrymen belonging to a different ethnic group. What we must all do is find in the Mauritian context all the cross-cultural elements which most, if not all, Mauritians have in common. Mauritius has a language that is spoken by a great majority of the population as a mother tongue. For the rest it is a highly effective lingua franca. By giving it recognition and by helping to wipe out all inferiority feelings concerning it we can have another common denominator at the national level.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.4: Debate on the recognition of Mauritian Creole (Virahsawmy 1967, excerpts from the Mauritius National Archives provided courtesy of Furlong and Ramharai 2006, 516–525)
In 2004, following instructions from the Ministry of Education, a brand new spelling system was finally devised and formally endorsed by the government. Known as *Grafi Larmoni* (literally translated as ‘a harmonised writing system’), it paved the way for the introduction of Kreol as a subject at primary school level and led to predictions by linguists and social commentators alike about an expected rise in the number of respondents purporting to speak the language in the home domain during the next census exercise (Hookoomsing 2004). Understandably, after being stigmatised as a patois, a dialect and even broken French for decades, the official recognition afforded to the language proved to be a popular one amongst voters from non-Indo-Mauritian ethnic backgrounds. Concurring with the above argument, Boswell (2006, 210) claims that despite the high degree of ethnic and cultural métissage on the island, “the reactivation of an *old* interest in primordiality among dominant groups [emphasis in original text]” can be noticed. This is particularly evident in areas like Le Morne whose status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site has helped Creoles to find a common denominator of group membership amongst themselves and to consequently, reify existing ethnic boundaries. In such a climate of ethnic essentialism, language became another highly-valued symbol of in-group belonging and pride with Grafi Larmoni playing an important role in pushing Kreol beyond the traditions of oracy and enhancing its visibility through its written representations.

The aim behind the endorsement of a formal writing system and its official recognition by the MMM-led government a mere one year before the general elections was a clever political move, especially in light of the fact that the 1998 Privy Council decision regarding the inclusion of Oriental Language results in the final grades achieved by students in the CPE exams was also implemented in the year 2004 itself (Sauzier-Uchida 2009). Unfortunately, in the long term, such ideologically-motivated political warfare has resulted in an increase in the workload of CPE students who need to opt for additional subjects such as Hindi, Urdu, Tamil or Telugu not just for ethnic reasons but also with the explicit aim of improving their overall examination results. This high rate of failure that many linguists (Richards 1979) have partly attributed to the cognitive burden of being exposed to so many different languages simultaneously, has caused what Sauzier-Uchida (2009, 107) terms as an “educational catastrophe.” These issues have been consistently highlighted by the MIE following a series of seminal reports published by a team led by its then director in the post-Independence era. Presciently, in 1979, the Richards Report
(Richards 1979, 52) had clearly acknowledged that any decision regarding language situation policy and planning in Mauritius is, in essence, “a political and socio-cultural one”. The need to devise an education system whose policies would suit the perceived linguistic preferences of all ethnic groups—most specifically, those laying claim to an Oriental Language—proved to be specially problematic at primary level where Richards (1979, 51) noted that there was “an imbalance in the Primary Programme because far too much time is taken up with language study. 58% of the time is attached to language [Emphasis mine].” Language policy and planning in contemporary Mauritius is, unfortunately, not very different from the one which prevailed in the late 1970s (Sauzier-Uchida 2009). Consequently, the 2004 decisions regarding the implementation of Oriental languages as examinable subjects and the potential inclusion of Kreol in the primary curriculum in a near future, was not met with unanimous approval from all quarters. While multilingualism was a definite staple of the Mauritian education system, its immediate benefits were not being reaped by one and all.

The general elections held in 2005 witnessed the defeat of the MMM coalition and the reinstatement of a Labour-party majority government. Despite its standardisation, Grafi Larmoni was no longer considered as a priority for the government as the government set into motion an overall reform of the primary education system bringing about the replacement of the ranking system by what was felt to be a more student-friendly “Grade Aggregate” (Government of Mauritius CPE 2008 report, CPE Regulations & Syllabuses) and pushed the ideologically-charged language issue to the backburner. However, despite its aim to steer itself away from politically sensitive issues, in 2008, the Prime Minister's Office also took the decision to transform the island into a “language hub” (Government of Mauritius, 2008), resulting in the creation of the Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Marathi, French, Bhojpuri, Sanskrit, Arabic, Mandarin and Creole Speaking Unions in addition to the pre-existing English and Hindi-Speaking ones. Politically, socially and legally, as from 2008 onwards, Mauritius was, in effect, a multilingual island capable of meeting any of its interactional needs in multiple codes.

10 In response to parents’ concern about the overly competitive and public ranking system, the government introduced a more subtle “grade aggregate” system which provided students only with grades. Access to schools was still determined by the performance of the students but the performance itself was no longer made public. Instead, the Mauritius Examinations Syndicate now automatically sends the best performing students to star schools and channels strugglers either towards repeater classes or vocational schools. The full text is available on http://www.gov.mu/portal/sites/mesweb/cpe_section/2008_cpe_regulations.pdf (last accessed on 8.03.2014)
Despite this overt political support towards multilingualism, in 2010, when the government needed a platform upon which to base its electoral campaign, it decided to bring the controversial issue of the official recognition of Creole in academia back to the limelight (The Hansard 8 June 2010). Their electoral manifesto—together with the 2010 official Hansard records (8 June 2010) — bear testimony to this fact. Indeed, point number 145 on their programme (The Hansard 2010, 26) states that:

Government will work towards the introduction of ‘Mauritian Kreol’ and ‘bhojpuri’ as optional subjects in schools. In this regard, existing research will be supplemented and consolidated so as to develop an agreed standard spelling and grammar [italics in original text].

The above decision was duly implemented through the creation, in 2010 itself, of the Akademi Kreol Morisien (literally translated as the Mauritian Creole Academy, AKM), modelled on the French l’Académie Française, which was tasked with the responsibility of coming up with a standardised spelling for Mauritian Creole before moving on to the creation of a grammar book for teachers (Akademi Kreol Morisien, Lortgraf Kreol Morisien 2011)\(^{11}\). Both objectives were successfully achieved in 2011 and a special Creole Unit was set up at the MIE with the specific intention of training primary school teachers in the teaching and learning of Kreol in all primary schools of the island (Ah-Vee et al. 2012). In total, eighty-three teachers were trained between April 2011 and 21 February 2012 by the MIE (Ah-Vee et al. 2012). Kreol was officially introduced as an optional subject in all government primary schools on World Mother Tongue Day, on the 21st of February 2012 (Ah-Vee et al. 2012). All these measures were, again, deeply political ones and were acknowledged as such at Ah-Vee et al. (2012) in their article for a popular daily newspaper, *Le Mauricien* on 21 April 2012 (Ah-Vee et al. 2012)\(^{12}\). Provocatively titled as ‘Victory Begins to be Won for the Kreol Language in Mauritius’, it highlights the

\(^{11}\) The full text of the document is available on [http://ministry-education.gov.mu/English/educationsector/Documents/Lortograf%20Kreol%20Morisien.pdf](http://ministry-education.gov.mu/English/educationsector/Documents/Lortograf%20Kreol%20Morisien.pdf) (last accessed 8.03.2014). Please note that the document is in Mauritian Creole and that no translation in any other language is available.

pressure that both the government and the opposition parties were under prior to the 2010 general elections. In their words (Ah-Vee et al. 2012):

How did this happen? [...] there were the general elections of 2010, before which both the outgoing Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition began to speak in favour of the mother tongue/s for the first time.

The gamble taken by the outgoing government paid off as they were once more elected into power and within two years of their new mandate, fulfilled the promise they made to their electorate.

Caught in the midst of the above political and linguistic upheavals, no census was held in 2010. In fact, in early 2011, amendments were brought to Act 38 of the 2000 Statistics Act resulting in the renaming and re-organisation of the Central Statistics Office (Consolidated Version of the Statistics Act 201113). Now known as Statistics Mauritius, one of its first tasks was to carry out the long-anticipated but unfortunately delayed Population Census. In a nod to the change in the linguistic status quo in the island, question D10 dealing with the language question brought about one important innovation: it conflated two categories namely ‘language of forefathers’ and ‘language most spoken at home’ into one large, comprehensive table allowing all Mauritians to have a clear snapshot of the current linguistic situation of the island. Table 1.5 provides a diagrammatic representation of this new set of facts and figures. As Table 1.5 highlights, the predictions made by linguists in 2000 were proved to be accurate as more than a million Mauritian speakers claimed to be using it in the home domain despite the fact that only 500,699 speakers believe it to be their ancestral language. In contrast, in spite of the high numbers of speakers opting for oriental languages as their ancestral tongues, a large majority of them acknowledged their shift towards Kreol in the home domain.

13 Full text available on http://statsmauritius.gov.mu/English/Documents/Legislations/act2011all.pdf (last accessed on 08.03.2014)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country, Island and Language of forefathers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Chinese languages</th>
<th>Creole</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Other &amp; N. stated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,236,817</td>
<td>65,289</td>
<td>3,276</td>
<td>1,069,874</td>
<td>5,573</td>
<td>51,214</td>
<td>8,690</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>1,134</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>28,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>238,451</td>
<td>43,878</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>188,229</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Languages</td>
<td>12,077</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,798</td>
<td>8,002</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>500,699</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>484,255</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>11,196</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1,351</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1,062</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>20,099</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>18,667</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>13,256</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,993</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>5,226</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>7,310</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,819</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>19,166</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17,788</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>8,584</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,981</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,272</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7,253</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,487</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other and not stated</td>
<td>408,011</td>
<td>20,878</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>342,839</td>
<td>2,759</td>
<td>18,631</td>
<td>2,809</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>18,519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.5: Section D10 of the 2011 Mauritius Population Census (adapted from the Mauritius Population Census 2011)
This change in attitude over a period of 11 years (from 2000 to 2011) can, clearly, be attributed to the social, linguistic and political upheavals in Mauritius over the course of the past decade. In fact, in an obvious break from tradition, for the 2011 census, Statistics Mauritius also provided details regarding the ‘Other and non-stated’ category, explaining that these numbers also included “non response from Communal Institutions and Collective Quarters” (Mauritius Population Census Report 2011, Vol II, 91–92).

Through this euphemistic reference to the few socio-cultural groups which might have symbolically refused to answer the language question, Statistics Mauritius puts to the fore the oft-cited issues of communal bias and linguistic insecurity that had plagued many ethnic groups. However, despite the ethnicisation of the language issue, a comparative analysis between the 2000 and the 2011 censuses reveals that in eleven years, the number of speakers using the Creole language at home has risen by approximately 400 000 while the overall population itself has increased by roughly 100, 000 inhabitants (moving from 1, 178, 848 individuals in 2000 to 1,236, 817 persons in 2011). The shift in the number of Creole speakers can, thus, not be imputed to an increase in birth rate. According to Lalit (2012), a local political party that has continuously fought for the recognition of Mauritian Creole at national level, the improved performance of Kreol in the national census can be explained by the overtly pro-Creole stance adopted by both the Government and the Opposition during the 2010 general election itself. The following entry, posted on their webpage in the immediate aftermath of the publication of the 2011 census reports, supports the above claims. In their words (Lalit 2012, n.d)\textsuperscript{14}:

Now, over 84% of people say that, at home, they speak only Kreol. The figure in 2000 Census was already 70.1%. This 20% increase pre-dates the introduction of the Kreol language in schools as from 2012. The Government’s recognition of the Kreol language was thus a result of a shift in peoples’ use of Kreol or awareness of their use of Kreol; and the official recognition will, in turn, increase peoples’ use of and consciousness of the importance of their mother tongue [Emphasis mine].

The shift in attitudes, as stated above, coupled with the attempts made by Statistics Mauritius to highlight the disruptive influence of socio-cultural organisations, seems to have finally brought about the much anticipated valorisation of the mother tongue.

\textsuperscript{14} Full text available on http://www.lalitmauritius.org/viewnews.php?id=1407 (last accessed on 8.03.2014)
However, in this case, victory for the mother tongue seems to have been achieved at the expense of multilingualism since census figures regarding the use of a combination of languages in the home domain is not available. The only numerical data available is for section D7 (Mauritius Population Census 2011) where respondents identify bilingual combinations of languages used by their forefathers. While these figures are, in and of themselves, interesting indicators of the bi- or multilingual abilities of the early inhabitants of their island, they do not provide a true reflection of the degree of multilingualism that exists on the island today. The fact that the 2011 census questionnaire did not include any question regarding the bi- and/or multilingual abilities of its populace illustrates the discrepancy that seems to exist between policy and practice in contemporary Mauritius. Indeed, on the one hand, the Government keeps injecting funds into its ‘language hub’ project—a fact corroborated by section 318 of the 2014 Budget which sets aside a trust fund for “8 existing secondary schools to be turned into Specialised Language schools whilst also offering normal classes” (Building A Better Mauritius 2014, 36)15.

Unfortunately, these efforts do not seem to be acknowledged by many organisations, including the government-funded Statistics Mauritius. In fact, the problem regarding the lack of recognition provided, at official level, to multilinguals—especially, speakers who master an Oriental Language along with Mauritian Creole—has resulted in the creation of the group ‘Genocide Watch’ by a team of activists (Soobarah 2012). Labelling the under-emphasis on multilingualism (in particular, multilingualism involving the Bhojpuri language) as a case of “Bhojpuri-bashing”, Soobarah (2012) writes that the main reason behind the apparent disregard of the multilingual abilities of the lay Mauritian is symptomatic of “a characteristic process of linguistic genocide. The Bhojpuri speaker was made to feel uncivilised and his language treated as inferior [...] If the younger generations of those days fell in with that process, it was because of the sorts of psychological pressures that were applied to them by their neighbourhoods and at school. It is difficult for us to understand how they could have fallen for the idea that Creole was more “civilised” than Bhojpuri, but they did indeed come to think so. The ability to speak Creole fluently, and to pretend not to be able to speak Bhojpuri, became a matter of status. Some even started to feel ashamed of their rural relatives (thereby comforting the others’ beliefs in their own

15 Full budget speech available on http://mof.gov.mu/English/Documents/Budget2014/BudgetSpeech2014.pdf (last accessed on 8.03.2014)
superiority and, sadly, in their perception of the naivety of Hindus—a typical process of cultural genocide)” (Soobarah 2012, Emphasis Mine). While genocide might seem to be an overly harsh assessment of the non-recognition of the Bhojpuri language, Soobarah (2012) makes an interesting point namely the fact that speakers deliberately try to underplay their bi- or multilingual abilities in an attempt to climb the socio-economic ladder.

Given the fact that the majority of the languages dotting the Mauritian linguistic landscape hail from India, fears regarding the genocide of one of them immediately generates a climate of apprehension and insecurity regarding the survival and political support provided to other languages. This widespread anxiety surrounding the possible disappearance of multilingualism is not new. In actual fact, the non-inclusion of this issue in the 2011 census evokes memories of indenture when most Mauritian Hindus were doubly oppressed by the Franco-Mauritian plantation owners and the British colonial powers (Eisenlohr 2006). The Franco-Mauritian masters, in particular, are remembered for their dislike of the ways of life, languages and culture of the Hindu labourers (Eisenlohr 2006, 53) so much so that “[v]ersions of Mauritian History told from a Hindu perspective also highlight the attempts to convert Indians to Christianity in colonial times, and the various forms of discrimination non-Christians had to face when they tried to obtain non-manual jobs in the state apparatus”. Given the fact that most Creoles are of the Christian faith, any attempt—deliberate or otherwise—made to promote their language, without due acknowledgement to those of Indo-Mauritians, is viewed with deep suspicion (Eisenlohr 2006).

Consequently, despite the progress made, in attitudinal and by extension, numerical terms, by the Creole language, multilingualism still remains a topical and highly debatable issue. As the following section demonstrates, the language situation in Mauritius is further complicated by Creole ethnic essentialism.
1.6 The Further Ethnicisation of language: The Creole Issue

As seen previously, in spite of governmental support, multilingualism has not been successful in completely quashing all the ethnic overtones associated with language. Ethnicity plays an important role, not only in shaping the statistical outcome of census figures but also in constructing linguistic discourses of power. The following caricature (see Figure 1.4), published by the prestigious daily newspaper *L’Express* in order to commemorate Africa Day is a case in point.

![Figure 1.4: Africa Day and Identity-related issues in Mauritius](image)

Figure 1.4: Africa Day and Identity-related issues in Mauritius (Copyright Stephane Benoit 2010, published by *L’Express*, 25th May 2010)

The above cartoon reveals the discomfort of most Mauritians to come to terms with the diasporic link between mainland Africa and Mauritius. In fact, slavery and the Creole that came out of it are unpleasant facts that are all too readily glossed over in contemporary Mauritius. Popularly referred to as *Le Malaise Creole* (or the Creole ailment), this derogatory attitude towards Creole and its users is one which frequently grabs the limelight, so much so that official measures have

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16 A translation of the caricature is provided below:
A: The development having taken place in your country is inspiring.
B: Europe helped us out a lot since we are part of the ACP.
A: ACP? What’s that?
B: African, Caribbean and Pacific!
A: But you are neither Caribbean nor Pacific in origin.
B: Yes, that’s true. We must be Africans then!
had to be taken to counterbalance such acts of sociolinguistic prejudice. The *Semaine de la Creolite* (literally translated as the Week of Creoleness) is a yearly festival marking attempts at rehabilitation initiated by the Mauritian authorities in order to instil a sense of pride in the sociocultural and linguistic heritage of the colourful past of the island. However, success is a matter of degree.

In fact, the peaceful façade that Mauritius offers to the world hides an ever-present linguistic and cultural tension, caused by shifting allegiances between ethnic and national identity. In the words of Moorghen and Domingue (1982, 51):

> The multicultural population of Mauritius is essentially an ‘assemblage’ of majority and minority groups with no deep or real feelings of belonging to the same nation. These groups want their cultures to be safeguarded, and the conflicts which have arisen up to now have always originated from an event which was felt as a menace to one community or another.

Such ‘communalism’—as it is so appropriately termed in Mauritian parlance—is deplored by the intelligentsia whose struggles against the stronghold of ethnic labelling have, so far, proved to be an exercise in futility. One possible cause for such strong feelings of separatism is the lack of consideration for ethnic specificities witnessed during colonial rule where “no community could claim to be ethnically associated with the political overhead” (Moorghen and Domingue 1982, 52). A direct consequence of such a strict ethnic policy is the ongoing fight for political and by extension linguistic power in present day Mauritius. Carpooran (2010, 159) labels this phenomenon as “consensus negative [negative consensus]”, a process of reciprocal avoidance in communities promoting societal multilingualism whereby surface agreement functions only as a form of political correctness. In contrast, covert disagreement festers and gives rise to an increasing panoply of “ethnonyms” (Moorghen and Domingue 1982, 158), languages that cannot be divorced from their ethnic groups and whose juxtaposition has significant pragmatic consequences.

Arguably, the only language that has managed to escape any strong ethnic labelling is English which is still perceived as being the benchmark for neutrality in the island. In contrast, French, despite being the de facto semi-official language, cannot aspire to the same veneer of neutrality
because of its historically close ties with the Franco-Mauritian community. As for other ancestral languages, having from the outset been ethnically marked, their scope to be elevated to the status of lingua franca has always been limited. Governmental financial policies provide further sanction to this complex state of affairs since funding for the promotion of languages is only provided to those with a well-established link to a particular ethnic or so-called ancestral speech community. The only language that, so far, remains harder to categorise is Mauritian Creole or Kreol.

While it is usually heavily stigmatised because of its slave origins, it still remains the code that is the most widely adopted nationally. Loved and loathed in equal measure, it owes its paradoxical status to a constitutional oversight. Indeed, while all languages are constitutionally acknowledged as being associated with particular ethnic groups and are thus eligible for governmental funding, Kreol does not benefit from the same legal leeway. In actual fact, as per the constitution, the Creole community does not exist. Ergo the status of Kreol as an ancestral language and as an ethnonym is also non-existent! This is surprising especially in a country that has always done its utmost in order to accommodate the specific requirements of all its ethnic groups. Yet, due consideration and a perceived willingness for tolerance towards multi-ethnicity and multi-lingualism has never been enforced at the constitutional level where Creoles are still categorised as forming part of the catch-all ‘general population’ category. The following excerpt from Section 31 (2) of the First Schedule of the Constitution (1968) leaves no scope for any ambiguity:

For the purposes of this Schedule, the population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community and a Sino-Mauritian community; and every person who does not appear, from his way of life, to belong to one or other of those 3 communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population, which shall itself be regarded as a fourth community.

The above hierarchy is corroborated by the statistical breakdown of the island’s population. Accordingly, the numerical representation of the four ethnic groups reified in the Constitution are as follows: Hindus account for 49% of the total population, Muslims for 17%, the Sino-Mauritians who follow Buddhism for 0.4% and the General Population who follow Christianity for 32% (Table D5, Mauritius population Census Report 2011, Vol II, 78). Other smaller
linguistic communities such as Tamils, Telugus and Marathis are subsumed within the Hindu category while the General Population label includes Franco-Mauritians. A distinction is usually made between the ‘ti-Créoles’ (descendents of slaves) and the more bourgeois ‘white’ community, the statistical conflation between these two groups being explained by their shared Catholic faith. As per the latest Census report, 1.6% of the population claim not to fall into any of the above categories and are, as a result, provided with a more non-descript ‘Other’ label.

In essence, Section 31 provides an apt summary of the language problem in Mauritius. Through the use of such clinical terminology, the constitution indirectly delegitimizes Creolehood and sanctions governmental apathy towards the Kreol tongue. By their very origins and sociocultural and linguistic definitions, Creoles bridge the gap between other ethnic communities and their varying ancestral languages by putting their own ethnic identity at stake. Unfortunately for them, the use of Kreol as language of compromise and a lingua franca par excellence comes at a high price. In fact, it should be kept in mind that the topple of the 1983 coalition government was in large part due to the translation and broadcast of the national anthem (originally written in English) in Kreol (Eisenlohr 2007). Promoted by the state-controlled Mauritius Broadcasting Authority as “the national anthem sung in the national language” (Eisenlohr 2007, 968), the performance sparked such widespread protest that it has not been repeated ever since.

Further underlining their own marginalisation, Creoles themselves view their group as being “stripped of ambition, identity, and future planning” (Miles 1999, 219). Indeed, the Creole community is plagued by negative social stereotypes which depict them as favouring a self-indulgent, hedonistic lifestyle at the expense of both the acquisition of functional literacy and a stable professional and personal life (Miles 1999). As a matter of fact, when politicians in the country reiterate their commitment towards the eradication of poverty and the prevention of ghettoisation, it is understood that those who struggle to make ends meet and run the risk of being socially marginalised are, invariably, Creole. Despite the impressively high rate of functional literacy on the island, (97.8% in the 15–24 age group in 2011, UNESCO Statistics, http://stats.uis.unesco.org)\textsuperscript{17}, the fact remains that the Mauritian education system is a highly

\textsuperscript{17} Statistics available on
competitive one. Indeed, over the course of their thirteen years at primary and secondary school, more than 50% of the total student population will, eventually, drop out of the education system altogether (Carroll and Carroll 2000). In any given year, the rate of failure for most examinations taken by students hovers between 30–40% mark (ibid). Unfortunately, it is usually within the schools located in primarily Creole-dominant catchment areas — also known as Zones D’éducation Prioritaires or ZEP schools (literally translated as Priority Education Schools) — that the highest rates of failure are noted. In a small, densely populated island where the unemployment rate has seen a slow but steady increase, attitudes towards the three examinations which open the doors to white-collar jobs (Certificate of Primary Education CPE, Secondary or School Certificate SC and Higher Secondary or Higher School Certificate HSC) have become extremely competitive (Miles 1999). This has, consequently, led to the emergence of a fee-paying after-school tutoring system where teachers charge an increasingly high monthly fee in exchange for one to two hours of extra coaching per week (Miles 1999). Students whose families are unable to afford these afternoon and week-end tuition sessions, often find themselves unable to compete with their fellow classmates who hail from wealthier socioeconomic backgrounds. As a result, their academic performance plummets and they are, gradually, phased out of the mainstream education system (Miles 1999, Carroll and Carroll 2000). The majority of these school drop-outs belong to the Creole community, thus ensuring that from one generation to the next, the relentless cycle of poverty and illiteracy is maintained (ibid).

Unfortunately, Creoles have accepted their legally-approved marginalisation for decades and this situation would have gone on unchallenged for another few decades, if the events of February 1999 had not shaken the very foundations of Mauritian society. On 22 February 1999, the usual peace and harmony of the island were undermined by a series of violent riots that broke out in Creole-dominant areas and eventually spread to the rest of the country (Miles 1999). Port Louis, the capital of the island, became a 'no-go' zone and the country ground to a standstill as schools closed for a period of one week and all Mauritians were urged to stay indoors (Eriksen 1994). The reason for the eruption of violence on such a national scale was the demise in police custody of Kaya, a popular Creole singer who had been incarcerated for smoking marijuana in public

http://www.uis.unesco.org/DataCentre/Pages/country-profile.aspx?code=4800&regioncode=40540&SPSLanguage=EN (Last accessed on 8.03.2014)
In addition, it was being widely speculated that his death was caused by internal injuries sustained during harsh interrogation sessions carried out by the police (Eriksen 1994). In a country where very few Creoles manage to integrate the public services sector, the perceived brutality of the police towards one of their own, fanned the embers of inter-ethnic conflict. This social issue is known locally as ‘Le Malaise Créole’ or the 'Creole unease' (Miles 1999, Eriksen 1994). Coined in 1993 by the Catholic priest Roger Cerveaux, the term sets down the deep ethnic cleavage existing between successive Indo-Mauritian governments and a liminal and socioeconomically marginalised Creole minority. Adopted and perpetuated by the media, it has become a symbol of the injustice that Creoles appear to face at the social, political and eventually the linguistic level (Miles 1999).

In brief, multilingualism in Mauritius is a thorny issue. The choices available to a speaker are constrained by multiple ethnic connotations. While Kreol is most certainly adopted as the base language, because of its corresponding social and constitutional liminality, it is one which holds no actual conversational power and simply sets into motion a casual dynamic revolving around camaraderie. Switching to English or even French are required as supplementary devices in order to convey crucial nuggets of information while a move to any other ancestral language is perceived as being indexical of a more local, ethnically-centred identity.

1.7 Multilingualism and Language Choice in Mauritius

Despite the issues outlined in the previous subsection, multilingualism in Mauritius is not always viewed as an insurmountable problem. In fact, surprisingly enough, the above mentioned linguistic issues have simply hardened the resolve of Mauritius to capitalise on the cosmopolitan allure that multilingualism confers upon it. As early as 1979, the Frank Richards Report (Richards 1979) cited the recommendation of one of its key members, Mr. U. Bissoondoyal who called upon the introduction of a language policy that would remain sensitive to the socio-cultural history of the island. Advocating for the introduction of a (temporary) “three-language formula” (Richards 1979, 53), he believed that in addition to the formal knowledge of English and French, all Mauritians must be exposed to “preferably an Oriental language” (Richards 1979, 53) during the course of their school life. Taking the example of the nineteenth century Royal
College where Oriental languages were offered to students of all ethnic origins, he called for the implementation of a system where tri-lingualism would be an institutional norm whilst the Creole language underwent standardisation and “be[came] a means of liberation, expression and instruction” (Richards 1979, 53). Although the above recommendation has never been officially implemented, it has provided a powerful springboard for both governmental and non-governmental bodies to promote multilingualism.

The above attitude exists in contemporary Mauritius as well. This is evidenced by the aggressive publicity carried out by the Mauritius Tourism Promotion Authority boasting about the merits of its multilingual populace abroad in an attempt to boost the image of the island as a vacation hotspot. Even at the level of linguistic usage, multilingualism is viewed as a powerful tool in the range of choices available to an interlocutor. Over the years, multilingualism and language alternation phenomena have become quite entrenched in Mauritian culture, resulting in some linguistically complex, but nevertheless interesting forms of playfulness. For example, it would not be uncommon to overhear a speaker responding to the birthday wishes of his addressee with the Kreol expression *pa touy mwa* ‘don’t kill me’. This might sound odd to foreign ears but it invariably ends up generating raucous laughter amongst the local population. The comedy lies, in fact, in the phonetic similitude between the English words ‘to you’ [tʊ jʊ] and the Kreol ones *touy ou* (kill you) [tʊjoʊ]. The only difference is at the level of syllable boundaries. In other words, offering birthday greetings to a Mauritian can prove to be challenging in terms of social etiquette since it can be deliberately misconstrued as being an overt threat to his physical wellbeing. Decades of language contact have even resulted in the redefinition of basic terms such as ‘nation’. Eriksen (1994, 553) provides an insight into the colourful mosaic that is Mauritian multilingualism in the following statement:

> When in the 1970s and the early 1980s, the radical MMM party launched its slogan, *En Sel Lepep, En Sel Nasyon* (A single people, a single nation), there was much confusion. “What can you expect,” comments a journalist retrospectively, “considering that *nasyon* in Kreol usually means *jati* [literally translated as ‘caste’].

The failure of the MMM’s political campaign can be directly imputed to the varying meanings of the word ‘nasyon [nation]’ in different contexts. Indeed, ‘nasyon’ can refer to a person of Creole
origins, a member of a particular caste (especially applicable in the case of the Indo-Mauritian community) and finally to the Republic of Mauritius. The plurality of meanings in this simple word indicates the different types of social identities being indexed simultaneously and creates a linguistic conundrum that the uninitiated may find hard to decipher.

A similar degree of multilingualism can be found in both High (H) and Low (L) functions (Ferguson 1959) in regular face-to-face interactions. Carpooran (2003, 239)\(^{18}\) provides the following example of multilingualism and language contact in the Mauritian parliament.

Dr. Bunwaree: What does the minister feel about the infrastructure of the old hospitals? A patient ran away through the window of the toilet on the ground floor and another one threw himself from the third floor of a hospital. I think it is the infrastructure of the hospital which is not good. The Minister has not talked about that. What does he feel about that?

The Deputy Prime Minister: I do not think we can come to a point where we can attach one nursing staff to one patient.

Dr. Bunwaree: Mette barreaux.

*Have burglar bars installed.*

The Deputy Prime Minister: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we do not want patients to be prisoners. […]

The above extract comes from an undeniably H setting where the unmarked medium of interaction is English and any switch to Kreol is not only unexpected but also pragmatically significant. In this case, Dr. Bunwaree, a member of the opposition is addressing a question to the deputy prime minister with regards to the lack of patient monitoring and safety in local hospitals. Phrased in English, the latter’s reply follows the norms of decorum adhered to by all members of the parliament. This status quo is irreversibly disturbed through Dr. Bunwaree’s rejoinder in Kreol. Interestingly though, his sarcastic request to have burglar bars installed in an attempt to restrict the movement of patients is taken on board by the deputy prime minister who, once more formulates his cutting remark in English.

\(^{18}\) While the original extract of the parliamentary proceedings are taken from Carpooran’s work, the translations provided are mine. Henceforth, all translations will be mine.
Similar types of witty repartee abound in the collection of extracts provided by Carpooran (2003), thus revealing that even in H settings, multilingualism is part and parcel of daily communication. Indeed, particularly noticeable in the above extract remains the reaction of the deputy prime minister who provides an instantaneous response to Dr. Bunwaree’s suggestion despite the latter’s switch to Kreol. This suggests the quasi-formulaic nature of multilingualism in the parliament where English is reserved for high-priority and other important items on the agenda. Functioning like a weapon in the linguistic arsenal of both the ruling and the opposition party, multilingualism allows politicians to cleverly mix “le passionnel [...] avec l’intellectuel” (Carpooran 2003, 245). Such a hybrid form of communication reveals the importance of multilingualism and language contact phenomena in the Mauritian political arena.

The extract below (Eisenlohr 2004a, 70), this time taken from a L setting, further corroborates the above observations with regards to the emergence of a form of user-friendly but nevertheless pragmatically consequential form of linguistic juxtaposition. As the following excerpt (Eisenlohr 2004a, 70) reveals, the same idea is presented in three different ways revealing the degree of hybridisation brought about by multilingualism.

Speaker: Kyonki jab ek admi kam rok deta hai [Hindi]
Kyonki jab ego [Bhojpuri] admi kam rok dewela
Parski [Kreol] jab ego admi kam arrete [Kreol] kar
dewela

*Because when a man stops working*

The above excerpt showcases only a few lines taken from a much longer address and reveals three speech levels where sentences that share the same referential meaning “differ in their lexical values, mainly through lexical substitution, resulting in a particular register-effect” (Eisenlohr 2004a, 70). Indeed, the above excerpt creates a cline from pure, unadulterated Hindi, to a Hindi-Bhojpuri mix and finally to a Hindi-Kreol-Bhojpuri cluster, thus revealing a gradual move from the formal to casual in an attempt to achieve rhetorical effectiveness.

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19 Literally translated as 'mixing passion with intelligence'.
Multilingualism, in this case, despite being repetitive, is expected and serves to highlight the need of the speaker to index both a local ethnic identity and a more nationalistic Mauritian one. Language juxtaposition, in this case, provides him with the required resources to subtly alter the ingredients in the conversational interaction in order to modify the pragmatic flavour of the final product. As the above two extracts reveal, multilingualism is an integral part of the daily life of Mauritians. Eriksen (1991, 22) attributes the need for such hybrid language clusters to the creation of a unique brand of Mauritian nationalism which “seems to depend on the containment of […] differences to the contexts where ethnic segmentary oppositions do not interfere with the principle of the state”. In other words, multilingualism provides a creative means to speakers to sidestep the issue of ethnolinguistic labelling in order to ensure a harmonious co-existence of the multiple ethnic factions that constitute the Mauritian rainbow island.

The public acknowledgement of the multilingual status of the Mauritian populace comes from The Ministry of Tourism and Leisure website (Ministry of Tourism and Leisure, Mauritius, 2014) which presents the following assessment of the language situation in Mauritius:

The population is estimated at 1.2 million. It forms a mosaic of different races, cultures and religions since Mauritians are descendants of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent, Africa, Europe and China. The cultural diversity and racial harmony of the island make of Mauritius a unique place. Most Mauritians are multilingual, being fluent in Creole, French and English. English is the official language. Bhojpuri, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Marathi, Telugu and Mandarin are also spoken.

The above is interesting in its overt association between language and ethnic origins. Given the degree of linguistic métissage that exists on the island, such a strict delimitation of boundaries is quite surprising. Indeed, more than two centuries after British and French colonisation, the Mauritian population has fused into an amalgam of languages, as evidenced by the large number of borrowings from Creole into other languages and vice-versa in both H and L situations. Mauritian pop culture displays an equal measure of synthesis, relying on a quick and efficient combination of codes to get the message across instead of opting for an elusive ‘pure’ variety of any one particular tongue.

20 Full text available on http://tourism.gov.mu/English/AboutUs/Pages/About-Mauritius.aspx#gen (last accessed on 01.06.2014)
In a bid to accommodate this gradual change in linguistic practices, last year the Mauritian government sought to provide its tourism industry with a logo which would subsequently act as brand-ambassador for the tourism sector, thus boosting the profile of this small, insular state abroad. Unveiled with a lot of pomp by the then minister of Tourism and fully endorsed by the Government, this marketing tool took the following shape (see Figure 1.5). As a promotional tool, the logo below is of symbolic significance in its mixing of English and French. In the words of the then minister of Tourism, Xavier Luc Duval (Bucktowarsingh 2009, *L’Express* Newspaper of the 28 October 2009)\textsuperscript{21}:

\begin{quote}
Ils ont voulu à travers ce jeu linguistique, refléter la multitude de langues et de cultures qui prévalent à Maurice
\end{quote}

*Through this linguistic word play, they [the firm responsible for the design of the logo] wanted to reflect the multitude of languages and cultures that exist in Mauritius. [Translation mine]*\textsuperscript{22}

These feelings of cultural and linguistic verisimilitude, however, did not meet with unanimous approval.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{logo_of_mauritius.png}
\caption{Figure 1.5: Source of discontent: the logo of Mauritius\textsuperscript{23}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{21} For further information, please see http://www.lexpress.mu/services/epaper-69173-b-parlement-l-opposition-s-enprend-a-l-exercice-de-rebranding-b.html (last accessed 14.03.11)

\textsuperscript{22} All subsequent translations will be mine.

\textsuperscript{23} Literally translated as ‘Mauritius: It’s a pleasure’.
In fact, the hybridisation of language provoked the ire of the opposition who was very vocal in denouncing the lacklustre appeal of the Mauritian brand. Very eloquently worded, their complaint was directed at the selection of a code-mix instead of a ‘pure’ variety of either English or French—languages which would have, according to them, increased the prestige value and credibility of Mauritius as an emerging superpower in the tourism and hospitality industry.

“Même nos enfants au pré-primaire auraient mieux fait [even our kindergarten students would have performed better]” (L’Express, 28 October 2009, translation mine): Such derogatory comments became a staple of the daily newspapers as various governmental and non-governmental organisations claimed the limelight in a puritanical attempt to publicly protest against what was felt to be the shameful export of the bastardised by-product of the frequent contact between two socially prestigious codes.

As the above example reveals, despite the care taken by successive governments to market the island as a haven of multilingualism, code-switching in Mauritius is still met with its fair share of resistance from various quarters. To make matters worse, the uncertain status of Mauritian Creole or Kreol within this emerging CS matrix just serves to fuel the fire of linguistic and by extension ethnic insecurity. Similar to a large majority of Creole-speaking countries around the work, language policy and social attitudes are not kind towards the native Kreol. The above logo proves to be problematic, therefore, not simply due to its blasé attitude towards code-switching but also because of the deliberate exclusion of Kreol from the branding exercise. Mauritian linguist Carpooran (2009, translation mine) hits the nail on the head in his written missive to L’Express dated 16 October 2009. To quote him:

Cela ne me dérange pas au niveau des symboles linguistiques. Je pense, cependant, que si on voulait valoriser quelque chose de spécifique à Maurice et mettre en avant le bilinguisme français-anglais, on aurait aussi pu penser au créole. Ce qui me fait dire que la langue la plus parlée des Mauriciens a été oubliée dans cet exercice. On aurait pu imaginer à une formule incluant les trois langues, voire d’autres langues en filigrane.

[This does not disturb me at the level of linguistic symbolism. I think, however, that Kreol should have been thought of, had been any serious wish to valorise any
specific item or to promote patterns of bilingualism other than those of English and 
French. This leads me to state that the language that is the most spoken by the 
Mauritians has been forgotten in this exercise. A formula seeking to include the 
above three language and perhaps other minority languages could have been 
adopted].

Code-switching, therefore, brings additional disrepute to an already heavily stigmatised variety. 
Based on Carpooran’s assertions, it would seem fair to come up with a typology that describes 
code-switching not just in terms of degree but also in terms of social approval and prestige. 
While patterns of English-French language alternation are at best tolerated, those involving 
Kreol do not always meet with an equal measure of indulgence.

As the above arguments illustrate, language choice in Mauritius is a loaded issue, surrounded by 
a number of social connotations. L’Express newspaper manages to have the last word in this 
whole debate regarding the sociolinguistic value of code-switching as a metonymical 
representation of the island. Providing closure to a few weeks of heated exchanges, an 
anonymous contributor to the newspaper labelled the issue of language choice as a handy tool 
responsible for the generation of “[une] identité compétitive [a competitive identity]” (L’Express, 
28 October 2009, translation mine). The above descriptor seems to be rather oxymoronic. 
According to Edwards (2009, 19), the word ‘identity’ is derived from the Latin stem ‘idem’ 
meaning ‘similarity’: Identity, hence, is a question of grouping oneself according to inherent 
commonalities. Consequently, the notion of a competitive identity is one that sows that seed of 
discord amongst an otherwise seemingly cohesive populace.

In a nation that takes pride in its status as a ‘rainbow island’, the concept of a shared identity 
fashioned after years of suffering under colonial rule is one that has been aggressively advertised 
by successive governments. The notion of a competitive identity, therefore, is in 
contradistinction to ideology underpinning nation-building in Mauritius. That code-switching 
(CS) is associated with this sense of competitiveness that may eventually upset the existing status 
quo, is disturbing to say the least.

In other words, this section reveals that while the question of language choice in Mauritius is not 
one that frequently grabs the headlines, the negative fallout resulting from the branding exercise
serves to highlight the oft-hidden feelings of insecurity that characterise the language issue in Mauritius. It also shows how ‘negative consensus’ (see section 1.4 for more detail) can promote a veneer of linguistic hypocrisy which has the potential to be forcefully stripped away as the language debate heats up.

1.8 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis will be structured in the following way. Chapter 2 will provide an insight into the theoretical frameworks adopted in order to investigate the different patterns of language alternation in this study while Chapter 3 will offer readers with an overview into the data collection and analytical practices used during the course of this project. Building upon the above perspectives, Chapter 4 will present the findings of this study and will attempt to explain these in relation to the macro-sociolinguistic situation of the island. On a concluding note, Chapter 5 will, then, put forward a summary of all the findings uncovered by this project together with tentative proposals for further research in the field of language alternation phenomena as a whole.
CHAPTER 2
Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The following chapter will provide an insight into seminal approaches adopted in the study of CS before moving on to focus on the typologies of language alternation phenomena put forward by scholars such as Auer (1998), Backus (2003), Matras (2000a, 2000b) and Muysken (2000) amongst others.

2.1 Traditional perspectives on code-switching

In his seminal article about conversational code-switching, Auer (1984, 105) reveals that:

Although many linguists have for a long time held the view that conversational code-switching is not meaningful at all, it is—thanks above all to Gumperz’s work—widely accepted today that conversational code-alternation has interactional meaning.

Indeed, quite a lot of pioneering research on CS has focused on the need to highlight its orderliness. This attempt to rehabilitate language alternation phenomena has been undertaken from multiple perspectives. The following schematic representation (see Figure 2.1) from Gafaranga and Torras (2002b, 530) provides an apt summary of the various theoretical paradigms existing within the field of language alternation. In thinking about these paradigms, Myers-Scotton’s (1988, 1995) Markedness Model (MM) and Rational Choice (RC) Model (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001), Gumperz’s (1971, 1982) notion of contextualization cues and we/they codes as well as Auer’s (1984, 1988, 1995, 2001) Conversation Analytic (CA) approach will be crucial to our understanding of the field of CS as a whole. The grammatical perspective, while interesting in itself, falls outside the scope of this study which seeks to narrow its focus to recent developments within the socio-functional paradigms.
One of the first studies dealing with the pragmatic significance of CS was carried out by Gumperz (1982, 93) who adopted a socio-functional perspective:

There is a need for a social theory which accounts for the communicative functions of linguistic variability and for its relation to speakers’ goals without reference to untestable functionalist assumptions about conformity or non-conformance to a closed system of norms.

In other words, Gumperz was interested, not necessarily in the structure of language in society but in actual face-to-face interaction. Central to this sense of communication as a coordinated activity is obviously the negotiation of meanings between participants. Put simply, he believed that interactional sociolinguistics should account for the fact that people may fail to understand each other even when they have a shared common language. Conversely, therefore, it should also help to explain how participants in interaction manage to communicate successfully.
Gumperz (1982, 131) answers both questions by revealing that successful communication, just like the lack of it, is a matter of “contextualization cues”, “surface features of message form which [...] speakers (use to) signal and listeners (to) interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows [it]” (Gumperz 1982, 131). Such cues may be phonetic, syntactic, lexical or stylistic. They may consist of formulaic routines and expressions, discourse routines such as openings and closings, speech delivery features such as prosody (loudness, tempo, stress, intonation, silence or laughter) and lastly of CS (Gumperz 1982, 98):

Code switching signals contextual information equivalent to what in monolingual settings is conveyed through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes. It generates the presuppositions in terms of which the content of what is said is decoded.

In line with the above, Gumperz (1982, 66) defines his method of interpreting CS as follows. In bilingual communities, languages are associated with different values and identities. One is the “we-code”, the other is the “they-code” (Gumperz 1982, 66). In most cases, the minority we-code is associated with ethnically-specific in-group interaction while the they-code is reserved for more formal and less intimate out-group relationships.

Gumperz’s (1982, 98) framework as discussed above allows two uses of language alternation as a conversational strategy, the first being situational switching which is defined as “a code or speech style [...] always associated with a certain class of activities, it comes to signify or connote them, so that its very use can signal the enactment of these activities even in the absence of other clear contextual cues”. Messages are interpreted against the backdrop of the norms and symbolic associations that a particular code embodies. The second use of language alternation as a discourse strategy is that of metaphorical code-switching. Just like its counterpart situational CS, metaphorical CS draws on the co-association between language varieties and social situations. However, the two are different in the sense that situational CS consists of a direct application of such co-associative rules while metaphorical CS operates through a “violation of co-occurrence expectations” (Gumperz 1982, 98). In other words, “[the] signalling mechanism
involved is a shift in contextualization cues, which is not accompanied by a shift in topic and other extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation” (Gumperz 1982, 98).

Such deviance from the norm suggests to the interlocutor that some aspects of the connotations which elsewhere apply to the activity as a whole are, here, to be treated differently. In Gafaranga’s (2007a, 287) terms, “something other than ideational content is being communicated”. Over the years, this notion of metaphorical switching has been exploited by other researchers such as Bamiro (2006, 24) who views such forms of switching as being “covert” tactics adopted by bilingual speakers in order to project an identity or to index a change in the power or solidarity dimension through inclusion or exclusion from in-group membership via linguistic and subsequent status manipulation.

The above observation is supported by Gardner-Chloros (2009a) who uses Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985, 280) notion of “acts of identity” to highlight the desire of speakers to underscore their sense of belonging and loyalty to a particular group through the simultaneous manipulation of different codes. This argument finds additional support in Rampton (1995) whose study focusing on the use of Punjabi and Creole in Britain displays a clear correlation between the use of CS and the negotiation of trans-racial identities. Ethnicity, one of the building blocks of social identity, is viewed by Rampton as being crucial in shaping distinctive patterns of communicative competence through its ability to influence the selection and maintenance of specific codes in multi-ethnic communities. Evoking a sense of porosity in boundaries, Rampton’s (1995, 14) notion of crossing presents CS as an act of identity, allowing for the utilisation of language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups other than the speaker's own. Rampton (1998, 498) provides the following example:

Peter: 'gora'- white man ((in Panjabi)). I always call the people who didn't go to Southleigh ((local middle school))'goras', yet I'm white myself
Ben: the kids who didn't go to Southleigh you say
Peter: yeh, cos we reckon they're, you know, a bit upper class

In the above excerpt, as Peter points out, code-switching takes place amongst members of his peer group not out of linguistic necessity, but in an attempt to highlight a sense of allegiance to
the existing group dynamics. However, drawing the line of demarcation between CS as a linguistic and as a more personal construct is not always an easy task.

Indeed, as Gardner-Chloros (2009a) points out, personal choices are not made in a vacuum since the established norms within a particular group are more often than not shaped by societal constraints. Referring to her own work amongst the London Greek Cypriot community where she set out to prove the existence of a gender differential amongst patterns of switching, she reveals that contrary to the sociolinguistic axiom regarding the propensity of women to stick to the prestigious code, as far as CS is concerned, there is no significant difference in the rates of switching between both genders. In fact, within this particular community, since the we-code of the community consists of in-group CS, language alternation itself is viewed as a desirable social trait to be emulated by all members. In fact, over the years, Greek-English bilinguals in this small community have assigned domain-specific functions to these two codes. In the words of Gardner-Chloros (2009a, 109):

In particular, Greek speakers are more direct when it comes to making requests, when giving advice or making suggestions. The cultural norm in England requires a more distant code of behaviour, and requests, among other speech acts, are expressed more elaborately and indirectly.

In line with the above statement, therefore, a range of options are available to an interlocutor when making requests. The final choice of code and syntactic formulation will depend on the categorisation of the interaction as either in-group or out-group.

Similarly, Sifianou’s (1992) study of politeness strategies adopted in England and Greece also emphasises the in-group we-code dimension of language alternation phenomena. Focusing on the cultural specificities of CS, Sifianou’s study merges Gumperz’s views with Brown and Levinson’s (1978) Politeness Theory and argues that negative and positive politeness are conceived differently in both communities, resulting in the use of more positive politeness markers by the Greeks. In contrast, English is closely associated with more deferential negative politeness markers. The we-code, thus, becomes a means to highlight the culturally sensitive
ways in which codes can be manipulated in order to both reflect and perpetuate societal power dynamics.

Bearing the above argument in mind, Myers-Scotton (1993) uses a popular parable from Zaire to illustrate the role of power in shaping CS. Citing Young and Turner (1985, cited in Myers-Scotton 1993), she tells the story of two packages, expedited from heaven as a reward from God to his sons living on this earth. The bigger package, acquired by the elder son of the tribe, contains French while the smaller package is full of money and the tips and skills required to increase its amount. The elder son is believed to be the ancestor of the intellectuals who despite being able to switch to the prestigious French language as and when required, remain deprived of financial success. In contrast, the younger son is the forebear of the traders who in spite of their poor linguistic skills, thrive economically. The above parable provides an apt example of the varying degrees of social stratification impacting upon code selection and maintenance in multilingual communities. The intellectual elite is presented as being a speech community whose sophisticated linguistic behaviour shows a sharp contrast with the more rudimentary skills of a financially thriving “protoelite” (Myers-Scotton 1993, 154). Viewing such sociolinguistic resources as markers of in-group identity, Myers-Scotton (1993, 154) explains that:

[…] a protoelite with a different power base is in conflict with the elite in power. As a symbol of their own legitimacy, these protoelites do not seek to acquire the attributes of the elite, including their language use patterns. Thus, disparities in linguistic repertoire amongst groups can be seen as an indication of contemporary class conflict. An obvious place for conflict is between an education-based elite that controls the infrastructure of the public sector and those protoelite with an economic base.

This dichotomy between elite and protoelite shapes CS patterns as well. Verbal craftsmanship requires the selection of socially prestigious codes for the construction of an identity based on intellectual credibility. In contrast, despite its ability to emphasise in-group solidarity through its status as lingua franca par excellence, the vernacular fails to provide the speaker with the same degree of socio-pragmatic deference. Labelled as “elite-closure” (Myers-Scotton 1993, 149), successful CS is viewed as a tool designed to be manipulated by speakers in order to establish or
maintain their power and privileges thus limiting access of non-elite out-groups to social power unless an adequate level of proficiency in the desired we-code is achieved.

In addition, Gumperz’s model of code alternation also provides the starting point for Myers-Scotton’s (1983, 1988, 1995) Markedness Model (MM) which takes inspiration from his concepts of situational and metaphorical switching which are conveniently re-labelled as being “unmarked” or “marked” respectively. However, it further refines Gumperz’s dichotomous model and introduces the concept of a “markedness metric” (Myers-Scotton 1983, 1988, 1995), a sliding scale measuring the degree of normality and deviance from established norms. In contrast to Gumperz, who views conversational acts as one generic whole, Myers-Scotton (1988, 153) takes into account various possible modes of in-group, out-group and inter-group interaction and accordingly categorizes interaction types as either “conventionalized” or “non-conventionalized exchanges”.

The expected or usual is, according to the MM, what “unmarked choices” consist of. Each choice, whether marked or unmarked, hinges on a specific set of expectations which Myers-Scotton (1988, 151) refers to as a “rights and obligations set”:

Choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it symbolizes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange.

All talk, thus, is a negotiation of rights and obligations (RO) between speaker and addressee. In fact, Myers-Scotton (1983) puts forward a four-step process in which an RO set can be operationalised within a specific conversational episode. Assuming a hypothetical encounter between speaker S and addressee A, she eventually conceptualises the following orderly, step-by-step organisation of various conversational ingredients into one coherent whole:

i. Skilful face to face interaction between S and A is dependent on a quick, in situ needs analysis by both parties where the salient features of the conversational interaction are analysed and used to encourage the setting up of a mutually agreeable RO set.

ii. This RO set is to be continuously re-negotiated depending on subtle fluctuations in the existing conversational dynamics. Maintenance of a current RO set is possible only to the
extent that the interactional footing between S and A remains in a state of constant equilibrium.

iii. Any change in “the hierarchy of currently salient social features” (Myers-Scotton 1983, 117) should imperatively lead to a readjustment in a previously negotiated RO set.

iv. A radical modification to an RO set resulting in a subsequent switch in code is permissible only when the social matrix is irretrievably disturbed (for example, through the arrival of a new participant or through an unexpected change in topic).

The result of the above four-tiered approach to the negotiation of conversational footing is that all speakers have an in-built mental ability to match codes with the relevant RO set. For example, an unmarked code choice is the realisation of an expected RO set. In contrast, other code choices are viewed as being marked through their violations of the RO set in an attempt to bring about a shift in either the solidarity or power dimensions.

Myers-Scotton’s (1988, 154) “markedness evaluator”, therefore, is sensitive not only to fluctuations in the RO equilibrium set but also manages to take into account the differential nature of switching in respect to dissimilar types of conversational settings. Making the right choice in terms of switching density is facilitated in the case of conventionalized exchanges where “community members have a sense of 'script'” (Myers-Scotton 1988, 154). This feeling of déjá-vu is heightened given the routine nature of such types of exchanges. As a result, CS becomes almost formulaic in nature. Making a marked choice, in this case, constitutes an act of willful rebellion against the pre-existing normative framework. It may also effectively signal a dis-identification with the existing RO set, leading to a shift in the existing conversational equilibrium thus resulting in possible ostracization from the in-group. On the other hand, in the case of non-conventionalized exchanges (Myers-Scotton 1988, 154)—for instance, in face-to-face interactions amongst formerly unacquainted parties—breaking the ice requires the setting up of a new RO set in situ in order to determine the existing unmarked mode in an attempt to cater to the linguistic needs of all interlocutors.²⁴

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²⁴ At this point, it needs to be highlighted that, according to Myers-Scotton (1988, 156), not all situations can be neatly categorized into conventionalized and non-conventionalized settings, with switching alternating between marked and unmarked choices. Two notable exceptions need to be taken into account, namely:
Al-Khatib (2003, 418) provides the following application of Myers-Scotton’s MM to a bilingual Arabic-English conversational interaction.

**W** (to mother): *(innu ana darasit mniH funi ruh ‘ind rfiee bukra?)*

(that I study well can I to my friend’s [house] tomorrow?)

**A**: *(bukra eT Ta’s miH nruH ‘aalPark)*

(tomorrow the weather is fine and we will go to the park)

**W**: *Yeah? How do you know*?! 

In the above extract, A and W are trying to convince their mother to give them the permission to implement the plans that they have made about the following day. Unfortunately, neither A nor W can agree on the same activities. Consequently, a disgruntled W strategically shifts from Arabic, the language symbolic of the familial bond and frames his sarcastic question in English. The above interaction, in fact, constitutes a classic case of marked switching within a conventionalized exchange where the existing RO set is forcefully challenged and drastically modified to mirror the shifting balance of power as W effectively undermines his sister’s decisive stance through the assertion of his own authority by adopting a socially more prestigious code. Al-Khatib (2003, 418) views such instances of marked intersentential language alternations as a conscious departure from the conversational framework initiated by the previous speaker in an attempt to fulfill an “inferential purpose related to positioning participants in the micro-situation of the utterance”.

The MM, therefore, emerges as a fine-tuned mechanism in terms of code-selection and code-maintenance—an idea which is supported by Green (1998) who views language alternation phenomena as a cognitive act, embodying varying levels of mental control. The markedness evaluator is, in this case, viewed by Green (1998, 67) as an “Inhibitory Control Mechanism”

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a) The Deference Maxim implies showing deference in one’s chosen code to those from whom one desires something or to mitigate a threatening act.

b) The virtuosity maxim: A conversation starting out with the unmarked choice may shift into a marked choice, depending on the linguistic proficiency of the speakers. Lack of ability to speak the unmarked code prompts switching into the marked one, without necessarily being frowned upon.
which determines language choice by “reactively” promoting unmarked choices through a cost and benefit analysis of the existing conversational balance. Green (1998, 68) expands on this:

Grosjean (1985a, 1997, in press) argues that bilinguals can be in different language modes: they may speak one language to the exclusion of the other or, in suitable contexts, they may mix their languages. Such regulation requires sensitivity to external input and the capacity for internal direction. The present proposal meets these requirements for both external (bottom-up/ exogenous) and internal (top-down-endogenous) control.

As the above quotation points out, inhibitory control is inextricably linked with the ability of bilingual—and by extension, multilingual—speakers to correctly assess RO sets and vary their CS production accordingly. This view is echoed by Kutas et al. (2009) who consider language alternation as a simple mathematical process of activation versus inhibition. They argue that multilingual speakers are by necessity in a continuous state of selective attention where switching between competing linguistic alternatives involves the careful choice of words and structures from the active language—or to borrow Myers-Scotton’s (1983) terminology, the existing RO set—while simultaneously exerting inhibitory control over other currently dormant languages. Switching becomes permissible when situational parameters call for a loosening of relevant linguistic inhibitory control mechanisms, thus resulting in the activation of a more contextually appropriate code. This perspective has been used by researchers such as Heller (1988) who regard the cautious activation and inhibition of specific codes as a boon in multilingual communities where the co-existence of majority and minority languages proves to be quite challenging. In such cases, sociolinguistic harmony can be achieved through the judicious manipulation of codes as part and parcel of an elaborate conflict-management strategy. Heller (1988) provides conversational samples from a Montreal company and a school in Toronto where CS from French to English or vice versa is activated only in order to allow speakers to gain access to different socially accepted roles. Inhibition of the dis-preferred linguistic option requires a careful assessment of the social dimension of face-to-face interaction and a subsequent adjustment in the RO set in order to maximise conversational rewards.

Such a process inevitably morphs speakers into outcome-oriented individuals, willing to exploit stable sociolinguistic preference options in an attempt to project the desired persona in keeping
with conversational settings. The Rational Choice model (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001), a reformulation of the MM, is much more explicit in its acknowledgement of the exogenous constraints on the range of language choices available to bilingual speakers. Marked and unmarked choices are integrated into a structure that considers speakers as “goal-oriented actors” (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001, 155) whose choices externalize their need to enhance interpersonal relationships or material and psychological rewards. CS, therefore, involves rational, cognitively based calculations that speakers make using social meaning as “a resource for making choices, not as a determinant of choices” (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001, 23). Rationality, in effect, acts as an inhibitory control mechanism by pairing salient situational choices with their optimal linguistic counterparts, in bi- or multilingual settings.

Nevertheless, both the Rational Choice Model and its predecessor have been met with similar criticisms for their perceived subjectivity and over-reliance on speakers’ propensity to manipulate the norms of social etiquette for their own benefit. This disapproval is taken on board by Myers-Scotton (2000b, 1263) who presents the following eloquent defense for both models:

However some observers seem to have misinterpreted this point […] Because RO sets are derived from situational factors does not mean that situational factors determine linguistic choices. At some level of awareness, speakers realize the link between the situation and the RO set and the linguistic choices that would be unmarked for the unmarked RO set. However, under the MM (and any Rational Choice Model) speakers only use this information as one element (not the only one!) in aiding them to arrive at an optimal choice.

The above lines, though, fairly explicit in their aim to rehabilitate both the MM and the RC models still raise a few questions. Myers-Scotton (2000a) is very clear about the fact that situational factors coupled with speakers’ sound judgements constitute any one of the determining factors impacting upon conversational CS. What remains unclear is the multitude of other factors that Myers-Scotton (2000b and 2000c) and Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) deem to be equally significant in order to tip the pragmatic axis of any conversation towards a particular code. This ambiguity, arguably, provides a lot of latitude to the field worker’s own perception of the situation resulting in the final analysis being potentially coloured by his/ her interpretation of the socio-pragmatic dimension of a particular interactional matrix.
In contradistinction to such identity-related accounts, Auer’s (1984, 1988, 1995, 2001) Conversation Analytic (CA) perspective to CS limits the interpretive significance allocated to exogenous factors in order to adopt an emic approach, emphasising on the orderliness of CS by inspecting the methods that participants themselves use to accomplish that very same purpose. The contrast between both theories can be analysed in terms of Li Wei’s (1998, 169–170, emphasis mine) concept of “brought about” and “brought along” meaning:

In contrast to Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Markedness Model, the CA approach dispenses with the motivational speculation, in favour of an interpretative approach based on detailed turn-by-turn analysis of language choices. It is not about what bilingual conversationalists may do, or what they usually do, or even about what they see as the appropriate thing to do. Rather, it is about how the meaning of code-switching is ‘brought along’ and how much of it is ‘brought about’ in interaction, The Markedness theory of code-switching emphasizes the ‘brought along’ meaning.

This sequential approach to CS allows Auer to posit two types of language alternation and two dimensions along which they can vary. Gafaranga (2007a, 299) provides a summary of these four possibilities in the following quadrant (see Table 2.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse-related switching</th>
<th>Code-switching</th>
<th>Transfer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant-related switching</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Code-switching versus transfer in bilingual conversation (adapted from Gafaranga 2007a, 299)

As the above representation makes clear, the first axis of variation is whether CS is participant or discourse-related. Participant-related switching can be a reflection of either a speaker’s imbalanced bilingual competence or his preference for one language over another. In the case of discourse-related switching, on the other hand, language alternation seems to be favoured by
certain specific “conversational loci” (Auer 2001, 444) such as reported speech or change of participant constellation, particularly addressee selection\textsuperscript{25}.

It needs to be remembered, though, that while the conversational loci for language alternation may be similar across bilingual communities, the exact conversational meanings of these cases of switching will vary (Gafaranga 2009). A CA theory of code-switching, therefore, has to develop a built-in sensibility to account for both these dimensions, that is, the conversational regularities that can be both context-sensitive and context-independent. In the words of Üstünel and Seedhouse (2005, 309), the CA approach to CS, therefore, needs to adopt the following methodology:

A second principle of CA is that contributions to interaction are \textit{context-shaped} and \textit{context-renewing}. Contributions are context-shaped in that they cannot be adequately understood except by reference to the sequential environment in which they occur and in which the participants design them to occur. Contributions are context-renewing in that they inevitably form part of the sequential environment in which a next contribution will occur. (Emphasis in original).

Context-shaped participant-related switching and context-renewing discourse-related switching may be further subdivided along a second axe of variation namely alternational and insertional CS (Auer 2001, 445). Alternational switching involves the neat juxtaposition of two linguistic systems leading to a possible change in the base language while insertion marks the borrowing of the \textit{mot juste} from another code before the conversation reverts to the original base code. Discourse-related and participant-related alternational and insertional switching may be further subcategorised into the following patterns namely (Auer 2001, 444-446):

1. Discourse-related CS
   i) Pattern Ia: ……A1 A2// B1 B2 B1 …

2. Participant-related CS

\textsuperscript{25} This includes the use of code-switching in order to include or exclude marginalized co-participants or bystanders. Conversational loci under scrutiny closely mirror those proposed by the pioneers of CA, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974).

All these patterns show the different ways in which language alternation affects the language of interaction, the base language (Auer 1988). In the case of pattern II, language alternation from A to B is followed by further talk in language B, either by the same or other participants. Auer (1988, 200) states that in such cases, “we speak of transfer: no renegotiation of the language of interaction is observed. The stretch of speech in the other language has a built-in and predictable point of return into the first language.” Such intra-sentential CS constitutes the second axis of Gafaranga’s (2007a) quadrant, as mentioned earlier on. Patterns Ia, Ib, IIIa and IIIb, on the other hand, provide instances of ‘proper’ CS: through inter-sentential CS, participants accept and start using the new language. Not using it might be considered as a deliberate affront to the first speaker’s language preference or competence or as a violation of the footing of the conversation.

Khattab (2009) provides additional support to Auer’s (2001) CA approach by showing how even young bilingual children display a sensitivity to the conversational footing in their code-switched utterances. She reiterates Auer’s (1998) view of CS as being functional in nature by revealing the ability of Arabic-English bilingual children to code-shift quite effectively at the lexical, grammatical, phonological and prosodic levels during their interactions with different members of their speech community. Focusing on the conversations between three five-year old Lebanese children and their immediate family members, she highlights the orderly nature of CS in their speeches. Indeed, even at such a young age, her informants use language alternation as a handy tool in their arsenal of linguistic choices. Interactions with close family members are invariably confined to Arabic. However, switching to English at topic boundaries or for emphatic purposes is not an uncommon occurrence.

As a matter of fact, viewing language alternation as being structurally determined by conversational ingredients is nothing new. Poplack (1987) echoes Auer’s (2001) distinction between CS and transfer by comparing and contrasting smooth and flagged switching. While smooth CS is fluent and seems almost effortless, its counterpart flagged switching draws attention to itself through false starts, hesitations and relatively more clunky nature. A similar
binary demarcation line is drawn by De Bot (2002) whose category pair labelled ‘motivational’ and ‘performance’ switching constitutes the lynchpins of his theoretical framework. Similar in many respects to Auer’s participant and discourse related switching, motivated switching is used to depict those instances of CS where speakers switch deliberately to the other language, possibly either due to competence or performance related issues. In contrast, performance switching is seen as being out of the control of speakers and arises due to the demands of a particular interactional sequence.

The adequacy of the above constructs to suitably describe the diversity in language alternation phenomena existing in multilingual communities worldwide is contested by researchers such as Treffers-Daller (2005). They maintain that the categorization of CS episodes into two neat bundles each time is quite problematic and raises some very pertinent conceptual questions namely:

i. Can transfer be considered as synonymous with borrowing?

ii. From a purely methodological perspective, what are the criteria set in order to categorise language alternation as borrowing or transfer?

Treffers-Daller (2005) tries to provide an answer to the above queries by showing the evolution from borrowing to transfer based on the complexity of the code-switched phrase. The following diagram (see Table 2.2) offers a schematic representation of this fact (Treffers-Daller 2005, 500). Focusing on the insertion of multi-morphemic French units in a predominantly Dutch base language, Treffers-Daller (2005) analyzes the different forms that lexical insertions can take. Highlighting mixed compounds such as légume + winkel (vegetable shop) and winter + paletot (winter coat), she maintains that the ultimate distinction between borrowing and transfer remains that of structural complexity. The denser a phrasal constituent—that is, the higher the number of words figuring in the phrase—the more likely it is to be labelled as transfer. Borrowing is, by definition, always one word long and precedes a predictable return to the original base language. It needs to be noted though that Treffers-Daller’s (2005) focus is mainly lexical, resulting in the conflation of utterance length and structural complexity—a fact which might seem slightly simplistic.
However, her work remains thought-provoking in the sense that it raises important questions about the suitability of the terminological constructs being currently utilized within the field of language alternation. As this literature review highlights, there is very little consensus amongst researchers regarding the terminology that is employed by a large majority of them. In such a situation, the standardisation of language alternation terminology is a need that is felt quite strongly.

Further complicating matters and blurring the terminological boundaries between CS, borrowing and transfer is Khattab’s (2009) English-Arabic corpus of data. One interesting aspect of the findings of her work with bilingual children is the occurrence of Arabic switches which are produced with English-like phonetics (and vice versa). For example (Khattab 2009, 151)\textsuperscript{26}:

\begin{verbatim}
Mazen: ʔɪsːabe keːn ʃakt
The boy was shocked.
Mother (trying to help):  keːn zɪʃleːn
He was sad.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{26} The following extract is presented in its original phonetic transcription as provided by Khattab (2009).

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
& \textbf{One word} & \textbf{More than one word} & \\
\hline
Classical borrowing & Mix compound with Dutch Head or French Head (internal structure Dutch; listed) & Borrowed compound (internal structure French; listed) & Insertions of nominal groups without determiners (internal structure French, multiword expressions or collocations; often listed) Codeswitching of entire DPs (internal structure French, not listed) \\
\hline
Marchand & Vélo + Winkel Wijn + Marchand & Presse- Casserole & Accident de travail, sens unique Une petit canari doe geen vuil ‘a small canari doesn’t mate anything dirty’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 2.2: Difference between borrowing and transfer (Treffers-Daller 2005, 500) }
\end{table}
Mazen (protesting): la? hi wəʃaʃakt
No he was shocked.
Mother: ?e, jaʃne zʃile:n
Yes, it means he was sad.

In the above excerpt, Mazen and his mother are telling a story in Arabic. Mazen, in particular, keeps disputing the Arabic words being prompted by his mother as she tries to help him. What is interesting, though, is his use of Arabic phonetics even while he switches to English. Based on Treffers-Daller’s (2005) distinction between borrowing and transfer, Mazen’s first statement can be said to contain a borrowing since the insertion is only one-word long. In comparison, the longer three-word insertion can easily fit her description of transfer. However, given the fact that the second insertion is a fully fledged clause while Treffers-Daller’s (2005) terminology applies to phrasal groups, it might be more prudent to characterise it as a code-switch. This confusion in labelling the above phenomenon is not restricted to the lexical level only. At the phonetic level, the morphing of an English syntactic unit into an Arabic phonetic constituent proves to be equally tricky. For example, in the above extract, the second insertion which is a fully grammatical clause is pronounced in a distinctly Arabic way. Thus, while the CA approach to language alternation is helpful in highlighting the pragmatic significance of CS, it can still benefit from further fine-tuning, especially at the level of descriptive labelling.

Taking the above argument to its logical conclusion, it can safely be concluded that even the organisational perspective to CS has not been met with widespread approval. Referring to the MM and to its successor the RC model, Myers-Scotton (2000b, 1260) emphatically points out that the role of both frameworks is not to explain “how these constraints on repertoire (or opportunity) operate [emphasis in original text]”. In fact, she believes that the organisational approach which seeks to highlight the predictable nature of the specific constraints that exist that the level of code selection and maintenance, might be slightly misguided. Indeed, the sequential nature of multilingual talk needs to be viewed in conjunction with sociolinguistic status of both the speaker and the addressee. Brought-about meaning is, by necessity, shaped by individuals whose intricate knowledge of conversational etiquette materializes itself in the sophisticated way in which they consciously mould face-to-face interaction in order to suit their needs (Myers-
Scotton 2000b). In other words, pragmatics needs to be socially contextualized. Myers-Scotton (2000b, 1260) stipulates that:

Rather the focus in these models [the MM and the RC models] is on what influences and thereby limits individuals in making linguistic choices, *given an available repertoire, not on what limits the repertoire* [Emphasis in original text].

Simply put, the organisational perspective is guilty of over-emphasising the bi- or multilingual repertoire and their linguistic constraints at the expense of all other factors. As Myers-Scotton (2000b) argues, this can be self-limiting since it deliberately fails to acknowledge the fact that the conversations are tactfully manipulated by speakers who have the expertise to select the most appropriate code as and when required.

Moreover, it should also be borne in mind that the Conversational Analytic framework from which the organisational perspective is derived, does not regard itself in complete isolation from social factors. In fact, Schegloff (1999) is very vocal about the need to analyse talk-in-interaction within the social matrix in which it occurs. Viewing conversations as the structured distribution of social resources such as power and status, Schegloff (1999) utilizes some of the following terminological labels in an attempt to show how verbal exchanges can be socially constructed:

i. Pn Adequate: Referring to Sacks’s seminal work about conversational structure, Schegloff (1999) argues that in any conversation, speakers orient to their addressees by positing various category terms such as male/female, doctor/patient, young/old and the like. Thus, addressees can be grouped into categories allowing interlocutors to frame their utterances in both conversationally and socially relevant ways. This categorization mechanism is what Schegloff (1999) labels as the Pn Adequate.

ii. Procedural Consequentiality: Grouping participants according to their salient social characteristics also has an impact on how the context of an interaction is perceived by both the speaker and the addressee. Schegloff (1999, 92) contends that “‘context’ as well as specific attributes of the participants can be a part of what traditionally has been meant by ‘social structure’. So, for example, remarking that some talk is being conducted ‘in the context of a bureaucracy’, ‘in a classroom’, ‘on a city street’, etc. is part of what is
sometimes intended by incorporating the relevance of social structure.” Procedural consequentiality refers, therefore, to this tripartite merger between conversational structure, its situational counterpart and the social profile of the interlocutors.

Based on the above two terminological labels, Schegloff (1999) asserts, quite persuasively, that talk-in interaction involves a continuous process of assigning a Pn Adequacy value to interlocutors in order to construct the procedural consequentiality of the verbal exchange. In light of the above arguments, the CA approach to language alternation, therefore, proves to be quite surprising in its departure from the initial premise of looking at verbal craftsmanship as a complex whole.

To further complicate matters, the neat little division between the identity-related and organisational approach to CS has not withstood the test of time. Recent research by Myers-Scotton (2002) tends to blur the distinction between the two. Another innovation of the RC model is that it provides an integrated framework that combines insights from the earlier versions of the MM together with Auer’s CA approach in order to put forward a set of three cumulative filters, reflecting the complex cognitive processes that control code selection, maintenance and shift within a particular conversational interaction (Myers-Scotton 2002). The following description offers a succinct summary of this new, all-encompassing MM:

i. The First Filter: External constraints

According to Myers-Scotton (2002, 207), such constraints include all situational factors that are usually discussed in the tradition of the sociology of language or the variationist paradigm. These include socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity and age. However, most importantly, Myers-Scotton finally reaches a truce with Auer’s CA approach. She (Myers-Scotton 2002, 207, emphasis mine) explicitly acknowledges this merger of the two systems when she reveals that “I [Myers-Scotton] interpret structural constraints also to include the organizational aspects of the ongoing conversation in question. I include here those micro-aspects of conversation that conversation analysts argue are critical to understanding any conversation […]”.

65
In lieu of the RO set, Myers-Scotton (2002, 207) now touts the term “opportunity set” in order to represent a speaker’s arsenal of choices. This repertoire includes the various styles, dialects and languages that a speaker masters together with the discourse strategies (turn-taking, overlap and so on) and culture-specific views about their appropriate use in various forms of face-to-face interactions.

ii. The Second Filter: Internal constraints

While Myers-Scotton (2002, 208) retains her notion of the markedness evaluator, she further specifies its purpose by likening it to “somatic markers [which] are features present in all organisms [and] help limit the ‘space’ necessary for decision making and therefore allow organisms to call up experience and make decisions quickly. They are survival mechanisms, but they may well be connected with human responses to social situations”. In other words, CS becomes a case of both nature and nurture. Social stimuli resulting in successful unmarked switches are biologically stored into the brain as retrievable information that can be called upon when similar opportunity sets arise.

Myers-Scotton (2002) borrows this notion of somatic markers from cognitive approaches to language alternation to phenomena where the languages mastered by a multilingual are seen as being in a perpetual state of competition with each other. Keijzer (2011) asserts that in such cases, the selection of a relevant code ultimately depends on two factors: frequency and time. Indeed, according to the Activation Threshold Hypothesis (ATH), (Paradis 2004, cited by Keijzer 2011), more recently and frequently accessed items have a lower threshold, facilitating their retrieval and subsequent usage by the speaker. In comparison, interlocutors will face considerable difficulties in the case of sporadically accessed items that have only been very rarely activated. In simple terms, the more a speaker uses a particular code under a specific set of circumstances, the easier it becomes for him to remember and repeat the performance at a subsequent point in time. It should be pointed out that the ATH is an ongoing process whose parameters may change depending on potential shifts in the linguistic environment to which the speaker is exposed (Keijzer 2011). The competitive selection of codes in the mental lexicon will always be determined by its corresponding degree of activation.
iii. The Third Filter: Rationality at work
At the third filter, speakers finally make their choices. Interlocutors take into account both external and internal constraints in order to construct their conversational turn according to the opportunity set afforded to them. Attention is here paid to maximising rewards through the adoption of discursive styles with a proven track-record of garnering social approval (Myers-Scotton 2002). Myers-Scotton (2000) uses Elsters’s (1983, cited in Myers-Scotton 2000) concept of ‘sour grapes’ to explain the implementation of the process of rationality by an interlocutor. Much like the fabled fox who sugarcoated his inability to pick the much desired grapes by labelling them as being too sour for his taste, the rational speaker also tries, at all points in the conversation, to present himself in the best light possible. Given a range of possible languages in which to couch his thoughts, the speaker will couch his or her preferences to what is seen as being not only beneficial but easily feasible to him (Myers-Scotton 2000b).

All in all, the three filters can be credited with successfully amalgamating insights from the various theoretical paradigms that form an integral part of CS literature. The merger of the MM and the Rational Choice model with CA, yields a more wholesome and comprehensive picture of the socio-functional approach to language alternation phenomena. However, as the next section highlights, such traditional approaches to CS tend to suffer from what Lüdi and Py (2009, 155) term as the “homoglossic [vision]—that is monolingual vision, which has so long been predominant”. Indeed, the ideological background of the above mentioned theoretical models is founded on the wisdom that monolingualism usually represents a desired state of proficiency that is generally either legally or politically legitimated by society. CS, in such a situation constitutes an act of willful deviance from the existing normative framework and its pragmatic significance is explained using the monolingual standards as a touchstone. As the following subsection demonstrates in more detail, current research advocates for a re-definition of language alternation phenomena.
2.2 Towards a redefinition of code-switching

In one of his early publications, Auer (1984, 105) provides a critique of the socio-functional perspective of CS, highlighting the limitations of adopting what he terms as a “semantic” exploration of language alternation phenomena by viewing every single instance of alternational or insertional CS as being pragmatically consequential. In his words (Auer 1984, 105):

There is a certain danger now for the pendulum to swing too far into the other direction, i.e. to treat each and every instance of language alternation as meaningful in the ‘semantic’ way. Such a view does not take into account that it is not the mere fact of the juxtaposition of two languages that makes relevant something like ‘meanings’ attached to these languages in the semantic sense.

Indeed, many researchers in the field of CS tend to agree with Auer’s statement and protest against the tendency to reduce bilingual conversations to two-sided monolingual interaction. Again, according to Auer (n.d), issues of contention centre on the following three arguments:

i) As far as bilingual talk is concerned, where do speakers draw the line of demarcation between language A and language B?

ii) Should CS be slotted under the label of grammar or performance?

iii) Are languages involved in the CS matrix the same as those involved in monolingual settings or have they been diachronically modified due to the high frequency and density of switching within specific speech communities?

Answers to the above three questions prove to be tedious: utterances may belong to both ‘codes’ in play. More precisely, the ‘codes’ may converge to such an extent that for speakers and recipients of bilingual talk, fuzziness becomes the rhetorical currency to be privileged above all others. Myers-Scotton (2005) concurs with the above assertion and believes that in cases of stable bi- or multilingualism, proficient speakers often come up with a series of compromise strategies that offer opportunities for ingenious mergers of the different linguistic systems at work. In her opinion, considering CS as “citadels of rigid structures” (Myers-Scotton 2005, 3) can be counterproductive since emerging patterns of lexical, phonetic and morphosyntactic innovations will be effectively ignored. This observation is borne out in her corpus of Acholi/English data where the use of English present participles as Acholi inflected verbs reflects one of
the compromise strategies adopted by speakers in relative embedded clauses. For instance (Myers-Scotton 2005, 12):

**Chances** me accident pol ka i-boarding taxi.
Chances of accident many if 2s-boarding taxi
[the] chances of [an] accident are high if you board [a] taxi.

This example shows an English present participle merged with the Acholi inflectional suffix *i* and transformed into a transitive verb which takes an English loan word as complement. Myers-Scotton (2005) believes that examples such as the one provided above reveal the fuzziness that exists in a bilingual’s mental lexicon after years of constant language contact. This leads her to a new binary scale according to which such novel forms of language alternation episodes can be explained. In what she (Myers-Scotton 2006b, 241) calls classic CS, “elements from two or more language varieties are found in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morpho-syntactic frame of the clause.” In other words, classic CS is a relatively uncomplicated form of language alternation where the line of demarcation between matrix and embedded language(s) can be easily drawn. In comparison, composite CS allows for the interaction for multiple sets of grammars and displays more interference from the embedded language.

A similar point is made by Croft (2000, cited in Treffers-Daller 2009) who reserves the term *intraference* for processes of internal change whereby one form in a morphological, lexical or phonetic paradigm spreads to another. A key aspect of this process is *intralingual identification* or “the recognition of the semantic relatedness of words, inflections and constructions” (Croft 2000, 148, cited in Treffers-Daller 2009, 72). Silva-Corvalán (1994) prefers to view such bilingual mixes as a form of indirect transfer whereby structural changes are brought about in the various languages under scrutiny. Basing herself on her fieldwork in the Los Angeles Spanish community, she points out that increasing instances of the loss of gender marking in adjectives in Spanish bear testimony to the growing versatility of code-shifting phenomena in bi- or multilingual communities worldwide.
In perfect agreement with the above outlined issues, Cheng and Butler (1989, 296) advocate for the adoption of the notion of ‘communicative competence’ as a new buzzword for the field of language alternation phenomena. Communicative competence, much like novel patterns of CS, views conversation as the synthesis of linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural competence. Fuzzy mixes, therefore, serve to accentuate the fact that as far as bilinguals are concerned, CS becomes an externalization of this communicative competence of theirs, underscoring their very discerning ability to mix and match according to needs of the interaction.

In line with the above, Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998, 36) questions, with a lot of panache, the basic assumptions at the crux of CS research:

[…] research should first convincingly prove that (a) speakers who ‘code-switch’ possess two (or more) identifiable linguistic systems or languages, each with its identifiable grammatical rules and lexicon; and (b) ‘code-switched’ speech results from the predictable interaction between lexical elements and grammatical rules from these elements. None of these assumptions, I believe, is proven yet.

Undeniably, as mentioned above, in many communities, CS happens to be the norm rather than the exception. In such cases, speaking of the codes used as two separate languages stemming from two different grammatical systems, proves to be rather problematic. Instead Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998, 38) claims that “lexical, syntactic and prosodic materials from both varieties are fused into an amalgam, the situated meaning of which is not directly computable from the overall meanings (for instance ‘formality’ vs. ‘informality’) commonly associated with each of the languages” and he, therefore, advocates for the re-definition of CS as an “alloy”, allowing for the use of different codes in quick succession where individual alternation points may hold pragmatic meaning, but not all need to. Such a re-definition allows for a much more relaxed view towards bilingualism by acknowledging that not all instances of switching need to be stretched in order to fit into a particular interpretive framework. In fact, in some stable multilingual societies, a number of codes may be associated with similar domains and participants’ speech will reflect this multiplicity of roles and functions at the interactional level. In other words, while intra- or inter-sentential fragments of the varieties involved can be identified, on the whole, utterances

27 Cheng and Butler (1989, 296) acknowledge the impact of Hymes (1974) on their choice of the term ‘communicative competence’ instead of the more usual one of ‘code-switching’.
come across as samples of different types of alloy (i.e. with varying concentration levels of either code in different conversation types).

This idea of alloying is taken up by cognitive linguists who have modified the oft-cited Levelt’s Speaking Model (Levelt 1989) in order to reflect their assertion that the bilingual brain is in fact one where the mental lexicon of both linguistic systems intersect and co-exist as a hybrid entity, rather than two competing, autonomous units. One of the most well-known adaptations of Levelt’s Speaking Model is De Bot’s model of bilingual processing (De Bot 1992, adapted from Larsen-Freeman, Schmid and Lowie 2011) which successfully highlights the interconnectedness and degree of dependency binding both linguistic systems together. A diagrammatic representation (see Figure 2.2) of his schema is provided below.

![De Bot's (1992) model of bilingual processing](image)

*Figure 2.2: De Bot's (1992) model of bilingual processing (adapted from Larsen-Freeman, Schmid and Lowie 2011, 3)*
As the diagram 2.2 indicates, the bilingual mental lexicon offers the speaker with the opportunity to pool its resources at the initial level of thought conceptualization itself. Building on this hybrid scaffold, the formulators then interact through the mediation of shared lemmas in the lexicon before the articulator draws upon resources provided by phonetic plans from both languages and effectively couches the knowledge to be transmitted in an appropriately worded message.

The above argument is taken one step further by Grosjean (2001) who stipulates that over time, the hybrid bilingual brain goes through a specialization in function resulting in a sophisticated system of division of labour. He puts forward the notion that the constant utilization of multiple codes leads to the compartmentalization of the brain into different language modes which operate in the form of a sliding scale. At both ends of this continuum, verbal resources from the two linguistic systems are stored for retrieval as and when required. Transfer or inter- and intrasentential switching require a shift in equilibrium as the linguistic axis tips from the monolingual mode to the bilingual one. However, with constant CS, the picture gets murkier as activation of features from both language A and B appears to take place simultaneously within the bilingual mode though Grosjean (2001) insists that evidence from both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic literature suggests that at any one point in time, one language is always the dominant one and handles the bulk of the process of psychological processing.

Grosjean (2001) proceeds to a verification of this hypothesis by carrying out a laboratory based study where the language mode of French-English bilinguals was manipulated when they were asked to retell stories consisting of switches from the base language, French to the guest language, English. Participants were told to retell stories to three addressees whose profiles differed from each other. The first addressee was presented as a recent migrant to the United States, having the ability to read and write English very well without however possessing adequate skills at the oral level. Faced with this kind of interlocutor, it was believed that participants would remain in monolingual (French) mode as the addressee’s grasp of oral English was minimal. The second person (Bilingual A) had lived in the States for seven years, worked for a French governmental agency and had taught and organised French cultural events. Though he was comfortable with English, his preference was for French. It was hypothesized that
Bilingual A would induce the usage of the intermediate language mode. In the third instance, the interlocutor (Bilingual B) was another immigrant who had spent seven years in the United States. However, in contrast to his counterpart, Bilingual B had a more balanced approach towards both languages and used both English and French on a daily basis. In this case, the expectation was for the full power of the bilingual mode to be unleashed. Grosjean (2001) notes with satisfaction that this is, indeed, what happened. The results provide added confirmation to the hypothesis about switching “bi-directionally” (Bullock 2009, 173) as the number of embedded language elements increased steadily as the participants moved from monolingual to bilingual mode.

In addition, Grosjean (2001) also comes up with an explanatory model designed to reveal the degree of activation of the different language systems in situations where more than two languages are in constant interaction. The diagram below (see Figure 2.3) offers a schematic representation of the different language modes of a trilingual:

![Diagram of language modes](image)

**Figure 2.3:** Visual representation of the different language modes of a trilingual (Grosjean 2001, 18).
Figure 2.3 shows the three different modes of language activation in a trilingual. The top tier represents the speaker in monolingual mode, the second level shows the same interlocutor in bilingual mode whereas the lowest tier displays a tri-partite division of labour between the three linguistic systems at work. The level of activation of each level is represented by the degree of darkness of the squares. The darker the square, the more active that particular language is in the conversation. Particularly noteworthy, in this case, is the versatility of the above model in its ability to be easily adapted to suit linguistic situations dealing with more than three languages as well.

The above arguments go a long way towards getting rid of the monolingual bias that Auer (n.d) believes exists in CS literature. In fact, this re-definition is not limited to the lexical and morphological levels only but it has also been successfully applied to phonetic criteria as well. Woolard (1998) and Grosjean and Miller (1994) view the bilingual mode as being an adaptable stage where bilinguals regularly switch to another language, are seen as being very flexible, culminating in episodes of language alternation where assigning the code-switched utterances to a particular language proves to be a tough task, both for the analyst and the informant. Woolard (1998, 7) considers such hybrid units as being examples of ‘simultaneity’ and ‘bivalency’. Reporting on a research carried out by Shell (1993), she focuses her attention on a sample of complex formulations in Canadian English and French in Quebec. Concentrating on commercial signage along the lines of ‘Université McGill University’, ‘Excellent Cuisine Canadienne Par Excellence’ and ‘Uniform Boutiques d’Uniformes’, she is of the opinion that such bivalent elements play a linguistically and graphically central role. In the above three sets of utterances, the language used is both English and French, providing further confirmation about the existence of a shared mental lexicon providing equal representation to all the languages involved in the CS matrix. Further highlighting this issue of bivalency, Woolard (1998, 10, adapted from Shell 1993, 52–54) offers the following example of an ice-dispensing machine labelled as follows:

```
I
GLACE
E
```
The above illustration not only flouts conventional rules of linear graphological representation, it also displays an uncommon situation of language alternation where the grapheme ‘c’ acts as a bivalent hinge, thus showcasing the co-occurrence of two languages.

Such hybridisation at the level of ludic representation in signs provides an insight into the innovations that competent multilingual speakers are capable of. Building on the above argument, Broersma (2011), using an analogy (see Figure 2.4) popularized by De Bot et al. (2007, cited in Broersma 2011), compares the linguistic production of multilinguals to the complex and unpredictable movement of a double pendulum:

![Double Pendulum Diagram](image)

**Figure 2.4: The double pendulum at work (Broersma 2011, 38)**

This is a particularly fitting analogy since it mirrors the state of constant flux in which a multilingual brain finds itself. The process of mixing and matching of phonemes, lexemes, morphemes and so on from different linguistic systems is one which is highly dependent on the interaction and degree of activation of these languages within the mental lexicon. Much like the double pendulum, predicting the exact form of the switch is a hard task, even for the most seasoned analyst. Successful CS production remains a product of the powerful synergy between the two nodes in the double pendulum, resulting in an adequate degree of velocity which will, in turn, activate different lemma in the multilingual repertoire. In her words (Broersma 2011, 11):

> Language is a complex, dynamic system, involving many variables that determine its behaviour. Yet, its patterns cannot be predicted. At best, we can try to find some regularities and discover some of the variables that affect its behaviour.
A similar philosophy needs to be applied to CS as well. Innovative switches bear testimony to the changing standards of language use in multilingual communities. Yet, they remain methodologically challenging since eliciting such switches in a controlled environment such as a formal interview can often be a painfully slow process.

Faced with similar issues of conversational alloying, Hinnenkamp (2003, 24) labels these emerging trends in multilingual talk as “code oscillation”, a catch-all term designed to reflect the to-and-fro movement between alternations and insertions between the different languages involved in the CS matrix. In such cases, there are phases of clearly negotiated switches and contextually relevant and plausible insertions. However, these coexist with phases of increasingly dense and accelerated language alternations. Bilingual speakers, therefore, seem to be multitasking at the linguistic level, lending CS a multi-functional and multi-faceted aura, ultimately resulting in what Hinnenkamp (2003, 27), in an act of terminological innovation, opts to brand as “polylingualism”. Broadly defined as a form of “extempore poetry” (Hinnenkamp 2003, 31), a proactive ability to play with languages by extending the semantic and pragmatic boundaries of normativity, polylingualism allows “performers [to] not only make use of their bilingualism but also [to] exploit its possibilities for boundary crossing by fusing and blending words, as well as expressive mechanisms” (Hinnenkamp 2003, 31).

A more creative way of viewing polylingual alloying is offered by Edwards and Dewaele (2007, 225) who choose to view the emergence of crosslinguistic lexical as well as syntactic mixes and blends as a reflection of the “multicompetence”28 that characterizes bilingual minds. Quoting a previous work of Dewaele, both authors (Dewaele and Pavlenko 2003, cited by Edwards and Dewaele 2007, 225) offer an imaginative analogy to try to flesh out abstract theories:

[...] Metaphorically one could compare the languages in contact in the individual’s mind to two liquid colours that blend unevenly, that is, some areas will take on the new colour resulting from the mixing, but other areas will retain the original colour, while yet others may look like new colour, but a closer look may reveal a slightly different hue according to the viewer’s angle.

28 The term ‘multicompetence’ is borrowed from Cook (1991, 112) who defined it as “the compound state of mind with two grammars”.

76
Multicompetence, therefore, is a state of dynamic flux, typical of the bilingual’s mind. This results in a CS system where languages are stripped to their essentials and specific items (be they lexical or grammatical) are continuously being borrowed and threaded together, resulting in a patchwork of codes and functions, labelled by Gafaranga (2007a, 305) as “same medium talk” in lieu of the more misleading and theoretically inadequate “same language talk”.

In the light of the preceding review of literature, it is clear that there is a shift in focus from traditional CS patterns to more complex forms of switching that blur the boundaries between languages and may result in innovative blends that suit speakers’ needs and reflect their bi- or multilingual competencies much more accurately. The next two sections build on this notion of alloying and put forward two types of blends: mixed codes and fusion.

2.3 Mixed Codes

Speaking about the need for bringing about adjustments in existing models dealing with CS, Sebba (2009) puts forward the following suggestions that he believes are crucial for the genesis for a novel theoretical model, summarized under the following five points:

i. This model should be able to prescribe, at both the syntactic and phonetic levels, the permissible switch points where moving from one language to the other is grammatically recommended. However, it should also be flexible enough to allow a role for pragmatic and social factors that may determine which switch points will be utilized by speakers. In other words, it should aim to take on board issues of both competence and performance (Sebba 2009).

ii. This new theoretical framework should be inclusive enough to account for different language alternation phenomena at both the inter- and intragroup level, explaining CS behaviour both between and within speech communities.

iii. It should display sensitivity towards the sociolinguistic profile of individual speakers. Factors to be taken into consideration include multilingual competence, the norms of language use within the community, the length and closeness of language contact and the power relations binding the languages together.
iv. In addition, this new framework needs to be able to explain the mechanisms which permit the acquisition of CS behaviour, including issues such as the age at which CS episodes emerge in speakers and the role of socialization practices in shaping the competence of a multilingual.

v. This model should also situate itself quite firmly within existing research by viewing itself as being “part of an account of other phenomena of bilingualism and language contact such as relexification, language convergence, interlanguage, and language death; perhaps also of pidginization, creolization, and language mixing/ intertwining” (Sebba 2009, 56).

The above specifications, though significant, seem overly ambitious, especially for one theoretical model. However, Sebba (2009) makes a strong case for overhauling existing theoretical standards in favour of a typology that displays more sensitivity to emergent and innovative forms of language alternation.

In line with the above, emerging typologies of CS tend to look at mixed codes and fusion as extending the pragmatic possibilities of CS. Indeed, this redefinition is felt to be much more accurate in its potential to describe the different varieties of language alternation in a multilingual community. Lüdi and Py (2009, 157) summarise the advantages of such a heteroglossic system by underscoring the linguistic and structural diversity of such emerging varieties. The move from homoglossia to heteroglossia has four specific outcomes, namely:

i. It outlines an “indefinite and open set of grammatical and syntactic (and of course mimogestual) Microsystems, partially stabilized and available to the speaker as well as the interlocutor” (Lüdi and Py 2009, 157). These Microsystems can stem from the differential patterns of mixing and matching of different varieties of a language or multiple languages or both.

ii. This gradual shift also presupposes the existence of “a free and active subject who has amassed a repertoire of resources and who activates this repertoire according to his/her need, knowledge or whims” (Lüdi and Py 2009, 157), modifying and combining them according to the needs of the conversational structure.

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29 The term ‘heteroglossia’ originates with Bakhtin (1935, cited by Bell 2007) and it is only recently that the concept has been appropriated by theorists such as Bell (2007, 91) in order to defined linguistic spaces subject to varying levels of style shifting.
iii. Heteroglossia also calls for an equal degree of multilingualism from other speakers because these mental and linguistic resources are often called upon only “in collaboration with [a] partner[s]; as such, one can speak of shared resources” (Lüdi and Py 2009, 157). Production of mixed codes or fused varieties, therefore, depends on the high societal valence and community backing of these varieties.

iv. Finally, mixed codes and fused lects can be situated on a continuum of increased linguistic playfulness which results in heightened creativity in terms of language alternation phenomena. To be more precise, sentences are “shaped like semi-organised sets of often heteroclite means, similar to a handyman’s toolbox. Some are prefabricates and memorized; others are procedures which create previously unheard utterances, amongst which one finds heuristic means for the reinforcement of already available utterance resources, or for the development of hypotheses relating to the interpretation of the other language” (Lüdi and Py 2009, 157).

The above distinctions provide an embryonic description of mixed codes and fusion.

In fact, as Dorleijn and Nortier (2009) rightly point out, the movement from mixed codes to fusion is not restricted solely to spoken corpora only. Focusing on bilingual Dutch-Turkish websites, they reveal the increasing degree of linguistic intertwining that exists in electronic contribution of a large number of posters. Drawing on a sample from the webpage www.TurkishTexas.nl, they offer the following example of a heteroglossic electronic discourse (Dorleijn and Nortier 2009, 139):

> Is er geen moppen topic of zo, *fkralar topigi falan var, mop guzel ama, her mopa bit topic acilirsa*, is een beetje onnodig.

> Is there no jokes topic or so, joke-PL topic-POSS or or-so the-is, joke-nice-is, but each joke-DAT one topic open-PASS-COND-3SGm is a little unnecessary.

> Isn’t there a topic for jokes, there is a special topic for jokes, joke(s) (are) nice but, if a topic is opened for every joke, it is a bit too much.

In posts similar to the one shown above, CS seems to be the unmarked medium of interaction and closer inspection of these data sets reveal a situation where Dutch structural features are being liberally seasoned with Turkish ones (in bold) to the extent that distinguishing one from
the other becomes almost impossible. Thus, hybridization seems to be the hallmark of digital CS as well.

Building on this budding idea of alloying and heteroglossia, Auer (1999) introduces a typology of switching that is sensitive to the amount of polylingual multi-competence in a speech community. He comes up with his own three-way categorization model which starts with CS, moves to Language Mixing (LM) and finally to Fused Lects (FLs). These three categories mirror a differential degree of alloying. CS and FLs are the polar extremes of this model while LM acts as a transitory mid-way point. Diachronically speaking, movement along this continuum is unidirectional, starting with CS, moving to LM and finally to FLs. The model also seems to factor in an in-built inhibitory control mechanism (see section 1) in the sense that it restricts any movement from FLs to CS. While all three forms of language alternation phenomena may co-exist within a particular community, lexical or grammatical items that have already undergone mixing or fusion cannot be demoted to CS status (Auer 1999).

LM or mixed codes are defined as specific linguistic situations where “individual turns cannot be labelled as language A or language B […] due to the frequency of turn-internal language juxtaposition. Since LM does not contextualize linguistic activities, such juxtaposition may affect units of any size, typically not only at clause boundaries but also below. LM is therefore much more intricately linked to syntax than CS” (Auer 1999, 315). 30 Compared to CS, Auer (1998) claims that LM appears to require more refined bilingual competence. On the continuum from CS to FL, the most stable bilinguals are to be found within this subcategory.

In actual fact, this movement away from one single matrix language to a more heterogeneous one, is, itself, variously termed. Indeed, while Bernardini and Schylder (2004) amongst others opt for the label of ‘code-mixing’, Canagarajah (2006, 598–599) goes one step further and coins the more evocative one of “code-meshing”. Defined as the multilingual combination of speakers’ preferred varieties into the dominant discourse in rhetorically strategic ways, code-meshing, is by

30 Following Poplack (1979) and Zentella (1997), in a footnote, Auer (1988, 315) mentions that insertional LM seems to be typical for younger speakers. This is interesting from a methodological standpoint since it seems to ask for the recruitment of informants that are relatively young if LM instances are to be elicited in naturally occurring face-to-face interaction.
Canagarajah's (2006) own admission, synonymous with composite CS. This is further reinforced by Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2001) and Myers-Scotton's (2006a) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model which has provided us with the terms Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL) which are today used as popular descriptive labels to identify two interrelated hierarchies that underlie the structuring of sentences containing CS. In bilingual discourse, the languages participating in CS are both activated but they are claimed to be playing differential roles. The ML plays the dominant role in the sense that it determines the morpho-syntax of ML + EL constituents. In other words, it supplies the system morphemes and is responsible for morpheme order in ML+ EL segments. While only the ML supplies the system morphemes (e.g. plural affixes, complementizers and determiners), content morphemes (for example, nouns and adjectives) may come either from the ML or the EL.

However, in the case of mixed codes, the above stipulations no longer hold true. In actual fact, Myers-Scotton's definitions are far from being an issue of unanimous consensus. Indeed, in their study of Arabic-French code-switching by Moroccans, Bentahila and Davies (1998) successfully refute some of the major premises of the MLF model, demonstrating the futility of trying to even establish an ML language in some stable bilingual communities where CS is so firmly entrenched that both languages involved in switching occur in equal measure. In reality, a word count of one of their extracts yielded an almost perfect balance, 57 Arabic words and 59 French ones. Bentahila and Davies (1998, 46) elaborate on this point:

More important than that, in our opinion, is the distribution of each language at clause level. The whole speech contains 26 clauses and of these 11 are entirely in Arabic and 9 are entirely in French. Of the remaining six, three clauses are in French except for an Arabic filler, and the other three are in Arabic except for determiner + noun strings in French.

The frequent alternation between whole statements in one language and those in the other implies that both languages seem to have equal parts to play and it does not seem plausible to view the French clauses as insertions into an Arabic matrix or the Arabic ones as being embedded in French discourse. In effect, in cases of intense language contact, establishing the base language itself and defining and identifying an instance of CS becomes quasi-impossible.
Providing additional credence to the issue of the base language fallacy, Gafaranga and Torras (2002a and 2000b) and Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) call for the phasing out of the conceptually inadequate term ‘base language’ and in its stead, advocate for the use of the theoretically more accurate label of ‘medium’ which, depending on the sociolinguistic profile of a community, can be mono, bi or eventually multilingual. In such cases, the default labelling of a move from one language to the other as a ‘switch’ might be both premature and misguided since the medium of the interaction itself can be multilingual (i.e. one characterised by regular back and forth movements between various codes). Viewed from this perspective, Bentahila and Davies’s (1998) informants can be said to have been performing in a bilingual medium where the normative framework, as established by them, consisted of an Arabic-French mixed mode\textsuperscript{31} interaction.

The above points beg a question: how does CS morph into LM? According to most researchers (in particular Auer 1998, Matras 2000a and 2000b, Backus 2003), long-entrenched bilingualism leading to continuous juxtaposition of two languages leads to a progressive waning of the value of CS as a conversational cue indexing a change in conversational locus. Over time, some lexical and grammatical markers acquire new functions within this new multilingual “medium of talk” (Gafaranga 2007a, 305). According to Auer (1998), one of the first indicators of a LM situation is seen in the case of alternational switching where discourse markers indicating emphatic and reported speech acquire the grammatical inflections of the base language.\textsuperscript{32}

Highlighting this gradual move from pragmatics to grammar, Matras (2000b) provides a detailed typology of nascent trends (see Figure 2.5) in the field of CS. He comes up with four distinct contact mechanisms, namely integration, differentiation, convergence and fusion, that according to him, appear to be involved, separately or in combination in the creation of a mixed code (see Figure 2.5). This model can be seen to intersect with Auer’s (1998) own typology on various points. Matras’s Functions 1 and 2 coincide with what Auer himself has labelled as transfer (Function 1) and code-switching (Function 2). Convergence, on the other hand, is the Function

\textsuperscript{31} The term ‘bilingual’ or ‘mixed mode’ is borrowed from Grosjean (2001) who argues that bilinguals have the option of operating either in a monolingual mode by faithfully adhering to only one language at a time. Or, when conversational circumstances are clement, they can also opt to function in the hybrid, bilingual mode.

\textsuperscript{32} For want of a better word, the term ‘base language’ is used here as a descriptive label for the dominant language in the interaction (Auer 1998).
that is of utmost relevance here since it seems to be a very accurate description of a LM situation.\textsuperscript{33}

In addition, Matras (2000a, 83) refines Auer’s initial stipulations in regards to LM by taking into account not only conversational loci involved in switching, but by listing the grammatical components that are most frequently modified during the mixing process:

Such harmonization of grammatical operations may typically affect the layout of propositional content at the sentence level (i.e. word order and patterns of clause combining) […] Convergence may also affect lexical semantic as well as inflectional morphology.

This description also benefits from the approval of Backus (2003) who adopts insights from cognitive grammar in order to demonstrate how nouns (especially plural ones), verbs and prepositions can combine inflectional morphemes in all types of syntactical permutations and combinations resulting in the creation of a language variety with its own distinct rules and regulations.

Salient examples include “plural nouns, compound nouns, verb-object and adjective-noun collocations, and idiomatic phrases” (Backus 2003, 124). Broersma (2011) provides additional support to Backus (2003) by proposing that code-switching can be facilitated by trigger words such as cognates which are defined as units that are similar in form and meaning in two languages. In fact, cognitive research often highlights the heightened occurrence of CS immediate after a trigger word (Broersma 2011). Consider the following example from Broersma (2011, 39) of Moroccan Arabic- Dutch switching:

\begin{quote}
MšİNA L-U L Pari EEND Xalid met z’n tweeën.
(‘We went there to Paris to Xalid the two of us.’)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{33}Matras (2000a) departs from its counterpart on two fronts. Function 1 is labelled as “lexical re-orientation” (Matras 2000a, 82) and deals with a conscious shifting of the conceptual representations away from the language in which it is normally managed, resulting in the substitution of existing labels or symbols. Function 2, on the other hand, is known as “selective replication” (Matras 2000a, 83) and is defined as the continuous presence of structures from an earlier community language into the current lingua franca. In other words, it represents the longevity of selected lexical and grammatical components despite linguistic attrition of the ancestral community language. Functions 3 and 4, nonetheless, retain their subsequent descriptions.
The above sentence shows a switch from Moroccan Arabic (in capitals) to Dutch (in italics) and illustrates the role of trigger words—for example, the word Xalid—in bringing about subsequent intrasentential CS. What is more interesting though is the difficulty in categorizing such trigger words. In line with Woolard (1998), trigger words seem to act as bivalent hinges, one of the markers of a LM situation.

Muysken (2000, 1) uses the term ‘code-mixing’ instead of intrasentential CS to refer to similar cases of bivalency where lexical and grammatical features belonging to two different linguistic systems are effectively merged as one unified whole. His own typology of language alternation (Muysken 2000) also adopts a scalar perspective as he advocates for a gradual move from insertion to alternation and finally to congruent lexicalization, with insertion and alternation being the equivalent of Auer’s (2001) concepts of transfer and CS respectively while congruent lexicalization becomes the catch-all term for both LM and FL features. Speaking of congruent lexicalization, Toribio (2004) describes it as a phase where correspondences between the multiple linguistic systems of a speaker are optimized through the co-association of lexical, phonetic, morphological and grammatical features.

In many ways, therefore, the LM stage can be viewed as an intermediate stage where the abstand value (Kloss 1967) between the different linguistic systems is gradually reduced. Treffers-Daller (2009, 68) ranks the three types of code-mixing distinguished by Muysken on a scale of separation of languages as illustrated in Figure 2.6.
1. INTEGRATION
According to Matras (2000a, 506), this is the adaptation of the part of a language B within the A system. The local motivation to do so is usually to enhance the system of representation available in the A-system.

2. DIFFERENTIATION
This involves “an even more strategic choice of elements from the B-system” (Matras 2000b, 508). While integration functions as mere borrowings of B-segments into the A-system, differentiation calls for the juxtaposition of B and A-systems as a meaning-making strategy.

3. CONVERGENCE
Matras (2000b, 509) views convergence as the mutual re-structuring of systems A and B due to constant language alternation.

4. FUSION
This occurs in the case of the merger of systems A and B in such a way that telling them apart becomes quite difficult. This is an autonomous variety born out of the close contact between systems A and B (Matras 2000b, 511).

Figure 2.5: A function-based model of language contact (adapted from Matras 2000b, 506–511)
According to the above model, alternation is a form of code-mixing with a maximum degree of separation between linguistic systems while in contrast, congruent lexicalization acts as its polar opposite. Insertion—or transfer as per Auer’s (2001) model—acts as the intermediate point as elements from various systems are mixed but not necessarily merged with each other.

The above views are shared by Hinnenkamp (2003) whose second subtype of code oscillation describes the processes involved in LM but falls short of giving it any kind of specific label. Underlining the gradual weakening of CS as a contextualization cue, he notes that some alternations tend to be more intensive and dense in nature and cannot always be accounted for in terms of pragmatics only. The violations of “phrase-structure constraints” (Hinnenkamp 2003, 25) of such switches, combined with the movement from pragmatics to grammar, hint at the LM situation existing within the speech community in question.

One thought-provoking contribution to this debate comes from Smith (2000, 122) who considers “plain mixed languages”—his descriptive label for LM—as being language mixtures where “the grammar of one of the languages originally spoken in the group in question is combined with the content—words of another language known to the group” (Smith 2000, 122). He departs from above mentioned researchers in his correlation of the emergence of such mixed varieties with the creation of distinct ethnic identities within a particular speech community. This co-association between language change and identity is an interesting one given its ability to explain not just the structural nature of LM but also the reason behind it. This view is echoed by Kachru (1978) whose early study about the nature of CS between English and Hindi in India underlines the fact that the merger of two linguistic systems needs to be contextualised in order to reveal the bi-directional nature of CS. According to Kachru (1978, 43), as far as India is concerned, CS is a

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**Figure 2.6: LM and abstand value (adapted from Treffers-Daller 2009, 68)**

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mechanism adopted by speakers in order to “indianize” the English language while simultaneously “englishiz[ing]” Indian languages.

Indeed, while the typological explanations provided by researchers such as Auer and Matras are interesting in themselves, they fail to deal with the actuation issue. The factors leading to a change in both the density of switching and the grammatical systems involved in CS remain obscure. Smith (2000) provides a brief glimmer of hope in presenting LM as part of a larger community dynamic. However, given the reluctance of researchers working within the organizational paradigm of CS to even acknowledge identity-related accounts of the phenomenon, it is to be expected that Smith’s explanation may fall on deaf ears.

To summarise, this section has tried to elaborate on one particular type of bilingual alloy. The following section will extend the explanation one step further by looking at a more extreme form of alloying namely FLs.

2.4 Fusion

Auer (1998, 321) describes FLs as being quite similar to LM. However, differences are visible at a “deeper grammatical level only”. He further argues that:

While LM by definition allows variation (languages may be juxtaposed, but they need not be), the use of one “language” or the other for certain constituents is obligatory in FLs; it is part of their grammar, and speakers have no choice. Thus structural sedimentation [...] from LM into a FL presupposes a loss of variation and the stabilization of function-form relationships.

In other words, the changes visible during the LM phase get more pronounced and eventually become fully entrenched within the speech community under scrutiny. Grammatically speaking, the starting points for FLs consist mainly of elements such as discourse markers, conjunctions and particular categories of adverbials (Auer 1998).

These guidelines are supported by Matras (2000a, 84) who defines FLs—or in his parlance “categorical fusion”—as being totally autonomous varieties in contrast to their respective parent
systems. To Auer’s list of grammatical markers of FLs, he adds “hesitation markers—as well as phrasal verbs and focus particles […]” (Matras 2000a, 84). In this case, further confirmation comes from Hinnenkamp (2003, 33) who labels this more advanced mode of oscillation—in a grateful nod to his own informants in Augsburg—as *yarim yamalak konomak*. According to Blommaert (2000), naming FLs is a strategic move adopted by speakers who thus allow the “bricolage” to take a life of its own.  

Smith (2000, 122), however, takes this notion of FL or “symbiotically mixed languages” a step further by specifying that:

This type combines the grammatical structure of one language, and a varying number of lexical items—from hundreds to thousands in number—either from another language (often the original language of the group), or else from a variety of different sources, some words possibly being constructed or deformed deliberately. These languages exist in a symbiotic and dependent relationship with (dominant) unmixed languages with (virtually) the same grammar, and a lexicon from the same source as that grammar.

Once again, Smith (2000) links linguistic changes with societal issues (in this case, the power dynamics exiting between dominant and dominated varieties). He elaborates on the power dimension of his paradigm by putting forward two different types of symbioses namely:

i. Closed symbiotic mixed languages: This is the first type of linguistic symbiosis and acts as the theoretical bridge between plain mixed languages and symbiotically mixed ones. It stakes its claim to linguistic power by not making any direct use of the lexical words of the dominant language(s).

ii. Open symbiotic mixed languages: This subtype functions as the opposite of its counterpart and ensures its subordinate situation vis-à-vis the other systems in the FL matrix by making use of items from the dominant language(s) (Smith 2000, 123).

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34 Mc-Convell and Florey (2005, 2) state that linguistic tools need to be harnessed in order to assess the degree of autonomy of FLs by “measure[ing] ‘distance’ between varieties and degree of change”. Indeed, gaining in ‘Abstand’ (Kloss 1967) is a foolproof way for a variety to flout its new-found autonomy as a ‘language’ in its own right.
One problem with the above subcategorisation is its over-reliance on lexical factors at the expense of grammatical considerations. Also, as mentioned in the previous section, it is not clear how such identity-related perspective to CS can be reconciled with organizational ones.

Unlike Smith (2000) and on a far less problematic note, Bakker (2000) and Maschler (2000) both highlight the grammatical uniqueness of FL varieties, disregarding both the social and the lexical realms. Both researchers (Maschler in particular) focus on the pragmatic significance of FLs by highlighting the importance of discourse marker switching in the birth of a FL. Maschler’s (2000) study provides a diachronic insight into language alternation phenomena by analysing the same set of two informants after a period of twelve years. She notices the increasingly formulaic and fixed nature of the Hebrew discourse markers as they take on the function of triggers for CS or LM into the second language—in this case, English—which is part of the bilingual matrix in question. This change is imputed to a movement along the CS-FL continuum, leading to the new roles attributed to discourse markers. In her (Maschler 2000, 346) words:

> At one end of this continuum we find fixed, frozen expressions, which have undergone semantic bleaching and phonological reduction; at the other end we find less fixed expressions allowing variation, such as gender/number agreement, the adding of various verbal and nominal complements, and so forth.

What Maschler is describing in the above lines is the classic dichotomy between LM and FL. Progression along the CS-FL continuum leads to a gradual loss in variation in both switching and grammatical patterns.

Another feature that seems to characterise a FL are what Backus and Dorleijn (2009, 78) label as ‘structural borrowing’. Structural borrowing is defined as “the process whereby the use of a structure originally from the donor language becomes entrenched as a conventional part of the grammatical structure of the receiving language” (Backus and Dorleijn 2009, 78). In some cases, the structural properties of the embedded language can become conventionalized, especially in cases where they are use extensively. Another proponent of this argument is Toribio (2004) whose corpus of Spanish-English data highlights the structural scaffolding provided by the matrix language as code-switched elements are shaped to fit within this existing context. As Bullock and Toribio (2004, 91) further reveal, structural similarities resulting from the contact
between a bilingual’s two grammars act as a catalyst in bringing about grammatical changes, thus providing further credence to the notion of a FL stage. A similar observation is made by Muysken (2004, 163) who provides the following succinct diagrammatic representation (see Figure 2.7) of the grammatical systems involved in the pragmatic amalgamation between Quechua and Andean Spanish.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 2.7: Inter-relation between Andean Spanish and Quechua in a specific FL situation (Muysken 2004, 163)**

As the multiple sets of arrows (both uni- and bi-directional) illustrate, in this particular bilingual community, the give-and-take process between Quechua and Andean Spanish has reached its apogee with structural changes taking place at the levels of tense, aspect and evidentiality. Where traditional approaches regarding CS tend to view multiple languages as competing against each other, more recent models such as the one set forth by Auer underscore the simultaneous activation and co-utilization of different linguistic systems. In fact, Treffers-Daller (2009) even goes so far as to say that a large majority of highly skilled multilingual speakers are in constant FL mode. She asserts (Treffers-Daller 2009, 65):

> Furthermore, while some researchers define CS as a “complete” switch from one language to the other […] it is not clear what switching “completely” to the other language means, given the psycholinguistic evidence about continued activation of both languages in production and perception.

Conventionalisation and fusion, therefore, reveal a high state of proficiency for confident bilinguals. In a similar vein, in deference to Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011), language contact
situations, both inside and outside classroom walls, exist in a similar state of flux. As the diagram succinctly illustrates, at the level of abstand (Kloss 1967), the barrier that is theoretically posited as existing between two (or multiple codes) interacting during a conversational encounter, can, at best, be empirically conceptualised as a semi-permeable one. This porosity ensures that, over time, any interactionally dominant language initially considered as being the matrix code, gradually witnesses an erosion in potential as other languages attach themselves to it. As a result of this movement, with time, proficient multi-linguals become progressively desensitised to the abstand value of these codes and eventually fail to distinguish the “linguistic gulf separating one from the other” (Seargent 1985, 27).

In such a scenario, as Bonacina and Gafranga (2011) so convincingly assert, the medium of interaction itself becomes a mixed one and it is only any deliberate change in the concentration of languages, achieved through a shift to either a monolingual or tri-, quadri-, penta- or polylingual mode, that can be accurately labelled as an act of switching. In similar vein, in deference to Bonacina and Gafranga (2011), language contact situations, both inside and outside classroom walls, exist in a similar state of flux. At the level of abstand, the barrier that is theoretically posited as existing between two (or multiple) codes interacting during a conversational encounter, can, at best, be empirically conceptualised as a semi-permeable one (Kloss 1967). This porosity ensures that, over time, any interactionally dominant language initially considered as being the matrix code, gradually witnesses an erosion in potential as other languages attach themselves to it. The following excerpt (see Table 2.3) from Bonacina and Gafranga’s (2011) study in a French complementary school—a community school which aims to teach French to the British-born children of French-speaking immigrants—in Scotland exemplifies this fact:
Table 2.3: Example of mixed mode interaction at La Colombe Complementary School (adapted from Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011, 329)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The above extract provides an example of what Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) deem to be mixed mode interaction whereby the dissociation between and explanation for the two codes being alternated become a difficult analytical task. In this excerpt, the point of hydrostatic equilibrium appears to have been reached since neither English nor French can be unequivocally labelled as being the matrix code adopted. Instead, the utilisation of both languages itself becomes the interactional norm. In fact, the excerpt is particularly noteworthy due to the fact that Tony and Pierre consistently adopt non-reciprocal language choices with Tony consistently opting for French while Pierre sticks to English. However, in contrast to traditional analytic approaches to CS where such an act of willful divergence would be construed as being a strategy deployed by both speakers to erect interpersonal boundaries and to consequently, mark their inimical stance towards each other, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) opt to view this interaction...
as a hybrid one where non-reciprocal language choice is not flagged as being conversationally taboo by either speaker. Indeed, what is striking “is that, despite these apparently diverging language choices, interaction proceeds smoothly as if nothing unusual has occurred” (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011, 329). Since there is no subsequent breakdown in communication and both speakers carry on with their discussion, interpreting the maintenance of divergent code choices as being detrimental to in-group bonding would be empirically inadequate. In such hybrid interactions, polylingualism (multilingualism) itself becomes an expectation that skilled conversationalists seek to fulfil.

However, not all researchers are convinced about the positive impact of CS in bringing about lasting grammatical and lexical adjustments. In a number of cases, considerable concern has been expressed about the possibility of FLs being responsible for sounding the death knell of minority or endangered languages within a specific speech community. Taking the above concerns on board, Bullock and Gerfen (2004, 97) propose the following diagram (see Figure 2.8) as a conceptual tool, reflecting the co-association between CS mode, bilingualism status and linguistic vitality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convergence</th>
<th>Attrition</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>stable bilingualism, <em>Sprachbund</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>language/dialect death, diglossia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>stable bilingualism, diglossia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>language/dialect death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 2.8: Convergence, bilingualism and language death (Bullock and Gerfen 2004, 97)*

A FL stage corresponds to the first option listed in the above diagram where convergence hints at a state of stable bilingualism which in turn, provides fertile ground encouraging the blossoming of such novel linguistically hybrid codes.
The above argument raises an interesting question: Does the genesis of a FL usher in language change in a particular speech community? Quite a few researchers respond in the affirmative. Field (2005, 355) argues that such CS alloys can act as catalysts for language change and even provides a step-by-step account for this process namely:

i. A particular unit is singled out from the FL mode.

ii. It is subsequently adopted by a group of speakers.

iii. As soon as it achieves popularity, this form diffuses into the general speech community, eventually reaching a bigger mass of people. CS, therefore, can act as the trigger for language change.

The above perspectives to FL have been successfully merged with identity-related paradigms by researchers such as Thakker (1991), Hinnenkamp (2003) and Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2004) who regard such new developments in bilingual interaction as being socially motivated. Hinnenkamp (2003, 35) regards FLs as being “hybridolectal we-code[s]”, specific varieties empowered to celebrate the unique identity of a specific speech community. This view was anticipated by Thakker (1991, 211) whose study about the “Englishization” of Indian Gujarāti novels reveals the prestige value associated with conversing in FLs. Indicating the speaker’s own superior educational or socio-economic status or a shift in the solidarity and power dimensions, FLs are more often than not the preserve of the socially dominant community and they are, consequently, regarded as being quite posh. His predecessor, Kachru (1978, 36) also reached the same conclusion and even added that “[i]n attitudinal terms, this is a mark of modernization, high socio-economic position and identity with a certain elite group, and in stylistic terms it marks what may be termed ‘deliberate’ style.” Liechser and Dailey-O’Cain (2004, 505) are in complete agreement with this dictum, regarding the FL as one of the rules and regulations that are operational within a “community of practice”. FLs, therefore, are viewed as both a linguistic act and a reflection of a deep-rooted sense of belonging to a particular group.

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36 The term ‘Community of Practice’ has been popularised by Etienne Wenger in a number of his publications. According to definition provided on his website (http://www.ewenger.com/theory/), “Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly.” Liechser and Dailey-O’Cain (2004) acknowledge this intellectual debt in their study and use it to highlight the social implications of speaking FLs.
Despite the above insights into both the organisational and identity-related aspects of FLs, not all researchers are convinced about the theoretical validity of such constructs. Gardner-Chloros (2000, 114) considers these as the “[methods of] the hare” in the sense that the relative novelty of these concepts makes them vulnerable to a certain degree of descriptive vagueness. Grammatical phenomena ascribed to FLs—such as the list provided by Auer (1998) or Backus (2003)—are not always easy to validate on a quantitative level. Analyses of relevant data sets are, almost always, qualitative in nature and involve a few specific samples only. As a result, Gardner-Chloros (2000, 114) advocates a more conservative approach to language alternation phenomena:

The more conventional correlation of the different language contact outcomes with detailed sociolinguistic description, and the comparison between these, may be the method of the tortoise rather than the hare, but providing we live long enough, it may provide us with a more satisfactory basis for assessing the regularities in contact languages.

Overall, it seems fairly reasonable to conclude that while emerging typologies such as Auer’s (1998) or Matras’s (2000a and 2000b) may appear to be theoretically trail-blazing, they may need to be viewed with caution until the claims made can be substantiated by empirical data.

2.5 CS continuum: A critique

This thesis uses the concept of the CS continuum, drawing from the works of Auer (1999), Matras (2000a, 2000b) and Muysken (2000) amongst others to firstly identify the different conversational loci of CS and secondly to trace the evolution from CS to mixed codes and finally to fusion. Over the course of this thesis, although this theoretical framework has been, for the most part, quite helpful in explaining the various types of language alternation phenomena present in naturally-occurring face-to-face conversational interactions in Mauritius, it has a few limitations that need to be addressed. The focus of this subsection will, therefore, be twofold:

1. It will, firstly, deal with the issue of the multiplicity of terminologies that exist in the field of CS, eventually making it difficult for a researcher to convincingly draw the line between mixed codes and fusion.
2. Secondly, it will try to answer questions with regards to the actuation of the move from CS to fusion.

Theoretical perspectives about the CS continuum tend to be fairly descriptive in bent, aiming to mainly elaborate upon the various types of language alternation phenomena to expect and illustrate these with examples gathered during the data collection phase. Most researchers, including the ones whose work has underpinned this study, appear to shy away from providing a possible explanation behind what actually prompts a multilingual to move away from CS to more complex and pragmatically consequential forms of language alternation phenomena. It will, of course, be difficult for this subsection to fully fill in this theoretical gap. However, attempts will be made to ensure that sociolinguistic perspectives on CS, such as those used in this study, are viewed in conjunction with research being carried out in the field of psycholinguistics. This interface between sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics will, as this subsection will eventually demonstrate, provide a more comprehensive explanation for the linguistic behaviour of confident bi- and multilinguals. The following paragraphs will elaborate upon each of the above two focal points in more detail.

In the first instance, as this thesis itself has highlighted, over the years, a rich literature has emerged revealing the numerous pragmatic implications of language alternation phenomena in face-to-face and virtual interactions as well as in the media. In fact, according to Ferguson (2009, 232) it has managed to overcome one key theoretical hurdle, that of the usual practice of treating "CS as linguistically a relatively undifferentiated phenomenon". He argues that generalisation used to strip CS of its pragmatic nuances and its transformative potential to morph itself, in terms of the combinations and permutations between matrix and embedded languages, in order to reflect a speech community's sociolinguistic profile. Consequently, he believes that the necessity to rise above the empirical conceptualisation of CS as "a linguistically homogeneous phenomenon" (Ferguson 2009, 232), a monolithic construct that fails to account for the differing intensities and directionalities of switching in different settings, was one that was sorely felt. One of the most effective ways to remedy the above theoretical and empirical lacuna was by, as this thesis has argued, re-defining and re-conceptualising the notion of CS in language alternation research. In this context, Ferguson's (2009, 233) eloquence is quite noteworthy:
As Brock-Utne (2005) and Ferguson (2003) intimate, different forms and intensities of switching, for example, mixing or switching from and into different base languages, tend to elicit different attitudes, different shades of official approbation/disapprobation, and these, in turn, may well impact on the policy stances ultimately adopted. It would be useful, then, for researchers of an applied bent to grant greater attention to the linguistic detail of the switches identified.

Indeed, as the above lines so powerfully argue, analytical acuity is dependent upon a theorist's ability to correctly define CS and enforced homogeneity can impact upon the essence of the notion of CS itself as its descriptive potential may, over the years, be eventually stripped of its complexity. This can, unfortunately, result in the inability of practitioners to address the multi-functionality and multi-directionality of CS in their research resulting in what Ferguson (2009) believes to be a misplaced emphasis upon CS as a phenomenon, instead of as a range of cumulative, inter-connected phenomena. Unfortunately, despite the arguments put forward by the proponents of the CS continuum, its application in many other fields of linguistic research remains fairly low. A case in point is, according to Ferguson (2009) that of the analysis of CS in multilingual classrooms where, he argues, the basic definition of CS as adopted by theorists working in the field of classroom interaction, appears to be quite reductive and in need of serious revamping. As a matter of fact, a quick survey of a number of articles written on classroom CS provides a similarly simplistic description of the latter:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Definition (Emphasis mine)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tien (2009, 177): Conflict and Accommodation in Classroom Code-Switching in Taiwan</td>
<td>&quot;[…] how teachers and learners use more than one language to talk around monolingual textbooks in an attempt to accomplish lessons […]&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Li Wei and Wu (2009, 194): Polite Chinese children revisited: Creativity and the Use of codeswitching in the Chinese Complementary School Classroom</td>
<td>&quot;Most schools have an implicit OLON [one language only] policy, although in practice codeswitching frequently occurs&quot; (in this case, CS is presented as the anti-thesis of one language only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Raschka et al. (2009, 160): Conflicts and Tensions in Codeswitching in a Taiwanese EFL classroom</td>
<td>&quot;[…]patterns of CS, between English and the teachers’ mother tongue, in their respective classrooms&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4: Definitions of CS in select articles (adapted from Tien, 2009, Li Wei and Wu, 2009 and Raschka et al., 2009)
As the above table indicates, the definitions of CS, as utilised by the above theorists, are based on two main premises, firstly that any conversational interaction has a base language which is easily detected and secondly, that any departure from this matrix code through a shift to an embedded one can be equally unproblematically noticed and subsequently labelled as being an instance of CS (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993).

As Ferguson (2009) further argues, despite the existence of more accurate theoretical models to explain the pragmatic implications of CS in multiple domains, one reason for practitioners in the field of classroom CS — and in all other fields of CS — to shy away from these theoretical models remains the difficulty in applying the concepts utilised in them. For instance, although theorists such as Gafaranga and Torras (2002a and 2002b) and Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) have emphasised what they term as the 'base language fallacy', that is the inability to ascertain the exact matrix language in many multilingual speech communities, it is difficult to completely get rid of the concepts of 'base' or 'matrix' language. In fact, even in this thesis, despite the emphasis upon composite code-switching and the lack of any asymmetry between the two (or by extension, multiple) languages involved in the CS matrix during the mixed codes or fusion phase, the term 'matrix' language is one that has been extensively utilised for its descriptive potential. Whether an interaction is couched predominantly in one code or manages to source its elements from multiple languages, for the sake of analytical ease, it becomes imperative for the practitioner to give this mono or hybrid 'matrix' language a label. Gafaranga and Torras (2001) further argue that in the mixed codes and fusion stage, hybridity, showcased in the base medium's ability to construct its morphosyntactic frame from a combination of multiple codes, is to be considered as being the rule of the interactional game. However, for an analyst to claim that CS has occurred, (s)he needs to be able to label this hybrid new code and to assess whether any deviation from it can be construed as being a form of CS. This new, hybrid code is, once again, called upon to act as one, coherent 'base language', thus miring most novices in the field of the CS continuum into controversy.

In fact, the issue of terminological inadequacy in the field of language alternation research does not limit itself only to that of the definition of the 'base' or 'matrix' language. The term 'language'
or 'code', which this thesis uses interchangeably, is also one which many researchers want to abolish altogether. As mentioned previously in Section 2.4, Gafaranga and Torras (2002a and 2002b) and Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011), then, advocate for the use of the theoretically more accurate label of 'medium' which, depending on the sociolinguistic profile of a community, can be mono, bi or eventually multilingual. Unfortunately, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011, 322; emphasis mine), themselves, fail to adhere to their own stipulations and ironically, end up using the expression "base code", consisting of the two so-called problematic terms 'base' and code', "to account for the fact that, at La Colombe (the school where they were collecting data), participants could choose to speak French, English or both French and English and, once a ‘base code’ had been chosen, they could switch from it to serve specific purposes”. The multiplicity of lexical items, utilised within the same article and by the same authors as they attempt to showcase what they believe to be terminological and conceptual inaccuracies in the field of CS, is quite worrying and makes it difficult for any analyst to select the most appropriate label and its corresponding definition for his/ her research. Further compounding this issue is the fact that the label of 'medium' is one which already exists in sociolinguistics and is already quite polysemous. For instance, Hornberger and McKay (2010, 321) define medium as a semiotic resource or the means through which information is disseminated. This could take the form of either the verbal or in contemporary times, the technological channel. In such a scenario, the utilisation of the term 'medium' to simply refer to an amalgamation of different languages within one overarching matrix feels fairly reductive. These conflicting definitions for what is, essentially, the same concept, can prove to be a theoretical minefield for any researcher. Very often, as in the case of this particular thesis, the only way to navigate through the multiplicity of existing terms and their corresponding definitions, is to aim to remain reader-friendly by following the usual protocol of labelling the core language from which a deviation takes place as the 'matrix' language and to maintain the utilisation of the widely accepted notions of 'language' or 'code'.

A similar point was made by Auer (1990, 70) more than a decade ago when he asked the following pertinent questions:

But are we dealing with code alternation (code switching) here at all? Or is code-switching only and exclusively a phenomenon of language contact, a "marque transcodique" between two languages? Do we want to accept any change of language
variety as code alternation, or do we want to put restrictions on the kinds of varieties juxtaposed?

In other words, what Auer (1990, 71) wishes to know is whether interactional matrices can consist of only languages or whether analysts could actually take into account other features such as visual or paralinguistic elements. He, then, attempts to redefine CS, not by viewing it as being part and parcel of a broader language continuum but by using it as an umbrella term that can potentially cover "all cases, in which semiotic systems are put in a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such" (ibid). He even goes so far as giving the example of various graphics where the insertion of just one diagram from one to the other could be viewed as being a form of CS since it involves a shift in the overall communicative code. An echo of Auer's (1990) perspective is to be found in Gumperz’s (1982, 99) own influential work in the field of CS where he presciently noted that the “grammarians’ notion of language” and “the participants’ own notion of code” might be very different. In fact, Gumperz’s (1982) seminal definition of what constitutes an act of language alternation reveals the propensity of earlier researchers in the field of CS to favour an emic rather than an etic perspective. Likening an act of switching to that of an implicature, he reveals that the actual definition of what constitutes an act of pragmatically consequential juxtaposition is closely related to what Grice (1975) calls a conversational implicature. Defined as the assumptions a speaker/hearer must make in order to interpret an utterance embedded in a particularly ambiguous discursive unit, implicatures arise as a result of a violation of the cooperative principle (Grice 1975) which stipulates that ideally informants need to ensure that their conversational utterances remain adequately informative (maxim of quantity), truthful (maxim of quality), relevant (maxim of relation), precise and obey all morphosyntactic constraints (maxim of manner). In other words, implicatures are those chains of logic that emerge during conversational interactions in order to fill in any semantic or pragmatic gap left by the speaker, resulting in the contextualisation of utterances and their subsequent re-interpretation in the light of existing conversational constraints. The task of ascertaining that the meaning gleaned from an interactional sequence fits the contextual framework within which it originates is that of the hearer who needs to remain mentally alert to any potential shift in footing and to modify his interpretation of a conversational contribution accordingly.
Similarly, in the case of CS, assigning metaphorical value to an act of switching and understanding the pragmatic implications behind it rest solely on the shoulders of the interactants. Like implicatures, pragmatically-loaded acts of alternation depend on the usage conventions established, consciously or subconsciously, between addressees and addressers resulting in "two speech varieties [being] categorized as 'we' and 'they' codes and becoming associated with in and out-group experiences [thus conveying] conversational functions that are equivalent to the relationship of words and referents" (Gumperz 1982, 95). Indeed, while language, viewed from a grammarian's perspective, remains stable over time and can be preserved in dictionaries, its counterpart, the code, as understood by the semiotician, is a reflection of a series of meaning-making conventions formalised through well-established networks of interaction and negotiated in situ during every conversation. It should again be noted that these networks of meaning do not need to necessarily limit themselves only to language. They can, as Auer (1990) and Gumperz (1982) both note, actually include other visual, auditory and paralinguistic cues that interactants are called upon to decode. This could possibly explain why Gumperz labels his own work as 'discourse' rather than 'language strategies': From the arguments presented above, it can only be surmised that he possibly intended readers to familiarise themselves with a broader rather than a more restricted definition of CS, as is, unfortunately, the case today (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011).

Building upon the above perspectives, it can definitely be argued that the relatively few examples of language alternation phenomena eventually detected in this dataset in the mixed codes and fusion stage (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3 for a more in-depth discussion) are not solely due to the fact that informants have not yet made the full transition to fused lects. One other possible reason for such a paucity of illustrations could also be attributed to the fact that, unlike Section 4.1.7 which deals with the co-occurrence of CS with laughter where due attention could be provided to paralinguistic elements, all sections on mixed codes and fusion limited their empirical focus to linguistic units only. Unlike Auer (1990) and Gumperz (1982) and in deference to researchers such as Matras (2000a and 2000b) and Muysken (2000), it is the 'grammarian's notion of code' rather than the semiotician's approach to it that has been adopted. Unfortunately, the literature in the field of mixed codes and fusion, despite owing its theoretical
origins to the work of seminal figures such as Gumperz (1982), does not take into account the semiotic system within which such interactions occur. While they emphasise the routinisation and strong entrenchment of bi- or multilingualism as the most plausible reason behind the emergence of novel forms of language alternation phenomena, they conspicuously omit all references to possible changes taking place at the social, cultural or political levels which could, in turn, impact upon the overall semiotic system within which an interactional unit takes place. This oversight, though part and parcel of a broader Conversation Analytic methodology, can potentially prove to be detrimental to the concept of the CS continuum as a whole since providing empirical validity to these concepts has been, and to an extent, still is a challenging task. Unless the empirical purview of what constitutes an act of mixed code or fusion is broadened, emphasis will continue to be placed on lone linguistic occurrences such as compounding of nouns or discourse marker switching.

Taking the above argument one step further, Auer (1990) reports upon Hinnenkamp's (1989) observations about a bilingual German-Turkish sign in a playground which he argues restricts rather than democratises the reach of the message inscribed on it. He convincingly argues that the only true bilinguals present in the playground are the second generation Turkish immigrant children who are fluent in both Turkish and German. Their parents who are predominantly monolingual in Turkish would not be able to read out and understand the nuances of meaning inherent in the German version of the sign, and vice versa for the German parents. In the light of the above, Hinnenkamp (1989) argues that it becomes quite natural for the second generation Turkish immigrants to continuously operate within a bilingual medium of interaction. Having been exposed from an early age to signs couched in both their home and their adopted language, growing up to use them either intersententially or intrasentially becomes the norm rather than the exception. This, in turn, encourages them to become increasingly creative with their language practices, potentially resulting in the types of language amalgams that researchers working on the CS continuum wish to highlight. By the same logic, in stable multilingual communities, developments taking place at the level of languages cannot be divorced from sociocultural triggers such as the media or the linguistic landscape. These are part of the semiotic system

37 In fact, despite his earlier work, Auer (1999) himself refers sparingly to the semiotician's approach to CS. Instead, his seminal paper on CS, LM and FL focuses mainly, as do those of his successors, on strictly linguistic issues.
Evidence for the existence of triggers impacting upon the emergence of increasingly hybrid forms of CS comes from Clyne (2003) who asserts that, in some cases, a speaker may opt to switch to another variety word-internally or may use features from language X that happen to quasi-clones of those of language B in order to assist in the eventual hybridisation process. Categorised as “facilitation” by Clyne (2003, 162ff, cited in Auer 2011, 461), this phenomenon is illustrated in the following Dutch-English bilingual segment:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ik heb een } & \text{kop of tea or something} \\
\text{I have-1SG a } & \text{cup of tea or something} \\
\text{I’ll have a cup of tea or something}
\end{align*}
\]

As this sentence reveals, the Dutch word *kop* shares a close homophonous bond with its English counterpart of ‘cup’. Such instances of similarities make it difficult for an analyst to determine whether CS has taken place but they also ‘facilitate’, according to Clyne (2003) the transition to English. From a theoretical perspective, these acts of ambiguity act as a contrast to the orthodox conception of CS, mixed codes and fusion as being abrupt. Auer (2011, 460-461) offers the following contrastive diagrams of the two forms of language alternation phenomena (Figure 2.9).

As diagram 2.9 indicates, orthodox approaches to language alternation phenomena depict languages as being discrete entities, with possibilities of overlap only at specific points on the CS continuum. However, in the case of facilitated CS, the hybrid nature of the medium of interaction makes it difficult to confidently and unambiguously label the point where one language stops being used, paving the way for another (or multiple others) to take its place. Instead, throughout the conversational interaction, different types of alloys consisting of multiple languages are utilised, bringing about a gradual rather than an abrupt shift towards the adoption of another semiotic system. The intermediate variety, seen in the dotted line provided above, consists of, in this case, phonetically ambiguous material that successfully sets the stage for the adoption of
variety B, however, as Clyne (2003) notes, 'facilitation' through language, is but one of the options available to language users.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthodox conception of language alternation phenomena</th>
<th>'Facilitated' CS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Time --------
Variety A
Variety B | Time --------
Variety A
Variety B |

**Figure 2.9: Diagrammatic representations of orthodox and facilitated forms of CS**
(adapted from Auer 2011, 460–461)

They can easily have recourse to, as Hinnenkamp (1989), has argued, other forms of triggers such as multilingual signs or semiotically hybrid material from the broadcast, print or virtual media. In the light of the above, therefore, it can be argued that the perspective adopted by proponents of the CS continuum requires certain deep-seated theoretical and methodological reformulations.

Another problem encountered by linguists is the fact that differentiating between mixed codes and fusion is quite difficult. This study has used evidence provided in previous research (Matras 2000a, 2000b, Maschler 2000 and Muysken 2000 amongst others) to label particular instances of alloying as belonging either to the mixed codes or the fused lects phase of the CS continuum. However, the theory with regards to where the line of demarcation should be drawn between mixed codes and fusion is not as specific as one would hope for. Indeed, most researchers draw the line between what they consider as typical and as composite CS. Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011, 319) argue that composite CS requires a shift in focus from a "local order" perspective.
intent on sending each and every instance of language alternation through the theoretical microscope to a more "overall order" stance where only the medium of interaction can be assumed to be the default choice to be adopted by interactants. Any deviance from it, in the form of the adoption of one or multiple languages as the new medium of conversational interaction, "is seen as noticeable and accountable, i.e. as requiring an account" (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011, 323). The constant give and take between multiple languages, evidenced most specifically in the case of a mixed mode medium, can, thus, be likened to a case of linguistic osmosis. A biological process characterised by the movement of molecules across a semi-permeable membrane until a hydrostatic state of equilibrium is reached (Ragaller and Theilen 2009), the concept of osmosis is equally applicable in language contact situations to explain the flow of languages across social, cultural and linguistic boundaries until a state of happy co-existence — as identified and oriented to by participants themselves — is eventually achieved. A diagrammatical representation of this process is provided in Figure 2.10.

As it indicates, the driving force behind osmotic shift, is the difference in concentration in the entities separated by the semi-permeable membrane. From a biophysical perspective where cells or fluid compartments are separated by semi-permeable membranes, solutes consisting of say glucose are usually too big to cross this porous barrier (Ragaller and Theilen 2008). Consequently, water, the usual solvent in biological systems, due to the smaller size of its molecules, migrates from the side of lower concentration to that of higher concentration of solutes. A gradual process, osmosis is believed to be complete when molecules of different sizes co-exist in equal measure on both sides of the semi-permeable barrier (Ragaller and Theilen 2009). Interestingly, in diagram 2.10, although the move from traditional CS to the more osmotic forms of language alternation phenomena is one which has previously been elaborated upon, the different stages of movement across the semi-permeable membrane are neither labelled nor provided with an in-depth explanation. Similarly, most theoretical perspectives on the CS continuum predict the transition from simple CS to more complex forms of linguistic hybridity. However, so far, consensus has not been reached. While, on the one hand, Gafaranga and Torras (2002a) believe that multilinguals can opt for 'medium switching' as a means to move away from one semiotic system to another, Auer (1999) posits three discrete points on his version of the language alternation continuum namely CS, LM and FL. In contrast, Matras (2000a) advocates
for a four point scale which breaks down the CS stage into two separate stages dealing with different levels of intra and intersentential language alternation. Given the lack of theoretical agreement with regards to the different phases on the CS continuum, it often falls to the analyst to draw parallels between multiple models and to assign different kinds of language alternation phenomena with a label that fits them best. This is, at best, an arbitrary process that could benefit from more rigorous descriptions.

Auer (1999) has also argued that while he has identified three discrete points on his language alternation continuum and believes that movement along this sliding scale is uni-directional, stabilization of any mixed variety can occur at any point of the CS continuum. While this is, in theory, an interesting idea, in practice, it is far more difficult to explore. Given the difficulties inherent in providing characteristics of mixed codes and fusion with the appropriate label, the development of in-between varieties can prove to be an even harder challenge to deal with. This lack of terminological and conceptual accuracy is one that needs firstly a theoretical remedy and secondly, an empirical support to the theories that will emerge as a direct consequence of this endeavour.
In line with the above perspective, Gardner-Chloros (2009b, 27) argues that conceptual accuracy is possible only when the sociolinguistic specificities of the different subgroups of speakers associated with each variety, be it a mixed code or a fused lect, are taken into account. In a clear departure from the CA perspective which stipulates that all changes within a multilingual matrix can be attributed to the sequential nature of interactions (Auer 1988), she asserts that "the stabilisation of CS varieties arises when these varieties assume an identity function" and associates them predominantly with second-generation immigrant communities which opt for either mixed codes or fusion as an externalisation of their own degree of acclimatisation to their host community (Gardner-Chloros 2009b, 27).

So far as traditionally multilingual communities such as Mauritius are concerned, Gardner-Chloros’s (2009b) explanation with regards to the inter-relationship between acculturation and enhanced levels of linguistic hybridity cannot be unequivocally applied. However, her call for the integration of organisational and identity-related perspectives to CS is one that needs to be taken into account. So far, other than Myers-Scotton's (2001) RC model, very few theorists have attempted to bridge the gap between identity-related and Conversation Analytic-based approaches to CS. The existing cleavage between these two schools of thought might explain why the CS continuum fails to adequately pinpoint the exact point at which mixed codes eventually give way to fusion. This can only be made possible when analysts manage to connect linguistic occurrences with their corresponding sociological indicators. Reviewing existing research in connection with the multiplicity of circumstances within which increasingly complex forms of language alternation phenomena can be said to occur, Heller (1988, 268-269) provides additional credence to the above argument by putting forth her belief that one of the main priorities of CS research is to look at "the extent to which different types of CS are related to different types of boundary maintenance/ change conditions [...] and the generalizability of findings concerning the social conditions under which CS is or is not found." At the moment, while the theoretical and empirical focus on CA approaches to the CS continuum have provided an insight into the various forms of language alternation that prevail in many multilingual communities worldwide, not enough emphasis has been placed upon the social pre-requisites that have brought about a blurring of the boundaries existing between the languages interacting
within a CS matrix. Consequently, integrating the identity-related approaches to CS within the CA-based perspectives can, potentially, shed additional light upon the factors underpinning the movement from CS to mixed codes and eventually to fusion.

Another key question that current theories concerning the CS continuum fail to answer is that regarding the actuation of such changes at an individual level. As previously mentioned, CA perspectives to CS tend to view language alternation as being determined solely by the interactional ingredients of a particular conversation. Meaning is brought about (Li Wei 1998), irrespective of the social context within which it occurs. While the problematic nature of the aforementioned assertion has already been elaborated upon, the inability of current research in the field of the CS continuum to explain the processes involved, at an individual level in "the kinds of language mixture produced by bilinguals, and by extension, in the creation of languages that are the outcomes of such mixtures" (Winford 2009, 298) is one that needs to be acknowledged and remedied as soon as possible. Indeed, similar to Grosjean (1982), De Bot (1992, 2000) argues that bi- and by extension, multilinguals have access to one single, consolidated mental lexicon which is enriched with multiple alternatives to express the same preverbal message. However, De Bot (1992) believes that far from being innate, this consolidated mental lexicon is one which is acquired through gradual routinisation of multilingual language practices in the life of a multilingual. A succinct summary of De Bot's (1992) approach is provided by Gardner-Chloros (2009b, 134) who explains that:

[S]ystems are partly unified and partly separate, depending on the closeness between the languages and speaker's proficiency in each. Links between elements are strengthened through continued use and in general, those between elements of a single language would be stronger than between those in different languages. In the case of regular CS, however, interlingual links could be just as strong as intralingual ones.

The above quotation acts, in fact, as a quasi-perfect echo of the arguments put forward by both Auer (1999) and Matras (2000a). Similar to sociolinguistic perspectives to the CS continuum, psycholinguistic perspectives also appear to be emphasising the contribution of regular language alternation in bringing about more complex forms of language alternation through the breaking down of the cognitive boundaries that exist between two linguistic systems. These are, then, able
to coalesce into one functional whole, empowering the individual speaker to select from a broader range of linguistic variants when attempting to put a preverbal message into words. Building upon this perspective, Green (2000) is of the opinion that once language alternation becomes an integral part of a speaker's life, the latter's brain either 'activates' or 'inhibits' a particular mono or multilingual language mode. De Bot (2004) likens this cognitive control mechanism not to an on/off switch but to the act of trying to hold down small ping-pong balls in a bucket of water. While many of them will remain submerged, at any given point in time, a few of them will, quite vigorously, shoot to the surface. Similarly, a proficient multilingual's mental lexicon consists of various elements from multiple languages. In specific contexts, only a few of these linguistic elements will be pushed to the fore; others will be 'inhibited', thus effectively preventing the speaker from using them. These choices which are, either consciously or subconsciously, made by interactants, eventually trickle their way down to all sections of the speech community, thus resulting in increasing levels of hybridity. As far as this dataset is concerned, it would definitely appear that through their exposure to constant language contact, the participants' have managed to develop a finely-tuned activation-inhibitory control mechanism that allows them to successfully draw from the consolidated mental lexicon.

On the whole, the aim of this subsection has been to highlight the different types of limitations of the theoretical model underpinning this study. As shown above, at the moment, insights into the different phases of the CS continuum lack either terminological or conceptual accuracy. These, in turn, impact upon the empirical dimension of research in the field of language alternation. Consequently, it is to be hoped that, in deference to the problematic areas highlighted above, key researchers will attempt to revise their theories in order to ensure that they remain both theoretically and empirically relevant.

2.6 Conclusion

On the whole, as this subsection illustrates, although the word CS, has for a long time, been used as an umbrella term for the different forms that a code-switched utterance may take, a more sophisticated typology, capable of providing a more in-depth explanation for various forms of language alternation phenomena, is both theoretically and empirically helpful. The creation of a
CS continuum, therefore, ensures a more accurate and scientific description of switching mechanisms in bi- or multilingual speech communities. However, researchers still need to proceed with caution: Treating CS, LM and FL as discrete points on a unidirectional scale might be both misguided and premature. As Sections 4.2 and 4.3 will subsequently demonstrate, the reality is, in fact, far more complex than the current theoretical formulation of the language alternation continuum would suggest. The following chapter will now elaborate upon the methodology adopted by this study.
CHAPTER 3

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will deal with four fundamental methodological issues underpinning this thesis, namely (i) research design (ii) the definition of a sample frame (iii) the procedures adopted for data analysis and (iv) the analytical framework implemented during the pilot study and subsequently the rest of the project. The first section deals with issues surrounding research design in the field of CS and will act as a precursor to other subsections centred on the size and the nature of the sample of informants recruited for this study and the set of practices adopted during the data collection and analysis phases of this project. Finally, it will shed light upon how all these factors were brought together and contributed to the creation of and implementation of the pilot and subsequently the larger-scale study that lies at the heart of this thesis.

3.1 Research Design: Methodology in the field of CS

During her research into language alternation phenomena in East Harlem’s *El Barrio* in the late 1970s, Zentella (1997) acknowledges that she often found herself overwhelmed by the complexity of the linguistic behaviour displayed by her Spanish-English bilingual Puerto Rican informants. Moving from casual observation of CS to the setting up of a systematic framework capable of providing explanatory credence to the Bloque’s children’s ability to transform simple conversational exchanges into pragmatically consequential utterances, Zentella (1997, 76) bemoaned what she perceived as being the over-emphasis on the grammatical facets of CS at the expense of its communicative functions, pointing out that:

In part, this was because the starting point of most of the past research was the switches themselves, and not the context that gives rise to them and in which they serve distinctive functions. Qualitative approaches had been of crucial theoretical
importance but had not focused on the primary community networks in which code-switching is acquired and used, i.e. the networks of home and the community.

In other words, while the orderliness of code alternation phenomena was no longer in question, its corresponding socio-functional locus was often ignored.

From both a theoretical and a methodological perspective, this situation was remedied a few years later with the setting down of a few key conceptual assumptions proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002) who puts forward a model that successfully merges insights from both the MM and Auer’s CA approach in order to postulate a set of three cumulative filters and to provide strong methodological guidance to researchers in the field of CS. Reflecting the intricate cognitive mechanisms that govern code selection, maintenance and shift amongst proficient bilinguals, the RC model lends itself to a multivariate analysis of the inter-relationship among firstly, socio-economic factors (such as class, gender, age and ethnicity); secondly, situational factors (along the lines of participant and topic selection) and finally language choice. Its ability to effectively embrace tenets from both the identity-related and the organisational stance to CS makes it a comprehensive tool endowed with the potential to exhaustively investigate the sociopragmatics of language alternation continua. Before moving on to provide an insight into the methodology adopted by this study, this section will firstly focus on the key methodological principles put forward by the RC approach to CS.

Indeed, so far, in the field of CS, most key theorists including Auer (1984) and Myers-Scotton (1998) herself have used the interview as their main form of data collection. Given the difficulties in eliciting CS, multi-party interactions were, more often than not, a priority. However, Myers-Scotton’s (2002) new RC approach has the potential of providing guidelines that could be helpful to all researchers working in the field of CS. In fact, the latter draws extensively from Sociology, more specifically Rational Choice Theory, in order to explain the multifaceted factors affecting speaker choice (Myers-Scotton 2002). Basing herself on rationalist methodology, her approach to CS can be classified as “thick or social-situation rationalis[m] [which] incorporate[s] different auxiliary assumptions” (Lichbach 2003, 29). In other words, she

38 For additional information regarding project ideas and resources that can be utilised for research in the field of multilingualism, please refer to Li Wei and Moyer (2008a and 2008b).
contends that actions cannot be extricated from their social context and that, as a result, this makes them inherently malleable and subject to change. Speakers, far from mindlessly following preset patterns of marked or unmarked linguistic behaviour, could, in fact, opt to express their individuality at all points in the interaction by willingly modifying their behaviour in keeping with the shifting conversational foci of an interaction. Language alternation becomes, therefore, a form of “individual behavior [that] itself depends on social facts” (Kincaid 1996, 150). From a methodological standpoint, the analysis of such context-sensitive individual behaviour can be studied by investigating the co-relation between microlevel factors such as issues of norms, preferences and dis-preferences and macro factors for instance social structures, institutions and constraints (Lichbach 2003). For the purposes of this study, the following key aspects of a context-sensitive and rationally-oriented methodology will be adopted:

i. Rational Choice theorists choose to make sense of microlevel phenomena by linking them to macrolevel explanations. Lichbach (2003) cites Bates (1989, 1) who opens his book by claiming that “[t]his book is [...] about the politics and economics of agriculture. And it is about Kenya”. As the above quotation reveals, Bates's objective is to reach an understanding of the decisions taken by authorities regarding issues of profit and loss in the field of agriculture. However, instead of theorising in the abstract, the researcher chooses to focus on one particular sociogeographical context, namely Kenya. Similarly in the case of CS, as far as this study is concerned, the aim is to illustrate and explain a language alternation continuum ranging from what Auer (1999) calls 'simple CS' to Language Mixing and ultimately to Fused Lects. In so doing, though, the researcher needs to focus her empirical lenses on one particular sociolinguistic context: Mauritius.

ii. Reaching macrolevel insights through the scaffolding provided by microlevel phenomena becomes possible only through the active contribution of the individuals carrying out specific actions in relevant contexts. Consequently, analysts must always accept a participant's own judgement regarding the best course of action for him/her to follow and must, subsequently, base their own analysis of the participants' actions upon the latter's perspective. This ties in with one of the basic tenets of CA and Myers-Scotton's (2002) second filter which states that analysts need to always adopt an emic perspective while evaluating the language choices made by speakers.
iii. Taylor (1991, 367–368) maintains that methodological practices, in the field of Rational Choice, require analysts to provide fine-grained explanations regarding “causal links beginning and terminating at individuals”. In other words, it is imperative for researchers to lend more importance to the informants' perspective during the analysis process. Participants are the ones who can connect the dots between their language behaviour and the rationale behind it.

Similarly, Myers-Scotton argues that code selection should be viewed as being a deeply individualistic endeavour that allows speakers to assess the various ingredients, both social and conversational, and to either opt to maintain the existing status quo or to modify it in keeping with the persona that they wish to project at that particular point in the interaction. In his reading of the methodological specificities of the RC model, Levine (2011) concurs with the above argument and points out that after years of viewing the identity-related and the interactional approach to CS as being fundamentally different in approach, the RC model finally provides Myers-Scotton (2002) with the opportunity to build both a theoretical and an empirical bridge between the two by finally acknowledging that while individuals do, indeed, approach a conversation with their own identity-related particularities firmly in mind and these are enacted in conversation only when (and if) particular interactional conditions are met. Consequently, studies adopting an RC-driven methodology need to ensure that the causative factors behind the conversational behaviour of interactants is carefully brought to the fore and explained, not only in keeping with a priori assumptions but also in the light of a posteriori facts gleaned from the interactional encounter.

These three fundamental aspects have been at the crux of disciplines such as Economics that have been known to adopt a RC-driven methodology. Udehn (2003) quotes Popper (1994, cited in Udehn 2003) who admits that though, as methodology, the rationality principle relies on a priori assumptions, these should, however, not be taken as being either true or valid a priori. In other words, according to Popper, the aim of rationality is to reach as close an approximation of the 'truth' as possible; therefore, in the course of a study using a RC-driven approach, although the starting point is, definitely, a series of a priori hypotheses, it needs to still evolve into being a
"testable social theory" (Udehn 2003, 151). In the words of Popper (1994, 177, cited in Udehn 2003, 151):

My thesis is that it is *sound methodological policy* to decide not to make the rationality principle, but the rest of the theory — that is, the model — accountable [Emphasis in original text].

The above quotation has acted as a precursor to a subfield of RC, known as methodological individualism which seems to inform Myers-Scotton's (2002) own conception of RC as being concurrently shaped by both personal and interactional constraints. While the term 'methodological individualism' might, at first, appear to refer to a normative system that privileges individual needs at the expense of broader macrosocietal ones, McKean (2000, 35) argues that this is, in fact, erroneous. Indeed, methodological individualism, in contrast to normative individualism, stipulates simply that "the collective action insight demonstrates to us that we do not understand the behaviour of a group until we understand the choices made by the individuals in it." Simply put, the appropriation of the above perspective and its subsequent application to the field of language alternation by Myers-Scotton (2002) showcases this theoretical and by extension, empirical move away from the kernel of normative individualism inherent in both the MM and the CA approach towards an integrated perspective that is capable of giving analytical prominence to microlevel language choices made in situ by speakers and in turn, to connect these choices to macrosocietal processes such as language-based identity formation mechanisms.

In the light of the above, Paternoster and Simpson (1993, 51) come up with a series of recommendations that RC-driven methodologies need to take into account:

i. The sample size needs to be of medium or large size in order to allow an adequate picture of the behavioural practices of practitioners to emerge.

ii. Rationality is evidenced equally well in both longitudinal studies and those of shorter duration. Therefore, at the level of research design, in order to satisfy the issues of logistics that inevitably arise while collecting data, they prefer not to opt for longitudinal studies. Instead, they argue that "perceptions [and] behaviour relationships should be
measured as an instantaneous [relationship] rather than the lagged [ones] implicit in either cross-sectional or panel research."**

iii. Analyses should remain contextually specific and should take into account participants' points of view instead of imposing a more analyst-centred one. Broader generalisations about the societal framework within which informants are called upon to operate should be derived from the empirical observations generated by the emic analysis of the data.

Myers-Scotton's (2002, 208, cf. Section 4.1, pages 66-67) model, therefore, reveals itself to be one which adheres to the above three perspectives. The first filter, aptly labelled as 'external constraints' takes into consideration all relevant details regarding extra-linguistic factors such as sample size and the linguistic profile of speakers. Therefore, this first filter will be used as a means through which light can be shed upon sampling and sampling-related procedures adopted by this study. In the second instance, the second filter revolves around the 'internal constraints', that is the sociolinguistic matrix within which the speakers operate. From a methodological perspective, therefore, this second filter can be operationalised by designing it to focus on the specific data collection methods and contextually-sensitive analytical practices adopted. In the final instance, the third filter namely 'rationality at work' emphasises the synchronic application of theoretical and empirical considerations. So far as this thesis is concerned, this third filter will be used as a structural label in order to provide details regarding the pilot phase of this study. Consequently, as the following subsections highlight, this study has used the above theoretical framework as the conceptual backbone underpinning the data collection and analytical practices adopted.

3.2 The Sample

In keeping with the aspects set out in the previous section regarding the possibility of drawing from an RC-oriented approach, each subsection in this chapter will firstly explain the correlation between each of the 'constraints' put forward by Myers-Scotton (2002) in her RC model and its corresponding methodological specificities. Indeed, while this study aims to investigate the emergence of what Auer (1999) believes is a language alternation continuum which exists in many multilingual communities, the methodology takes inspiration from the concatenated
organisational cum identity-related concepts put forward by Myers-Scotton. In addition, all
decisions taken with regards to the methodology adopted in this study will be supported by either
theoretical or empirical evidence provided by other key researchers in the field of CS.

The first stage of the data collection process is always that of defining the sample frame. This can
be done by taking into consideration Myers-Scotton's (2002) first filter. Self-explanatorily
labelled as “external constraints” (Myers-Scotton 2002, 207), it deals with a broad range of
sociological, sociolinguistic and interactive factors that shape a speaker’s attitudes and ideology
towards speech styles, languages, discursive strategies and the contextually-sensitive ways in
which these may be operationalised. Such external constraints are also helpful in providing an
insight into the “naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings so that we have a strong
handle on what ‘real life’ is like” (Miles and Huberman 1994, 10). Focusing on a cross-sectional
slice of the pragmatic realities of a bilingual community, the first filter is enriched with the
potential of providing researchers with the methodological tool to define the socio-cultural and
situational parameters of their sample frame by empowering them to set boundaries and to define
aspects of their case-studies which can be productively studied within specific time and means
constraints. Indeed, according to Miles and Huberman (1994, 16), “choreographing” a research
work is facilitated once a purposive rather than a random qualitative sample frame can be
defined. For the purposes of this thesis, a qualitative rather than quantitative approach is
favoured because of its ability to allow for the description and explanation of the pragmatic
significance of language choice. In contrast, a quantitative approach might call for the tabulation
of instances of switching without necessarily allowing for the possibility of fulfilling one of the
primary objectives of this thesis namely the exploration of the different forms of mixing, fusion
or alloying (cf. Auer 1999) that CS phenomena can take.

In keeping with the aforementioned need to adopt a qualitative perspective, Nortier (2008, 39)
asserts that any qualitative sample frame needs to be designed taking the following four
considerations taken into account. Her stipulations are as follows:

i. **Language history**: Nortier (2008, 39) asserts that charting out a careful linguistic profile of
the informants is vital to the selection process since bilingual proficiency is intrinsically
linked to the length of contact that a speaker has with the multiple languages that
characterise his/her opportunity set (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002, 207). Although Nortier (2008) stipulates that a bilingual’s degree of mastery over languages can be attributed to childhood exposure, experts such as Myers-Scotton (2002) argue that the meaning-making abilities of CS are, in no way, undermined by a delayed foray into a foreign culture and its associated language. A case in point would be immigrants whose command of an alien language is often motivated by a desire for acculturation and assimilation into the host community while maintaining their allegiance to the linguistic practices endorsed by their home community. However, one point of consensus between the two researchers remains that bi- or multilingual ability needs to be ascertained by the researcher during the selection phase.

ii. **Language choice**: Studies in the field of language contact are often centred around the choices that participants make regarding code selection associated with a change in interlocutor, topic or perceived degree of formality of the interactional exchange. While all bilinguals display varying degrees of CS, many speakers opt to downplay their linguistic creativity in unfamiliar situations such as the recording process. This leads Codó (2008, 161) to advise all researchers to carry out pilot interviews with all prospective informants in order to ensure that the self-consciousness generated by the data collection process will not prove to be detrimental to the quality of the material gathered, in terms of volume and density of code-switched utterances.

iii. **Language dominance**: For obvious analytical purposes, determining the matrix language of any conversational interaction is of the utmost importance since it provides the yardstick against which all subsequent instances of switching will be measured. Nortier (2008, 39) believes that while all informants can be relied upon to provide accurate assessments of their linguistic usage, fieldworkers should conduct a quick spot check by asking control questions such as “What language do you write in your diary? What language do you use when you write shopping lists? What language do you use when you talk to your pet rabbit/ cat/ dog/ horse?”. In addition, the command and comfort level of speakers should be exploited by encouraging them to utilize it as the dominant code of interaction during the recording process.
Reporting upon the methodology adopted in her doctoral work, Treffers-Daller (1992) admits to using a similar strategy. Indeed, as part of her investigation into the varying patterns of French-Dutch CS in Brussels, Treffers-Daller recorded a total of thirty-four native Brusselers from Anderlecht and the central municipality of Brussels. Claiming to be fluent in both Brussels Dutch and Brussels French, informants’ linguistic proficiency in Brussels Dutch, Brussels French, Standard Dutch and Standard French were assessed with the help of a five-point self-assessment scale in which informants were asked to rate their own proficiency in these languages on a scale of one to five. In deference to the sensitive character of the language issue in Brussels, Treffers-Daller (1992, 147) complemented the proficiency test with what she termed as an “idiom test” instead of typical language tests to evaluate the relative bilingual aptitude of her informants. Consisting of a series of ten Dutch and French formulaic expressions respectively, this test offered participants two contrastive formulations of each idiom and requested them to indicate the correct one. Thus, despite the fact that linguistic competence was not alluded to, the dominant language and level of mastery of each informant could be fairly easily gauged based on the number of correct responses provided.

iv. Language attitudes: Nortier (2008) firmly believes that CS owes its pragmatic significance in part to attitudinal factors that impact upon the linguistic performance of participants. Questions regarding whether languages are associated with the domains of friendship and solidarity or power and authority allow researchers to gain an understanding into the relative prestige value assigned to each language within a conversational frame consisting of multiple languages. From an analytical standpoint, the switch from the matrix language to a variety invested with a high degree of societal valence indexes an interlocutor’s need for social approval while simultaneously revealing a possible change in conversational locus.

In practice, the above four considerations were used to define the sample frame of the current study as well. Participant selection was guided by the following criteria:

i. Participant History: All forty participants were native speakers of Mauritian Creole and had been exposed to English and French through years of formal primary, secondary and tertiary schooling where the former colonial languages are highly prized. In addition, due
to the governmental policy of encouraging students from various ethnic backgrounds to opt for their respective ancestral languages, all participants were conversant with elementary level Hindi, Urdu and in some cases, Arabic. Informants were also “semi-speakers” (Dorian 1982, 34) of Mauritian Bhojpuri. Citing Dorian (1977), McMahon (1994, 298) maintains that semi-speakers “typically speak more slowly than fluent speakers, and their grammar and phonology will be aberrant from the point of view of the speakers’ norms; they also characteristically use more loanwords from the dominant language. Some of the speakers Dorian identified admitted to speaking some Gaelic while others denied that they could do so.”

Similarly, in the Mauritian context, while all informants acknowledged a passive understanding of Bhojpuri, only a few of them displayed an active knowledge of Bhojpuri. Instead, they tended to opt for the inclusion of short insertional sequences couched in the local Bhojpuri language rather than longer and more intricate passages.

ii. 

Language choice: During a series of preliminary meetings that the interviewer had with the informants, all conversational interactions were taped. This incentive helped to de-sensitise participants to the perceived intrusive presence of the recording equipment while allowing the researcher the possibility of determining the intensity of code alternation phenomena. Moreover, in reference to Auer (1999) who points out that higher instances of alternational CS are elicited in the speech of younger speakers, this study also focused on youngsters. All informants hailed from the 18–25 age bracket. Such a sample frame also allowed the interviewer to sidestep the issue of parental consent. Indeed, most Mauritians are not overly familiar with the field of linguistics and its corresponding data collection practices. As a result, the interviewer is often viewed with suspicion, resulting in parents’ refusal to allow their offspring to take part in a taped interview. In contrast, young adults, capable of making independent, informed decisions, were overall more enthusiastic and cooperative.

iii. Language Proficiency: Bearing the methodology adopted by Treffers-Daller (1992) in mind, this study also aimed to learn about the relative linguistic proficiency and by extension, the matrix language, of its informants through an innovative spot check. In fact,

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Dorian (1981, 107–109) provides a list of four factors leading to the production of semi-speakers of Scottish Gaelic, namely (i) late birth order in a large, relatively language-loyal family, (ii) a strong attachment to some kinsperson other than the parents (most often, a grandmother), (iii) temporary or even permanent exile from one’s home community and finally (iv) a gregarious personality. As far as Mauritius is concerned, only the first reason listed above is applicable. Indeed, owing to the significance of Kreol as a lingua franca and the diglossic situation existing between Hindi/ Urdu and Bhojpuri, parents often opt to speak the Mauritian Creole to their children while providing them with formal instruction in Hindi or Urdu.
in lieu of the idioms test, participants were requested to narrate a short story of their choice to the interviewer. In all cases, given the high number of tokens from Mauritian Creole, the language in which speakers were the most fluent was deemed to be Mauritian Creole. In line with the recommendation made by Treffers-Daller (1992), Mauritian Creole could, then, be considered to be the matrix language allowing for regular switching to other embedded codes.⁴⁰

iv. Language Attitudes: Despite the widespread stigmatization of the local Kreol, all interviewees claimed to utilize it as part of their friendship and kinship networks. In contrast, former colonial tongues were reserved for formal situations or topics. Thus, as far as the participants of this study are concerned, attitudinal factors did not prove to be a barrier to the selection of Kreol as the matrix language.

These four considerations find a positive echo in the work of Bissoonauth (2011) whose research amongst a group of Mauritian youngsters revealed a similar degree of predilection for the Kreol language. Based on the responses of a total of 140 informants (64 boys and 76 girls) to a multi-response structured questionnaire, she uncovered that while Creole remained the language of the home domain, French and English, despite their prestigious status as official and semi-official languages, came in second and third position in terms of usage in casual interactions. Ironically, despite the continued emphasis upon the teaching of ancestral languages at both primary and secondary school level, all the participants in her study claimed to limit themselves to the Kreol, English and French triad as primary choice and to switch to the ancestral languages of Hindi, Urdu or Bhojpuri only when struggling for the *mot juste* or for specific pragmatic effect (for instance, to generate laughter). Bissoonauth (2011, 425) offers the following tabular representation (see Table 3.1) of linguistic usage amongst her sample of youngsters in Mauritius:

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⁴⁰ As indicated in Section 2.5, the contentious issue of what counts as a matrix language has been highlighted by researchers such as Bentahila and Davies (1998). However, over the years, researchers such as Treffers-Daller (1992) have continued to use the term ‘matrix language’ as a descriptive label to refer to the language that informants seem to be most fluent in. This label facilitates the analysis of instances of CS since it makes it easier to spot shifts to another language. Doing away with the concept of ‘matrix language’ altogether would result in researchers having to treat all languages in contact as being equally significant. Therefore, no shift in language would be noticed since the juxtaposed languages would be seen as being the norm in all cases. Consequently, for the purposes of this study, while the reservations of Bentahila and Davies (1998) have been taken on board, the descriptive label ‘matrix language’ has still been used to describe the code in which speakers seem to display the highest level of fluency.
As Table 3.1 highlights, the fact remains that an overwhelming majority of youngsters (87.5% in total) opt for the Kreol language during their conversational interactions within their home domain. French and English act as supporting codes in this multilingual matrix with an overall usage of 39.2% and 27.6% respectively. As far as oriental languages are concerned, Hindi (8.1%), Bhojpuri (6.5%), Urdu (3%) and Tamil (tied with Urdu at 3%) remain the most utilised codes by young multilinguals. Therefore, the numerical data provided by Bissoonauth (2011) lends additional support to the criteria set down in this study regarding the profiles of potential participants.

Thus, the four-point checklist provided above served as the backdrop against which the participant selection process took place. However, while the definition of a sample frame is grounded in theory and linguistic precedent set by prior empirical studies, the actual recruitment of willing participants can prove to be a particularly arduous process that tests the persuasive powers of the researcher to the maximum. Nortier (2008) suggests that one practical way of dealing with such issues is by seeking the help of forum or discussion sites hosted by multiple web pages dedicated to specific bi- and multilingual speech communities worldwide. She acknowledges the contribution of such sites populated by posts from bilingual minority group members from both the Netherlands and abroad in shaping the sample frame of her own

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Grandparents (%)</th>
<th>Parents (%)</th>
<th>Uncles and aunts (%)</th>
<th>Siblings (%)</th>
<th>Cousins (%)</th>
<th>Overall average (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
research. For instance, the site www.locum.nl was a noted discussion site for Dutch-Turkish bilingual participants who, depending on the context, would often display a playful shift from Turkish to Dutch (Nortier 2008, 50). The following excerpt is taken from her project on bilingual language contact phenomena in the Netherlands (Nortier 2008, 50):

Dogan on www.lokum.nl (Dutch–Turkish; Turkish in italics):
“pfffff, senin baban benim kafadan, senimi dinliyecen benimi, hem seni dinlese bende babama saycnyim mijn vader is groter als jou vader mijn vader is 1.88 ( . . . )”
[pffff, your father thinks about it just like me, you think he will listen to you or to me, if he would listen to you, I would tell my daddy my dad is bigger than your dad my dad is 1.88 . . . ]

As the above extract reveals, the matrix language utilized by participant Dogan was Turkish with strategic CS to Dutch in order to convey his exasperation with his interlocutor. This was reinforced through the interjection ‘pfffff’ while proffering an emphatic threat regarding the strength and impressive physical stature of his father. Nevertheless, as Nortier (2008) rightly warns, the over-reliance on such web pages as sole providers of sociolinguistic data comes with its own set of caveats. Indeed, while the ready availability of CS utterances can be a welcome advantage to the researcher, the inability to pin down the sociolinguistic background of the participants and the relative anonymity of the virtual setting can be a drawback. However, pairing internet chatrooms with typical methods of participant recruitment such as the friend-of-a-friend approach can be a viable long-term tactic to locate willing informants.

In the same vein, this study used the opportunities offered by Mauritian websites such as www.kotzot.com, www.mauritroll.com and the social networking site Facebook during the initial stages of the participant selection process. As the administrator of the Facebook group Langaz Kreol Morisyen (Mauritian Creole Language), the interviewer was able to post messages on discussion forums and spread the word to a wide network of receptive group members. This is an active group which uses all the features made available by Facebook. Since this is an open group, other users of Facebook can search for and join it and messages can be posted both on the wall and on the discussion forum of the group. Thus, this group remains the electronic meeting

41 The format of this short excerpt follows the one adopted by Nortier (2008).
point of aficionados of the Mauritian Creole language and culture. The recent move to a new format enforced by the Facebook team led to the unfortunate loss of quite a few members. However, in October 2011, the starting point of the data collection process, the group boasted of a total of roughly 900 members. Last updated in December 2011 by one of the administrators, it remains a dynamic and functional web of interaction linking its members together across barriers of time and geography.

In addition, similar messages requesting for interested participants to get in touch were posted on the personal Facebook page of the interviewer. These, coupled with relevant messages aired on the Facebook profile of the interviewer’s friends, helped to catch the interest of potential volunteers. Thus, word-of-mouth through the judicious exploitation of the friendship and kinship networks of friends and subsequently their acquaintances proved to be quite beneficial to the project since it allowed it to grab the conversational limelight for a while, earning it much-needed exposure in the required age bracket. Overall, the visibility of the project in the virtual domain secured the interviewer the cooperation of two separate groups, each consisting of five female participants.

Another key consideration shaping the participant selection process remains the crucial impact of the researcher’s own projected persona (Lanza 2008, 75). While most studies within the field of language contact place a lot of emphasis upon the profile of the informants recruited, not all of them pay equal attention to the impact of the interviewer’s sociolinguistic profile (Li Wei 2000). Arguing for the need to provide explicit information regarding the identity of the interviewer, Li Wei (2000, 476) rightly points out that the systematic study of the language behaviour of multilingual participants can be more fruitfully analysed if adequate light is shed upon the following questions:

- Is the researcher monolingual or bilingual (in the appropriate languages for this study)?
- What is the ethnic origin and nationality of the researcher?
- Is the researcher male or female?
- What age group does the researcher belong to?
- What is the educational level of the researcher?
• What is the disciplinary background of the researcher (e.g. linguistics, psychology, neuroscience, speech therapy, sociology, administration, and government, etc.)?
• What is the researcher’s attitude towards bilingualism?

For instance, as Lanza (2008, 75-76) convincingly argues, a researcher’s identity as female may be of paramount importance in conservative Muslim communities where access to female informants and their children will be denied to male researchers. Indeed, a researcher’s status as in-group or out-group member can minimize or exacerbate the problem of observer’s paradox (Labov 1972, 209). Defined as the methodological problem faced by linguists when participants modify their language behaviour in response to the interviewer’s presence, observer’s paradox may end up thwarting the attempt made by the researcher to elicit spontaneous conversations in quasi-naturalistic settings. This is a predicament that can be easily overcome by ensuring a match between the sociolinguistic profile of the interviewer with that of his participants during the selection process.

This fact is further borne out by the doctoral project of Lanza (2004, cited in Lanza 2008, 76) investigating the bilingual first language acquisition of English and Norwegian in families where one parent was American and the other of Nordic descent. As the mother of bilingual children and a speaker of both Norwegian and English, Lanza had the required linguistic proficiency to evaluate the language behaviour and development of children. Moreover, previous experience in the field of bilingual language acquisition coupled with an overall positive attitude towards bilingualism and a desire to understand the mechanisms of simultaneous language development made Lanza (2004, cited in Lanza 2008) an ideal researcher for the above-mentioned study.

Zentella (2000) lends additional credence to the above claims when based on her research in a New York Puerto Rican community, she argues that despite the danger of being rendered myopic due to the subjective co-association between interviewer and interviewee, the pros far outweigh the cons. For instance, being accepted as part of the in-group of the community allowed her the possibility to build networks axed on reciprocal feelings of camaraderie and solidarity instead of highlighting the usual power asymmetry between the researcher and his/her subject. The current research benefits from an identical advantage since the interviewer, herself, is a multilingual who
is a native speaker of Mauritian Creole and has mastered English, French and Hindi, while also being a semi-speaker of Bhojpuri. In addition, having previously studied aspects of code alternation phenomena amongst groups of Mauritian youngsters (cf. Auckle and Barnes 2011 for more details) and being positively disposed towards multilingualism, the author is well placed to study the evolution of a language alternation continuum in contemporary Mauritius.

In conjunction with his/her focus on identity-related issues, a researcher also needs to remain sensitive to the sociocultural specificities of the speech community under investigation. A case in point is Eades (2007) whose study of Aboriginal communities in Australia underscores the importance of silence when eliciting stories or explanations. For instance, Eades (2007, 285) asserts that it is common practice amongst aboriginal speakers to invest silence with pragmatic significance since it is considered as “one way of getting to know people better”. Consequently, the interview process between a Pakeha (an Australian of Caucasian origin) and a member of the Aboriginal community can be fraught with misunderstandings. Indeed, the silence of the Aborigines is often mistakenly construed as being a form of non-cooperation by the Pakehas while their Aboriginal interviewees report feeling rushed and unable to formulate their arguments in a leisurely way due to the constant pressure exerted upon them by the clueless Pakeha interviewer (Eades 2007, 285-286).

To provide further support to her arguments, Eades (2007, 285-286) provides the example of the 1992 hearing of the Queensland’s Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) where an Aboriginal woman had requested for an interview with the panel of experts in order to testify about police misconduct in a case being investigated at that time. However, upon being granted the opportunity to tell her story, she proved to be particularly difficult to deal with due to her lack of response to the lawyers’ repeated questioning. When Eades’s (2007) opinion was sought regarding the most effective way to facilitate communication with the witness, she advised the lawyers to wait for the former’s response instead of jumping in the fray with another question. Understandably, members of the CJC were curious about the expected duration of the pause before normal questioning could resume. Eades’s (2007, 289) rejoinder was both humorous and incisive:
Given the uncomfortable feeling that this [silence] leaves with many (non-Aboriginal) people, I suggested that the interviewing lawyer could shuffle papers or say something like ‘there’s no need to rush’. In answer to the commission’s question about ‘how long should we wait?’ I replied ‘Until after the answer’.

The above strategy was met with resounding success since the ostensibly recalcitrant interviewee soon metamorphosed into an articulate witness capable of conveying her testimony to the commission in clear, unambiguous terms.

As far as the Mauritian context is concerned, persuading the informants to take part in the study required the adoption of contextually-specific strategies designed to break the ice between the interviewer and the prospective interviewees. Despite being from the same age bracket as the informants, the interviewer still had to carefully adopt the same jargon as that used by the target group. For example, while the formulaic expression ki manyer? (How are you?) is commonly used as a greeting between acquaintances, youngsters usually opt for the more catchy ki dir? (literally translated as ‘what say?’). Setting the tone of camaraderie involved the use of such ‘cool’ conversational tactics from the very outset of the participant selection process. Furthermore, researches into varieties of youthspeak (for instance, Eble 1996) have all underscored the significance of slang as a marker of identity. Similarly, all the young adults sampled in this study were initially reluctant to be audio-recorded due to the tendency of slipping into extended episodes of swearing. For instance, one of the groups of informants explicitly voiced their concern at being recorded in such naturalistic settings by stating:

Speaker 1: Be to pou kon tou nou sekre. Fer atansyon zourer.
But you’ll learn all our secrets. Beware of swear words.

As the above excerpt highlights, the concern of the interviewee was two-fold. On the one hand, he was apprehensive about sharing personal information on tape while on the other, he was wary about the possible negative reaction of the interviewer once the latter was confronted with taboo lexical items, believed to fall outside the confines of polite conversation. Consequently, it was up to the interviewer to anticipate any possible feelings of awkwardness by not reacting to the utilisation of taboo words in her presence and by occasionally using slang items herself.

42The following sentence is taken from the author’s field notes.
Sensitivity to such discursive practices was undeniably rewarding since none of the participants selected to take part in this study (including those recruited from the social networking site, Facebook) backed out from the project following the initial meetings designed to help interviewer and informants bond with each other prior to the actual data collection process.

The researcher's aim in the participant recruitment process was also to answer questions related to selection by defining the sample size of this study. According to Hua and David (2008), striking a balance between the need for representativeness and the heightened cost and margin of errors induced by an exceedingly large corpus of data is essential. Ideally, statistical validity calls for the adoption of a large, representative conglomerate of informants. Yet, as far as research in the field of language contact is concerned, a dose of caution is recommended. Hua and David (2008, 92) astutely contend:

However, there are two restraining factors. One is the heterogeneity of the bilingual population (the bilingual population varies in the sequence of acquisition, language proficiency levels in two languages, age of exposure to the second language, etc). The other is problems associated with large-scale studies: a tremendous amount of time and effort is needed to contact subjects and collect data from them.

In other words, while a bigger sample size is undoubtedly helpful in establishing statistically verifiable, clear-cut patterns of variation, constraints of time, money and stamina might eventually prove to be prohibitive.

A particularly apt example is David’s (2004, cited in David and Li Wei 2005, 594) own doctoral research into bilingual children’s lexical development which focused on only thirteen French-English bilingual children. Nonetheless, far from being a weakness, the relatively small size of her sample allowed her the possibility to set up a longitudinal study over a period of two years as she charted the linguistic growth of the children between the ages of 1;4 and 3;0. An even smaller sample of just four bilingual English-Afrikaans female informants aged between 75 and 89 years were recruited to take part in the study of Friedland and Miller (1999) who offered a conversational analytic perspective on language mixing in the speech of elderly patients suffering from Alzheimer’s dementia. Once again, the small sample size was counter-balanced by a data collection process that lasted one year. In contrast, Ihemere’s (2007) study of language
selection and shift amongst three generations of speakers in the Ikwerre community in Port-
Harcourt, Nigeria focused on a total of 76 participants who were observed and subsequently
recorded for just over four months (between May and September 2003). In this case, the
relatively short length of the data collection process was supplemented by the medium-sized
sample of informants recruited to be part of this study. As the above three projects reveal,
therefore, sample size exists in a relationship of symbiosis with the approximate length of the
actual data collection process.

The current study adopted insights from all the above studies and opted for a medium-sized,
multilingual sample of informants. In total, forty informants split into groups of five eventually
took part in the recording process. A diagrammatic representation (see Figure 3.1) of the sample
frame of this project is provided below:

![Diagram of sample frame](image)

**Figure 3.1:** All eight groups of informants taking part in this study

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43For more information regarding the criteria utilised for the selection of participants, please see section 3.2.
As the above diagram indicates, each group of informant had a team leader who was responsible for liaising with the interviewer regarding the time and venue of meetings. Teams 3 and 7 were comprised exclusively of members recruited through Facebook. In contrast, teams 1 and 2 together with teams 5 and 6 were already known to each other through friends-of-friends. However, due to issues of logistics (for instance, loss of data quality and inability to synchronise meeting times), interviewing a group comprised of ten informants each proved to be challenging. Consequently, the participants themselves volunteered to split into two separate groups thus facilitating the overall recording process. In contrast, teams 4 and 8 were apprised of the project through the aggressive promotional campaign of both the researcher and her friendship and kinship network and volunteered to be part of the study. It should be pointed out that though most recording sessions are enriched with the contribution of all five members, ensuring the presence of every participant at all points of the recording process was impossible. As a result, there were a few, exceptional sessions where fewer informants were actually recorded. However, these instances were minimal and do not detract from the overall quality of the recordings. Another salient fact remains the gender of the participants where except for team 7, all groups consisted of females. Although gender was not one of the variables under scrutiny for this study, it could be hypothesised that patterns of language alternation might change if the gender dynamics of each group were modified. However, this is beyond the scope of the current thesis.

The actual recording process started in October 2011 and lasted till April 2012. Spanning a period of roughly six months, a total of between 14 to 20 hours of data per group were collected, yielding an overall spoken corpus of about 150 hours. Although the data collection process started in October 2011, contact had been established with the majority of the prospective participants as early as January 2011. In all cases, most of the participants were already acquainted with the interviewer. This degree of familiarity binding interviewer and interviewees was a definite asset since it ensured a measure of comfort and cooperation during the recording process.

In addition to sample size and duration of data collection, Lanza (2008) maintains that another key factor impacting on the density of code alternation phenomena is the latent bond of friendship and loyalty uniting group members. One of the ways in which such existing
relationships can be maximised is through the adoption of the snowballing sampling technique which according to Lanza (2008, 83) is “used as a sampling technique in examining social networks and hence takes a pre-existing group as a point of departure.” A similar method is promoted by Gumperz (1982) whose seminal work in the town of Hemesberget relied heavily upon prevailing ties of camaraderie and even used them to its advantage by giving informants the possibility of self-selecting the group members with whom they would be recorded. Ensuring that group members are already bound by strong bonds of friendship which enable the investigator to predict the patterns of social and linguistic behaviour adopted within the in-group, self-selection also places participants in a moral quandary which eventually turns out to be beneficial to the interviewer (Gumperz 1971). Indeed, while understandably intimidated by the perceived formality of the recording process, given their “pre-existing obligations towards each other [and] given the situation, [participants] are likely to respond to these obligations despite the presence of strangers” (Gumperz 1971, 297).

The validity of the above claims is further corroborated by Lanza and Svendsen’s (2007) own experience within a Filipino community in Oslo, Norway. The 54 participants in the study were recruited via the implementation of the friend-of-a-friend approach in order to create a web of self-selected co-participants. Initial contact was made with the Filipino immigrant community via a field assistant native to the speech community. Initial interviews were carried out with only a handful of informants. The eventual success of the participant selection process was achieved through the contribution of these willing participants who were each requested to nominate further speakers who might be prevailed upon to cooperate with the team of interviewers. One major advantage of asking participants to locate their own teammates was the ease of access afforded to the interviewers who ended up forging strong bonds of trust, familiarity and friendship with all the informants.

In a similar vein, this study also opted for the snowballing technique in the early stages of the recruitment process. Preliminary contact was first established with all team leaders who were tasked with selecting their own co-participants. In all cases sampled in this project, groups benefitted from the fact that they already shared dense and multiplex network ties (Milroy and Milroy 1992). Moving on from one group to the other as a friend-of-a-friend ensured a higher
degree of accommodation between interviewer and interviewees. In addition, the fact that team leaders and co-participants shared a warm rapport with each other proved to be an added bonus as far as the logistics of this study was concerned. Indeed, while the interviewer was present during the majority of the recordings, over the course of the data collection session, team leaders even took the initiative to handle the recorder during meetings. Deciding when to switch the recorder on or off can often be a sensitive issue for interviewers. It is a well known sociolinguistic fact that the sight of recording equipment can induce self-consciousness in even the most seasoned and eloquent speaker (Labov 1984). One ingenious, though unethical way of overcoming such awkwardness is to minimise the level of awareness of informants vis-à-vis the recorder by withholding information about its presence. This is a technique that was adopted by Coates (1996) who surreptitiously recorded a group of female friends who used to meet at her house. Their totally justified feelings of betrayal once the truth was revealed prompted her to advocate for more honest means of eliciting spontaneously occurring conversational data despite the very real possibility of observer’s paradox (Labov 1984). In the case of this project, the fact that the interviewer readily relinquished her control over the recorder served to empower the informants and to underline the reassurance given to them at every stage of the interview that their wishes regarding the possible deletion of sensitive personal information would always be respected.

As a matter of fact, such healthy group dynamics amongst participants helps in the creation of tight-knit communities of practice (Wenger 2006). Defined as a conglomerate of like-minded individuals who bond over their shared passion for a particular activity, communities of practice are particularly noteworthy due to the communal platform offering members the rare opportunity to express their views in mutually supportive environments. More importantly, this group allegiance is often translated into the field of language use as well where members give linguistic expression to their affection and loyalty through the adoption of similar stylistic features during conversational exchanges. Labelled as ‘social style’ by Kallmeyer and Keim (2003, 29), this correlation between linguistic and corresponding psycho-social factors, enables members to underscore both the group’s underlying ethos and its social identity by adjusting their mono, bi- or multilingual interactional repertoire to “ecological, social and economic conditions” (Kallmeyer and Keim 2003, 29).
Indeed, in an attempt to pair pre-existing social ties with pragmatically salient language alternation phenomena, Kallmeyer and Keim (2003) implemented a largely ethnographic data collection enterprise as they narrowed their focus to a cohesive group of fifteen young girls in the inner-city town of Manheim, in south-west Germany. This group of youngsters was selected due to the members’ exceptionally close bonds with each other. Meeting on a daily basis in one of the youth centres in the area, the girls, aged between 15 and 21 years and the children of first generation immigrants to Germany, used the youth centre as a safe haven endowing them with the opportunity to do their homework, play games, partake in leisure activities such as singing and dancing and even smoke together. Although they were constantly exposed to their parents’ native language and the “typical ‘guestworker’s German’ (Gastarbeiterdeutsch), a pidginized German variety” at home, they opted to utilize a more “rough and cool” jargon labelled as “district talk”, “stadtteilsprache” or “gangster jargon” (Kallmeyer and Keim 2003, 31). However, during their in-group interactions, their constant switching between district talk and guestworker’s German was noticed. These insertional sequences, clearly marked both prosodically and phonetically as instances of CS, were used playfully to establish their uniqueness vis-à-vis both their parents’ culture and the more dominant German society which often made them the unwitting targets of both visible and more subtle forms of discrimination owing to their relatively liminal status as second-generation migrants (Kallmeyer and Keim 2003). According to Kallmeyer and Keim (2003), though, another prominent reason for the teenagers’ linguistic hybridity was their need to underscore their distinctive identity in relation to other youth groups populated by native German adolescents, thus helping them in “avoid[ing] the trap of an apparently easy integration into other-dominated social world” (Kallmeyer and Keim 2003, 43).

As the above case study highlights, successfully tapping into code selection mechanisms might often entail a gradual integration into and a deep understanding of the sensitive nature of the psycho-social bonds of friendship and inter-dependence existing between speakers. Ensuring that participants are already well-integrated within a mutually supportive network of close allies bestows the researcher with the much-valued possibility of recording unselfconscious data in naturalistic settings. In addition, the numerical asymmetry in favour of the participants regarding
conversational cliques generally results in a perceived transfer of symbolic power from the interviewer to the interviewee. Consequently, in-group members display fewer inhibitions regarding the reification of their performance on tape.

Similarly, the current study benefits from the fact that all participants recruited were already part of a community of practice with pre-existing bonds of camaraderie defining their linguistic commitment towards each other. Maximising group dynamics as a means to alleviate the tension of one-to-one interviews is recommended by other researchers such as Codó (2008, 163) who firmly believes that multiparty interviews within a community of practice strongly facilitates the “appearance of bilingual forms, indigenous speech activities, or key themes of which the researcher was not aware.” As far as this project is concerned, maintaining the group dynamics amongst the participants instead of splitting them up into more artificial one-to-one settings was preferred since it allowed the interviewer to gather data with due respect to the comfort zone of all speakers. Given the need to trace a continuum of language alternation phenomena, the use of multiparty interactional exchanges proved helpful in eliciting “situated narratives” (Codó 2008, 163) thus indexing the social context and sequential framework within which the utterance was produced. In addition, conversational narratives, with varying densities and alloys of CS were recorded with minimum self-consciousness.

The above considerations also motivated Pujolar (2001) to adopt a similar ethnographic perspective as she sought to integrate youth groups in an attempt to investigate patterns of gender-based variation amongst a group of multilinguals. Introduced via the friend-of-a-friend approach to members of the Ramblers and Trepas youth groups, she was eventually accepted by all eleven members of the Ramblers and five core members of the Trepas groups respectively. As communities of practice, both the Ramblers and the Trepas members shared close friendship and kinship bonds and despite the relatively stronger network ties amongst the Ramblers members, Pujolar (2001) admits that even the Trepas youngsters displayed a similar degree of switching from Spanish to Catalan during their in-group interaction. In fact, Pujolar’s (2001) immersion within the working-class youth community proved to be so successful that she even admits to going on holiday with the Ramblers, a valuable experience that allowed her an unprecedented and detailed perspective into the multilingual discursive practices adopted by
group members as they used conversational strategies such as the usurpation of another speaker's turn or a switch to the more dominant Spanish language in order to negotiate interpersonal power and bring about a change in footing in the conversation.

Drawing from the experience of Pujolar (2001), the interviewer also sought to gain personalised access with the different groups of participants recruited as part of this project. Communication channels were kept open, initially between the team leader and the interviewer so that queries could be dealt with efficiently and without delay. Continuous immersion into the group dynamics of the informants also ensured an increasing level of comfort amongst the interviewer and every member of each group. In addition, forging bonds of friendship with the interviewees guaranteed the interviewer invitations to the social gatherings regularly organised by the youth groups, thus ensuring a first-hand exposure to and an analytical understanding of the multilingual practices favoured by teams of speakers.

This section has tried to shed light upon the sample frame, participant recruitment practices and breaking-the-ice techniques adopted by the interviewer in order to ensure a smooth data collection process. The next sub-section will provide additional insights into the methods adopted prior to, during and after the audio-recording sessions.

3.3 Data collection and analytical framework

Labelled as “internal constraints” (Myers-Scotton 2002, 57), the second filter allows the merger between identity-related and organisational perspectives to CS by including “those micro-aspects of conversations that conversation analysts argue are critical to understanding any conversation” (Myers-Scotton 2002, 57). Such a fine-grained assessment of interactional features can be achieved only through the “active assembling” (Gee 2005, 67) of situational factors—an evaluation made possible only through first-hand knowledge of the multilingual matrix adopted in a particular speech community. Consequently, as a methodological tool, the second filter calls for accurate and insightful insider knowledge of the participants of a study and the sociolinguistic environment within which they interact. One means of gathering such vital information is by adopting ethnographic methods of data collection. Miles and Huberman (1994)
concur with the above stipulation and believe that direct participant observation could be one of the methods employed by the interviewer in order to enhance the quality of the data recorded. In line with the above, Miles and Huberman (1994, 268) provide a list of binary features (see Table 3.2) that result in what they label as being “stronger” or “weaker” data. As Table 3.2 indicates, sticking to the aforementioned five-point cumulative scale during the participant observation phase of the data collection process empowers the interviewer with the discernment required to not only identify the switched components within an utterance but also to analyse its pragmatic significance within the overall structural organisation of the conversation.

Thus, after defining the sample frame and successfully recruiting speakers to be part of any study, the interviewer needs to take both the time and the effort to embed himself/herself within the social and cultural fabric of his/her interviewee’s daily life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stronger data</th>
<th>Weaker data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collected later, or after repeated contact</td>
<td>Collected early, during entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seen or reported firsthand</td>
<td>Heard secondhand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed behaviour, activities</td>
<td>Reports or statements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldworker is trusted</td>
<td>Fieldworker is not trusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collected in informal setting</td>
<td>Collected in official or formal setting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Descriptive features detailing the quality of the data collected (Adapted from Miles and Huberman 1994, 268)

Repeated contact effectively breaches any subconscious barriers erected by speakers due to the dictates of societal politeness while simultaneously, forging bonds of trust between interviewer and interviewee. Consequently, the fieldworker becomes a valued ally, entrusted with the possibility of recording conversational interactions in quasi-naturalistic settings and reporting analytically about them through the lens of experience gathered after daily scrutiny of the events taking place within that particular community of practice. Indeed, “doing ethnography” as Heller (2008, 253) so eloquently terms it, hinges on this productive move away from mere assumptions based solely on theoretical considerations to a more “critical perspective which allows for a
better grasp on the ways in which language practices are socially and politically embedded” (Heller 2008, 253).

Heller (2008) tests out the methodological validity of the thoughtful and thought-provoking notions underpinning participant observation when she reports on her own investigation of bilingual practices within a specific school in the early 1990s. Focusing on a French-language minority high school in a part of Canada which is usually English-speaking, Heller’s aim was to highlight the role of language alternation in shaping minority identities and long-term communal ideologies in increasingly hybrid urban spaces characterised by a large degree of migration both from within and outside Canada. Since she needed to get an in situ understanding of both the history, working culture of the school as well as the linguistic practices of staff and students alike, Heller (2008) decided to create a conceptual map identifying different cliques of participants, the rules and regulations governing their respective communities of practice and finally establishing, albeit tentatively and temporarily, potential patterns of language variation. This initial stage of participant observation eventually acted as an indispensable part of her analysis by helping her localise selected theoretical perspectives to context-specific linguistic phenomena. Doing ethnography, thus, requires a hands-on approach to data collection through the investment of both time and effort in an attempt to gain the confidence of members of the in-group.

Taking the techniques put forward by both Miles and Huberman (1994) and Heller (2008) into consideration, direct participant observation was adopted in the current study before the recording sessions were due to start. Indeed, after the breaking-the-ice sessions, all clusters of speakers were encouraged to socialise with the interviewer, thus offering the latter innumerable opportunities to inveigle herself into their group dynamics. Prolonged close contact between interviewer and interviewee was also helpful in ensuring that the former got to learn about the interpersonal dimension of sequences of language alternation that all participants engaged. An added benefit of being granted insider status within the speech community was also the ability to analyse instances of CS, mixed codes and fused lects from the speakers’ own perspective instead of over-emphasising the interviewer’s interpretational scheme.
The importance of the presence of the interviewer during the data collection phase is further underscored by Nortier (2008) whose fieldworker-administered survey in a multilingual community in Utrecht in the Netherlands, prompted her to argue that genuine instead of stylised responses could only be captured by an interviewer attuned to the idiosyncrasies of his/her informants. The need for this honest appraisal of the interviewee’s linguistic behaviour was inspired by the behaviour of one of her informants, a first generation immigrant to the Netherlands from Morocco who while being interviewed, claimed not to engage in any switching to Arabic in the home domain. Coincidentally, the participant’s daughter walked into the room at the same moment resulting in the mother’s immediate shift from Dutch to Moroccan Arabic (Nortier 2008). Such a discrepancy between reported and observed linguistic behaviour, as evidenced in the above example, reveals the influential role of attitudinal factors upon under-reporting or over-reporting specific stylistic features. Simply put, when the “prevailing attitude towards certain behaviour is negative, people tend to underreport that type of behaviour. When the attitude is positive, respondents will overreport” (Nortier 2008, 37). In the case of the informant being interviewed by Nortier, her need to show her acculturation to the host country’s culture induced her to overreport her adherence to the prestigious Dutch language instead of being more candid regarding her actual switches to her mother tongue, Moroccan Arabic.

Eliciting a genuine response from respondents is made all the more difficult due to the low societal valence attributed to language alternation phenomena in most bi- or multilingual speech communities. Perceived as being symptomatic of a speaker’s poor command of a language, disrespect or even laziness regarding the languages involved, CS often goes underreported. Researchers, therefore, need to anticipate the possible conflation between actual behaviour and wishful thinking. Along similar lines, while CS is the norm rather than the exception amongst most Mauritian youngsters (Bissoonauth 2011), due attention needs to be paid to issues of “covert indexing” (Pavlenko 2001, 34) resulting in a preference for particular languages owing to the social prestige ascribed to them. Consequently, reports about multilingual behaviour might be strongly tinged with speakers’ subconscious claims to covert prestige by over-reporting their switches to a socially dominant language such as English and French. In an attempt to forestall the impact of such attitudinal factors, participant observation became all the more a necessity. Indeed, the constant presence of the interviewer, despite being an inconspicuous and largely
silent one, acted as a potential deterrent to the emergence of covert indexicals and their ensuing impact upon the data collection process. Moreover, the exposure to routinized interactional patterns on a regular basis helped to sensitize the interviewer regarding possible modifications in the behaviour adopted during the recording sessions due to a higher degree of self-monitoring ushered in by feelings of heightened self-consciousness. In the case of this project, none of the groups sampled displayed any unexplained surges in the number of shifts observed to the socially dominant code, neither did they adopt a façade of politeness by sticking to the former colonial tongues.

The removal of the socio-spatial boundaries between interviewer and interviewees also gave rise to an unforeseen advantage. Indeed, a direct consequence of the hours of participant observation invested by the interviewer was the relatively nonchalant attitude of respondents vis-à-vis the recording equipment used. The same familiarity and gusto with which the interviewer was treated extended to the recording apparatus as well since its presence had already become a constant fixture during all the meetings that the interviewer had with the participants prior to the start of the audio-recording process. Indeed, the above benefit is documented in the research literature as well. In their seminal study regarding bilingualism in the barrio, a Puerto-Rican and English speaking community, the researchers also sought to gain insider status into the tight-knit group by becoming temporary residents of the area they were studying (Fishman et al. 1971). Besides their attendance at weddings, funerals and other similar social gatherings, they also happily mingled with the members of the barrio even going as far as to volunteer their services as emergency babysitters. Usually, this is a very reliable method in order to secure the goodwill of the informants while successfully overcoming any initial distrust regarding the recording equipment itself. Nortier (2008) corroborates the above assertions and adds that while informants might nervously focus on the tape-recorder in the beginning — or in this case either the recording software preloaded on a laptop or a smartphone — eventually, its inhibitive effect fades away as familiarity breeds an increasing degree of confidence.

Consequently, the participant observation phase of this study was immediately followed by recording sessions which sought to audio-tape informants’ interactions within a multiparty setting in order not to upset any existing group dynamics and to ensure the maintenance of an
adequate comfort level both within the in-group and between the interviewer and the respondents. Codó (2008) maintains that one fundamental requirement of this type of sociolinguistic interview is to collect spontaneously occurring natural speech data. Multiparty settings ensure that the interpersonal rapport between informants takes precedence over any potential conversational impasses. Otherwise, informants “may not switch between languages, or they may not used socially stigmatised linguistic varieties or forms” (Codó 2008, 160). This assertion provides additional credence to the decision to use group settings in order to elicit language alternation phenomena (Codó 2008, 163). Multiparty conversations, thus, facilitate the emergence of “bilingual forms, indigenous speech activities, or key themes of which the researcher was not aware” (Codó 2008, 163).

Multiparty conversations also allow the informants the safety of interacting within a circle of close friends and the additional bonus of being able to contribute to the analysis carried out by the researcher. Duranti (1997, 118) convincingly argues that speakers do not “invent social behaviour, language included, out of the blue.” Patterns of linguistic variation are only transposed from the more private domain of friendship to the more public one of audio-recording. Psathas (1995, 2) concurs with Duranti (1997) and contends that locally salient conversational practices are easily highlighted through recordings of multiparty talk since such social interactions are often symbolically “meaningful for those who produce them”. Consequently, the aim of the interviewer is to capture on tape the respondents’ normal, everyday conversations while at the same time, ensuring that their interpretation of their sequential contribution to the talk-in interaction is given priority during the analysis phase of the project. According to Auer (1984, 6) privileging the participants’ “interpretational leeway” instead of that of the analyst constitutes one of the methodological lynchpins of CA. Similarly, this study also adopted this basic premise of the CA enterprise and sought not only to record instances of language alternation but to ensure the maintenance of naturalistic settings such as multiparty interactions so as not to alienate the participants from the subsequent data analysis phase of the project.

The influence of a CA methodology is felt at the level of the interview process as well where researchers aim to record not just content data through structured, semi-structured or free style
interviews but also hope to “gather biographical and other relevant contextualizing information from language users together with their views, values, and attitudes towards their own and others’ linguistic practices” (Codó 2008, 159). Such is the versatility of interviews that the elicitation of content data does not necessarily need to occur in isolation from self-report information from participants. Indeed, interviews mainly targeted at recording naturalistic speech samples can also double as informative sessions designed to contextualise biographical and language related data from informants. Pujolar (2001), for instance, collected the data for her study by recording the in-group multiparty discussion sessions occurring between the Ramblers and Trepas youth groups. In line with the above, her subsequent analysis of the code-switching practices amongst these working-class youngsters in Barcelona owed its accuracy to her willingness to seek confirmation regarding her tentative evaluation from the participants themselves before allowing herself to be guided by their beliefs, intuitions and attitudes. Consequently, instead of being viewed in isolation, Codó (2008) advocates that interviews need to be seen as a vital bridge, symbiotically linking interviewer and interviewee in their attempt to understand and explain language alternation phenomena in bi- or multilingual communities.

Similarly, following Pujolar (2001), this study also opted to remain firmly ensconced within the multiparty conversational units of its informants. All informants, having willingly opted to operate within a five-member multiparty team, were recorded with minimum disruption to the established comfort level and interactional fabric of the group. Duranti (1997) rightly points out that while Observer’s Paradox (Labov 1972) might induce a degree of modification to the speakers’ natural behaviour owing to the presence of the researcher and the recording equipment, informants usually remain loyal to pre-established linguistic practices. Consequently, group interviews, in this study served a dual purpose: on the one hand, they ensured that the constant back-and-forth nesting of turn-taking mechanisms between the series of participants maintained the vitality of the conversation resulting in optimum levels of multiple-density CS. Simultaneously, on the other hand, they also offered the researcher the opportunity to understand informants’ social behaviour through the prism of their own experience. Thus, through careful probing, an in-situ understanding of the pragmatics of CS was easily acquired, complementing the interviewer’s preliminary observations with more detailed analytical observations. The
group-interview, therefore, remained a jointly constructed speech event between the interviewer and her interviewees.

In keeping with the above, Silverman (1993) refers to all interview data as co-constructed narratives, indexing both the social and sequential context within which a particular instance of code alternation occurs. One way in which narratives can be coaxed into yielding optimum levels and varying densities of language alternation phenomena is through the deliberate introduction of conversational topics liable to produce a high volume of data and by extension, act as the triggers for CS. Nortier (2008) agrees with this strategy and puts forward her own study on Dutch-Moroccan Arabic CS amongst Moroccans in the Netherlands as an example. Recordings were carried out in mid 1980s by a research assistant who wisely introduced topics perceived to be controversial at that point in time. In fact, based upon his intimate knowledge of the beliefs and ideologies underpinning interactional sequences in that particular speech community, he would, very subtly, usher in themes such as discrimination, sports or holiday trips to Morocco, relying upon the participants' ability to get carried away by the topics to an extent that “the form of their language use would be less important to them” (Nortier 2008, 44).

Another technique centred on the necessity to maximise upon the potential of the multiparty conversation is the adaptation of the party-game developed by Muysken (cited in Nortier 2008, 48) where verbal duelling, word play and practical exercises such as picture descriptions promote in-group cohesion, solidarity and most importantly, unselfconscious banter. A version of the above activity has been successfully implemented by Brasileiro Reis Pereira (2004, cited in Nortier 2008, 48) who, during a doctoral project on Dutch-Papiamentu CS, created a game where two teams consisting of two members each were pitted against each other. Informants were provided with both written and pictorial cues and were requested to complete sentences written down on a questionnaire by taking into account the pictures being shown to them. The written input was made up of mono- and bilingual sentences consisting of noun and prepositional phrases and a verb. The drawings, for their part, served to elicit a direct object to a written verb. Brasileiro Reis Pereira (2004, cited in Nortier 2008, 48) lists the following example from the game (Papiamentu segments in italics):
Het kind op het feest  ta rementa  [picture of a red balloon]
E mucha na e fiesta  knelt  [picture of a red balloon]
The child at the party  bursts  [a/ the red balloon]

As the above example reveals, the purpose of the above game was to simply elicit CS. Indeed, as Brasileiro Reis Pereira (2004, cited in Nortier 2008, 48) further highlights, no specific hypothesis was either formulated or tested during this party game. The main objective of the researcher was to showcase the effectiveness of generating interactional units characterised by frequent CS in experimental settings.

As far as this study was concerned, the success of the above experiment emboldened the researcher and resulted in the operationalisation of the party game during the recording process. Indeed, all informants taking part of this study were encouraged to use a popular singing game known as the Antakshari (literally translated as ‘The Last Letter’) in order to potentially elicit instances of code alternation phenomena. Originating from popular Indian game shows, ‘Antakshari’, calls for each participant to identify the last letter of a Hindi or Mauritian Bhojpuri song sung by their predecessor—for instance, the letter ‘F’—and to, in turn, perform on another song starting with the aforementioned letter (in this case, ‘F’). As a rule, the repetition of a song previously utilised by another contestant is not allowed. Lapsing into musical interludes has various advantages. Firstly, through the injection of a dose of playfulness and humour, the nervousness felt by participants was effectively reduced. At the same time, the cheerful banter surrounding and deconstructing each brief performance was rife with differential patterns of CS. In addition, the songs themselves were often adapted and modified through the insertion of passages from the other languages mastered by the informants. In the words of Nortier (2008, 47), such experimental activities had major benefits, “primarily the low cost in terms of time. Besides, researchers are less dependent on the informants’ production and they are able to manipulate the data. Therefore, linguists have tried to create experimental settings where spontaneity is preserved as far as possible.” Similarly, the use of the popular Antakshari game, in most cases, made judicious use of the multiparty setting of the recording process and sought to utilise it as an opportunity to trigger as much CS as possible by maintaining a quasi-naturalistic environment within a short space of time.
The completion of the recording process was immediately followed by that of the transcription phase of the project. Part of the preparatory work for the analysis of the data collected, transcription is “an iterative process” (Clemente 2008, 189). Despite the willingness of the researcher to do so, Clemente (2008) believes that there is neither a necessity nor an analytically valid reason for the transcription of all recorded data. According to him (Clemente 2008, 189), "[i]n qualitative work, one’s ongoing analysis guides transcribing decisions”. In other words, as an analytical tool, a transcript is never fully complete: the onus of deciding when to stop inserting additional information to it lies with the researcher. However, irrespective of the simplicity or relative sophistication of a transcript, its importance as a methodological tool cannot be ignored. In fact, Turell and Moyer (2008) present the following schemata (see Table 3.3) locating transcription in the overall research process:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision Stage</th>
<th>Realization Stage</th>
<th>Execution Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary observation</td>
<td>Experimental research</td>
<td>Data collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research questions</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>TRANSCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives</td>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>Tagging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical and analytical domain</td>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>Coding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Units of analysis</td>
<td>Corpora and databases</td>
<td>Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic level</td>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>Reliability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analytic variables</td>
<td>External validity</td>
<td>Analytic methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypotheses</td>
<td></td>
<td>Statistical procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal validity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Locating transcription in the research process (Adapted from Turell and Moyer 2008, 192; emphasis in original text)

As the above tabular representation indicates, the research process comprises of a set of three cumulative stages. While the decision stage lays the groundwork for the whole project by postulating theoretically-relevant hypotheses and delimiting variables, the realization stage seeks to design an evidence-based enterprise through which data can be collected. Finally, the execution stage represents the culmination of the research process and paves the way from a theoretically-driven to a more practically-oriented perspective as the data is converted by the
researcher into a format that lends itself to both sustained and sustainable analysis (Turell and Moyer 2008).

Put simply, transcription is a process of transferring oral interactions into written format through the use of a set of pre-established orthographic conventions. Moving from the oral to the written realm hinges on a series of specific considerations such as the representation of accents, overlapping speech, pauses, hesitations, false starts and paralinguistic features such as gaze, pitch and speech rate. It should also be kept in mind that written versions of oral interactions will, eventually share very few similarities with standard written languages since as Turell and Moyer (2008, 195) point out “talking is qualitatively distinct from writing sentences. The structure of an utterance does not coincide with fully structured written sentences.” In such cases, in line with CA methodology, researchers need to be sensitive to the intonational contours of the informants’ speech. These will, in turn, provide clues regarding sentence boundaries, micro pauses and other organisational units of conversations. However, as Backus (2008) highlights, the above stipulations are not always easy to adhere to. Indeed, very often, bilingual research corpora tend to be small, hard to decode by third-party observers and generally lacking in detail. Citing his own corpus of bilingual Turkish-Dutch speech which he used for his doctoral dissertation, he indicates that his corpus of transcribed data is difficult to navigate through by other researchers since the pressure to submit his thesis on time precluded the insertion of even the most rudimentary items such as translations and glosses (Backus 2008). While this should, clearly, not act as an encouragement for budding researchers to forego all the rudiments of transcription, it indicates the pressure under which most scholars operate.

In deference to time constraints, Backus (2008, 234) recommends that any corpus of bi- or multilingual data should aim to include at least the following features (see Table 3.4):
In line with the above, during the transcription phase of this study, due attention was paid to intonation contours in an attempt to transfer the oral data in written form as accurately as possible. Initially, due to time constraints, while all recordings in my study were transcribed in their entirety, details regarding micro pauses and paralinguistic features such as laughter were not recorded. However, in line with the six items postulated by Backus (2008), all transcripts aimed to provide details regarding the above phenomena. During the second phase of the transcription process, raw transcripts were further refined through the identification of relevant segments for analytic purposes. The extracts were, subsequently, provided with their corresponding translations and glosses before being annotated with details regarding the duration of pauses and the incidence of paralinguistic features such as a change in pitch or speech rate. Miles and Huberman (1994, 81) label such elaborately transcribed excerpts as “vignettes”. Defined as subsets of the main corpus, vignettes consist of “‘pockets’ of especially representative, meaningful data, far short of an interim case summary, that can be pulled together in a focused way for interim understanding” (Miles and Huberman 1994, 81). As one of the preliminary stages in data analysis, vignettes provide the researcher working within the CA paradigm with a detailed snapshot of the conversational specificities which characterise an interactional sequence. In addition, the use of vignettes facilitates the adherence to Backus’s six-point list pertaining to transcription, ensuring that, as far as this project was concerned, instances of alternation and innovations were efficiently highlighted prior to the eventual analysis phase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A certain amount of code-switching between sentences (alternation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mixing of two languages within a single clause (insertion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other patterns of mixing/switching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Deviant word order patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Words used with deviant meanings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Increased preference for certain ways of combining clauses (and decreased preference for other ways)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.4: Features to be included in a transcript (Adapted from Backus 2008, 234–235)*
Another major advantage of vignettes is their concise, yet detailed nature, allowing for ease of cross-verification of tentative hypotheses within the researcher’s pool of informants. Labelling this process as the unravelling of “groupthink”, Miles and Huberman (1994, 165) argue that despite the possibility of bias due to the impact of attitudinal factors, testing the validity of one’s analysis by feeding hypotheses and observations back to participants for their perusal and comments, is recommended. In other words, while transcripts empower the analyst in shaping his/her predictions based on the observations culled from the vignettes, such inferences gain credibility when informants acquiesce to the accuracy of both the observations and the rationale behind them. This can be particularly helpful in cases where the interviewer lacks familiarity with the language practices of the community. For instance, Aersaether (2004, cited in Lanza 2008) reports on his study of the negotiation skills of ten year old Urdu/Punjabi and Norwegian bilingual speakers. Given his lack of skills in the former language, Aersaether first sought the help of the children’s Urdu/Punjabi instructor during the transcription and early analytical phases of his work. Subsequently, he cross-checked all his observations with native speakers of the language in order to ensure their reliability and validity. This acts as a form of empowerment for informants as well since they remain involved in more advanced stages of the research. While unlike Aersaether (2004, cited in Lanza 2008), this study benefited from the researcher’s multilingual proficiency, cross-checks were still carried out with all groups of participants. This was particularly helpful in ensuring that innovations noticed during the mixed codes and fused lects stage were correctly labelled, interpreted and plotted along the continuum of language alternation phenomena. Tapping into the groupthink of participants also guaranteed that, in line with CA methodology, the interpretative scope allowed to participants remained broad.

On the whole, this section has provided an insight into the second phase of this study. However, the success with which both the data collection and analysis was met can be credited to the successful transition from the second to the third filter which deals with the groundwork carried out during the pilot phase in order to ascertain the feasibility of this project.
3.4 Implementation Phase: The Pilot Study

Myers-Scotton (2002) describes the third filter as the final stage where code selection takes place as the phase where rationality is put into action. At this point, speakers select their preferred code based on decisions in which both social and structural considerations played a role. They take into account their own and other group members’ beliefs and attitudes along with conversation-specific features and make their choices. Thus, speakers make a cost and benefit analysis and put their socio-pragmatic knowledge and intuitions to good use. Similarly, before undertaking the large-scale data collection enterprise, this study also aimed to put its hypotheses to the test by focusing, in the first instance, on a very small sample frame. Therefore, six months prior to the recording phase of the large-scale study, a smaller group of informants was recruited and its multilingual behaviour was scrutinized. The parameters developed to deal with the large-scale data collection and analysis processes were all kept stable and the overall feasibility of the project was ascertained.

In line with the methodological considerations stipulated previously, the informants in the pilot study were acquainted with each other through both the home and community network. Three girls, aged between 18 and 20 provided all the recorded data in this corpus. Participant selection was guided by the following criteria:

i. All speakers were native speakers of Kreol.
ii. In addition, their multilingual repertoire consisted of French, English and Mauritian Bhojpuri. The three of them also had a functional knowledge of Hindustani—the Hindi/Urdu mix made popular by Bollywood (Indian) cinema.44

Also, all participants previously shared what Milroy and Milroy (1992, 1) in their seminal study in Belfast termed as “dense and multiplex” network ties. The three informants in this study

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44It is to be kept in mind here that more than 60% of the Mauritian population is of Indian origins, thus contributing to the popularity of Bollywood in Mauritius (Eisenlohr 2006). Celebrities from the Indian sub-continent often visit Mauritius and a number of films have been either partly or fully shot here. These factors contribute to the popularity of Hindustani as a code.
formed part of each other’s extended family circle, shared closed kinship ties and lived within walking distance of each other. At the same time, being of relatively the same age, they had attended similar primary and secondary schools before eventually joining the University of Mauritius for their first year of study. In addition, they met each other daily after classes in order to take part in similar types of extra-curricular activities. As a result of such close contact, the three girls formed a small, tightly-knit community, very much at ease with each other and able to provide as unselfconscious a style as possible for the recording sessions.

3.3.1 Importance of snowballing in the selection process

These informants were recruited via the friend-of-a-friend approach. This strategy called for the interviewer to introduce herself initially not as a fieldworker but as the friend-of-a-friend mentioning the name of another person also part of the extended family of these girls. This proved to be particularly advantageous since as Milroy and Gordon (2003, 75) have observed:

As a consequence of the reciprocal rights and obligation that members of close-knit groups contract with each other, the mention of the insider’s name had the effect of guaranteeing the fieldworker’s good faith; moreover, members of the group appeared to feel some obligation to help her in her capacity as a friend of their friend, so that she acquired some of the rights as well as some of the obligations of an insider.

Indeed, through the above mechanism, the interviewer managed to build a relationship of trust with one of the girls fairly quickly. The process of snowballing also proved to be particularly fortuitous since it led to the unanimous acceptance of the fieldworker in the midst of these girls who welcomed her with warmth and openness. In addition, the fact that the girls were allowed to self-select each other reinforced the ties of friendship between fieldworker and informants. The strong ties binding the group in this study ensured maximum level of comfort during the interview process which was smooth-sailing.

3.3.2 Gossip as sociolinguistic data

In actual fact, the data-collection process benefited from an added advantage. The fact that the fieldworker was herself female led to her easy integration within her group and to her inclusion
in social gatherings and other communal activities. This eventually kept instances of observer’s paradox to the minimum. Generally, it is considered a sociolinguistic cliché that the casual style that an interviewer is interested in can never be fully elicited via the interview process given the degree of discomfort experienced by most interviewees.

Observer’s paradox can be neatly sidestepped by the following two strategies (Milroy and Gordon 2003):

i. Attempts to influence the content of the interview

ii. Modifications to the dynamics of one-to-one interviewing

Attempts to influence the content of an interview include the incorporation of a wide range of conversational modules during the taping process. Conversational networks (Labov 1984, 35) are thus created by talking about formal (for example, work and education related) and casual (for instance, gossips and hobbies). The following diagram (see Figure 3.2) conceptualises the different networks of conversational modules that an interview process can go through in order to elicit the least unselfconscious response.

A similar tactic was adopted with these informants. In addition, the fact that the fieldworker was considered as one of the girls, she was also included in extended sessions of gossips that these three girls engaged in. Researches carried out in the field of language and gender often highlight the conversational principles adopted by women while gossiping.

Coates (1998) views gossip sessions as being particularly revealing about the pragmatic strategies adopted by women in discourse. According to her (Coates 1998, 249):

At one level, we have seen that topics develop slowly and accretively because participants build on each other’s contributions and jointly arrive at a consensus. At a more delicate level, both minimal responses and epistemic modal forms function as enabling devices. Participants use minimal responses to signal their active listenership and support for the current speaker; they use them to mark their recognition of the different stages of conversational development. Epistemic modal forms are used to respect the face needs of all participants, to negotiate sensitive topics and to encourage the participation of others; the chief effect of using epistemic modal forms is that the speaker does not take a hard line.
A similar observation can be made in the case of this dataset. The gossip sessions provided the most instances of code-switched utterances and it seems to be the result of conversation seen as a collaborative enterprise. Minimal responses such as *uhuh* limited interruptions and generously ceded the floor to a specific speaker. Furthermore, the epistemic modal forms such as the use *peutet* (perhaps), tag questions and other forms of hedges projected the non-judgemental approach adopted by all participants taking part in the interaction. As a result, these gossip sessions accounted for the heightened level of ease during the recording process.

Figure 3.2: Characteristic network of modules for adolescent or young adult speaker (Milroy and Gordon 2003, 59, adapted from Labov 1984, 35)
In addition, modifications to the dynamics of the one-to-one interviewing also proved to be a recipe for success. Interviewees were recorded as part of a multi-party conversation thus eliminating any possible awkwardness. The conversation proceeded quite smoothly since all participants collaborated with each other to keep the conversation going and to minimize the occurrence of any lulls in the interaction. Also, the fact that the participants effectively outnumbered the interviewer contributed to their sense of power. There is security in numbers and the triad proved this through their cooperative stance during the interview process.

All in all, the above mentioned procedures of self-recruitment, conversational module selection and multi-party grouping ensured the coming together of an intimate, tightly knit triad that sailed through the recording process with relative ease. The following section reports on some of the methods adopted during the data-collection and transcription phase.

### 3.3.3 Participant observation

This study made successful use of some ethnographic tools as part of its data-collection process—a strategy which has received full support from scholars such as Zentella (1990). Her study (Zentella 1990, 79) of code-switching amongst Puerto Rican children in the United States adopted a similar methodology:

> An in-depth analysis of a speech community’s use of language in context can only be captured by participating in the life of the community and gathering natural speech from a wide variety of speech events and across a range of settings and speakers. In our attempt to study the community context of code-switching, it was necessary to take part in all aspects of community life and to observe it over a period of time sufficient to indicate patterns of continuity and change.

Indeed, as the above lines point out, participant observation is an important tool in the arsenal of the fieldworker. Johnstone (2000) supports such a perspective because of its ability to generate voluminous and high quality data and to provide the interviewer with an insider’s perspective into the local sociocultural dynamics. Along the same lines, during the initial stages of the data collection process, the interviewer sought a more intimate perspective into the group dynamics of
the triad and tagged along during their social encounters. Participant observation in this case was a two way process since it had the additional benefit of providing the triad with an opportunity to assess and get used to the interviewer. Spread over a duration of a week, this initial process served as an ice-breaker and initiated a bonding process between informants and interviewer.

All in all, as the following section underlines, the success of the brief participant observation phase ensured a relatively straightforward recording process.

3.3.4 Data collection

Recordings took place for about forty minutes over a period of six days. The girls were joined by the interviewer during their common lunch hour and recorded as they either went shopping or stopped by a particular restaurant for food. This was followed by the transcription phase which yielded a corpus of over 25,000 words. Instances of both intra and inter-sentential switching were highlighted and analysed as per the definitions provided in Chapter 2. Detailed findings from both the pilot and the subsequent large-scale study are elaborated upon in Chapter 4.

3.3.5 Moving from the pilot to the large-scale study

The successful implementation of the selected methodology and the encouraging findings uncovered encouraged the researcher to replicate it on a larger scale by increasing the sample size, duration of the participant observation phase and hours of data collected. Indeed, the corpus of data gathered after the transcription of the recordings from the large-scale study exceeded, by far, that compiled during the pilot stage. Overall, the large scale study yielded a total of over 80,000 words per team. These were then further refined so that the analytical focus could be narrowed down only to the most relevant vignettes illustrating the different loci of CS and the varying degrees of multilingual alloying taking place in Mauritius.
3.4 Conclusion

In their expose regarding the choice of the adoption of an appropriate methodology in the field of language alternation, Li Wei and Moyer (2008c, xvi) assert that the paucity of information available in connection with “the links between theory, method and data” can be disheartening. Indeed, both experienced and novice researchers are often expected to simply “‘pick up’ much in the way of knowledge and skills” (Li Wei and Moyer 2008c, xvi) without being always afforded the necessary methodological scaffolding required. This chapter has tried to remedy the situation by grounding its methodological perspective firmly in the precedent set by other key researchers working within the field of multilingualism and language contact. On the whole, this chapter has tried to use the experience of previous researchers as its backbone and has subsequently aimed to offer a detailed insight into the methodological considerations underpinning this project and the eventual implementation of the crucial decisions regarding data collection and analysis. The following chapter will present and analyse the findings in the current study.
CHAPTER 4

Analysis of Code-Switching Data

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will provide an insight into the different types of language alternation phenomena identified in the dataset. Following the typology of language alternation phenomena set out in Chapter 2, it will also attempt to trace the progression of language alternation from what Auer (1998) terms as simple CS to more complex multilingual units in the form of fused lects. Empirical evidence, in the form of extracts selected from the transcriptions of the recordings that were carried out, will be provided to support all key observations. For the purposes of this section, switches to specific languages will be indicated through a change in font style. The following table presents a summary of the different font styles associated with each language operating in the current multilingual matrix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Matrix or Embedded Language</th>
<th>Font Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kreol</td>
<td>Matrix</td>
<td>Normal style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>Embedded</td>
<td>Single underline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Embedded</td>
<td>Double underline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>Embedded</td>
<td>Bold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi/Urdu</td>
<td>Embedded</td>
<td><em>Italics</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Font styles used to represent CS to specific languages

In addition, wherever applicable, the Leipzig interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing system has been utilised (Department of Linguistics, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology 2008)."

This chapter is organised in three key sections: Firstly, the different conversational loci of CS will be explored. This will be followed by a section on the different forms of alloying of
languages during the Mixed Codes/ LMs and finally the Fused Lects stages. Given the complexity of categorising instances of language alternation as either Mixed Codes or FLs, a brief critique of existing empirical analyses of FL data is also provided. This is, subsequently, used to support the analytical approach and eventual findings of this study.

4.1 The Conversational loci of Code Switching

According to the typology set down by Auer (1999), in the preliminary CS phase of language alternation, the switch from one language to the other occurs in eight different functional positions (cf. Section 2.1). This subsection will explore a few of the conversational loci which favoured the occurrence of switching in the dataset.

4.1.1 Change in Participant Constellation

According to Auer (2001), one of the conversational loci responsible for bringing about a code switch is a change in the group dynamics of the conversation. This was evidenced in the current dataset too. In this chapter, the English translation follows the transcript of each extract.

Extract 1

Buying clothes

Speaker 1: Sanla pli zoli non? Selman mo kuzinn ena en linz inpe kumsa. (to salesgirl) Li presque dans sa genre la. Mo kontan ban lezot couleurs anfen a pe pre mem model, wi. (to speakers B and C) Aay mo pou pran enn ar Nabila pou lavey.

Speaker 1: This one is nice no? It’s just that my cousin has got similar types of clothes. (To Salesgirl) It’s close to this one in style. I like other colours anyway something that closely matches this one, yes. (To speakers B and C) Ehnh I will take one from Nabila to wear on the eve.

In the above extract, Speaker 1 is trying to choose a new dress for herself to wear at a wedding. So far, the language of interaction amongst the girls has been Kreol. However, the inclusion of the salesgirl in this constellation of speakers leads to a change in footing in the overall group dynamics. As a result, Speaker 1 indulges in an intra-sentential switch to French. Also noticeable
is the use of the French pronunciation for *couleurs* [kulœːr] instead of the usual Kreol variant of *kuler* [kulæː].

At this point in the conversation, there is a move from mere girly chitchat about clothes to a more authoritative stance vis-à-vis the salesgirl who is being ordered to show the girls the different style of dresses that the shop stocks. Also of pragmatic significance here is the fact that the shop is located in a very posh shopping district in one of the major towns of the island. The use of French, therefore, would be expected from its clientele. As a result, the mere presence of the salesgirl acts as a catalyst in bringing about a switch from Kreol to French, in a bid to get her to obey the instructions given by the girls. Conformity to the expected norm in this case is a reflection of both the prestige and power dimension.

4.1.2 Reiteration

Another conversational locus favoured by the girls is the use of CS for emphatic purposes (cf. Section 2.1).

**Extract 2**

**Sampling a cake**

Speaker 3: Ee li lag lag.
Speaker 1: E li lag lag, mo lamain inn vinn **kach kach**.
LAUGHTER
Speaker 2: Kav li (PAUSE) manze taa.
Speaker 1: We.
Speaker 1: Lag lag. LAUGHTER. Mo lamain (PAUSE) kol kole.
Speaker 2: Ki liete? lag lag.

Speaker 3: Ee it’s **sticky sticky**
Speaker 1: E it’s **sticky sticky**, my hand is all **sticky sticky**.
LAUGHTER
Speaker 2: Maybe it’s (PAUSE) Eat it.
Speaker 1: Yeah
Speaker 1: Sticky sticky. LAUGHTER. My hand (PAUSE) sticky sticky.
Speaker 2: How’s it? Sticky sticky.
Extract 2 is interesting given its static nature. It revolves around a cake that Speaker 3 has just bought and is offering to the other girls. Her generosity, though, is met with a round of complaints about the excessively sticky texture of the cake and the messiness of having to eat it. This snippet is rather cyclical in nature given the fact that it starts and ends with the same words. However, particularly noteworthy, here, is the use of three words from two different languages that act as synonyms for each other.

Indeed, the words lag lag and kol kole both come from Kreol while kach kach is a transfer from Mauritian Bhojpuri. In the space of a few conversational turns, Speaker 1 switches from Kreol to Bhojpuri and back to Kreol again in order to express her discontent with regards to the texture of the cake. Reiteration, in this case, serves to highlight Speaker1’s point about the messy nature of the cake and also manages to effectively subvert Speaker 2’s order to sidestep the stickiness issue and eat the cake. Reiteration, thus, brings about a change in the power dynamics in the conversation giving Speaker 1 the leverage required to ignore Speaker 2’s command and focus on the excessive sweetness of the cake that renders it inedible. The fact that the reiteration is coupled with laughter also acts as a face-saving technique by helping to soften the sting of Speaker 1’s refusal.

Equally significant is the morphology of both Kreol words and the Bhojpuri one as well. Both Mauritian Kreol and Bhojpuri favour reduplication of morphological units for emphatic purposes, thus making the occurrence of a CS redundant. The fact that speaker A chooses to have recourse to both reduplication and CS is telling and highlights her especially high degree of aversion to the stickiness of the cake.

4.1.3 Change in Topic

As Auer (1988) asserts, CS is also often associated with a change in topic. This was the case in this study as well:
Extract 3
Window-shopping

Speaker 11: Nunn demann misie la enn pipe pou zainab, misie la dir sink rupi aster nu pe gayne riyer lerla nu pe gayne riyer lerla misie la dir li pe badine. Non li pe dir sink rupi li ase rezonab kav vremem.
Speaker 12: Non ta pipe gayne kado sa taa, ale si kumadir to pan aste, kav enn rupi pa sink rupi.
Speaker 11: Apre line rier limem.
Speaker 13: C’est joli non?

Speaker 11: We asked the man for a straw for Zainab’s drink, the man asked for five rupees now we really felt like laughing then the man said that he was joking. No he was saying it was worth five rupees maybe it was truly reasonable.
Speaker 12: No a straw is free, ok if you really needed one it would be worth one rupee not five.
Speaker 11: Then he laughed himself
Speaker 13: It’s beautiful no?

In Extract 3, the girls are speaking about their previous meeting where a shopkeeper asked them for five Mauritian rupees in order to provide them with a straw for their drink. However, this little anecdote is cut short by Speaker 13 who switched to French in order to draw the attention of her two friends to the bag that is displayed in the shop window. The CS then serves to alert the other participants in the interaction that a change in topic is in order.

4.1.4 Word play

On a number of occasions, informants also made use of CS in an attempt to generate laughter through word play (cf. Section 4.1.7 for a more detailed analysis of the co-occurrence of CS with laughter particles). An example is provided in Extract 4 below:

Extract 4
The world is a meadow

Speaker 6: Anfin
Speaker 7: (1.0) Dan sa lemond la
Speaker 6: Lemond pe vinn [anba lao]  
Speaker 7:  
Speaker 6: Lemond pe vin paturage
Speaker 8: Paturage mem pe vini.
Speaker 6: Patiraz ki pe vini?
LAUGHTER

Speaker 6: Anyway
Speaker 7: (1.0) In this world.
Speaker 6: The world is turning upside down
Speaker 7: upside down
Speaker 6: The world is turning into a meadow
Speaker 8: Meadow itself it is turning into
Speaker 6: What is the meadow turning into then?
LAUGHTER

In the above extract, underlined items represent a switch to French while the word in bold is the Kreol equivalent. Given the fact that Kreol is a French-based Creole, a number of lexical items are shared with French. The only difference in such cases is in the pronunciation patterns with Kreol items favouring the [z] sound in word final position instead of the more formal [ʒ] one in French and the fronting of vowels (in this case, the fronting of the back vowel [u] to [i]).

Extract 4 presents a philosophical interlude as the girls debate the idiosyncratic behaviour of other relatives in their extended family circle. As conclusion, they present a variation of the Shakespearean quotation from As You Like It (Act II, Scene VII), ‘All the world is a stage’ except that in this case, the stage has been localized to fit the Mauritian context. Given the large expanse of sugarcane fields dotting the rural countryside, the label of ‘meadow’ proves to be much more appropriate than ‘stage’ and generates humour. Also, the switch to the Kreol pronunciation by Speaker 6 proves to be a strategic one which allows the speakers to present a multilingual pun. In Kreol, the word patiraz consists of two syllables namely pati + raz. However, as any native Kreol speaker would be aware, the syllable pati is ambiguous given the fact that on its own, it is also given the status of a fully-fledged word. Indeed, pati refers to a state of absolute boredom. In other words, the girls are not simply trying to nativise a very famous saying, they are also indicating their frustration with the various antics of different family members, such as the latter’s habit of visiting them unexpectedly and their penchant for gossip.

Another instance of word play is provided in the Extract 5 below:
Extract 5
Gaining weight

Speaker 21: Sa bann 
regimes la, en théorie li li marse. Me li pa efikas hein en pratique.

Speaker 22: Désolée mone zoine enn dimounn li pe vinn gro ase gro.

Speaker 23: Kiete?

Speaker 22: Mo ti dir li ti gayn enn mwa. Me so lekor, so lekor inn vinn pli gro. Li bien vie. So ban tablettes are very visible. Net so vente pu kasse enn tigit. Zis dan enn mwa.

Speaker 21: These diets, in theory they they work. But they are not efficient uh in practice.

Speaker 22: I'm very sorry but I met someone she is getting fat quite fat.

Speaker 23: What?

Speaker 22: I told her a month ago. But her body, her body has become even fatter. She's quite old. Her rolls of fat are very visible. Just her tummy has become slightly smaller. In just one month.

In the above extract, Speakers 21, 22 and 23 are having an animated discussion about the pros and cons of various diet plans when Speaker 21 mentions her aversion to diets in general because she believes that, as a rule, they are not effective. Speaker 22, then, offers the example of an acquaintance of hers who has put on quite a lot of weight, as a result of which there has been a dramatic change in her physical appearance. Although the conversation has, for most of this interaction, been couched in Kreol, Speaker 22 switches to the French word *tablettes* to provide a very unflattering description of the rolls of fat that the aforementioned person has developed. This switch is a fascinating one given that the speaker could have easily opted for the more usual Kreol term *lapang* (literally translated as 'love handles') to refer to it. In fact, according to the French Larousse dictionary, even in French, the literal translation of *tablette* (plural form *tablettes*) is not 'roll of fat'(www.larousse.fr). A derivative of the French noun *table* (English 'table'), the word *tablette* commonly refers to either a small shelf or to a square of food items such as chocolate or chewing gum (*tablette de chocolat, tablette de chewing gum*)\(^{45}\). In the present context, it can be deduced that speaker 22 is comparing her acquaintance's rolls of fat to multiple shelves that have been stacked upon each other. It could also be taken as an insinuation

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\(^{45}\) Today, the word *tablette* can also be used as an abbreviation for *tablette tactile* or the tablet computer (www.linternaute.com). However, for the time being, Larousse makes no mention of this.
that the latter's weight gain could be possibly attributed to the consumption of multiple squares of chocolate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Elaboration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Don't impose</td>
<td>Interactants have a responsibility not to impose upon each other. For instance, in many societies, it is considered impolite to ask people direct questions pertaining to money. To avoid embarrassing one's interlocutor, speakers need to find more circuitous ways of getting to the point. So, in formal or semi-formal interactions, while the question 'how much did you pay for the (insert object)' might be considered as bordering on the inappropriate, the lengthier option 'may I ask how much you paid for that (insert object)' would not raise many eyebrows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Give options</td>
<td>It is the responsibility of speakers to phrase their sentences in such a way that hearers can choose to interpret a sentence in the least objectionable way. For example, a description of Mr. X. as a 'sort of a conservative' might raise fewer objections than labelling him as an 'arch-conservative'. In this case, although the ultimate meaning of both phrases is the same, the hedge 'sort of' takes the sting away from what might be perceived as being a criticism of Mr. X.'s character or his political beliefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Make A feel good</td>
<td>In other words, it is the duty of the speaker not to hurt the feelings of A (that is the hearer). In some cases, the need to be considerate towards one's interlocutor's feelings might be more a question of convention than genuine interpersonal warmth. The use of endearments such as 'mate' or 'love' can be attributed to this need to make the addressee feel valued.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Rules governing polite interaction (Adapted from Lakoff 1973, 292-305)

In such a case, the switch to French proves to be a strategic one because it allows the speaker to describe the physical consequences of weight gain in a more euphemistic way. Indeed, it has often been noted that discussions about weight gain and obesity tend to be sensitive issues because of the possibility of using words that might be deemed to be offensive. In fact, Mott (2009) observes that unflattering descriptions of a person's physical appearance remain one of
the contexts in which a euphemism is the norm rather than the exception since honesty can be perceived as being deliberately insulting. The above observation is, in fact, in line with Lakoff’s (1973, 1) pioneering work in the field of interactional politeness. She argues that the maintenance of a sense of camaraderie amongst co-conversationalists hinges upon a series of unspoken rules that she labels as the ‘logic of politeness’ (see Table 4.2 above):

In keeping with the above stipulations, it can be argued that even multilingual interactions follow the same ‘logic of politeness’ as that advocated by Lakoff (1973). Indeed, in Extract 5, Speaker 22’s decision to switch to French to describe an acquaintance who is not even present at that point in time can be attributed to her subconscious adherence to the above mentioned Rules 2 and 3. Indeed, while the Kreol term _lapang_ is more direct, it has a higher potential to offend. Consequently, she opts for the euphemism _tablettes_ as a means to soften her harsh assessment of her acquaintance’s physique, in an attempt not to embarrass her other co-participants who might not be comfortable with the more unsympathetic label of _lapang_. In addition, following Lakoff (1973), it can be argued that the necessity to be both considerate and tactful is one which is highly valued by many societies resulting in the regular use of euphemisms in both face-to-face interaction and the media. For instance, it is not uncommon to hear of someone being depicted as being ‘hard up’ instead of the more literal and certainly more contextually accurate description of him being ‘poor’ (Lakoff 1973). In fact, as Extract 5 so eloquently displays, multilingual speakers have the additional benefit of being able to draw from a richer lexical repertoire than a monolingual speaker, thus resulting in the adoption of linguistic devices such as puns in an attempt to avoid any conversational unpleasantness.

All in all, instances of similar kinds of creative word play were fairly common in this dataset. The following sections will elaborate further upon two specific kinds of verbal playfulness adopted by the participants of this study.

_4.1.5 Playfulness: The Case of Songs_

Arguing for the conception of verbal performance as a creative expression of a speaker’s masterful command over his linguistic repertoire, Bauman (1975) calls for an enhanced focus on
performance-oriented features of conversation. According to Bauman (1975, 293), indexing a specific reflexive position that the speaker conversationally orients himself to, performance “involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, beyond and above its referential content.” In other words, the shift in conversational frame from spontaneous chitchat to a more histrionic style empowers participants to ‘enregister’ their speech by allowing “linguistic forms [to] become ideologically linked with social identities” (Agha 2006, cited in Johnstone 2011, 657). In line with the above, this section reports upon and seeks to analyse participants’ spontaneous lapses into song and dance sequences during casual interactional sequences. It aims to shed light on the pragmatic implications of language alternation phenomena during these “vocal instrumentalising” sessions (Coupland 2011, 579). Emphasis will be placed on the playful nature of CS resulting in speakers being endowed with the possibility of re-contextualising seemingly mundane conversations while simultaneously, indexing increasingly hybrid gendered and ethnic identities. Consequently, this section will eventually attempt to view CS in song and dance sequences not simply as a reflection of the communicative competence of proficient multilinguals but also as an articulation of the resourceful ways in which language can be used to aid the sequential construction of meaning (cf. Auer 1984). Following Coupland (2011, 579), the social and stylistic effects of ‘voice’ as “musical instrument, body, person and character” will be highlighted and their pragmatic significance explained with specific reference to the Mauritian context.

The use of CS in artistic craftsmanship such as fiction, poetry and songs has been highlighted by researchers such as Kachru (1989, 2006) and Omoniyi (2006) amongst others. In her study focusing on the language alternation mechanisms adopted by lyricists in Bollywood, Kachru (2006) focuses on the creative blending of Hindustani and English in an attempt to generate humour and to parody the adoption of a more Westernised lifestyle by Indian youngsters. She contrasts this CS matrix with the one espoused by the more conservative middle-aged and elderly factions of the population who are more likely to prefer language alternation patterns between Sanskrit and Hindustani which, in turn, act as markers for a more traditional lifestyle. The fact that it is the more English-flavoured hybrid which is on the ascendance lends credence to her claims that the gradual urbanisation of India coupled with the increasingly successful global
distribution of Bollywood films in overseas territories, has led to a re-definition of language boundaries resulting in complex forms of language contact phenomena.

The above perspective is supported by Ganti (2004) who reveals that from the embryonic scriptwriting stage itself, CS remains the maître mot. Indeed, despite the popularity of both Hindustani and the newly nascent Hinglish, contemporary writers often opt to pen down the script in English itself. Dialogues are subsequently translated into Hindustani in order to bring in the local flavour. In fact, Ganti (2004) states that many cinema directors and producers encourage primary scriptwriters to work in tandem with a sidekick who is much better versed in Hindustani. During the filming process, the latter remains a quasi-permanent fixture on the sets and is frequently called upon to tone down any speeches that are deemed to be too anglicized through the strategic insertion of Hindustani words into an anglicized speech cluster. Empirical evidence for the above claims is offered by Kachru (2006, 232) who provides the following extract, amongst others, from the 2002 movie *Kya Dil Ne Kaha* (What the Heart Said) in an attempt to underscore the level of playful mixing displayed by lyricists:

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MaiN to bhaNwraa hoon *sorry*, kaliyon kii kartaa chorii
BaaNdhe kyooN preet kii Dorii, rehne de thoRii duurii
Rehne de thoRii sii duurii
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I am bumble bee, *sorry*; I steal buds
Why are you tying threads of love; let some distance remain

The above extract aims to depict the fickleness of the male lover since, as Kachru (2006) explains, in Indian poetic tradition, the analogy of the bumble bee flitting restlessly from one bud to the other, is one which the media frequently use to in order to offer a stereotypical portrayal of the male lover as untrustworthy and inconstant. However, while the content of the song is, in itself, mundane and routinely articulated in countless romantic musicals, the conspicuous playfulness displayed through the pronunciation of the word 'sorry' as the more Indianised [so:ri:] — a strategy adopted so that rhyming patterns between the lexical items chorii, durii and dorii can be maintained. In addition, the above extract is subsequently followed by a rejoinder

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46 The formatting provided in the original text has been maintained. Normal typeface is being used for Hindustani while italics have been adopted to highlight switches to English.
from the female counterpart whose response contrasts with that of her lover as she reveals that irrespective of his fidelity or lack of it, she has "tied threads for seven lives" (Kachru 2006, 232) between the two of them. While the above expression might elicit blank looks from western native English speakers, an Indian audience, believing in the Hindi theological tradition of reincarnation, would be familiar with the notion of romantic love as being a bond that lasts through a series of seven successive births. Thus, while the playful mixing of English and Hindustani has, on one hand, helped to ensure a harmonious phonetic co-existence between the two languages, on the other hand, it has also resulted in a process of phonetic extension whereby English words are leached of their original meaning and are endowed with an enforced layer of double entendre and polysemy.

Along similar lines, the participants in this study seem to be indulging in a similar degree of hybridisation as they shift from casual, conversational footings to song interludes during their everyday interactions with each other. Such occurrences of 'acoustemology'47 (Feld 1996, 91) were, in fact, noticeable in the interactions of almost all the teams. Extract 6 is taken from one of the conversations of Team 5:

**Extract 6**

**Countdown**

Speaker 23: *Ek, do, teen, chaar, paanch*
Speaker 21: *Panch panch*
Speaker 22: *Panch*
Speaker 23: *Che*

Speaker 23: *One, two, three, four, five*
Speaker 21: *Five five*
Speaker 22: *Five*
Speaker 23: *Six*

Far from being a simply list of consecutive integers, Extract 6, in fact, presents a transition point in an extended gossip and jocular session amongst the members of the team as the speakers gear up to move to another juicy tidbit of information after negotiating a satisfactory closure to the

47 Derived from ethnomusicology, the term 'acoustemology' refers to the ways in which cultures shape their identity not just through the information transmitted directly to them via speech but also through the points that they manage to glean from songs, dance and other kinds of cultural artifacts (Feld 1996).
previous topic of conversation. While the conversations both preceding and following this segment are both in Kreol, this brief song interlude is completely couched in Hindustani and is accompanied by a change in pitch in prosody as participants adopt a sing-song voice quality. In conjunction with the interactional locus of topic shift, that of playfulness is also brought into salience as the verbal performance is inspired from an iconic song of the same name from the 1988 Bollywood movie Tezaab. The success of the film hinged on the popularity of the song which propelled its lead performer, actress Madhuri Dixit, to stardom. Over the years, countless parodies and adaptations of both its lyrics and choreography have been carried out, thus bearing testimony to its enduring appeal amongst aficionados.

In Extract 6, team members seem to be building on the iconicity of the song by using its peppiness and fast tempo as a form of conversational scaffolding in order to mirror the liveliness and dynamism characterising their interactions. In fact, the change in prosody was also accompanied by strategic shift in the body language as all of them sketched out a few tentative dance steps inspired by the original choreography of the song. CS, thus, is effectively linked with both phonetic skill and a high level of mastery of paralinguistic features such as non-verbal delivery. Such co-associations between linguistic usage and the indexing of identity are believed to be characteristic of 'younsgpeak' by Zimmerman (2009, 121) who provides a list of what he believes to be some of the key features and dimensions of youth language worldwide. Labelled as 'markers operating at the multimodal level' (Zimmerman 2009, 126), the creative merger of verbal and non-verbal features suggest that the construction of youth identity cannot be simplistically restricted to language. The emergence of 'emblematic markers' (ibid) such as hairstyle, clothing, mimicry and kinesics such as dance can all be attributed to the need of youngsters to establish their emerging identity as 'little adults' (Andersen 2001) capable of maintaining their autonomy both at the social and linguistic levels. Acting as symbols of in-group solidarity and loyalty, markers of youngspeak are equally valuable in multilingual communities where the juxtaposition of myriad languages offers interactants with more opportunities to utilize heteroglossia as the sociolinguistic glue binding a multiethnic and multicultural peer group together.
Similar examples of song interludes acting as pragmatic reinforcements can be noted in the interactions of other teams as well. For instance, the following performance (Extract 7) was provided by the members of Team 4 during their discussions of plotlines of popular soap operas being screened by the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC):

Extract 7
A Discussion of Hindustani Serials

Speaker 16: Sa Mandira la. Pa fasil ar li sa.
Speaker 17: Li kontan zis kas li.

Speaker 16: That Mandira. She is unbelievable.
Speaker 17: She loves only money.
Speaker 16: That Mandira loves only money. She eyes only money and jewellery.
That’s all she needs. Mandira only wants to be rich. That’s her problem. She’s mad. Mad. Mad. She’s an idiot. Hey na na na Shabana. Why are your hazel eyes so intoxicating? Mad idiot.

Extract 7 focuses on the storyline and characters of Hitler Didi, one of the innumerable Hindustani serials being broadcast on the Zee Cable TV network at the moment. The first instance of CS occurs when Speaker 16 shifts from Kreol to Mauritian Bhojpuri, evidenced through the use of the Bhojpuri conjugated verb ha (is) as the latter offers a scathing evaluation of the character of one of the antagonists of the shows who is presented as being a gold-digger. This CS is immediately followed by a shift to the Hindustani lyrics of the title song of the more recent Hum Tum Shabana (Sagar 2011) movie before eventually reverting to Bhojpuri. While the Bhojpuri insertions belong to the conversational locus of repetitions and seem to be highlighting the same point over and over again for emphatic purposes, the switch to Hindustani seems to function as an adjacency pair. Huang (2000) defines and elaborates upon the pragmatic consequentiality of adjacency pairs by stipulating their dual purpose in conversations. Firstly, adjacency pairs can be chained into a series of consecutive question and answer sessions where responses provided maintain the interactional code chosen by the asker. Secondly, in the words
of Huang (2000, 313), "adjacency pairs can [indicate] a relation of post-elaboration, where a subsequent 'tying adjacency pair functions as an elaboration of the content of a preceding, 'tied to' adjacency pair." Simply put, the second category of adjacency pairs allows a speaker to extend his/her conversational turn by delaying the progression to a Transition Relevance Place (Sacks et al. 1974). In the above extract, Speaker 16's contribution elaborates upon Speaker 17's comments regarding the antagonist, Mandira's greed. In fact, the observations regarding the beautiful eyes of Shabana, the girl being serenaded in the song interlude, can be seen as a thematic extension of the topic of intoxication. Indeed, while on the one hand, Shabana's mesmerising beauty can be said to be breathtaking, on the other hand, as Speaker 16 seems to be hinting, it is Mandira who, totally intoxicated by greed, is scheming against the unsuspecting protagonists — often futilely — to acquire wealth. Following Kachru (2006), code alternation through the song interlude, thus, acts as a stylistic device capable of enregistering connotations of greed to an otherwise innocuous statement regarding the intoxicating allure of a pretty lady.

In addition, the repetition of the discourse maker na na na in the song also becomes pragmatically powerful through its co-association with the homophonous negation marker na in Bhojpuri. Consequently, the song acts as a veiled admonition to the antagonist, negatively evaluating her behaviour and exhorting her to eschew her Machiavellian scheming in favour of a more tolerant and righteous lifestyle. At this point, it needs to be kept in mind that such evaluative segments are not restricted only to multilingual interactions but in actual fact, they are the staples of Personal Experience Narratives or PENs (Labov and Waletzky 1967) told by any speaker in a mundane conversation. Pioneered by Labov and Waletzky (1967), narrative analysis provides a systematic model through which the analyses of spontaneous responses could be feasibly studied. In fact, Labov and Waletzky's renowned 'diamond model' describing a prototypical narrative, illustrates their attempt to define and explain the basic narrative components and their functions with reference to an established plot (Labov and Waletzky 1967, cited in Hoffman and Bublitz 2010, 93). According to them, any standard narrative can be broken down into six different phases namely the abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. A diagrammatic representation is provided in Figure 4.1.
Indeed, the schema in Figure 4.1 shows how the abstract acts as the preface to the story while the orientation provides the required contextual information which would eventually facilitate the interpretation of the events unfolding in the subsequent narrative. The complicating action presents the climax of the story before progressing to its conclusion in the resolution and coda. Evaluation, on the other hand, is the only aspect of a narrative which does not follow any sequential order and can be inserted at the discretion of the speaker, at any given point in the narrative, in order to offer his/her observations regarding a particular turn of events. While the evaluation does not move the storyline further, it has a cathartic function since it provides participants with an outlet for their pent-up emotions. Jointly co-constructed by the teller and his addressees, an evaluation moves the narrative away from its referential function which "gives the audience information through the recapitulation of the teller's experience" to its analytical function, thus "communicating[ing] the meaning of the narrative by establishing some point of personal involvement" (Cortazzi and Jin 2001, 105).

Figure 4.1: Labov and Waletzky’s 1967 Diamond Model (cited in Hoffman and Bublitz 2010, 94)
In line with the above, an evaluative segment can make use of a number of devices. On a simplistic level, this can take the form of direct, explanatory statements provided by the teller either in response to queries from an audience or in an attempt to pre-empt such questions. More complex devices include the use of intensifiers such as adjectives, adverbs or lexical and phrasal repetitions. In order to refer to events which did not occur but which might, conceivably, have happened as a result of particular sets of circumstances, other linguistic devices such as the use of modal verbs (for example, 'you should have intervened') and negative markers, can also be employed. From a phonological perspective, the speaker can utilise heightened stress, vowel lengthening, conspicuous changes in volume, pitch or speech rate, songs or rhymes. At the level of lexis, tellers may opt for words from a different register, use profanities or connotative expressions. Syntactically speaking, any shift in the complexity of sentence formulation or in tenses may signal an evaluation. In the case of bi- or multilingual communities, language alternation can also be potentially used as a device to carry out the evaluation of a PEN.

Similarly, in Extract 7, the shift to the Bollywood song segments serves as an evaluative segment to the Personal Experience Narrative or PEN being spoken about by the participants. Based upon the major developments in a popular soap, it reveals the impact of such snippets from the media in the daily life of the interactants who regularly carry out analyses of defining moments. Extract 7, thus, showcases the normal closing segment of a PEN as the conversationalists move on from an abstract and complicating action, all voiced in Kreol, to an evaluation and eventually a coda (pagli, budhoo) provided in Bhojpuri. This change in code is accompanied by a slight rise in pitch and an increase in tempo, thus clearly denoting the move from the preliminary to the concluding stages of the narrative interlude. Consequently, the move from normal narrative mode to a song segment proves to be a strategic one since it coincides with the shift in footing in the conversation as conversationalists get into more judgemental territory by focusing on the ethical implications of the major events in their narrative.

Such CS through the insertion of song interludes into narrative segments also took more complex forms. For instance, in Extract 8, Kreol is juxtaposed, firstly with English and secondly with Hindi as Bollywood is made to linguistically co-exist with Hollywood:
Extract 8

Speaker 16: Bodyguard sa mem top fim ki line fer. Pena sa santer la? *I will always love youuuu?*

Speaker 18: *Bodyguard, Bodyguard, aa gaya hai dekho bodyguard.*

Speaker 16: Bodyguard is the only nice film that she worked in. Isn’t there that song? *I will always love youuuu?*

Speaker 18: *Bodyguard, Bodyguard, see the bodyguard has arrived.*

Extract 8 is part of a much longer interactional segment discussing the demise of singer Whitney Houston in February 2012. In her attempt to pay a fitting tribute to the latter, Speaker 16 mentions one of her iconic films, the Kevin Costner starrer *Bodyguard.* However, instead of picking up the conversational thread and unspooling it further by elaborating upon the current topic, Speaker 18 opts for a pun on the word 'bodyguard' resulting in the creation of a conversational arc linking the Hollywood movie with its Bollywood counterpart of the same name. Released in 2011 and starring popular Bollywood actors Salman Khan and Kareena Kapoor, it proved to be a major commercial success as its songs and storyline all appealed to the masses. This is evidenced in the above excerpt as speaker 18 cleverly juxtaposes a line from the Hindustani song (underlined text) to the catchy refrain of Houston's earlier version (italicised text). Thus, while in conversational analytic terms, the locus of the conversation shifts to that of playfulness through the insertion of the song sequence, in terms of CS, a complex web of language alternation is created as English gives way to Hindustani. The change in code is accompanied by a modification in accent as speakers opt for the retroflex [ɻ] and [ɖ] sounds — for instance in the word 'bodyguard'— in order to make the move to another code more prominent and easily noticeable despite the obvious issues of homophony, given the similarity in the titles of both movies. The fact that this shift has been acknowledged, understood and ratified by other members of the conversational network is proved by the subsequent adoption of Hindustani for the remainder of the interaction as they carry out a minute vivisection of the movie's storyline.
While such instances of punning clearly bear testimony to multilingual speakers' creativity, following Agha (2003), Bell (2011, 631) describes this process as one of enregisterment, defined as the "process in which a style registers in public space as indexing certain sociocultural values and positioning", the concept of enregisterment was first used by Agha (2003) in order to explain the establishment of RP over two centuries as particular styles became associated with specific social groups or personae. For instance, Agha (2003, 233) argues that certain speech styles may become instantly recognisable by a wide audience due to their association with individual "characterological figures" ascribed a series of aesthetic and psycho-social values. For instance, Agha (2003, 256) argues that h-dropping, considered an inextricable characteristic of lower working class speech is often stereotypically linked with Charles Dickens's Uriah Heep, from the novel *David Copperfield*, despite the fact that Heep does not, actually, drop most of his h-sounds. However, such is the popularity of Heep as a cultural icon that any speech featuring the much stigmatized h-dropping accent automatically 'enregisters' his presence even if the topic of the conversation is not even remotely connected with Dickens or *David Copperfield*.

Using the above description as his theoretical backbone, Bell (2011) focuses on Hollywood icon, Marlene Dietrich, and argues that her enduring fame can be attributed to the success of this process of enregisterment since she can be considered as a characterological figure representing the sultry *femme fatale* figure that has come to be associated with characteristics such as otherness marked through the transgression of race and gender boundaries, a mesmerising personality and unattainability. Thus, subsequently, exotic accents in other movies have become enregistered as referring deictically to the *femme fatale* figure pioneered by Marlene Dietrich (Bell 2011). In a similar vein, the co-association between Bollywood and Hollywood, in the above extract, shows the process of enregisterment at work as one conversational unit breaks down into multi-layered strands of narratives with each unit associated with its own characterological figure. In this instance, though, instead of being correlated with one specific character from a particular era or text, accents usually enregister, as in the case of Marlene Dietrich, specific characteristics that are embodied by particular stock characters. Indeed, owing to their strong diasporic links with India, stage shows carried out by famous Bollywood celebrities are common occurrences. Consequently, the popularisation of an Indian accent, adopted by Mauritian-born DJs is noticeable on all major television and radio networks. This
would explain the shift from an alveolar to a more retroflex place of articulation as the word 'bodyguard' is mentioned. Given that the Bollywood film uses the English borrowing as its title, it would have been, initially difficult for the addressees to differentiate between the two languages and to locate the CS. However, due to the process of enregisterment through which the speaker adopts a stereotypical Indian accent, the change in code and footing is made all the more obvious.

Similar performances of enregisterment are common in the local media as CS is used as a strategy to nativise and add some local flavour to excerpts from the foreign media. One of the ways through which this is achieved is by dubbing original Hollywood and Bollywood clips with a medley of local Sega song — a rhythmic song and often dance number usually associated with members of the Creole community but massively popular in all parts of the island — and Bhojpuri songs. One of the most famous examples of such a hybrid mixture is the dubbing of the 'Swamp Song' from the first Shrek movie by Mauritian song enthusiasts. Titled as 'Shrekga' (a playful merger of Shrek and Sega), it replaces all the original songs from the movie with an assortment of well-known Sega songs coupled with one snippet in Bhojpuri (the song played during the performance of the Robin Hood and Gingerbreadman characters). In fact, 'Shrekga' is not the only instance of creative jumbling being carried out by the local media. Other notable examples include the localised version of the Tamil song 'Kolaveri Di' from the movie 3 (2012). A quick tour of video sharing websites such as YouTube soon brings to light a number of Mauritian DJs offering their version of a ‘Bhojpuri Sega Mix’ such as DJ Mirish: The number of overwhelmingly positive comments coupled with the tally of 'likes' achieved by such clips all hint at the popularity of such hybrid modes of expression by music aficionados in Mauritius. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that the participants interviewed for this study should display such innovative forms of playfulness. Conditioned by the media and connected to the internet through increasingly cheaper price packages, their performance beautifully enregisters and encapsulates the ability displayed by a large faction of the population to mix and match language codes in order to fit the contextual requirements of an interaction.

48 The full clip is available on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbumYf7KWMvE (last accessed on 07.11.2014)
49 The Mauritian version of 'Kolaveri Di' is available on Skky crew's YouTube channel on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XuKLUD2eowWM (Last accessed on 07.11.14)
50 DJ Mirish's upload can be accessed on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WzWdeAiy1U&feature=related (Last viewed on 07.11.14)
It was also observed that within the locus of playfulness, speakers would also code-switch to another language whenever they needed to use swear words. Defined by Eble (1996, 11) as an "ever changing set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large", slang is more often than not associated with the speech of youngsters seeking to set up the linguistic boundaries of their nascent in-group. Building on the above perspective, Zimmerman (2009) asserts that far from being a static phenomenon, the construction of youth identities needs to be seen as a dynamic performance that is often carried out in situ during face-to-face interaction. Viewed as a global phenomenon which is transposed differently in multifarious local contexts by young people hailing from different social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds — including, as Zimmerman (2009, 121) notes, dialectal and sociolectal backgrounds — slang acts as a marker of symbolic "desire and consciousness of youth alterity". Focusing on what he terms as 'younkspeak', Zimmerman (2009, 122) lists three subcategories within which varieties of speech can be categorised, namely diatopic (varieties related to specific regions), diastratic (varieties associated with particular social groups or classes, sociolects) and diaphasic (varieties sensitive to shifts in domains or functions). Calling for a diatopic and diaphasic instead of a diastratic focus on younkspeak, Zimmerman (2009) argues that the anti-normative bent in youngsters' behaviour makes them unsuitable to be simplistically pigeonholed into restrictive social categories. Instead, he believes that there are similarities in the ways in which youngsters worldwide choose to index both a geographical sense of belonging and a sensitivity to changes in situations resulting in modifications in styles and registers. The utilisation of slang items needs to be, therefore, viewed within this two-tier paradigm of diastratic and diaphasic variation.

Such a situation can be endowed with further sociolinguistic complexity in multilingual situations such as Mauritius, where the wide range of available languages endows speakers with an equally fertile repertoire of slang idioms derived from myriad sources. In addition, slang items can also act as framing devices (Goffman 1981) by contextualising an alternation in language
and consequently, bringing about a shift in the overall meaning of the conversation. Extract 9 provides further credence for the above claims:

**Extract 9**

**Promises**

Speaker 32: Mo pou fer li tou twa. (SHORT PAUSE) Bientôt.
Speaker 31: Ta gogot\(^51\), ki to pe gagner? Ki Bientôt bientôt to pe fer?
Speaker 33: \(\text{Wai} \) \(\text{Wai} \) kozèr enn kout.

Speaker 32: I will do it for you. (0.2) Soon.
Speaker 31: Hey pain in the ass, what's wrong with you? Why do you keep saying soon soon?
Speaker 33: Yeah
Speaker 34: Yeah speak up.

In the above excerpt, the group is discussing the various technical problems encountered while trying to play a newly-acquired video game. Unfortunately, despite their repeated entreaties to one of their friends who happens to be more knowledgeable about computers, the expected help is not forthcoming. In fact, Speaker 32 keeps finding excuses to delay the troubleshooting process, eventually framing his procrastination through a switch to the French temporal marker \(\text{bientôt} \). Unfortunately, this shift in language in a predominantly Kreol-speaking segment does not go down too well with his co-participants, with Speaker 31 responding with a swear word while speakers 33 and 34 express their explicit approval towards his recourse to slang through the overlapping segment of talk-in interaction.

It is particularly noteworthy that the shift to a slang item is preceded by the reduplication of the French word \(\text{bientôt} \) by Speaker 31. As a rule, reduplication, that is the recurrence of the same morphological unit twice within the same conversational sequence, occurs for emphatic purposes and is considered as one of the defining characteristics of both pidgins and creoles (Bakker and Parkvall 2005). As far as the above extract is concerned, a contrast can be established between the rejoinders of Speakers 31 and 32. The former's contribution can be unequivocally qualified as being in French and is a strategic conversational move adopted by the speaker as he tries to gain

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\(^{51}\) Literally translated, this term is actually a derogatory reference to male genitalia.
the upper hand over his co-conversationalists by framing his procrastination in a more formal code. However, this attempt at manipulating the power dynamics of the conversation eventually fails since Speaker 32 cleverly sidesteps the issue by using reduplication in order to integrate the French segment into Kreol and bring the footing of the conversation back to that of camaraderie. At this point, reference can also be made to Myers-Scotton's (1983; cf. Section 2.1) notion of the RO set. As she argues, all conversations hinge on either the maintenance or the disruption of an expected set of language alternation behaviour. In the case of Extract 9, Speaker 31 clearly attempts to move away from an existing RO set — an action which meets with the apparent disapproval of Speaker 32 who, in turn, steers the conversation back to its original interactional code.

That Speaker 32 understands the attempt of his co-interactant at asserting his dominance and clearly disapproves of it is shown through his use of slang as a derogatory address term as a precursor to his demand to the latter to provide plausible reasons for his delay in responding to the group's request. In fact, Speakers 33 and 34 overlapping segment of minimal responses plainly convey their endorsement of the slang item as a harsh admonishment towards their friend, a point of convergence in an otherwise conflicting interactional segment. Consequently, Speaker 31's change in attitude and promptness in rectifying his errors by providing them with the expected technical support comes as no surprise: it, powerfully, reflects his adherence to their in-group and his understanding of their shared slang vocabulary which eventually acts as a marker of their communal identity. Not only does it serve to mark them out as being cool, it also effectively helps them to sort out their discussions by using such items to express feelings of happiness, pride or in this case, displeasure.

Far from being restricted to only male speech, slang usage was a popular feature amongst all interactants, even those operating in female-only groups. Extract 10 exemplifies this observation:

**Extract 10**

Matters of the heart

Speaker 27: Ey, Y so fam zoli hein ?
Speaker 26: Hein?
Speaker 27: Y so fam zoli. Pa pu kav, tohar bahin, bahut dukh haye laviwa.
Speaker 26: Ka?

Speaker 27: Hey, Y's girlfriend is very pretty right?
Speaker 26: What?
Speaker 27: Y's girlfriend is very pretty. It won't be possible, your sister, there are lots of sorrows in this life.
Speaker 26: What?
Speaker 27: There are lots of sorrows in this life. Where is she? She's going. Bye-Bye elder sister. I love you a lot. Christophine. Who wants Christophine?

The conversation, in the above extract, centres upon the love life of close friends and relatives of Speakers 26 and 27. Openly appreciative of the attractive girlfriend of one of their mutual friends, Speaker 27 switches to Bhojpuri in order to express her sympathy to her co-conversationalist regarding the slim chances of the latter's sister to date Y. Unwilling to acknowledge this fact, speaker 26 pretends not to hear her and responds twice with the interrogative marker 'what', firstly in Kreol (hein) and secondly in Bhojpuri (ka) before finally making her disapproval felt more forcefully by leaving the room. Unfazed by her obvious displeasure, Speaker 26 still makes use of the kinship term didi (elder sister) as an endearment before switching to French to declare her love for her friend. Both strategies seem to function as mitigating devices to attenuate the emotional blow that she has dealt to her friend. Her awareness of the crush that Speaker 26's sister has on Y, coupled with the loyalty that is expected from her prompt her to assuage the perceived harshness of her FTA through an unambiguous avowal of her enduring love and appreciation for her friend by switching to a more formal code. However, the failure of her efforts and the eventual departure of Speaker 26 give rise to a cheekier response as she shifts back to Kreol and asks the latter whether she likes eating sou sou (Christophine).

Christophine, also written as Christophene, is known as chou chou in Mauritius. A tropical vine squash that is also widely used in Caribbean cuisine, the Christophine resembles a large green pear and has a fibrous texture (Ganeshram 2005). Both the vine on which it is grown, as well as the fruit are edible. Due to its mild taste, it is often served as a side dish along with spicier concoctions such as curries (ibid). Known in the scientific community by the Latin name
Sechium edule, it is part of the staple diet of many tropical and subtropical communities (Ganeshram 2005). In South America, for instance, the fruit itself is famous under its Nahuatl label Chayote (Saade 1996). In contrast, South Indians refer to it as the Chow Chow (Saade 1996, 13) and there appears to be a distinct possibility that the Mauritian term Chou Chou owes its name to the South Indians who migrated to Mauritius and neighbouring Reunion Island during French and British rule and brought their linguistic heritage with them. In fact, the vegetable is so popular that there is even an annual Fête du Chou Chou (literally translated as ‘Feast of the Chou Chou’) in nearby Reunion Island (Panon 2014).

At first glance, the topical shift to Speaker 27’s dietary preferences might seem rather incongruous. However, the pronunciation of the fricative [ʃ] in chou-chou as the sibilant [s] sou sou is a clever phonetic strategy adopted by the speaker, thus endowing her words with an undercurrent of sexual connotations. Indeed, in Mauritian parlance, while voiceless /ʃ/ sounds are routinely expressed as voiced sibilant /s/ segments, sou sou happens to be an exception since it functions as a slang word referring to female genitalia. In contrast to common lexical items such as chaque (English ‘each’) or charme (English ‘charm’) which are pronounced as [sak] and [sɑːm] respectively, speakers consciously avoid a similar phonetic process in the case of the term chou-chou. Thus, Speaker 27’s tongue-in-cheek code-switch to such a connotative term can be interpreted as a subtle taunt towards her departing friend, reminding her that while her sister’s chances of dating Y might be slim to none, he might fancy her enough to entertain the idea of a physical relationship with her. In this case, the judicious use of a popular slang item provides Speaker 27 with an opportunity to avenge herself of the hurt and embarrassment that she suffered at the hands of Speaker 26 as the latter opted to disregard Speaker 27’s declaration of immense love. The crude reference to sex provides Speaker 27 with the satisfaction of having won the argument against her co-interactant while simultaneously allowing her to nurse her wounded ego after having her friendship and love so summarily rejected by a close friend.

There is another degree of ambiguity inherent in the term sou sou. Under its more Frenchified form of chou chou, it is not only homophonic with but also shares a very large degree of orthographic similarity with the French noun chouchou or its feminine counterpart chouchoute. The French Larousse dictionary defines as a chouchou as either a child or a student who happens
to be the parent's or the teacher's favourite. In its verb form of *chouchouter*, it refers to the excessive care, attention and affection bestowed upon a love. In the above extract, although the Kreol term *sou sou* is a slang item and might be considered offensive, the fact that Speaker 26 does not immediately offer a response to Speaker 27's crude references can probably be attributed to its phonetic similarity to its French counterpart. Although Speaker 27 makes a strong case for their mutual acquaintance Y not wanting to date Speaker 26's sister, the play on the word *chou chou* might not be lost on her as it might encapsulate her hope that Y might eventually come to regard her sister with affection.

In both Extracts 9 and 10, a shared repertoire of slang items extends speakers' pragmatic abilities and endows them with the potential to make optimum use of the ensuing shift in conversational power dynamics. The following subsection elaborates upon another interesting locus of CS adopted by conversationalists.

### 4.1.7 Playfulness: CS and Laughter

The focus on the pragmatic significance of laughter as an organisational device in both monolingual and multilingual interactions is a fairly novel phenomenon in the field of CA as a whole. In such cases, laughter acts as a framing device, indicating an impending switch to another language, followed by a shift in footing in the overall conversation as well. The role of laughter is, thus, a dual one: It fulfils the immediate emotional needs of the interlocutor while simultaneously also indicating that a move to another language can be inserted at that point in the conversation. Initially, pioneering studies in the field of gelotology — the scientific studies of laughter (Glenn 2003) — tended to focus mainly on the physiological specificities of laughter, highlighting the coordinated efforts of the larynx, the facial muscles and the torso (Darwin 1872).\(^52\) It was only much later that scientists started focusing on "neural laughter circuits" (Johnson 2002, 24).

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\(^{52}\) In fact, even the initial interest in the physiological role of laughter was due to serendipity rather than a genuine interest in the phenomenon itself. Johnson (2002, 24) explains that “the science of comedy is rooted in tragedies” and this proved to be a fitting description for the unexpected way in which the formal study of laughter finally caught the interest of researchers. As a matter of fact, Johnson (2002) attributes the emergence of gelotology as a scientific of study to a cold, winter morning in 1931 at a cemetery in London where Willy Anderson started laughing uncontrollably during his mother’s funeral. He was, eventually, asked to leave the cemetery — a request
Despite its humble beginnings, over the years, studies into the social bases of laughter have been ascribed to what pioneers in the field of gelotology such as Bateson et al. (1956) have described as the double-bind situation of the human body. They emphasise the body as being both a tool for communication and as a victim of biology and argue that socially-appropriate instances of laughter are, in effect, a reflection of the judicious intersection of both these features. While laughter can be difficult to control once the mirth of interlocutors is aroused — or when a neural network, as in the case of Willy Anderson, malfunctions — these researchers reveal that, in many interactional encounters, the inhibitive powers of rationality has the potential of tempering raucous laughter and mellowing it down into a more courteous and conversationally suitable form (Bateson et al. 1956). Building upon the above perspective, others such as Watzlawick (1977) and Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain (2013) have focused on the role of laughter as being conducive to the emergence of an ethos that is apt for the creation and maintenance of emotionally sustainable family and in-group relationships. Along similar lines, conversation analysts (for instance, Sacks et. al. 1974) have also emphasised the role of laughter, not as mere postscripts to interactions, but as functional mechanisms through which meaning can be brought about.

Indeed, while Goffmanian perspectives (Goffman 1961) to laughter analysis tended to reduce it to a mere act of “flooding out” (Jefferson 1985, 30), an instance where interactants are unable to contain their emotions causing the resulting sounds — whether they are sounds of happiness or pain — to permeate their speech. Jefferson (1985, 30), in contrast, was amongst the first few conversation analysts to consider whether “on this occasion, laughter in the course of the talk is not flooding out but has been put in.” In other words, while laughter can, definitely, mould itself around speech particles to the extent that transcribing that portion of speech becomes impossible, in the majority of cases, this discomfort remains a minor one. Repair mechanisms, initiated either by the self or by others, ensure that any communicative gaps are effectively breached and the

that he is believed to have complied with. Initially, his family blamed his uncharacteristically improper behavior on the emotional trauma of losing his mother. Hours later, though, Anderson was still laughing, leaving his increasingly worried relatives with no other option but to take him for a consultation with a medical professional. The latter checked his vital signs and found him to be in good physical health. Sadly, Anderson passed away two days later. An autopsy revealed that he had suffered a subarachnoid haemorrhage which ended up compressing part of his hypothalamus and other adjoining structures (Johnson 2002, 24).
metaphorical purport of the laughter particles can be analysed in context (Jefferson 1985). This “locally responsive” (Sacks 1978, 348) dimension of laughter is evidenced in face-to-face interactions in three broad ways namely at the level of politeness and face management, as a means to negotiate participant alignment and finally as a mechanism capable of bringing about group cohesion and a shared sense of communal identity (Glenn, 2003). Building upon the above perspective, current research in the field of sociolinguistic gelotology considers the inter-relationship between laughter and its referent. Known as the laughable (Glenn, 2003; Glenn and Holt, 2013), the referent that is responsible for generating laughter is often co-constructed by participants who use a judicious combination of body language and linguistic, sociocultural and political savoir-faire in order to come up with a humorous interlude. While the generation of laughter might, in many cases, be unintentional, it is argued (Glenn and Holt, 2013) that in the case of multilingual interactions, code selection, maintenance and shift impact significantly upon the symbiotic relationship between the laughable and the corresponding laughter that it is designed to arouse.

In the light of the above perspective, the Extracts 11 and 12 will consist of interactional segments that shed light upon the ways in which the informants taking part in this study utilise language alternation as a conversational resource in order to provoke the mirth of other conversationalists. In addition, laughter is also viewed as an interactional sequence capable, in itself, of acting as a contextualization cue (Gumperz, 1982) and consequently, in bringing about a shift in code. Acting as pragmatic resources available to interactants in the process of doing identity work, both code-switching and laughter can be perceived as supporting Schegloff’s (1993, 121) assertion that “both position and composition are constitutive of the sense and import of an element of conduct that embodies some phenomenon or practice”. For the purposes of this study, the role of laughter in multilingual interactions will be investigated from two different perspectives namely face management and the negotiation of participant alignment or footing in the conversation.

At the level of face management, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) assert that successful everyday interaction hinges on the competent management of what they term as the positive and negative face of both the speaker and the addressee. Although both Brown and Levinson (1987,
were inspired by the Goffmanian notion of face, they also deviate from it in the sense that for them, unlike for Goffman (1961), face is not self-centred; instead, it is “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself.” Positive face, therefore, refers to the need of interactants to establish themselves as being likeable and deserving of social approval. Negative face, in contrast, involves the speakers’ “basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction — i.e., to freedom of action and freedom of imposition” (Brown and Levinson 1987, 61). Simply put, positive face and negative face deal with the need of all interactants to be, simultaneously, a well-liked member of an in-group while at the same time having their personal space and boundaries respected. During face-to-face interaction, conversationalists are particularly vulnerable to Face Threatening Acts (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987), that is acts that are encoded in language and that can, in turn, either undermine the likeability of or the respect provided to an individual. For instance, a request can be construed as an act of destabilisation towards the negative face of a speaker since it can be taken as an imposition to carry out a certain action (Brown and Levinson 1987), thus potentially impeding upon the latter’s freedom of action. If the same request is, concurrently, worded in an excessively formal and distant way (for instance through the use of a prestigious code instead of the local vernacular of a particular speech community), it may also challenge the positive face of the interlocutor. In such cases, laughter can act as a mitigating device allowing the request to be met, without necessarily compromising either the negative or positive face of the addressee. A similar situation is witnessed in Extract 11 where the speakers use laughter not only as a technique to mitigate a FTA but also as a means to switch codes and bring about a shift in footing amongst the interactants:

**Extract 11**

**Sing a song**

Speaker 21: Hey, re-kumans sante li. Hey, sante sa santer la enn ku
Speakers 21 and 23: Wai
SPEAKERS 21 AND 23 LAUGH.
Speaker 21: What is this?
Speakers 21, 22 and 23: Wai
Speaker 21: Hey, start singing it again. Hey, sing that song.
Speaker 22: Hats, I have a lot of, beautiful ones, small ones, big ones, flat ones, tall ones.
Speakers 21 and 23: Yeah
SPEAKERS 21 AND 23 LAUGH.
Speaker 21: What is this?
Speakers 21, 22 and 23: Yeah

In the above extract, Speaker 21 asks her friend to sing a song that the latter had already sung a few minutes ago. In this instance, although all the informants are friends and are comfortable with acceding to each other’s requests, in this case, the fact that Speaker 21 is asking her co-conversationalist to sing a song that she had already heard twice before could be construed as a FTA since it appeared to pose a direct challenge to both the positive and negative face of Speaker 22. In the first instance, the latter’s refusal to comply with her friend’s request would have resulted in the disruption of the spirit and ambiance of camaraderie that existed amongst the speakers. However, even her favourable response to the wish of Speaker 21 is problematic. Indeed, as the above extract reveals, Speaker 21 expresses her wish to hear the song again through two consecutive imperative constructions (re-kumanse sante li and sante sa santer la) which convey, in the most emphatic way, possibly her desire to see her wishes fulfilled, thus, effectively denying her co-conversationalist even the possibility of non-compliance. Speaker 21, therefore, encroaches upon the freedom of choice of her friend while at the same time maximising their mutual bond of friendship in order to ensure that her wishes are met. This FTA is followed by the song and one line later, by a switch to English (what is this?) — a statement which generates laughter. It can be argued, here, that laughter is acting as a linguistic device for ‘framing’ verbal messages which Basso (1979,8) defines as “a fine-grained technique for identifying stretches of talk as particular kinds of doings that are intended to accomplish particular kinds of 'work'” (Basso 1979, 8). Framing devices, especially when they are paired with other pragmatic strategies such as CS, act as an “indirect form of social commentary” (ibid). In this case, not only is the laughter softening the verbal impact of the double imperative construction, it is also the precursor to an unexpected switch to English. Indeed, as the above lines show, the question what is it?, despite being the first particle of an adjacency pair, is not provided with an answer. This implies that, as far as participants of this interaction are concerned, it is to be treated, not as a question requiring elaboration but as one which is, indirectly, asking for their reaction to the song. The collective wai that follows this question
reflects the communal feeling of satisfaction of the interlocutors with the song performed by Speaker 22.

In multilingual settings, the combination of laughter with language alternation, can be deemed to be pragmatically significant since it showcases “the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content” (Bauman 1975, 293). Indeed, in the above case, the production of a segment of laughter simultaneously mitigates the potential damage that the FTA could cause and paves the way for a code-switch to a question couched in English whose answer violates, as will be argued, two fundamental rules of CA. One of pioneers of CA, Schegloff (2007) reveals that since one of the primordial triggers of human interaction is, arguably, that of the reception and dissemination of information, one of the most important devices used to fulfil this objective is that of adjacency pairs. According to him, through their daily negotiation of the intricacies of conversational necessities, participants are conditioned into orienting themselves to first pair parts (FPP) and constructing a coherent response through a second pair part (SPP). Furthermore, Schegloff (2007, 13) adds that the organisation of FPPs and SPPs is pair-type related, that is every FPP has its own corresponding SPP. In his words:

Parties to talk-in-interaction do not just pick up some SPP to respond to a FPP: that would yield such absurdities as "Hello", "No thanks", or "Would you like a cup of coffee?", "Hi". The components of adjacency pairs are "typologized" not only into first and second pair parts, but into the pair types which they can partially compose: greeting-greeting ("Hello", "Hi"), question-answer ("Do you know what time it is?", "Four o'clock"), offer-accept/decline ("Would you like a cup of coffee?", "No, thanks", if it is declined" [Emphasis in original text].

Clearly, as the above lines describe, FPPs and SPPs are 'typed' so that a particular FPP provides for the "conditional relevance" (Schegloff 1968, 1083), that is the predictable occurrence of a SPP. The principle of conditional relevance posits that the production of a FPP alerts participants to the need to scrutinise subsequent sections of the conversation to check whether firstly a SPP has been provided and secondly whether the SPP satisfactorily fulfils the requirements that the FPP had set down. Both the absence or the odd formulation of a SPP will induce interlocutors into three different kinds of responsive behaviour namely pursuit, report and inference (Schegloff 2007). In other words, they will firstly pursue the interlocutor who has failed to
provide an expected SPP for a response, report upon the lack of a SPP — for example, through utterances such as you're not answering my question — or in the last instance, make the relevant inferences by connecting the conversational dots together and tacitly reaching a point of mutual understanding.

In the case of Extract 11, laughter 'frames' the production of a FPP in English. Although a SPP is provided by all three informants, it is firstly in Kreol, thus violating Auer's (1984) stipulation that as a rule, both FPP and SPP need to be produced in the same code; secondly, it fails to adhere to the principle of conditional relevance put forward by Schegloff (1968). The question is one which clearly asks for a degree of elaboration that the other co-participants are either unable or unwilling to provide. This raises a very interesting question: why would informants choose to utilise a face mitigating device such as laughter concomitantly with a SPP that fails to elaborate upon the question asked or maintain the code selected by the speaker of the FPP? Ticca (2013, 107) believes that the metaphorical role played by laugh and CS, in such multilingual interactions, bears testimony to the verbal skill of interactants who manipulate the sequential positioning of laugh particles and CS segments so that they can signal an impending conflict to their co-participants and take what they deem to be appropriate remedial action. In fact, Ticca (2013, 107) reports upon the conversation between doctors and patients in a Mexican village and reports upon the deeply subversive way in which patients used laughter to hint at either an impending code shift or a change in body language of the co-participants. She believes that this co-association between laughter and language maintenance and shift creates a semiotic system that empowers multilingual participants into conveying feelings of discomfort and disapproval in a relatively non-confrontational manner. For example, she provides the example of the case of a mother who drops in for a consultation with the doctor because her child is suffering from a cold (Ticca 2013, 110). After having examined the child and while updating the child's medical records and prescribing medication, the doctor comments upon the child's fairly unkempt and dirty appearance. This criticism is taken on board by the mother who responds by both laughing and shifting to the local vernacular in order to explain that as per the local custom in her community, children who are suffering from colds are not bathed since water is considered as having cooling properties which can interfere with the successful healing of the child. This co-association between a laughter particle and a shift in code allows the mother to draw the attention
of the doctor to the intercultural differences that exist between them and that have the potential of causing a breakdown in communication between the two of them. Consequently, it becomes a symbolic act of disalignment from the authoritative stance of the doctor (Ticca 2013).

Similarly, in Extract 11, the combination of a laughter particle with a shift in code in the SPP indicates the need of the other co-interactants to signal to the interviewer and to the other two silent participants of this team that the challenge to both the positive and negative face of Speaker 22 is a source of impending conflict and potential communicative breakdown. In other words, although Speaker 22 has bowed down to the wishes of Speaker 21, she can still be resentful of the latter's bossiness and opt out of that conversational interlude altogether. This unwillingness to participate further in the conversation is signalled through her silence immediately before the laughter produced by Speakers 21 and 23. Speaker 21 then proceeds to produce a FPP in English — a choice which is unexpected given the fact that the opening lines of this conversational vignette were in Kreol and the song itself was in French. Her FPP can, thus be taken as a diplomatic tactic adopted by her so that she can offer Speaker 21 the possibility of voicing out her irritation at being ordered to sing her song once more. The fact that Speaker 21 chooses not to take the 'free slot' (Schegloff 2007) offered to her by her co-participant indicates that she is not ready to be openly confrontational and would rather move the conversation back to the more familiar footing of camaraderie, thus explaining the eventual shift to the code of camaraderie, Kreol, in the final lines of the interaction. In this case, it would appear that the principle of conditional relevance in a SPP has been deliberately flouted by Speaker 21 so that she could, very subtly, convey her inclination to remain an active member of this team of co-conversationalists.

The pragmatic potential of laughter in multilingual settings is further evidenced in another brief extract from the dataset:

**Extract 12**

**Attention-seeking behaviour**

Speaker 25: *Ki mo pou fer, mo mank rol, mo rod telefon li, li dan soz li, end of year so party.*
In Extract 12, Speakers 25 and 26 are having an argument regarding what Speaker 26 believes to be the selfish attitude of her friend towards her boyfriend. Speaker 27 remains, for the most part, a fairly quiet member of this team of informants. In the first line of this interaction, Speaker 25 is complaining about being bored and being unable to contact her significant other for chat because the latter was attending an end of year party. This complaint becomes the source of an argument between Speakers 25 and 26 as Speaker 26 berates her friend for being clingy and needy resulting in the latter’s switch to French as she responds to Speaker 26 by asking the latter a rhetorical question (what are you doing with me?). In this case, the FPP did not require a SPP since Speaker 25 was simply implying that the fact that her friend was still hanging out with her would suggest that she must have redeeming qualities that help to cement their friendship. However, instead of interpreting the question as a rhetorical one, Speaker 26 treats it as a normal adjacency pair and provides a caustic rejoinder in Kreol as SPP. Purposefully ignoring the presence of Speaker 26, she, now, self-selects speaker 27 as the next addressee and utters her SPP by maintaining eye contact with her. This change in code is followed by laughter from
Speakers 26 and 27, causing speaker 25 to take offense and react by looking away from both co-participants.

In the above extract, therefore, the switch in code, followed by the laughter particle, far from functioning as face mitigating devices, instead serve to further undermine the position of Speaker 25. The combination of CS and laughter, though, allows Speakers 25 and 27 to dis-align themselves from their co-interactant and protect themselves from her potential wrath. The use of such pragmatic devices to hint at the level of comfort existing between multiple interactants has been emphasised by Gumperz (1982, 206) who disapproves of the fact “linguistic pragmaticists” restrict themselves to only “single sentences or very brief exchanges”. In contrast, he believes that the analysis of linguistic performance should display additional sensitivity to the communicative intent of speakers as they make judicious use of the verbal and non-verbal resources available to them to signal their like or dislike towards particular co-participants during the course of an interaction. This assertion is further supported by Goffman (1981) who argues that, both in monolingual and multilingual settings, CA is ‘interactive’ in nature, that is, the performance of speakers obtain their meaning because of the interplay between the reactions of various speakers in one interaction. In other words, he (Goffman 1981, 47f) claims that speakers can create an identity for themselves in situ, both actively and “retroactively”, through their own conversational input and others’ reactions to this input. Goffman (1981, 127) further elaborates that, in order to understand the nuances of meaning inherent in a speaker's verbal contribution, it becomes imperative to take into account the latter's "alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self." Indeed, while many CA practitioners (cf. Warren 2006, Bowles and Seedhouse 2007) define alignment as consisting of any type of linguistic device (for example, minimal responses such as 'mm mm') used by speakers to convey their understanding of the contribution of their co-interlocutors or to repair any misunderstanding that might have occurred due to miscommunication, Goffman (1981) adopts a broader perspective and views participant alignment as being a product of the synergy between verbal and non-verbal output. Simply put, he believes that participants can express their understanding of or their disapproval towards their co-interactants' conversational input through linguistic means as well as through kinesics, that is, changes in their body language.
Supporting evidence regarding the quasi-subconscious ways in which speakers align or dis-align themselves from each other has been provided from many subfields of linguistics. For instance, Watson et al. (2004) point out that if one speaker opts to refer to objects in an 'egocentric' manner (for example, 'on the left' to stand for 'on the speaker’s left'), then, over the course of an interaction, the addressee tends to switch to an egocentric perspective as well. Similarly, they might also align themselves "on the characterization of the domain, for instance using coordinate systems (e.g. A4, D3) or geometric descriptions (e.g. T-shape, right-indicator) to refer to positions in a maze" (Müller 2013, 50). In fact, as Hartsuiker at al. (2004) further explain, participant alignment can be compelling enough to cause a speaker to stick to the same kind of syntactic structure when switching languages as well. In their study targeting Spanish-English bilinguals, they asked their participants to describe the cards that they had been given to each other. It was noticed that a speaker who had just been exposed to a sentence type (for example, a passive construction) in Spanish also tended to utilise the same kind of sentence when asked to describe the next card in English. A similar degree of convergence would be expected at the level of kinesics as well (Goffman 1981). Consequently, as the above studies reveal, it would seem that, in both monolingual and multilingual contexts, participant alignment expresses itself through the deployment of various linguistic and kinesic features.

Likewise, in Extract 12, the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the participants can be attributed to what CA practitioners label as participant alignment. The switch in code (*qu’est-ce que tu fais avec moi?*) by speaker 25 is followed by laughter from both speakers 26 and 27 and a change in kinesics on the part of all speakers. While speaker 25 turns away from her co-participants, speakers 26 and 27 align themselves into a "conversational schism" (Auer 1984, 33-34) of their own as they synchronise their body language and further indicate their disaffiliation through the switch from French to Kreol. Consequently, not only do speakers 26 and 27 refuse to maintain the code selected by speaker 25, they also laugh about the incongruous statement produced by speaker 26 (*mo pe manz min*) and cement the temporary alliance that has forged itself between them by both verbally and physically distancing themselves from speaker 25. In this case, viewed from an interpersonal perspective, the combination of laughter and CS has a far more disruptive role to play than in Extract 11. In contrast to the previous conversational interlude where laughter and CS helped in the establishment and maintenance of a sense of camaraderie
between all the interlocutors, in Extract 12, it is exactly the opposite effect which is achieved. In this specific instance, the juxtaposition of CS and laughter is being used a form of pragmatic weapon, derived from the arsenal of the proficient multilingual speaker, in an attempt to convey the dissatisfaction of the other co-participants vis-à-vis speaker 25’s insensitive and self-centred behaviour.

There were numerous other instances of laughter being either preceded or followed by CS in this dataset and as the above two extracts have shown, in both cases, the laughter that is generated is not because the content of the conversational contributions of the interactants is, in any way, funny in and of itself. As a matter of fact, both extracts revolve around what would be considered as a conversational emergency: in the first case, a fairly straightforward FPP is provided with an unexpected and contextually inappropriate SPP while in the second excerpt, the conversation between three friends degenerates into an argument that leads to the momentary exclusion of one speaker from the in-group. In both cases, the exclusive analysis of laughter particles themselves would have yielded no conclusive insight regarding their pragmatic consequentiality within these particular interactional segments. In contrast, adopting a Goffmanian (1981) perspective and viewing them within their illocutionary context ensures that due analytical consideration is provided to the multilingual nature of the interaction. In both these cases, therefore, it is both the act of CS and the vocalisation of a laughter particle that act as catalysts for a metaphorical switch (cf. Gumperz 1982) to take place.

All in all, this subsection has shed light upon the different conversational loci of CS in the current dataset. As the above extracts have illustrated, the majority of the acts of CS produced by these interlocutors belong to the conversational locus of playfulness. This is not totally surprising since as Paugh (2012, 16) has pointed out, despite the multi-faceted functions of CS at multiple points in a conversation, its versatility resides in its ability to capitalise upon its playful nature in order to act as "a potent resource for expressing affective stance by [...] creating dramatic contrasts in narrative [and] expressing social solidarity or exclusion". The ways in which these consequences have been 'brought about' through the performance of the participants in this study have been clearly evidenced. The next section will now shed light on the second form of language alternation phenomena under scrutiny in this thesis, namely that of mixed codes.
4.2 Mixed Codes

In stable multilingual communities consisting of speakers with a fairly high level of proficiency, Ferguson (2009, 232) believes that CS cannot and should not be treated as "linguistically a relatively undifferentiated phenomenon" because such enforced homogeneity strips CS of its pragmatic nuances and its potential to transform itself, in terms of through the combinations and permutations between matrix and embedded languages so that it can express speakers' communicative needs in a more pragmatically significant manner. In this context, Ferguson's (2009, 233) eloquence is quite noteworthy:

[D]ifferent forms and intensities of switching, for example, mixing or switching from and into different base languages, tend to elicit different attitudes, different shades of official approbation/disapprobation [...] It would be useful, then, for researchers of an applied bent to grant greater attention to the linguistic detail of the switches identified.

This section, therefore, aims to follow the stipulations set down by Ferguson by focusing on a few manifestations of the first stage in Auer's (1999) linguistic alloying process namely the LM or mixed codes stage. According to Backus (2003) and Matras (2000a), the LM stage manifests itself through the adoption of multiple linguistic devices by speakers such as the use of composite CS (Myers-Scotton 2006b), innovations at the level of the "layout of propositional content at the sentence level" (Matras 2000a, 83) — for instance, through subtle changes in word order and patterns of clause combination — and finally through the creative use of inflectional morphemes to create 'bivalent' (Woolard 1999) "plural nouns, compound nouns, verb-object and adjective-noun collocations, and idiomatic phrases" (Backus 2003, 124). The following subsections will shed light upon a few of the abovementioned strategies.

4.2.1 Bilingual mode: Loss of pragmatic value

In his description of mixed codes, Auer (1999, 315) states that in such situations of frequent language contact and alternation, "individual turns cannot be labelled as language A or language B [...] due to the frequency of turn-internal language juxtaposition. Since LM does not
contextualize linguistic activities, such juxtaposition may affect units of any size, typically not only at clause boundaries but also below. LM is therefore much more intricately linked to syntax than CS”. In other words, long-entrenched bilingualism results in the continuous juxtaposition of multiple languages eventually leading to a progressive waning of CS as a conversational cue indexing a change in conversational locus. Over time, language alternation becomes the de facto bilingual mode of interaction adopted by speakers as their preferred code. A similar situation is witnessed in this dataset where CS does not always function as a pragmatically consequential strategy. A specially apt example is presented in Extract 13.

Extract 13
Hunting for a bargain

Speaker 18: Vre?
Speaker 16: We.
Speaker 18: Sa paret bon.
Speaker 16: Sa si, ee award winning sa s’il vous plait! Ee cookies and cream la paret ekstra bon. To rapel nu ti pe get so foto? Mo pou aste enn kan mo ena kas.

Speaker 16: E look at tip top [brand of ice cream], it’s being promoted right now at hundred and ninety nine rupees look. There. It’s really nice have you ever eaten it? Its chocolate is really tasty.
Speaker 18: Really?
Speaker 16: Yeah
Speaker 18: It looks good
Speaker 16: This one too, ee it’s worth an award mind you. Ee the one with cookies and cream flavour looks really nice. You remember we were looking at its photo? I will buy a tub as soon as I have money.

Speakers 16, 17 and 18 are discussing the merits of a new brand of ice cream; Speaker 16 concludes this little snippet of conversation by mentioning that she will buy herself a tub as soon as she has enough pocket money to cover the expense. The topic of the conversation is in itself very banal. What is interesting is the constant switch between English, French, Hindi and Kreol. There seems to be no pragmatic basis for such switches. It is equally vital to note that informants do not appear to hesitate or pause before launching into a switch. As a result, it seems justified to conclude that as far as these participants are concerned, the medium of interaction is in itself multilingual. In such a case, it is the introduction of a monolingual medium (i.e. one individual
language without any mixing) that would constitute what Gafaranga and Torras (2002a, 1) call “interactional otherness” and be considered a viable code switch.

The above argument is supported by Backus and Eversteijn (2002, 1393) who view such instances of language alternation as non-switching because of their limited impact on the overall meaning of the conversation:

However, as we all know, actual bilingual conversations are not composed of neatly demarcated monolingual mini-conversation: they tend to move back and forth between the languages, with periods of dense codeswitching alternated with relatively monolingual portions (‘relatively’ being the operative word).

Using their own study of language choice and alternation in a French complementary school classroom in Scotland, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) concur with the above argument and argue that in such a bilingual setting, in contrast to what practitioners in the field of classic CS would argue, speakers are not constrained to choose between two languages only. In fact, their medium of interaction can — and does — display much more diversity than was previously believed to be theoretically possible. In the words of Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011, 322):

[O]ur main aim is to account for the fact that, at La Colombe, participants could choose to speak French, English or both French and English and, once a ‘base code’ had been chosen, they could switch from it to serve specific purposes. That is to say, our main question is that of the code which is switched from in bilingual classroom talk.

For them, the only way in which this question could be answered is through a shift in focus from a ‘local order’ (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011, 319) perspective intent on sending each and every instance of language alternation through the theoretical microscope to a more ‘overall order' stance (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011, 323), where only the official medium of instruction imposed by the curriculum can be assumed to be the default choice to be adopted by interactants in the classroom. Any deviance from it, in the form of the adoption of one or multiple languages as the new medium of conversational interaction, "is seen as noticeable and accountable, i.e. as requiring an account” (Bonacina and Gafaranga 2011, 323). Similarly, in the case of a multilingual encounter outside the classroom setting, so long as participants themselves do not
orient to a switch in code as being interactionally significant, it needs to be considered as operating within the mixed codes stage and as being one of the earliest indicators of a mixed code. The following subsection presents another example of a mixed code.

4.2.2 Change in patterns of clause/phrase combinations: possessive marking in Mauritian Creole

Not much data is available on all aspects of the syntax of Mauritian Creole and by necessity, this section and the one following it will be based mainly on work carried out by Valdman (1978) and Baker and Corne (1982). As far as Mauritian Creole is concerned, similar to the Creole used in Rodrigues and Seychelles, the possessive marker is prefixed to the noun and the two of them together — i.e. the possessive marker and the noun — constitute one grammatical unit. Valdman (1978, 196, translation mine) postulates that:

Dans tous les parlers Créoles le Det déterminant possessif s’exprime par l’emploi des pronoms personnels précédant ou suivant le nom déterminé (...) Dans les parlers de l’Océan Indien [...] le Det possessif se prépose au Nom.

[In all Creole languages, the possessive determiner is expressed by the use of personal pronouns preceding or following the noun. In the Indian Ocean tongues, [...] the possessive determiner is preposed to the noun].

In the case of Indian Ocean Creoles, possessive markers differ from personal pronouns, as the following table (Table 4.3), adapted from the Mauritian Creole data found in Valdman (1978, 196), demonstrates.

As the table below highlights, while personal pronouns can be considered as stand-alone units which are immediately followed by the verb phrase, in contrast, as far as Mauritian Creole is concerned, possessive markers are not afforded that degree of syntactic autonomy. They have to be, imperatively, followed by a noun prior to being placed adjacent to a verb phrase. This is, clearly, different from say English which allows for the juxtaposition of the possessive marker

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53 The seminal work of Baissac (1880) and more recent insights from the work of researchers such as Chaudenson (1979) have been taken into consideration. However, for the purposes of this current study, it is the work of Valdman (1978) on possessive markers in Mauritian Creole which will be cited.
and a verb phrase through, for instance, constructions such as 'His is better than yours' (Brinton and Brinton 2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/ Number</th>
<th>Personal Pronouns</th>
<th>Possessive markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>Mo/mwa e.g. Mo pou zouen tawa demain. I will meet you tomorrow.</td>
<td>Mo e.g. Mo lakaz ine pran dife. My house was on fire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>To/ twa or ou e.g. To/ou ti aste enn sapo. You bought a hat.</td>
<td>To or ou e.g. To/ou sapo ine perdi. Your hat is lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>Li e.g. Li ti ale la boutik He/ she went to the shop</td>
<td>So e.g. So la boutik byen gran His/her shop is very big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>Nou e.g. Nou ti ale promener. We went for a stroll.</td>
<td>Nou e.g. Nou promenad ti byen amizan. Our stroll was much fun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>Zot e.g. Zot ti ale la boutik. You went to the shop.</td>
<td>Zot e.g. Zot la boutik byen zoli. Your shop is very nice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>Zot e.g. Zot ti pe manzer. They were eating.</td>
<td>Zot e.g. Zot manzer fine vine frai. Their food was cold.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Personal pronouns and possessive markers in Mauritian Creole (adapted from Valdman 1978, 196, emphasis in original text)

There is, however, one major exception to the above rule. In the case of animate subjects, the possessor precedes the possessive marker, which in turn precedes the noun in question. For example, Valdman (1978, 196):

(1) Sesil so lisien ine mor.
    Sesil his dog is dead.
    Sesil’s dog is dead.

\textsuperscript{54}Like its lexifier, Mauritian Creole has a Tu/Vous (T/V) distinction. ‘Ou’ is the V form.
(2) Lisien la so la pat ti kasser.
The dog its paw was fractured.
The dog’s paw was fractured.

Why such a distinction exists is not immediately clear. Valdman (1978) believes that instances (1) and (2) are used to emphasise the possessor instead of the object which is owned. In other words, the emphasis in (1) is on Sesil rather than on the fact that his dog is dead. As part of a narrative, such a move is meant to invoke sympathy for Sesil instead of for the pet in question.

It is to be expected that, in multilingual interactions, the above rule would be maintained to the extent that when switching takes place, both the possessive marker and the noun which follows it would be treated as one unit and CS between these units would be inhibited. This is in line with Poplack's (1979, 11) 'equivalence constraint' which stipulates that “code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other”. According to this constraint, a switch cannot occur within a segment generated by a rule from one language that is not shared by the other language — i.e. rules from both languages need to coincide. This is exemplified in Figure 4.2 (Poplack 1979, 11): The spaces between the words represent permissible switch points and the arrows indicate ways in which segments from two languages map onto each other:

A. Eng. I told him that so that he would bring it fast
B. Sp. (Yo) le dije eso pa’ que (el) la trajera ligero
C. CS I told him that PA’ QUE LA TRAJERA LIGERO

Figure 4.2: Permissible switch points (Poplack 1979, 11)

A and B map onto each other, constituent by constituent and element by element. Code-switches take place at permissible points within the surface structures of both languages and the utterance remains grammatical by the standards of both English and Spanish. Poplack also reveals that structures in discourse to which a rule from L1 but not from L2 must categorically apply — or
vice versa for that matter — were found to be avoided as switch points by the proficient bilingual.

In the mixed codes stage of the language alternation typology, this is no longer the case. In fact, if we focus on the first utterance from Extract 12, it becomes immediately clear that the rules for possessive marking for Kreol are being flouted. The utterance reads as follows:

(3) Li dan soz li, end of year so party.
   He's in a thingy, end of year its party.
   He's in a thingy, the end of year party.

In (3) above, the possessive marker *so* is used between two English words namely 'end of year' and 'party'. In this phrase, the compound noun 'end of year' functions as an adjective which describes the noun 'party'. As a rule, it is an equivalent possessive marker from the English language — namely 'his' — which would be expected to precede this noun phrase. However, this is not the case. In its stead, it is the third person singular possessive marker from Kreol which is utilised by the speaker. Similar to English, Kreol would also position its possessive marker prior to the noun phrase, not between an adjective and a noun. The exceptions provided by Valdman (1978) all showcase the use of the possessive marker between two nouns and as mentioned earlier, these occurrences are allowed only for emphatic purposes. Therefore, even the exceptions fail to shed light upon the linguistic behaviour of the speaker. Thirdly, if Poplack's (1979) Equivalence Constraint were to be applied to this segment, permissible switch points would be as follows (Figure 4.3):

As the diagram below indicates, the words *so* and *fete* should have, ideally, been part of one linguistic unit. The word 'end of year' acts as an adjective, which describes the noun 'party'. Therefore, ideally, both words need to be juxtaposed to each other. A similar rule applies to Kreol where, in contrast to English, the noun precedes the adjective. However, as sentence (3)

55 Poplack’s (2000, 222) constraints have, over the years, met with some resistance from the wider research community since Poplack does not make a distinction between one-word loans or borrowings and other types of intra-sentential switches. In her preface to the year 2000 version of her article, Poplack (2000, 222), now makes clear that instances of lone other-language items need to be taken as “nonce borrowings” In her words: “Once lone other-language items are identified as syntactically and morphologically part of the recipient-language fragments in which they are embedded, the analysis of intra-sentential code-switching may proceed unimpeded by confusion between switching and borrowing” (Poplack 2000, 222).
demonstrates, this was not the case. In fact, contrary to all expectations and violating the rules of possessive marking in Kreol, the possessive marker *so* is, in fact, inserted between the adjective and the noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kreol</th>
<th>So fete</th>
<th>fin dane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>His end of year party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>End of year so party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.3: Representation of sentence (3) according to Poplack's (1979) Equivalence Constraint**

Elaborating upon the forms and functions of possessive expressions in English, Huddleston (1988, 35) explains that broadly speaking, possessive marking in English is achieved either through the affixation of the clitic ‘*s’ or through the use of what he terms as “possessive determinatives” which, in their role as the determiner of a Noun Phrase (NP) precede the Head of that phrase, the noun. Furthermore, Huddleston (1988, 35) argues that possessive clitics should be considered as the Head of their own phrase and labels them with the abbreviation PossP. In contrast, possessive determinatives need the support of the adjacent noun in order to be syntactically, and by extension, pragmatically significant. In his words (Huddleston 1988, 101):

> The determinatives appear only in determiner function, as in *my novel*. This position can also be filled by a PossP (*Kim’s novel*), but whereas a PossP can occur in an elliptical NP just before the site of the missing Head, a possessive determinative cannot: *Pat’s novel was a success but Kim’s/ *my was a disaster.*

In other words, while a PossP is, according to Huddleston (1988) endowed with a degree of syntactic flexibility, a possessive determinative has to, mandatorily, be followed by its noun in order for that NP to be considered as being syntactically viable. In English, one way to fill in the syntactic gap created by the restriction on the movement of the possessive determinatives is through the use of possessive pronouns such as *mine*. For instance, as Huddleston (1988) further elaborates, the sentence 'Pat’s novel was a success but mine was a disaster’ is considered as a perfectly grammatical one in English since the possessive pronoun 'mine' functions as an
anaphoric reference to the expression ‘my novel’. In this case, the possessive pronoun, as the Head of the NP, functions as the subject of that transitive clause. A similar observation holds true for Kreol (Syea 2012) where the possessive determinative is linearly adjacent to the noun and forms an integral part of the NP. Usually, in Kreol, the insertion of an adjective is permitted after the possessive determiner, not before it. Syea (2012, 88) stipulates that “[a]djectives in MC [Mauritian Creole] occur both pre- and postnominally. When they occur prenominally, they follow the plural marker and other determiners (e.g. the demonstrative, possessive and quantifier).” In light of the above, it can, therefore, be asserted that the linear sequence of adjective, possessive determinative and noun is one that is not permissible in Kreol NPs. The fact that speakers seem to have taken certain liberties with this rule suggests that so far as the informants of this study were concerned, constant language contact appeared to have, as predicted by Auer (1999), led to the emergence of elements that were characteristic of a mixed code.

Such a re-organisation at the level of syntax was not uncommon in this dataset. However, very often, it was also accompanied by further changes at the level of semantics as well. The following example, from Speaker 15, illustrates this fact:

(4) Depuis an ba jusqu’à so lao.
From-ABL at bottom to-ALL his top- ART.SG.
‘From bottom to his top.’

Example (4) is an excerpt from a much longer conversation in the dataset where Speaker 15 reveals her faith in her abilities and concludes by saying that she knows herself inside out. In so doing, she brings about a slight modification to the Kreol formulaic expression depi lao ziska an ba (from top to bottom). Not only does she choose to invert the position of top (lao) and bottom (an ba), she also uses the French pronunciation [dəpɥi] and [ʒuska] for the words depuis and jusqu’ à instead of their Kreol counterparts [depi] and [ziska]. This move to French is also accompanied by the insertion of the possessive marker so before the NP lao (top). In this case, while, at first glance, the possessive marker appears to fulfil its role as a determinative by being placed linearly adjacent to the NP, as the following section demonstrates, this is not actually the case. Not only does it fail to adhere to the rules of possessive determinatives, it also violates the
conventions governing the utilisation of the correlative conjunction *depi-ziska* or *depuis-jusqu'à* both in French and Kreol (Kriegel et al. 2008). Indeed, the expression *depi lao ziska an ba* is made up of the correlative conjunction *depi-ziska*, the NP *lao* and the Prepositional Phrase (PP) *an ba*. This correlative conjunction pairs the ablative expression *depi* with the allative term *ziska* and remains one of only a handful of Kreol correlative conjunctions that have been studied by linguists (e.g. Kriegel et al. 2008). As a rule, according to Kriegel et al. (2008, 178), Kreol uses three types of semantic categories to express the movement of an object in time and space, namely:

- The essive category: Words in this semantic field express the notion of being at rest (for example, 'to be at').
- The allative category: Allative terms are used to describe the movement to a particular destination (for example, 'to go to')
- The ablative category: These terms refer to the original point of departure of an object (for example, 'to come from')

In English, the essive, ablative and allative categories are evidenced through the use of prepositions such as 'at', 'to' and 'from' (cf. the highlighted text in the examples provided above). In Kreol, while the essive category is usually illustrated through the demonstrative *la* (literally translated as 'there', Kriegel et al. 2008, 178) after the Verb Phrase (VP), the ablative and allative categories are expressed mainly though the correlative conjunctions *depi* and *ziska* respectively — a rule which, as Kriegel et al. (2008) assert, is totally similar to the one which governs the production of the correlative conjunctions *depuis* and *jusqu'à* in the lexifier, French. Typically, the conjunctions *depi* and *ziska* are followed either by a PP — such as *an ba* where the *an* stands for the preposition *at* and *ba* ('bottom') constitutes the Head of the NP which follows the preposition — or by a NP (for example, *lao*, which consists of the agglutination of the definite article *la* or 'the' and the noun *o* which means *top* (Kriegel et al. 2008, 182). The insertion of the possessive determinative *so* next to the allative *jusqu'à* is, therefore, unexpected. The violation of the norms of Kreol semantics is coupled, once more, with the flouting of the principles of Kreol syntax. Guillemin (2007, 280) focuses on the diachronic evolution of determiners in Kreol and highlights that, in the case of a large number of nouns in Kreol, "the singular French definite articles (*le/là)* and partitive determiner (*du*) [were] incorporated into a
significant number of nouns that they modified”. She cites the following examples to illustrate her argument (Guillemin 2007, 280):

1. Le Roi (the king) → lerwa
2. La fenêtre (the window) → lafnet
3. (De) la farine (flour) → lafarin
4. Du monde (people) → dimunn

Despite the agglutination of the definite articles with the noun, in practice, in any NP, the articles le, la and di (the Kreol version of the French definite article du) are still considered as being in determiner position. In these cases, the possessive determinative so is allowed so long as it functions as a pre-determiner and modifies the determiner by anaphorically referring to relationship of ownership that links a person to the noun mentioned in the NP (Guillemin 2007). In other words, the third person singular possessive determinative is allowed only when the identity of the person being referred to is known by all interlocutors. In the case of sentence (4), while the possessive determinative is placed right next to an agglutinated noun, its antecedent remains unknown. Speaker 15 is referring to herself; consequently, it is fair to assume that she should have used the first person possessive determinative mo. One plausible explanation for the use of the third person singular possessive determiner might be that she might have been, indirectly, referring to her co-conversationalists by drawing them into the interaction. However, this is highly unlikely because if that were the case, she would have needed to be contextually accurate and opt for the second person singular possessive determiner to. The use of so in the above segment is, therefore, syntactically odd. It might serve an emphatic purpose by emphasising Speaker 15’s degree of self-awareness but it is, still, a symbol of the changes being brought about to the syntax and semantics of the matrix language as a result of the continuous contact between different codes.

Concurring with the above argument, Kriegel et al. (2008) draw attention to the impact of other languages, most specifically Mauritian Bhojpuri, upon ablative markers in both French and Kreol. As seen in sentence (4), the informant inversed the terms of a very common formulaic expression by saying depuis an ba jusqu’à lao (from bottom to top) instead of the more logical depuis lao jusqu’à an ba (from top to bottom). Kriegel et al. (2008) believe that such changes in
word order can be attributed partially to the influence of Mauritian Bhojpuri which allows for a degree of flexibility regarding the utilization of ablative and allative markers. In fact, in Mauritian Bhojpuri, it is the postposition *se* (literally translated as ‘from’) which functions as the ablative marker. In contrast, the postposition *le* (literally translated as ‘to’) is one which can be omitted from the sentence (Kriegel et al. 2008, 187). In essence, in any sentence requiring both an allative and an ablative marker, the presence of the ablative marker *se* is enough to convey the movement of an object/subject through time and space. One example of such a construction in Mauritian Bhojpuri is the following sentence which is derived from their corpus (Kriegel et al. 2008, 188):

(5) *Bharat se ham Mauritius aylī.*

| INDIA | ABL | 1SG | MAURITIUS | GO | 1SG.FEM.PAST |

'I went from India to Mauritius island.'

In (5), only the ablative marker *se* is used. The postposition *le*, despite being part of the repertoire of the Mauritian Bhojpuri speaker, is not used. The term *se* already indicates a point of departure; it is, therefore, understood that even without the explicit mention of the allative marker *le*, the movement from that point of departure to a point of arrival is implied (Kriegel et al. 2008, 192). The ellipsis of the allative marker *le* is believed to have had far reaching consequences on the Kreol language as well. Indeed, language contact between these two vernacular languages has firstly endowed the Kreol and French equivalent of *se* namely *depi* and *depuis* with the same pragmatic potential of hinting at the movement of an object through time and space without necessarily having to use the ablative markers *ziska* or *jusqu’à*. In the second instance, speakers also seem to favour the repetition of the ablative marker *depi* or *depuis* to fill in the gap left by the ellipsis of the allative marker *ziskaljusquà*, resulting in the creation of a novel pair of correlative conjunctions namely *depi-depi* or *depuis-depuis*. In the case of (4) though, although the repetition of the ablative marker does not take place, speakers seem to treat the NPs and PPs providing details about the points of departure and arrival (for instance *lao* and *an ba*) as being flexible units that can be shifted from one part of the sentence to the other. Kriegel et. al (2008) argue that these modification to the Kreol word order are more common amongst Indo-Mauritian speakers of Kreol and given the fact that Speaker 15 is also a fairly fluent Bhojpuri speaker, it might, potentially, explain her linguistic output. Taking the observations of Kriegel et
al. (2008) one step further, it can be asserted that, though initial language contact between Mauritian Bhojpuri and Kreol seemed to have resulted in the re-analysis of the conventions of ablative and allative marking in Kreol, these rules seem to be undergoing further change as speakers create their own Kreol-Mauritian Bhojpuri alloy, through the manipulation of not just allative and ablative marking but the, oftentimes, anachronistic insertion of the third person singular possessive marker, during the mixed codes stage.

As this section has demonstrated, so far as this dataset is concerned, one of the features of the mixed codes phase appears to be the re-organisation of word order in the matrix language. The following section will provide an insight into another key characteristic of the mixed codes stage in Mauritius.

4.2.3 Semantic Shift

Most studies investigating the rise of a mixed code (Backus 2005, Hinnenkamp 2003, Githiora 2002, Veit-Wild 2009) highlight the changes at the semantic level as words borrowed from other languages see their meanings ‘extended’ in order to accommodate the local flavour of the host speech community. The mixed code stage, therefore, results in the appropriation of elements from embedded languages as they get merged into the matrix language and acquire a multi-layered identity. The following extract shows this process at work.

Extract 14
Buying a new bag

Speaker 1: E get sa ban sak la kuma zoli tou le de.
Speaker 2: We. Roz la.
Speaker 1: We.
Speaker 2: To pe pran nisa.
Speaker 1: E look at those bags how beautiful they are
Speaker 2: Yeah. The pink one.
Speaker 1: Yeah
Speaker 2: You must be joking.
Extract 14 shows Speakers 1 and 2 debating the merits of buying a new handbag. At first glance, it would seem that this extract contains no language alternation whatsoever since the words *pran nisa* are widely recognised as being Kreol slang terms preferred by the youth. However, this is not totally accurate. The term *nisa* has, in fact, been borrowed from the Hindustani word *nasha* which refers to a state of intoxication. With time, *nasha* got nativised into the Mauritian landscape so much so that nowadays, *nisa* can refer to both the state of drunkenness and the act of being teased. Similar cases of semantic extension can also be seen in the case of expressions like *kass enn yen* where the word *yen* can, depending on the context, mean both ‘a strong hankering for’ (just like its English counterpart which is itself in turn derived from Cantonese) or ‘to relax and have fun’.

According to Siegel (2012), such semantic shifts are not uncommon in language contact situations. Citing Malaysian and Fijian English as examples, he asserts that, in both language communities, the interaction between multiple linguistic systems has culminated in a change of meaning of lexical items from both languages. For instance, in Malaysian English, the expression ‘shake legs’ has come to mean ‘remain idle’ — the consequence of the loan translation of the Malay idiom *goyang kaki*. Similarly, in Fijian English, the word ‘vacant’ is used to describe a house whose occupants are away for a short period of time. This is in line with the semantic range of the Fijian term *lala* which means ‘no-one at home’ (Siegel 2012, 522). In actual fact, Siegel’s (2012) perspective is one which was briefly touched upon in the mid-1970s by theorists such as McClure (1976, 526) who maintains that "(B3) [t]he more contact an individual has with a second language, the more semantic borrowing his use of his native language will show".

Simply put, she adopts a similar line of reasoning as Auer (1999) and Backus (2005) and believes that constant language alternation is one the catalysts contributing to the creation of words that are polysemous in nature. According to McClure (1976), this process is one which tends to affect the matrix language far more than the embedded one(s). She provides empirical support for the above claim by citing specific examples from her dataset consisting of a sample where Romanian is the matrix language and other languages and dialects which have been in close contact with Romanian over the years, act as embedded one(s) (McClure 1976). Her site of data collection is a multiethnic and by extension, a multilingual village, Vingard, which is home
to some 1200 inhabitants, fifty-five percent of whom are of Romanian descent and label themselves as being monolingual in Romanian. The remainder of the population are Saxon in origin and speak Saxon, German and Romanian (McClure 1976). She states that all three languages have been co-existing quasi peacefully with each other for a period of approximately eight hundred years and consequently, have impacted upon the abstand (Kloss 1967) value of each language. She focuses mainly on anatomical terms and reveals that though, originally, a number of anatomical terms made their way into the Romanian lexicon through the strong influence of Old and High German, gradually, the semantic specificities of these labels underwent a slight process of erosion resulting in a shift in meaning in the matrix language (McClure 1976). One example of this semantic shift is that of the Romanian word picior which is derived from its German counterpart pēs and was meant to refer to the foot. However, this term seemed to have undergone a slight semantic shift resulting in it being used by speakers to label primarily "the leg, inclusive of the foot [...] and only very secondarily to the foot alone" (McClure 1976, 531). In short, despite the fact that Romanian had resorted to a borrowing from German in an attempt to fill an existing lexical gap, continuous language contact resulted in creative manipulation of the meaning-making potential of the borrowings.

Similarly, in the case of this dataset, borrowings from other languages such as Hindustani occur with a high level of frequency. Co-associated with regular language contact, these borrowings can eventually undergo semantic shift as well and potentially become polysemic in nature. Another instance of such semantic shift is evidenced in Extract 15:

**Extract 15**

**Hunting for a bargain**

Speaker 19: [I watched film ‘Singh is Kinng’ and laughed at bayā.]
Speaker 16: Bayā, bayā. Katrina Kaif globe trotter world traveller.
Speaker 16: Bayā (SHORT PAUSE) Katrina Kaif citoyen du monde.

Speaker 19: [I watched film ‘Singh is Kinng’ and laughed at elder brother.]
Speaker 16: Elder brother, elder brother. Katrina Kaif is a globe trotter a world traveller.
Speaker 19: It's set in Egypt. The guy misses his flight. Unbelievable.
In the above extract, Speakers 16 and 19 are discussing the Bollywood film *Singh is Kinng* (Bazmee 2008) that both of them had watched recently and enjoyed. The main protagonists of the movie were played by two popular actors namely Akshay Kumar and Katrina Kaif and throughout the conversation, both speakers use the name of the actors to talk about the characters that they portray in the movie. What is striking in the above extract is the use of the Bhojpuri honorific suffix *baya* (literally translated as 'elder brother') while referring to the actor of the film; in contrast, the actress is addressed, throughout this interaction, by her own name, namely Katrina Kaif. One possible explanation for the use of this kinship term is due to the politeness strategies that exist in Mauritius (Benedict 1980). Indeed, speakers hailing from the Indo-Mauritian speech community often display their respect to those who are older than them by using an age and gender appropriate kinship term (ibid). The utilisation of the first name of an interlocutor can, in many cases, be construed as being face threatening. In the above conversation, both interlocutors are female and are speaking about an actor who has been actively involved in the Bollywood film industry and has achieved celebrity status throughout the Indian diaspora over the past two decades. The actress, however, is a fairly new addition to the Bollywood movie business and despite her current success, she does not enjoy the same level of fame and is not viewed with the same degree of public approval in the island. Consequently, while speakers have recourse to the local norms of politeness while referring to the actor, they do not seem to feel obligated to display an equal degree of deference vis-à-vis the actress. This is clearly visible as both speakers outline the plot of the movie and tell the story of the protagonists' first meeting in Egypt after the hero misplaces his tickets and ends up missing his connecting flight to Australia. In the above excerpt, consensus appears to have been reached regarding the jet-setting lifestyle of the female protagonist. In comparison, the actions of the hero are labelled as being "unbelievable".

Indeed, it is within this context of mild disapproval towards the actions of the hero, that another instance of semantic shift is noticed. As mentioned previously, in the Indo-Mauritian speech community, the honorific label *baya* is utilised as a marker of respect. However, over the years, the same term has been borrowed and subsequently nativised by Kreol (Virahsawmy 2014). In
fact, as Virahsawmy (2014) reveals, the lexical item *baya* is also used to describe a person who is fairly buffoonish in character — an apt description for the antics of the hero at the airport culminating in his missed flight. Similar to the Hindustani word *nasha* which had been adopted and nativised into the Kreol tongue as *nisa*, the Bhojpuri honorific suffix *baya* has also undergone a process of semantic shift resulting in conversational ambiguity.

Despite their apparent similarities, there is one fundamental difference between the two instances of semantic shift. In Extract 14, the semantic shift is produced as part of the coda of that short conversational interlude and is not endowed with any kind of double entendre. In fact, if Extract 14 is broken down as per Sacks's et al.'s (1974) rules of CA, it can clearly be seen that this segment is an example of successful communication where each participant waits for the other to reach a TRP and then self-selects to provide the next response, thus maintaining a healthy conversational dynamic. Although the word selected to convey the disbelief of Speaker 2 is one which has undergone a change in semantic status over the course of time, there is no additional layer of meaning attached to it. In contrast, in the case of Extract 15, there is one interesting change in the conversational structure adopted by the interactants, thus flagging up this instance of semantic shift as being potentially more pragmatically consequential than the previous one. Indeed, while Extract 14 moves seamlessly from one contributor to the other without any gap or overlap, in Extract 15, Speaker 16 frames her switch to Bhojpuri by a micro-pause of 0.5 seconds. Despite its extreme brevity, this micro-pause needs to be taken into account since they indicate what Sidnell (2011, 32) believes to be one of the key strategies utilised by speakers "to deal with quite different interactional contingencies". In other words, conversational devices such as pauses, tag questions and so on allow interactants to convey to their co-participants the fact that they have taken on board the feedback, both verbal and non-verbal, provided by them and are committed to acting upon them within their own turn construction unit (Sidnell 2011). In the case of Extract 15, the short pause is initiated by Speaker 16, possibly in an attempt to draw her co-participant's attention to the fact that she is going beyond literal meaning and needs her to take on board this interactional contribution of hers and provide a response to it, if at all possible. In this particular instance, the interactant deals with her "interactional contingency" (Sidnell 2011, 32) of having to convey her unfavourable opinion about the hero of a movie that her co-
participant finds entertaining by having recourse to verbal irony through the use of a term that appears to have undergone a semantic shift and is, additionally, endowed with double meaning.

Although the mixed code stage is valued by researchers in the field of language contact for the insight that it provides into the cumulative skill and ease with which multilinguals engage with language alternation phenomena (Auer 1999), as a rule, very little attention is paid to their sociolinguistic function(s). For instance, key figures such as Auer (1999), Backus (2005) and Matras (2000a) amongst others, limit their theoretical and empirical contributions to a description and a brief explanation of the complex linguistic formulations produced by speaker in the mixed code stage. In comparison, their functions or "social payoffs" (Dews et al. 2007) remain under-studied. Extract 15 is one apt example of how a code mix can be empirically significant, not only because it helps in fleshing out the theoretical concepts underpinning the field of language alternation as whole, but also because of its ability to bring to the fore the creative way in which a semantic shift can be capitalised upon by speakers in order to move beyond what can often be perceived as being the restrictive shackles of literal meaning. Building upon the above perspective, Dews et al. (2007) argue that sarcasm and irony are two of the primary ways in which speakers can convey attitudinal issues such as disapproval quickly and efficiently, without having to monopolise the conversational spotlight by either increasing the length of their turn construction units or taking over the conversational turn of other speakers (Dews at al. 2007, 298):

Irony is a widely used form of nonliteral language in which the speaker means much more than he or she says. Irony is characterised by opposition between two levels of meaning: The speaker's literal meaning is evaluatively the (approximate) opposite of the speaker's intended meaning.

According to them, irony can be couched in two different ways namely (Dews et al. 2007):

1. Ironic criticism: Considered as the most commonly used form of irony, ironic criticism occurs when a speaker employs a positive term to convey a negative attitude (for example, 'great game' after losing a match). Ironic criticism is also known as sarcasm; and
2. Ironic compliment: Utilised less frequently than its counterpart, the term 'ironic criticism' refers to the verbal strategy of using negative words to express joy or approval (for instance, 'terrible game' after winning the match).

In the case of Extract 15, the fact that the honorific suffix *baya* is used in order to convey the disapproval of the speaker implies that speaker 16 intended the semantic shift to function as an ironic criticism of the actions of the hero of the film. According to Dews et al. (2007), both ironic criticism and compliment form part of the arsenal of face mitigating strategies deployed by speakers to fulfil the dictates of societal politeness. As a matter of fact, ironic compliments are, usually, "rated as more insulting than literal compliments, but ironic criticisms [are] found to be less insulting than literal criticisms" (Dews et al. 2007, 297, emphasis in original text). Indeed, when irony is directed at an addressee's mistake or flaw, it aids in preserving the latter's face by taking the edge off the criticism. In addition, directing ironic criticism towards an addressee's offensive behaviour protects the face of the speaker by allowing the latter to possibly conceal his/her anger and appear more in control of their emotions. In the long run, ironic criticism enhances interpersonal relationships by minimising the potential for conflict and diffusing tense situations by generating laughter. Extract 15 is a case in point and illustrates Speaker 16's skill in putting across her disapproval towards the actions of the hero without putting her co-participant who happened to have enjoyed watching the movie on the defensive.

Building upon the above perspective, it can, therefore be argued that, in multilingual communities, constant language contact might, in the first instance, lead to the re-analysis of the rules of orthography, punctuation and grammar. However, Extract 15 is a timely reminder of the fact that all these innovations do not take place in a social vacuum: the social functions of the linguistic output of speakers need to be given equal prominence. In the case of this dataset, the use of a semantic shift ties in with the speaker's need to have recourse to ironic criticism as a means to convey her feelings without hurting those of her co-conversationalist. In other interactional segments, the functions of a semantic shift — or any other element that constitutes a mixed code for that matter — might differ. Nevertheless, remaining sensitive to the pragmatic intent of the speakers needs to feature more prominently in the analyst's agenda.
Overall, this section has focused on a few instances of semantic extensions, highlighting the slow but nevertheless steady spread of the mixed lect in the Mauritian population as a whole.

4.2.3 Compound nouns

Compounding is another mechanism that is touted as ushering in the mixed code stage in many multilingual communities. As far as this dataset was concerned, examples of compound nouns were few and far in between. For instance:

\[
\begin{align*}
(6) & \quad \text{Non li pa froise li. Krase silk sa.} \\
& \quad \text{No it not.PRS crush it. Crush silk that.} \\
& \quad \text{’No it’s not rumpled. It’s just crushed silk.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (6), compounding leads to the merging of a Kreol adjective with an English noun leading to an amalgam that appears to function as a noun and acts as the subject of the above sentence. Such compounds fill in the lexical gap that exists in the language in terms of vocabulary items related to fashion or information technology. Compounding, then, is a word-formation mechanism that helps in the creation of neologisms in order to express concepts imported from other communities.

As a matter of fact, Kortmann and Loebner (2014) assert that one of the main word formation mechanisms in any language is that of morphological composition which results in, amongst others, the creation of compound ones out of two existing stand-alone ones. They explain that (Kortmann and Oebner 2014, 86, emphasis in the original text):

For regular compounds, there is a corresponding semantic rule which can be described as follows: a regular compound has two parts, the first is called the modifier, the second the head; the modifier adds a specification to the meaning of the head noun.

To illustrate the above rule, they give the example of the compound noun *apple juice* where the noun 'apple' acts as a specification to the term 'juice'. Through this process of compounding, a relationship of hyponymy is created between the existing stand-alone term 'juice' and its subordinate 'apple juice'. Along the same lines, the compound noun 'park bench' refers, quite
obviously, to a bench in park while a 'headache pill' is simply a tablet used to treat headaches (Kortmann and Oebner 2014). In all the above examples, "the meaning of the head noun is fully contained in the meaning of a regular compound and the compound is a logical subordinate of the head. Hence, [as in the case of the aforementioned term 'apple juice'] the compound is always a hyponym of the head noun" (Kortmann and Oebner 2014, 86). Conversely, the same principle does not necessarily apply to modifiers which, though relevant to the overall meaning of the compound noun, do not contribute in an equally prominent way to its semantic structure as the head. A modifier, whether it is prefixed or suffixed to the head, adds a layer of complementary information to it and is, consequently, not indispensable to the overall syntactic structure of a sentence. As a syntactic unit that is endowed with a degree of flexibility, it can, depending upon the level of conversational accuracy a speaker wishes to opt for, be omitted without a significant loss in meaning (Kortmann and Oebner 2014).

In the light of the above and with respect to (6) above, it can, therefore, be clearly noticed that the Kreol word 'krase' acts as the modifier to the head noun 'silk', thus resulting in a compound noun that mixes elements from both the matrix and the embedded languages. Echoing the findings with regards to possessive pronouns, this example also displays a violation of the equivalence constraint (Poplack 1979), culminating in a switch in code within a NP, instead of, as would be expected, between a NP and other syntactic units in the sentence. Once again, the occurrence of a code switch between a modifier and the head of a NP indicates a move from simple CS to that of a mixed code, eventually setting the stage for a transition to fused lects. Changes taking place during the mixed code phase of the language alternation spectrum indicate what Szabò (2012, 293) labels as an ongoing "grammaticalization process into an emergent bilingual grammar". In other words, the modifications being brought about to syntactic and semantic units during the mixed code stage, in effect, reflect the transformation simultaneously taking place at different levels in the linguistic systems of matrix and embedded languages respectively. The creation of these new rules with regards to both syntax and semantics tally with Maschler's (2000, 557) conclusion that for a mixed code to give way to a fused lect, "separation via language alternation" should be curtailed. She (ibid) further adds that "as long as code switching is a 'living strategy' for the bilingual, this operates as a force preventing full grammaticalization into a fused lect". Simply put, so long as speakers have a choice between two
constructions in either the matrix and the embedded language and have the freedom of opting for either one to fulfil their conversational needs, a mixed code will never plateau into a phase of stabilisation, thus negating any possibility for the potential emergence of a fused lect. To further support her assertions, she cites the example of mixed compound conjunctions amongst her German and Hungarian-speaking informants whose emergent hybrid variety has reached such a level of stability that no monolingual German or Hungarian alternative is perceived to be available by the speakers (Maschler 2000). Instead, in all their interactions, the use of a bilingual conjunction appears to be obligatory: it has become an integral part of interactants' repertoire and they do not have any other choice but to use it.

Similarly, in the case of example (6), although the equivalent term for the noun 'silk' exists in Kreol (*laswa*), this option is never utilised by the informants interviewed in this study. Instead, they display a preference for pairing this word with other Kreol modifiers such as *froisse* ('rumpled'), *mou* ('soft') or *briyan* ('shiny'), thus again resulting in a switch within an NP and a rupture in the link that typically unites a head and its modifier into a compound noun.

In keeping with the above findings, this dataset offers other examples of compound nouns being impacted upon by language alternation phenomena. For instance:

(7) *Ey li pe done kass daan.*

'Hey she is giving cash donation.'

In (7) above, the compound noun 'cash donation' is created through the amalgamation of one word from the matrix language, Kreol and another from the embedded language, Bhojpuri. Similar to the previous example, the switch, once again, occurs within the same syntactic unit, consequently violating Poplack's (1979) Equivalence Constraint. However, despite such surface similarities, there is one fundamental difference between the two: while in (6), the speaker opts for an English head noun, in (7) the head of the NP is derived from Bhojpuri. Most research carried out on mixed codes and fused lects (Maschler 2000, Auer 1999, Matras 2000a and Matras 2000b).

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56 The word *daan* is common to both Hindustani and Bhojpuri. In this interaction, the speakers had been consistently using Kreol and Bhojpuri. Therefore, the decision was made to categorise it as Bhojpuri. This, however, in no way, impacts upon the overall analysis of the process of compounding taking place in example (7). For a discussion regarding how to draw line a possible line of demarcation between Hindi and Bhojpuri, please see Baker and Ramnah (1988) or Neerpeth (1986).
(2000b) has tended to focus on the intensity of contact between two languages and the ensuing changes upon their respective linguistic systems. In such cases, a very conservative approach to the nascence of a mixed code would — quite controversially, according to Roesch (2012, xcv) — emphasise which one of the two languages eventually ends up providing its grammatical frame (Baker 2011). In other words, given the existence of differential power dynamics between a minority and a dominant language in a specific speech community, the fact that it was the socially dominant language that was providing the structural scaffolding of the emergent mixed code might be considered as a potential indicator of language attrition for the minority language (Baker 2011). To quote Baker (2011, 106, emphasis in original text):

Identifying the [...] dominant language that provides the rules from codeswitching becomes a key indicator of the health of a minority language. For example, if the language is Navajo and there are insertions from English, this indicator for the future of Navajo will be positive. However, if the grammatical frame is English, this indicator for Navajo may be negative.

In the case of Mauritius, given its status as the de facto official language of the island, the survival of English is not in question. So, the juxtaposition of a Kreol modifier and an English head is not theoretically a threat to the overall vitality of either language. Conversely, as mentioned in Sections 1.3 and 1.4, Mauritian Bhojpuri is a language that is currently witnessing a sharp decline in its number of native speakers. Consequently, its inclusion in a sentence where the grammatical frame is Kreol might be regarded as being another indication of its gradual progression towards attrition.

However, the informants in this dataset were not bilingual and Bhojpuri, despite its minority status in the contemporary linguistic landscape of Mauritius, is called upon to exist alongside other languages that share its liminal position. Therefore, predicting its decline based on only its lack of visibility within the overarching grammatical frame of this emerging mixed code might be premature: after all, the Mauritian speaker has far more diverse repertoire than a bilingual and is, as a result, called upon to choose from a wider range of languages. To paraphrase Grosjean (2010, 42), the Mauritian speaker is constantly operating within a 'multilingual mode' and the greater the degree of multilingual contact within a particular speech community, the higher the probability that speakers will "find themselves at the [multilingual] end of the continuum during
the major part of their day”. This prolonged exposure to the multilingual mode, especially in the mixed code stage might, contrary to Baker’s (2011) assertion, actually lead what Roesch (2012) believes to be a higher than usual retention rate of lexical items from minority languages. She quotes her own informants who are bilingual in English and Texas Alsatian as an example and reveals that despite the endangered status of Texas Alsatian, within the mixed code or ‘congruent lexicalisation’ — as she prefers to call it — stage, the use of word-formation mechanisms such as compounding is an indicator of the language loyalty of informants towards the minority tongue (Roesch 2012). Despite the fact that the grammatical frame of the English-Texas Alsatian mixed code was, to all intents and purposes, being supplied by the more dominant English language, the "general lexical assessment of Texas Alsatian indicate[d] a high retention of vocabulary necessary for daily familial interaction and for home and agricultural tasks (ranching, hunting, making sausage and molasses, etc). As most of the immigrants were farmers and craftsmen and the ancestral language was fairly limited to informal domains of home and neighbors [sic], this [was] not surprising” (Roesch 2012, xcv). In fact, she attributes the selection of English as the grammatical frame of the mixed code as being due to the "infrequency of use" (ibid) of Texas Alsation and believes that far from further curtailing the chances of survival of the minority language, the maintenance of lexical items within different syntactic units of a construction might, in reality, be a language maintenance strategy. Admittedly, her example is, once again, derived from a bi- rather than a multilingual setting; nonetheless, given the familiarity and ease with which informants moved from Kreol to Bhojpuri and vice versa and in keeping with the heightened degree of verbal skill that appears to be characteristic of the mixed code stage, it would seem that (7) can, instead, be more optimistically, labelled as being an instance of language maintenance, induced by a possible feeling of loyalty towards the ancestral language. Clearly, at this point in time and owing to the paucity of evidence, determining for certain whether the shift to Bhojpuri is an indicator of language maintenance or shift would be quite premature. A more longitudinal approach is required to ascertain whether the trends visible in this study are borne out in future research.

4.3 Fused Lects

According to Auer (1999), the final stage in the alloying process results in the generation of what he calls Fused Lects or FLs. This occurs when constant contact between languages leads to the stabilisation of certain hybrid constructions within the speech community. Matras (2000b, 511) describes the process of fusion as one in which systems A and B merge in “such a way that telling them apart becomes quite difficult. This is an autonomous variety born out of the close contact between A and B”. In simpler terms, the nativisation process initiated during the mixed code stage finally reaches its logical conclusion as words that have been semantically extended finally gain credence in the matrix language by taking on new roles as compound nouns or discourse markers. This section is, therefore, going to first of all focus on the theoretical and empirical issue of the transition from a mixed code to a FL and the difficulties in spotting this change, before finally providing a few examples of the characteristics of the emerging FL in the Mauritian context.

However, as Section 2.5 has revealed, from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective, the notion of the CS continuum is a flawed one. Consequently, before moving on to a full-fledged analysis of FL forms evidenced in this study, the following caveat becomes necessary. Indeed, from a theoretical perspective, explanations regarding what to expect from a FL abound (cf. Section 2.3). For instance, Muysken (2004) and Auer (1999) believe that FLs are particularly noteworthy for their innovative use of affixes, clitics, discourse markers and changes within the verb phrase. However, Matras (2009, 318) argues that these specifications need to be taken with a pinch of caution. He believes that the examples of a FL provided by Auer (1999) are inadequate. In his words:

Auer's (1999) example of a 'fused lect' is, however, the Sinti-Romani dialect spoken in Germany, as described by Holzinger (1993). Arguably, this dialect merely shows extensive lexical and grammatical borrowing from German. Auer's suggestion that codeswitching may undergo a kind of sedimentation and lead to language change has been cited quite frequently, but the particular structural characteristics of a 'fused lect' remain largely undefined.
In fact, the above criticism is a fairly valid one. The discussion regarding the emergence of different kinds of language alternation phenomena tends to usually deal with mainly theoretical issues; the empirical evidence is, in contrast, quite limited. In fact, Matras (2009, 126-128), himself, eventually highlights only a few features, namely the use of hybrid conjunctions (both coordinating and subordinating) and more generally innovations at the level of sentence structure. The current study will, therefore, work within the boundaries set by the above limitations. For the purposes of this analysis section and in keeping with previous work carried out within the field of FLs in general, this study will focus on features that have already been tagged as being symptomatic of a FL stage namely complex verb phrases, phonological convergence, discourse markers and discourse marker switching and word-internal switching (for instance, in the case of affixes and their root words).

4.3.1 Complex Verb Phrases

Muysken (2000, 184) argues that, in the FL stage, there are "four main types of structural integration of switched verbs". These are:

i. The new verb is introduced, without any other modification to the sentence, instead of another verb from the matrix language;

ii. The new verb is mixed with inflectional morphemes derived from the matrix language. Muysken (2000) cites the example of Domari, an Indic language spoken by the Nawar people in a few Middle Eastern countries such as Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, where CS to Arabic is often supported by the insertion of the Domari inflectional particles –k-, derived from the verb ‘to do’ or -(h)o-, derived in turn from the verb ‘to be/ to become’. For instance, in the case of the third person plural construction skunn-ho-ndi (literally translated as ‘they reside’), the Arabic loan expression skunn and ndi are nativised through the insertion of the Domari infix ho;

iii. The new verb acts as a nominalised complement in another verbal compound. Auer (1999, 327) provides the following example of Dutch insertions within a Turkish Verb Phrase (VP): “beheers-en-yap-tyor-ken [control-INF make-PROG-CONV] ‘while he controls’", where the Dutch infinitive ‘beheers’ (to control) is used as the complement of the Turkish verb ‘make’, resulting in a semantic conversion of the latter from ‘he makes’ to ‘he
controls’. Similarly, in FLs, it is argued that verbs from either the matrix or the embedded language are empowered to undergo a process of semantic conversion (that is a change in their meaning) by absorbing the meaning of their nominalised complement. In the above case, the use of ‘control’ as the nominalised complement impacted upon the overall meaning of the sentence and added an element of polysemy to the Turkish verb ‘make’, effectively changing its meaning from ‘make’ to ‘control’.

iv. The new verb is used as the complement of an auxiliary derived from the matrix language.

The above mentioned four types of structural integration within VPs are believed to be strong predictors of the evolution of a mixed code into a FL. However, evidence of the occurrence of all four types of integration in a FL are quite rare. Reynolds (2001, 128) provides an insight into the emergence of what he believes to be a FL in Panjabi, Urdu and English in interactions amongst practiced bilinguals in Sheffield (UK). He gives an example of Muysken’s (2000) third type of structural integration at work in the following utterance from a seven year old male speaker:

(8) **Light on** karō
    [Light on DO-IMP.]
    {Put the light on}

In (8), the preposition 'on' is prefixed to the verbal operator karō (literally translated as 'put'). Typically, in the English language, the preposition 'on' would follow the root verb 'switch' and would act as an adverbial particle, thus effectively extending the semantic reach of the stem verb that it is modifying. In the case of the above FL, though, the English adverbial particle 'on' is retained as a nominalised complement of the verb karna — with karō being the imperative form of that verb — and results in the creation of a hybrid verb phrase where the stem verb is derived from one language and the adverbial particle which, essentially, assigns another layer of meaning to it being provided from another. In fact, Reynolds (2001, 128) goes on to provide multiple other instances of similar hybrid verbal compounds and argues that "[v]erb compounding is probably the strongest evidence for the existence of a FL in the speech of Panjabi bilinguals in Sheffield, and elsewhere." It is, therefore, to be expected that such instances of verbal compounding would also be noticed in other multilingual communities subjected to the same level of intense language contact.
Nevertheless, despite the claim and the examples provided by Reynolds (2001), though a search of the literature concurs, in theory, with his assertions, in practice, little to no empirical evidence is provided. In fact, Reynolds (2001, 128, emphasis mine) himself, concludes his discussion regarding such forms by unfortunately claiming that:

Further evidence that examples like [Example 8] above, and similar compounds [...] constitute a FL feature is given in that, I am reliably informed, no alternative formulations exist for Panjabi speakers.

In actual fact, upon further analysis, it would seem that Reynolds's (2001) 'reliable' information was, in reality, fairly dubious. Indeed, Reynolds's (2001) belief regarding the compulsory nature of these FL formulations appears to be ill-founded and is contradicted by Schwitter (2002, 39) who stipulates that the act of switching on the light can also be expressed through the Hindi/Panjabi formulation batti jalao. In other words, while the co-association between the English adverbial particle 'on' and the Panjabi verb karo could, definitely, be interpreted as being one of the markers of a FL, Reynolds's (2001) claim that it is the absence of any equivalent term in the matrix language which bestows additional credibility to this hypothesis, needs to be contested. Indeed, usually, research in the field of FLs has tended to emphasise the following two theoretical points: firstly, it is argued that a FL owes its genesis to the intensity of language contact between different codes (Auer 1999, Backus 2000, Muysken 2000) and secondly, it is also stipulated that the alloy (Alvarez-Caccámo 1998) that is created through the merger of two or more linguistic systems eventually becomes entrenched in the mental repertoire of the speaker to such an extent that competing constructions in other languages which are likely to express the same idea are blocked out (Auer 1999). While empirical support is available to indicate that the first characteristic of the FL is, to a large extent, visible in many multilingual communities, it has been far more difficult to verify whether a change in the mental repertoire of speakers does occur at some point.

In fact, Reynolds (2001, 132) himself acknowledges the drawbacks of the theoretical constructs put forward with regards to FLs by arguing that the theoretical and empirical focus on what he considers to be three key points in this debate happens to be inadequate. He argues that:
i. Firstly, researchers need to determine clearly what the ratio of fused forms to insertions or other forms of CS needs to be before any variety gets the label of a FL.

ii. The status of what he terms as 'cultural' insertions, that is words that have never had any legitimate equivalent in the target language and are, as a consequence, syntactically integrated within a particle from the matrix language, needs to be clarified. Pragmatically consequential CS always hinges upon the assumption that speakers are moving to another language to convey meaning over and above its literal function, not simply to fill a particular terminological gap. In those cases, because CS is mandatory, arguing that speakers have an ulterior, metaphorical motive for opting for a shift and a subsequent nativisation of a term derived from an embedded language would be premature.

iii. Additional elaboration needs to be provided upon the "generative productivity" (Reynolds 2001, 132) of verb compounds, ranging from "the simple noun plus verbal operator [...] or verb plus verbal operator to the more complex phrasal structures" (ibid, 132).

Reynolds's (2001) own study into the possible creation of a FL amongst his Panjabi/Urdu-English speakers provides no definite answer to the above queries. While a few of his examples, like the one provided above, require more in-depth and reliable validation, a few significant modifications to the VP, such as the one shown below, need to be acknowledged as being an integral part of the FL process:

(9) Tussi check nei score kita?
[you-RESPECT check NEG. score DO-PAST]
{Didn't you check the score?}

In (9), the VP consists of the core verb kita, the verb complement which is derived from English 'score', the negation marker nei and the English lexical insertion 'score'. It is similar, in all respects to Muysken's (2000) third type of structural convergence and though from a different language set, it is an almost exact replica of Auer's (1999) bilingual Dutch-Turkish data. Similar to the Dutch-Turkish data where the insertion of a nominalised complement from Turkish in the predominantly Dutch VP leads to a change in meaning to the core verb, in this case as well, the nominalised complement 'check' has a direct impact over the meaning-making potential of the core verb kita (literally translated as 'did'). The only difference between the two examples is at
the level of the transformation of the VP. While Auer's (1999) example results in an extension of
the meaning making potential of the core verb 'control', in (9), the meaning of the root verb *kita*
(literally translated as 'did') is subsumed within that of the more dominant 'check'.

What Reynolds's (2001) research into the complex nature of hybrid VPs demonstrates is that
while the mixed codes phase tends to focus, to a large extent, on the changes taking place within
the NP, in the FL stage, it is the modification taking place within the VP that takes centre stage.
Despite the lack of sufficient empirical evidence to back up all the claims made by theorists
working in the field of language alternation, the few examples provided by both Reynolds (2001)
and Auer (1999) indicate that there is, definitely, a degree of alloying taking place between
matrix and embedded language(s) as a result of the constant contact between them in face-to-face
interaction. Whether, as Auer (1999) predicts, these changes will subsequently result in the
emergence of a hybrid language where FL and mixed code items merge with the existing matrix
language and are empowered with the potential of co-existing alongside single-word lexical
insertions from other languages remains to be seen.

In line with the above, it needs to be borne in mind that it is within this context of theoretically
sound but empirically inadequate formulations that this current study situates itself. The
similarities between Reynolds's (2001) study and this one are two-fold: firstly, both of them
suffer from a relative paucity of instances and secondly, in both cases, it is difficult to ascertain
whether the FL components have established themselves, at the expense of other alternatives, as
an intrinsic part of the speakers' mental repertoire. Sentence 10 below acts as a succinct one-line
summary of a longer interaction between speakers 1, 2 and 3:

(10) Nek lav lav lame ar li em twa,
    Keep wash.PROG wash.PROG hand-PL with him himself you,
    li kav lav people lerla.
    he can wash people then.
    'When you wash your hands of him, he misbehaves with other people then.'

The above sentence consists of a rebuke addressed from Speaker 1 to Speaker 2 regarding her
leniency towards her younger brother which is, according to her, turning him into a spoilt brat
incapable of following the dictates of politeness in everyday interactions with others. The
example consists of a dependent clause *nek lav lav lame ar li em twa* which contains the VP *lav*
*lav lame* (literally translated as 'washing washing hands'). Similar to its English counterpart, the Kreol expression *lav lame* actually means to wash one's hands of or to forsake responsibility for someone. In this dependent clause, both the reduplicated 3rd person singular verb *lav* and the complement *lame* are actually derived from Kreol, the matrix language. In contrast, the independent clause *li kav lav lav people lerla* shows the insertion of the English noun 'people' within the VP, culminating in a change in the semantic value of the word *lav*. Indeed, the word *lav* literally refers to the act of washing an inanimate object such as a utensil or in this case, one's own hands, a body part which is controlled by other more powerful faculties such as the brain. When this same Kreol term is associated with the animate noun 'people', the change in language coupled with the shift in semantic value from animate to inanimate results in the modification of the literal meaning of the verb *lav*. As (10) clearly illustrates, the second time the verb *lav* is used, it is prefaced by the Kreol modal auxiliary *kav* (literally translated as 'can') and followed by the English complement 'people'; its meaning changes from 'washing your hands of' to 'misbehave'. It is, in fact, very fitting that the act of 'washing people', as the second half of the sentence puts forward, should be re-interpreted, in this particular discursive context, as meaning 'to misbehave' or in other words, to take off or wash the mask of good behaviour off one's face. Through the adoption of a complex verb phrase, speakers also display the ability to use word play not just in the CS phase of language alternation where particular conversational loci warrant specialised forms of linguistic performance such as punning but also in the FL stage as they set the stage for the emergence of a novel hybrid code.

Taking the above argument one step further, example (11), from the current dataset, showcases another example of hybrid verb phrases as Muysken's (2000) second type of structural convergence is operationalised in the informants' face-to-face interaction:

(11) Bann la pe anvi **suspende** Mancini, Gerrard ek Rooney.  
They them be-3PL want-PROG suspend-INF Mancini, Gerrard and Rooney.  
*They want to suspend Mancini, Gerrard and Rooney.*

In (11), Speakers 16 and 17 are discussing the poor performance of English footballers Gerrard and Rooney in a match that they had watched — a performance which would result, according to them, in the authorities calling for the possible suspension of both players and their coach,
Mancini. Interestingly, instead of using either the English verb 'suspend' or its Kreol equivalent *sispan*, they opt for a creative merger of both variants. In fact, Mauritian Creole, like many other Creoles, uses a Tense Mood Aspect (TMA) system instead of inflectional morphemes to allow speaker-hearers to convey crucial grammatical information (Syéa 2013). For instance, in this case, an ongoing action, which would, in English, call for the use of either the present or past progressive and the inflectional morpheme -ing, is indicated by the aspect marker *pe*. This is followed by the Mood marker *anvi* (literally translated as 'want') and what should be the short form of the verb 'to suspend' (*sispan*). In this case, though, the first syllable of the word is pronounced in the English way, that is *[səs]* instead of the Kreol form *[sis]* while the second syllable is realised as *[pûdə]*. This is innovative, not just at the level of phonetics, but also with regards to Kreol syntax.

Indeed, Mauritian Creole, similar to other French-based Creoles (cf. Baker 1972), relies very little on inflectional morphology. Instead, barring a few exceptions, Kreol verbs are realised as either long or short forms depending on the nature of the VP (Henri and Abeillé 2008). The following table, adapted from Henri and Abeillé (2008, 1) provides a short summary of the classification of verbs in Kreol:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e-final</th>
<th>i-final</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Short form</strong></td>
<td><strong>Long form</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al, manz, konn, avoy, touy, ferm</td>
<td>ale, manze, kone, avoye, touye, ferme.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sort, vini</td>
<td>sorti, vini</td>
<td>ete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>bwar, krwar, pini balye, tenir, kouver...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Types of verbs in Mauritian Creole (Adapted from Henri and Abeillé 2008, 1)

As the above table reveals, verbs having the base form remain invariable, irrespective of changes taking place at the level of TMA markers. As for the copula *ete*, it has a similar function to periphrastic ‘do’ in English negative and interrogative statements. As far as Kreol is concerned, it is mainly used in interrogative statements (Henri and Abeillé 2008). In contrast, *e*- final and *i*-
final verbs have different realisations depending on their respective syntactic frames. Henri and Abeillé (2008, 1) stipulate that the short form of the verb is to be expected when the verb has a complement. For instance:

(12) Zan ti pe mars lor disab.
    John PROG PST walk PREP sand.
    'John was walking on the sand.'

In (12), the PP lor disab acts as a complement to the verb marser (to walk), resulting in the use of the short form of the verb. In contrast, (13) below, illustrates the occurrence of the long form in cases where no complement follows the verb (Henri and Abeillé 2008, 1):

(13) Mo pe manze (*manz).
    1SG PROG eat (*short form).
    'I am eating.'

Not only are the long and short forms of a verb are spelt differently, with the long form benefitting from the insertion of a word final -e, they are only pronounced different. While the short form is pronounced as [mâz], the long one is produced as [mâze]. It is important to note that the word final -e grapheme is both voiced and an integral part of a stressed syllable. Therefore, the use of the long or short form of any verb is usually very noticeable in any interaction couched in Kreol.

Going back to (11), the linguistic versatility of the informants can, consequently, be clearly seen. In this case, the verb sîspan has a complement, the NP 'Mancini, Gerrard and Rooney'. Therefore, it is expected that it will be the short form of the verb, that is sîspan itself which would be used. In addition, sîspan happens to be one of those verbs which, as Henri and Abeillé (2008) point out, retains its base form in both the short and the long form. So, even though in this case, the long form of the verb is uncalled for, if informants had wanted to opt for it, they would

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58 I am using the orthographic form marser (with a final 'r', similar to the category of French verbs ending in -er) to differentiate the infinitive form of the verb from its long form marse, which is used in sentences with no complement. This is done to help readers unfamiliar with Mauritian Creole to clearly demarcate between the two. As per the recent guidelines (Ministry of Education 2011) with regards to the spelling of Mauritian Creole, both forms are, currently, written as marse. This practice of using different spelling forms for the two verb forms, though not adopted by Henri and Abeillé (2008), has, nonetheless been endorsed by other writers such as Stein (1984) and Klingler (2003) amongst others.
have still needed to use the base form, that is *sispan*. Instead, what they eventually decide on, is
the affix *-de*, pronounced as [de]. The syllable final /e/ sound is one which is anticipated whenever the long form of a verb is utilised. The epenthesis of the /dl/ sound, on the other hand, is quite unexpected. One possible explanation for this occurrence could be attributed to the impact of French over the root verb. As a matter of fact, the French equivalent of the word *sispan* is *suspendre* ([syspɔːdr]). Unlike both the infinitive and the long forms of the verb in Kreol, in French, the syllable final -e in the word *suspendre* is silent. In (11), the tense marker *ti* is indicative of the past tense. The corresponding past tense form of the French verb *suspendre* is, actually, *suspendu* ([syspɔːdy]). It would seem, therefore, that speakers 16 and 17 have, fairly spontaneously, created a verb that showcases the interaction between three distinct codes namely English, French and Kreol. While the first syllable *sus* is pronounced in the English way ([səs]), the second one adopts a French pronunciation pattern ([pɔ]), borrows the final syllable *dre* from French and then subjects it — quite erroneously, as the above section has just shown — to the exigencies of Kreol syntax as the sound /el/, which is normally associated with the long form of many verbs, is appended to it. This English-French-Kreol hybrid is an apt example of the interface between syntax and phonetics that exists in the FL stage and results in the creative manipulation of language by confident multilinguals.

In summary, this section has attempted to shed light upon one of the key attributes of FLs in bi-
and multilingual communities. Section 4.3.2 will focus on another aspect of FLs, namely phonological convergence.

4.3.2 Phonological convergence

With reference to Auer's (1999) theoretical model, Penn (2007, 235) reiterates that the factors that impact upon language alternation include "the genre, the purpose, the topic, the interlocutors and their relationship, their relative level of bilingualism and the structure of the languages (including the phonetic structure) [Emphasis mine]". This is further emphasised by Matras (2009, 222) who argues that the sound system of the multiple languages involved in interaction are more susceptible than any other part of the linguistic system to what he terms mutual 'interference'. Such interferences may, according to him, affect any aspect of sound structure.
such as the production and articulation of particular phones or phonemes, stress and tone, length of specific sounds or intonation and prosody related features. Initially, it was believed that phonological interference, more specifically phonological borrowing, contributed to strengthening the core structure of the recipient language by filling in any existing 'gaps' (Matras 2009). However, Matras (2009), convincingly rejects this perspective by underlining the fact that all languages are fully functional and autonomous systems that are capable of filling in any gap, structural or otherwise, by drawing upon their own resources. In any case, such 'structural gaps', defined as the absence of a particular phonological feature from the recipient language, might be perceived rather than actual ones, thus making the whole discussion moot (Matras 2009). Consequently, contact-induced phonological change can be attributed either to interactants' inability or their unwillingness to maintain a total and sustained demarcation between the phonological systems of two or more languages. In such cases, system convergence can be said to occur (Matras 2009).

This integration between two phonological systems is attributed to the intensity and duration of language contact, with higher intensity and prolonged lengths of language contact believed to be more conducive to the emergence of hybrid phonological realisations (ibid). Matras (2009, 226) offers the following diagrammatic summary of the phenomenon of contact-induced phonological modifications (see Figure 4.4):

As Figure 4.4 indicates, contact-induced phonological modifications can be represented in the form of a continuum illustrating the gradual shift from occasional bilingualism and the relative autonomy between various linguistic systems to habitual bilingualism and the subsequent merger of different linguistic systems. In the case of fused lects, it is to be expected that system merger would be operational at the phonological level, culminating in the production of increasingly hybrid forms.
A similar phenomenon seems to be at work in this dataset. One innovative feature noticed in the speech of these three girls from the dataset was the use of the word *ashe* to express disbelief. For example:

(14) *Ashe!*  Manz zis Yoplait?
   Enough! Eat-2SG.FUT only yoghurt?
   'No kidding! You’re going to eat only yoghurt?'

Now, the term *ashe* in itself does not exist in Kreol, neither does it feature in any other language that dots the Mauritian linguistic landscape. It is, in fact, a product of an innovative form of blending that uses features from both Kreol and Hindustani. The word *ashe* originates from the Kreol term *ase* which means ‘enough’. The practice of pronouncing the [s] as [ʃ] has been popularized by Bollywood movies and Mauritian Disc Jockeys who often adopt these highly stylised forms of speaking in order to impress their audience. Words like *shweet* or *sho cute* are quite common, especially as markers of emphasis. Along the same lines, the word *ashe* seems to be a phonological blend of the Kreol word *ase* along with a stylised Bollywood style, resulting in the replacement of the [s] sound by the [ʃ]. Its role, especially amongst youngsters, is to reflect their hip status as part of an in-group which excludes the participation of middle-aged
Mauritians. *Ashe*, therefore, works not at the organisational level of conversation but it seems to act as an identity marker for youngsters.

Although examples of such phonological convergence were fairly scarce in this dataset, they are still considered as being indicative of the transition from the mixed code to the fusion stage (cf. Auer 1999). This is a transition that, at the moment, appears to be in a fairly embryonic stage. However, as Bullock and Toribio (2009, 189) assert, such 'phonetic reflexes' aim the linguistic spotlight at the sophisticated ability that bi and multilingual speakers display as they alternately weave in and out of multiple language systems. Bearing testimony to the "confluence of cognitive, linguistic and social factors" (Bullock and Toribio 2009, 190) that contribute quasi-equally to the genesis of such fused forms, they call for the bridging of both the theoretical and empirical gaps between psycholinguistic and sociophonetic approaches to language alternation by drawing attention to the diversity of multilingual forms that are an inextricable part of a speaker's repertoire (Bullock and Toribio 2009). They assert that over time, the various languages that form part of the interactional matrix cannot — and should not — be expected to maintain their distance from each other; their merger eventually offers multilinguals the opportunity to add an additional linguistic variety to their already rich mental repertoire of fused forms (Bullock and Toribio 2009). This new variety, subsequently, empowers them to "maintain contrast between their languages while, at the same time, articulating them together" (Bullock and Toribio 2009, 190). In other words, the fused forms that are emerging as a direct consequence of the system convergence between two phonological systems can be helpful from a sociophonetic perspective as they allow speakers to indicate not just their confidence and relatively high proficiency as a multilingual but also to assign social values to these forms so that they can eventually be stratified according to variables such as class, age, gender, ethnicity or age (Bullock and Toribio 2009).

In keeping with the above argument, so far as this dataset is concerned, the utilisation of the phonological blend *ashe* underscores, in the first instance, the ease with which the participants in this study moved within and between language systems. Secondly, given the popularity of expressions formed by a similar process of blending in the local media and their subsequent adoption by the youth populace, it also indicates the importance of sociophonetics in providing
speakers with variants that are capable of acting as markers of their identity. So far as Mauritian youngsters are concerned, the enthusiastic appropriation of and insertion of the [ʃ] sound reflect their need to use their multilingual skills as a resource which enhances in-group solidarity and cohesion. Indeed, since the majority of the Mauritian population happen to be skilled multilinguals, the mere act of being able to move fluidly from one variety to the next is not attention-grabbing. Language alternation is a skill that is accessible to one and all. In contrast, the ability to identify with and use the stylised Bollywood fused broadcast variety sets them apart from older speakers and endows them with the possibility of foregrounding their linguistic individuality by being able to confidently stand out from the crowd.

As a matter of fact, the emergence of age-based patterns of variation amongst proficient bilinguals capable of selecting specific fused form variants to emphasise their loyalty and abiding sense of belonging to their in-group is not new. A case in point is the study of Arabic-English bilingual children carried out by Khattab (2002) who reveals the versatility with which the informants in her study used system convergence in an attempt to draw a pragmatically consequential line of demarcation between themselves and their parents. Indeed, while the children used English realisations of most sounds while they were interacting with their English friends and their latter's parents, they would automatically shift to a variety of English with Arabic substratal features as soon as they have to address their Arabic-speaking parents. Given that the language that is routinely utilised in their home domain is Arabic, the shift to a phonologically complex form of English during their conversational encounters with their parents becomes all the more conspicuous. Khattab (2002) hypothesises that one of the reasons for this atypical behaviour is for them to demarcate themselves from their parents whose incomplete mastery over the host country's language impedes their own linguistic performance. Similarly, in the Mauritian context, it would seem that youngsters are displaying an equal degree of initiative as they consciously use phonological blends to draw attention to themselves and their transition to early adulthood.

On the whole, despite the relative scarcity of examples, this section sheds light upon the phonological innovations being brought about by a group of multilingual speakers. These fused forms eventually acquire social credence and become valued linguistic resources in specific in-
groups, thus illustrating the ability of a FL to display the same degree of functionality as any other language variety. The following section will elaborate upon another key characteristic of FLs, as evidenced in this dataset.

4.3.3 Discourse marker switching

Muysken (2007) defines discourse marker switching as a special type of language alternation phenomenon where the introduction of a discourse marker whether native or non-native serves a highlighting function. It adds additional emphasis to the CS that either precedes or follows it. Muysken (2007, 321) uses this example from a Shaba Swahili/French bilingual conversation to prove his point:

(15) Tu-ko ba-ntu ba-moya b-a chini, *donc* tu-ko ba-*faible* eh?
'We’re a low kind of people, so we’re weak, aren’t we?'

In (15), the French discourse marker *d*onc heralds a switch at a subsequent point in the sentence. Its non-native status catches the other interlocutors’ attention and signals that a further switch into a more dominant language is about to take place. However, discourse-marker switching need not always involve a word from a more prestigious language. As Muysken (2007, 321-322) elaborates:

What is important to realise is that the use of discourse markers does not obey the same directionality constraints as e.g. insertion or bilingual borrowing. While borrowing and insertion generally involve elements from a dominant language put into a community language, this does not hold for discourse marker switching. In some cases, like the Shaba Swahili case mentioned above, indeed the discourse markers are from a dominant language; in other cases, it is the community language that provides the discourse markers, e.g. to make a community variety of the language more ethnic.

In other words, while the relative prestige value of the code the discourse marker derives its origins from may vary from community to community, its basic function is usually very similar: it alerts co-participants to a possible change in footing in the interaction through an impending CS.
A similar situation is observed in this current dataset as the phonological blend mentioned in the previous subsection is used as a form of discourse marker. Indeed, in many cases, ashe works simply as a filler in order to either avoid gaps in the conversation or as a minimal response as part of a collaborative style of speaking (Coates 1998). Of particular interest to us, though, is the use of ashe as a discourse marker in order to bring about a CS. For example:

      Enough. It be-3SG separate? No I think it sell-PASS complete.
      ’Really. It’s separate? No I think it’s sold together.’

In (16), the discourse marker ashe serves a highlighting function by adding more emphasis to CS that follows it. The discourse marker functions as a kind of linguistic advance warning mechanism alerting speakers about a change in language that is about to occur. The fact that it is a phonological blend that has taken on the role of discourse marker is particularly noteworthy.

Muysken (2007, 321) further argues that, as a rule, the use of a discourse marker from a language other than the matrix one has a stronger highlighting function, even if its function is restricted to indicating an eventual shift to the matrix language itself. Indeed, he believes that it is its 'non-nativeness' that works in its favour since it serves an emphatic purpose as it effectively draws the attention of all co-interactants to a particular chunk in the conversation (Muysken 2007, 321). In addition, he asserts that in specific contexts, the non-native discourse marker might contribute in changing the footing of an interactional segment from a formal to a totally informal one. The above stipulations hold true in the case of this dataset as well since the novelty of using a phonological blend to frame a switch to French before eventually reverting to the native language ensures that the attention of the speakers does not divert from the main topic of the interaction. Indeed, Speakers 1, 2 and 3 are discussing whether two items of clothing, displayed in a shop window, can be purchased individually or as one bundle. In deference to the interest displayed by both of her friends in buying the same items of clothing for themselves, speaker 1 has recourse to the phonological blend before switching to French as she uses a rhetorical question c’est séparé to emphasise her belief that both products are sold as one bundle. The phonological blend, therefore, alerts co-participants to a turning point in the interaction.
Another key argument put forward by Muysken (2007, 321-322) is with regards to relative autonomy with which such discourse markers operate. Indeed, he reveals that it is "important to realise that the use of discourse markers does not obey the same directionality constraints as e.g. insertion or bilingual borrowing." In fact, while borrowings and insertional CS generally involve the juxtaposition of elements from a dominant into a vernacular language, discourse marker switching appears to be a far more democratic process as it allows for the use of discourse markers from both substratal and superstratal languages. In the case of the discourse marker *ashe*, despite the fact that it frames a switch to a more prestigious language, that is French, it is, itself a fused form derived from Kreol, a vernacular language and Hindustani, a language which, though not stigmatised, is not heavily utilised in daily life.

The above observation holds true in the case of the second discourse marker which is involved in the same process of framing an impending switch. Derived from the matrix language, the discourse marker *hein* fulfils much the same function as its counterpart *ashe*. Example 17 from the dataset provides a brief insight into the usage of the discourse marker *hein* in face-to-face interaction:

(17) Li trouve li pa kapav leve. Hein hay rah gal ba.
    He find-3SG he not can get up. Uh this remain go be-3SG.PST.
    Tap lagal ba, nai sakata uthe.
    Fever get-PTCP be-PERF, not able get up-3SG.
    'He found that he could not get up. Uh this thing got left behind. He's feverish, he cannot get up.'

In example 17, speakers 15 and 16 are talking about a common friend of theirs who is ill. While the initial statement is in Kreol, the discourse marker *hein* heralds a switch to Bhojpuri as the girls provide additional details regarding the illness with which he is afflicted. Usually, the discourse marker *hein* is utilised either to request for clarification in cases where the addressee has been unable to hear the comments made by speaker. In this case, though, it seems to facilitate movement from one language to the other. Discourse markers, thus, act as enablers to the

59 Extract 5 (cf. Section 4.1.5) provides another example where the discourse marker *hein* prefaces a switch to another language (in that instance, French).
fusion stage which Matras (2000b) regards as a stage where separating the multiple language systems involved in language alternation is impossible since speakers no longer perceive elements from former embedded languages as being foreign. According to him (Matras 2000b, 512), discourse markers, as well as other grammatical particles such as conjunctions and adverbs can be more easily integrated within the language system of both donor and recipient languages because of their "sentence-peripheral nature". Since they are not as heavily integrated within the grammatical system of a language as, for instance, inflectional morphemes are, they can be easily inserted at various points of a sentence (even a hybrid) one without necessarily upsetting the syntactic status quo of an utterance (ibid). Consequently, he argues that speakers have recourse to them in an unconscious attempt to reduce the mental effort that is put in both by speakers and hearers as they keep track of the multiple languages being utilised and the pragmatic implications involved therein.

As a rule, as Matras (2000b) further asserts and as illustrated in Figure 4.5, the success of all conversational encounters hinges on four key processes namely:

As the above figure so succinctly illustrates, at any given point in time, a speaker is focused on translating his thoughts into speech and by extension, also in processing other co-participants' speech and using the content encoded therein as a trigger for additional thoughts which are, in turn, expressed through language. This give-and-take process is one that is subjected to constant cognitive monitoring by both the speaker and his co-interactant as they watch out for any potential instance of miscommunication and flag other key elements in the conversation such as CS, which are likely to impact upon the interpretation of an utterance. Since the potential for
misunderstanding is a distinct possibility in any interaction, interactants have the option of using linguistic devices such as conjunctions or discourse markers in order to gently steer the conversation in the right direction. He draws upon his research with a German-English bilingual who uses the German discourse marker *ja* to ascertain the level of understanding of his interlocutor and maintain conversational harmony. Taking this argument further, Matras (2000b) affirms that in multilingual interactions, this monitoring and directing function is a more cognitively demanding task and that bi and multilinguals will try to reduce this cognitive load by getting rid of the need to continuously switch between two languages. To support his argument, he provides the example of a Russian-German bilingual who uses Russian hesitation markers and markers of progression such as *Nu* 'well' and *Potom* 'then' as an integral part of a speech where the minority language Russian has already undergone a degree of fusion with German.

A similar explanation can be provided for the discourse markers *ashe* and *hein*. Indeed, in both cases, the use of the discourse markers prefaces a switch to a variety where fused forms are gradually emerging. However, in this dataset, the occurrence of fused forms is still slightly more scarce than in the case of Matras (2000b). For the time being, the presence of both discourse markers does not always herald an automatic transition to fused forms. Indeed, in the case of both the examples provided above, for the time being, it would seem that these discourse markers are simply acting as a bridge between one language system and another. But, following Matras (2000b), it can be argued that these are eventually going to act as the stepping stone to the emergence of more complex utterances where such discourse markers will be called upon to co-exist with fused elements from individual language systems. He supports his theoretical assertions by drawing a parallel between his and Poplack's (1980) research which focuses on tag switching, a specialised form of insertional CS which sees the inclusion of tag phrases such as 'you know' and interjection. Poplack (1980) views these tag switches as being one of the pragmatically consequential ways in which a novice bilingual can infuse the flavour of an embedded language that he/she has an incomplete mastery over by incorporating tag phrases or interjections from that languages into a more dominant one. The tag switches, therefore, act as emblematic markers of the bilingual's ability to ensure the coexistence of linguistic elements from two language systems. In the case of fusion, the use of such tag switches transcends the level of mere emblematic switching and becomes an externalisation of the heightened linguistic
skill of the confident and practised multilingual (Matras 2000b).\textsuperscript{60} In keeping with the above argument, it can, therefore, be potentially claimed that the discourse markers being used in the current dataset might eventually move away from the stage of simple emblematic markers to eventually act as facilitators to the occurrence of fused forms, thus effectively reducing the cognitive load of multilinguals. Unfortunately, at the moment, the current dataset does not provide enough empirical support to the above statements. Additional research is required to verify whether there is gradual fossilisation of the tentative trends described in this study.

Overall, this section has highlighted the pragmatic potential of discourse markers in framing a switch to another language. It has also been hypothesised that discourse marker switching may, in the long run, prove to be helpful to multilinguals as it reduces the interactional time spent in monitoring and directing conversations and facilitates the occurrence of more fused forms in face-to-face conversations.

4.4 Conclusion

Overall, the aim of this chapter was to analyse the evolution of language alternation phenomena amongst a group of young Mauritian multilinguals as they move from simple CS to more complex forms of language alternation phenomena such as mixed codes and fusion. In the simple CS examples, language alternation occurred far more frequently in conversational loci such as playfulness as interactants used a number of pragmatically consequential devices such as puns, lapses in song sequences and laughter segments in an attempt to claim the conversational limelight and get their message across to their fellow co-participants in as productive a way as possible. The mixed code examples revealed the occurrence of innovative forms of alloying through modifications carried out to the noun phrase, for instance at the level of possessive marking, as speakers engage in more complex forms of code manipulation. The final stage of the language alternation spectrum is that of fusion and so far as this dataset is concerned, the presence of fused forms such as the emergence of complex verb groups and the use of

\textsuperscript{60} Matras (2000b) acknowledges that his perspective differs from that of Maschler (1997) who has worked extensively on the use of discourse markers amongst Hebrew-English bilinguals and who asserts that discourse markers, in fact, highlight the transition between conversational units. In other words, so far as her dataset was concerned, discourse markers operated in the CS rather than the fusion end of the language alternation continuum.
phonological blends and discourse marker switching were some of the most convincing indicators of the possibility of an eventual genesis of a FL in Mauritius. However, as Section 2.5 cautioned, the line of demarcation between the mixed code and the fusion stage remains a fuzzy one. Another matter for concern (cf. the introductory paragraphs of Section 4.3 and Subsection 4.3.1) is that of the limited availability of strong and reliable empirical evidence to support the eventual emergence of fused forms. These two factors have had an undeniable impact upon this current study. Indeed, the examples provided in Section 4.3 are not as abundant as initially expected. The fact that the recording sessions were, possibly, not fully able to elicit enough FL forms is, of course, plausible. Nevertheless, the impact of the theoretical and above all, empirical limitations of the typology of language alternation phenomena cannot be disregarded either. Consequently, while this chapter provides an indication of the movement from the simple CS stage to the intermediate mixed codes one, it can only hint towards the potential emergence of FLs in the Mauritian context.
CHAPTER 5

Discussion of Results and Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to firstly present a summary of the findings present in Chapter 4 and secondly to provide an evaluation of these findings with particular reference to both sociolinguistic theory and the linguistic landscape in multilingual Mauritius. Following the description and analysis of different kinds of language alternation phenomena in the previous chapter, the current one will focus on the validity of the concept of the CS continuum in the field of language contact. In addition, the contribution of these various forms of language alloys to the Mauritian linguistic landscape through the contextually sensitive versatility that they display and their potential impact upon language policy and planning will also be explored.

To meet the above objectives, this chapter will be split into three main axes. At the outset, a brief recapitulation of the salient findings elaborated upon in Chapter 4 will be presented. This will be followed by discussions about the adequacy of the theoretical constructs that lie at the heart of this thesis. In the final instance, the impact of different varieties of language alternation phenomena upon the contemporary Mauritian landscape will be assessed. On a concluding note, this chapter also offers insights into possible directions for further research in the field of the application of the CS continuum in multilingual contexts, most specifically in Mauritius.

5.1 Summary of Findings

One of the main aims of this thesis was to investigate whether the language alternation continuum put forward by scholars such as Auer (1999), Matras (2000a and 2000b), Backus (2005) and Muysken (2000) amongst others can, indeed, be seen in action in a historically multilingual nation such as Mauritius and what forms such language alloys might take. Data was therefore collected from seven groups of five informants each by recording them in multiparty
settings over a period of six months for a total duration of approximately one hundred and fifty hours. Figure 5.1 provides a diagrammatic summary of the major findings of this study.

As the diagram illustrates, the findings were firstly subdivided into the three key parts of the language alternation continuum namely CS, mixed codes and fusion. In the CS phase of the language alternation spectrum, the four prominent conversational loci of CS were revealed to be those of change in participant constellation, change in topic, word play and verbal playfulness.

In the case of changes at the levels of both participant constellation and topic, it was noticed that, as per the predictions of the CA approach to language alternation, any change in the overall organisation framework of the conversation was likely to result in a code switch. As the examination of the groups of speakers investigated as part of this study demonstrated, the inclusion of a formerly silent member into the conversational fold often upsets the existing status quo amongst all co-participants and results, for the sake of either including or possibly, ostracising the new speaker from the interaction, in a change in the language of interaction. In the case of topic shift, the movement from one conversational module to the other, especially in multiparty settings where the volume of conversational flow is quite high, the likelihood of CS coinciding with one of the multiple changes in topic taking place was seen to be quite high. In fact, as far as the results of this study were concerned, the above two conversational loci were seen as being fairly reliable in bringing about the embedding of elements from another language.
Figure 5.1: Diagrammatic summary of the findings in this study
The versatility of CS, though, was mainly visible at the level of word play and verbal playfulness. A distinction was made between the two because while, on the one hand, instances of word play centred mainly upon the occurrence of punning, verbal playfulness, on the other hand, took on more complex forms such as the adoption of singing mode, laughter or swearing and their co-association with a switch in language. Indeed, as Section 4.1.3 illustrated, in the case of word play, informants used insertional CS by introducing words such as the word *paturage* and *tablettes* into the matrix language, Kreol. In both cases, the creativity of speakers was brought to the fore as they utilised them above and beyond their referential content. Indeed, while the homophony between *paturage* and *patiraz* offered interactants with the opportunity to play on the word *pati* to indicate their overall sense of boredom with the conversation, the play on the French word *tablettes* is a more subtle one as its effectiveness resides in its ability to act as a visual metaphor and to allow the informants to present as accurate a description as possible of the physique of their absent acquaintance.

In contrast, the following three subsections focused on the co-existence of CS with specific forms of verbal playfulness such as the performance of language alternation in spontaneous song sequences in casual interactions and the use of CS as a form of framing device for either slang usage or the production of laughter. Although all three examples belong to the conversational locus of playfulness, their occurrence in other multilingual communities is attested in most other case studies of CS. In fact, most studies dealing with the performance of CS usually focus their theoretical and empirical lenses on the functional aspects of CS in the media (cf. Kachru 2006; Omoniyi 2006). So far, research dealing with CS in face-to-face conversational interactions has tended to focus mainly on other conversational loci such as change in topic or reiterations. Consequently, the use of language alternation as a pragmatic device in performance-oriented segments in everyday, casual interactions can be seen as a welcome addition to existing corpora of research (cf. Sections 4.1.5 and 4.1.7).

Indeed, as the observations of the informants in this study highlight, language practices in all societies cannot take place in a social vacuum. By the same logic, since all multilingual communities around the world have a different socio-cultural background, the performance of language alternation is also bound to be distinctive. In the case of Mauritius, as Section 4.1.5
indicates, the fact that the participants already operate within a sociocultural framework which places a high premium upon performing arts such as *geet gawai* and *sega* sessions in the Indo-Mauritian and Creole communities respectively, they use all the tools available to them in the linguistic repertoire such as language alternation in order to construct equally dynamic performance-geared sessions during their own everyday conversational interactions. Insertional CS, in this case, simply serves to reinforce the message that speakers wish to pass on to their co-conversationalists. So, for instance, in the case of the Speakers 21, 22 and 23, CS to Hindustani, along with the adoption of a sing-song voice and the tentative sketching out of a few dance steps, becomes one of the conversational techniques through which they can, effectively, indicate the significance of the information that they are sharing during their gossip sessions. Similarly, other informants in this study adopt lyrical segments from popular Bollywood movies, inscribe them within a predominantly Kreol matrix frame and then use this co-association between two codes and two different levels of prosodies to construct their interactional segments.

The creativity of the informants is further displayed when they have recourse to swear words such as the phonetically ambiguous *sou sou* word, in an attempt to either indicate to a co-participant that the latter's switch to another language has been deemed as being inappropriate or as a euphemistic way to undermine another co-speaker's argument. In the case of the swear word *gogot*, the switch to Kreol appears to be one which has been deliberately inserted as a form of verbal chastisement of a speaker who has expressed his unwillingness to provide assistance to his co-participant through a switch to the French temporal marker *bientôt*. In this particular situation, CS to a Kreol swear word functions as an indication of his co-speakers' disapproval of his inability to provide the support that they expect from him and secondly his attempt to thwart the peer pressure being exerted upon him by moving away from Kreol. In the second instance, the swear word *sou sou* ('Christophine'), through its phonetic similarity with its French counterpart *chou chou* ('my pet'), allows Speaker 21 to, convincingly and forcefully, express her opinion about Speaker 22's sister's dismal love prospects. Once again, the switch to a swear word from Kreol, together with the homophony and consequent polysemy involved in the selection of such an ambiguous term, become valuable resources to the multilingual participants taking part in this study as they manage to get their argument across in as tactful a way as possible.
The final instance of playfulness utilised by the speakers in this study is that of the co-occurrence of CS segments with laughter. Indeed, as Section 4.1.7 has indicated, while gelotology can, in itself, be considered as a relatively niche area in linguistics, academic focus on the role of laughter in multilingual settings is even more limited. The findings of this study, therefore, are fortuitous as they fill in the theoretical gap that exists both in the field of gelotology as a whole and secondly in the subfield of functions of gelotologically significant behaviour in multilingual settings. As this thesis has illustrated, CS is seen as a framing device either preceding or resulting in the production of laughter particles during interactional segments. While, at first blush, it might have been assumed that laughter would be produced as a logical reaction to the dubious switch from one language to the other, the informants in this study demonstrate that, for a multilingual, the utilisation of paralinguistic devices such as laughter, acts as a form of strategic reinforcement to instances of conversational CS. So, for instance, in the case of Extract 12, laughter is used as a verbal accompaniment to CS so that Speaker 26 can provide a verbal reproof to what she perceived to be the selfish attitude of her co-speaker towards the latter's boyfriend. In fact, both Extracts 11 and 12 clearly demonstrate that, so far as multilingual conversational encounters are concerned, laughter is not generated simply because interactants deem the content of their conversation to be, in any way, amusing. In fact, similar to the instances of co-association between CS and song-like sequences or CS and the production of swear words, in this instance as well, CS becomes a means through which messages can be conveyed in the least face-threatening way possible. This is evidenced in both Extracts 11 and 12 where the content of both interactions could have been deemed to be offensive by, at least, one of the co-participants, resulting in the eventual breakdown of the interaction for all parties involved. However, the switch to another language plays a fairly determining role as it ensures that while all interactants remain aware of any censure or praise on the part of their fellow interactants, they are able to also acknowledge to themselves that, through the use of both linguistic and paralinguistic devices such as laughter, these feelings have been expressed quite diplomatically. Thus, any possibility for awkwardness is effectively averted.

Since the aim of this study was not simply the investigation of the various conversaton loci of CS in multilingual Mauritius but also to establish the emergence, if applicable, of a language alternation continuum ranging from simple CS to more complex linguistic alloys such as mixed
codes and fusion, sections on both the functional and the playful nature of CS in specific conversational loci were followed by an analysis of emerging forms of hybrid conversational forms such as changes to the Kreol nominal phrase amongst others. Indeed, the second phase of the CS continuum deals with what Matras (2000b) labels 'convergence' (cf. Section 2.3). From the results of this study, it would appear that the occurrence of mixed codes and fusion is comparatively low. However, it should be kept in mind that while theoretical formulations with regards to the nascence of a CS continuum in stable multilingual communities abound, as argued previously, empirical support for the above phenomena is still not as frequent as would be expected for a theoretical framework that has been around for roughly more than two decades. Therefore, in a similar vein as the evidence provided for the CS and laughter (cf. Section 4.1.5), the sections on mixed codes (cf. Section 4.2) and fusion (cf. Section 4.3) are empirically valuable because they contribute to the fleshing out of constructs that have, so far, benefitted mainly from multiple rounds of copious theorising. Firstly, the section on mixed codes (cf. Section 4.2) has provided an insight into the composite switching stage (Myers-Scotton 2006b) where language alternation, in and of itself, is no longer considered as being pragmatically consequential. Instead, speaking in an aggregate of multiple languages becomes the norm rather than the exception. Secondly, this study has focused on three different types of language alloying during the mixed codes stage.

During the mixed codes stage, the first change elaborated upon is one which is taking place within the nominal phrase, more specifically between a possessive marker and the noun that follows it. In violation of Poplack's (1979) Equivalence Constraint, switching has been observed between the third person possessive marker so and the noun that immediately follows it. While the expectation is for CS not to occur within one syntactic unit, in the mixed codes stage, it is observed that this stipulation is not strictly adhered to. Instead, as the various sentences derived from this dataset illustrate, in many cases, switching within the same syntactic unit was not frowned upon by other co-conversationalists. In the second instance, this study has also witnessed the emergence of semantic shift resulting in changes at the semantic level as the meaning of words that have been borrowed from embedded languages undergo a degree of 'extension'. One example is that of the Kreol word nisa which has been borrowed from the Hindustani nasha. While the term nasha denotes a state of drunkenness, in the Mauritian context,
nisa can be said to refer to both a state of drunkenness and the act of either teasing or being teased by someone. Similarly, the word baya, originally from Hindustani Bhaiya, nativised into Mauritian Bhojpuri as baya was originally used as an honorific particle to refer to one's elder brother. In contrast, in Kreol, it is used to describe an unsophisticated person who is always up to no good. The role of such semantic shifts, as this study has revealed, is mainly to empower informants as they infuse their linguistic contributions with multiple layers of meaning.

Lastly, another key characteristic of the mixed codes stage in this dataset, has been revealed to be that of compound nouns where one of the nouns was seen to be derived from the matrix language Kreol while the other was borrowed from an embedded language such as English for the word 'silk' or Bhojpuri for that of daan. In both cases, equivalent terms in Kreol exist and could have been readily utilised by the speakers to get their point across. Instead, the latter seem to have made a conscious decision to opt for more innovative multilingual practices by juxtaposing two words belonging to two different linguistic systems altogether during their conversations. Although further examples of compounding were not as numerous as this researcher would have hoped for, the emergence of a few of them hint at the possibility that, gradually, this practice might evolve to be part of the normative patterns of language use amongst Mauritian multilinguals.

In the final instance, this study has attempted to put forward a few examples of language alloys that are characteristically deemed to be markers of the fused lect stage namely complex verb phrases, phonological convergence and discourse marker switching. Example (11) (cf. Section 4.3.1), in this dataset, has revealed the interface between syntax and phonetics as the speaker firstly adopts a French style of pronunciation for the second syllable pende in the verb sispende and then takes his creativity to another level altogether by using the long form of the verb where Kreol syntax would, in fact, call for its short form (from Henri and Abeillé 2008). As far as phonological convergence is concerned, the emergence of the discourse marker ashe, originally borrowed from the Kreol word ase but eventually given a Bollywood-inspired make-over through the modification of the sibilant /s/ sound into the fricative /ʃ/ sound. While this study has focused mainly on the discourse marker ashe, the replacement of the /s/ sound in words such as 'sweet' or 'so' has been noticed throughout this dataset. Lastly, the occurrence of discourse
marker switching as discourse markers such as *ashe* and *hein* are used as framing devices to highlight or facilitate a switch from one language to the other has been noted. In both cases, following Matras (2000b), it has been argued that discourse marker switching will, in the long run, be beneficial to Mauritian multilinguals since it will act as a stepping stone to the emergence or maintenance of more complex forms of language alternation phenomena.

All in all, this section has attempted to firstly provide a succinct insight into the multiple conversational loci of CS in Mauritius and secondly highlight the gradual emergence of a CS continuum amongst proficient multilinguals. Indeed, while examples of mixed codes and fusion are, at the moment, not as abundantly visible as those for simple CS, they are of crucial importance to the field of language alternation as a whole because they add to the currently, relatively scarce linguistic evidence available regarding the different types of alloying put forward at the theoretical level by researchers. In the second instance, this study is of immense value to scholars working in the field of language contact in Mauritius. Indeed, so far, theoretical and empirical attention has been mainly lavished on Kreol. Despite centuries of social, cultural and linguistic co-existence, there has been very little research carried out on the different forms and functions of multilingualism in Mauritius. The following section will now provide an insight into the problems encountered, both at the theoretical and the empirical levels, during the application phase of the theoretical framework used within this study.

### 5.2 Impact of the CS continuum: Language Policy and Planning in Mauritius

Schiffman (1995) makes a key distinction between overt language policies, on the one hand, and covert ones, on the other. While overt language policies refer to explicit, formalised and codified systems of rules and regulations that govern the use of languages in primarily the public domain, covert ones make no explicit reference to any language in any kind of legal or administrative document. Instead, they rely upon inferences derived from other policies or constitutional provisos (Shiffman 1995, 30). Using the above binary distinction as a starting point, Schiffman (1995, 13) argues for additional sociolinguistic emphasis to be placed upon implicit, covert language policies which reflect the "culture of a specific entity and is supported and transmitted by the culture, irrespective of the overt policy with regards to the various codes in question"
(Schiffman 1995, 13). In fact, as Shohamy (2006) further elaborates, communities with covert language policies are usually the ones which are more deeply affected by any shift, gradual or otherwise, in language practices. In keeping with the above perspective, this section will firstly elaborate upon the status of Mauritius as a speech community which relies upon covert rather than overt language policies and the potential impact that language alternation phenomena such as those described in this thesis can have upon them.

Despite three successive waves of colonisation, it is only in the late 1980s that the issue of language policy was thrust in the national spotlight. In 1989, a mother and son duo, both accused of murder, created history when their defense lawyer petitioned the Mauritian court to request that courtroom testimonies by the police officers involved at various levels of the investigative process be provided in Kreol. Popularly known in the annals of Mauritian law as the *L'affaire Kramutally* (‘The Kramutally case’), this was the first time that language policy was being debated at national level (Carpooran 2003, Mooneeram 2009). So far, as Carpooran (2003) argues, colonial practices like the use of English or, in specific cases, French in most formal interactions such as those taking place in the courtroom or the parliament had been maintained and were, by and large, considered as being enshrined in law. However, as *L'affaire Kramutally* would soon prove, these long-held assumptions were, in fact, erroneous. Ironically, even Mr. Ollivry, the defense counsel for mother and son had lodged his request under humanitarian grounds requesting the judge to allow for evidence to be produced, explained and debated upon in Kreol because he believed that his clients did not possess basic levels of literacy in English (Capooran 2003). What could have, otherwise, been just a simple request for the humane treatment of the accused resulted in the linguistic equivalent of the opening of Pandora's Box. To the surprise of many, Judge R. Ahnee, tasked with reviewing their request, responded with the following infamous and today, oft-quoted, sentence — "I am not aware of any text of law which says that English is the Official language of Mauritius" (Carpooran 2003, Hein 2014). Indeed, reviewing all existing regulations implemented in Mauritius during both the French and the British colonial periods, he had come across a few edicts that had encouraged the use of French and then English in the judiciary but none that imposed either one of these two codes on the population as a whole. Post-independence, even the Mauritian Constitution had, to all intents and
purposes, opted to remain silent on this issue, thus tacitly perpetuating the misconception of the
existence of a *de jure* official language (Hookoomsing 1998).

As a matter of fact, as Judge Ahnee was to further reveal, in the absence of any existing language
policy document, English was only being used as a *de facto* official language cited in Carpooran
2003, 203). Its hegemony in key domains of interaction such as the courtroom could, therefore,
be legitimately contested, thus effectively culminating in the request of the Kramutally pair to be
acceded to, not on humanitarian grounds as their lawyer had hoped but instead, on valid, legal
ones. Since English was not the *de jure* official language of either Mauritius, Rodrigues or
Agalega islands, instructing police officers and even the lawyer for the Government Prosecution
Service to carry out all relevant proceedings in Kreol, was deemed to be perfectly legitimate. It
had the added advantage of being a language that was, in the words of Judge Ahnee, "understood
by the accused, counsel on both sides, the jurors and myself, I am proud to say" (Ruling of Judge
R. Ahnee, 28 November 1989, cited in Capooran 2003, 204). The above decision has had far-
reaching consequences in the legal field. Although judges still favour English as far as official
records of judicial proceedings are concerned, the deposition of accused parties as well as
examination and cross-examination of witnesses are, today, carried out in Kreol. Even police
enquiries and preliminary statements from suspects, accused parties and witnesses alike are
drafted in Kreol, based on the simple premise that “the majority of people who come in contact
with the law and law-enforcement officers speak Kreol in their daily lives” (Lallah 2001, 43)61.
The undermining of the position of English in the judicial sector in Mauritius has, therefore, had
one positive consequence: it has quietly ushered in a more multilingual environment which is
more sensitive to the needs of one and all.

As the above episode reveals and in line with Shohamy (2006), language policy in Mauritius has
tended to be of a covert nature. In Section 1.3 of this thesis, the four-part harmony of languages
in Mauritius was highlighted (Miles 2000). However, as the Kramutally Case has demonstrated,
the multilingual situation of the island is one which exists outside the realm of any official

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61 Former Chief Justice Rajsomer Lallah is one of the few legal professionals who has been quite vocal about the
positive impact that the use of Kreol has had on the Judiciary. His article ‘Kreol and the Administration of Justice’ is
the only one which focuses on the problems created by the need for Kreol to English translators in a context where
all stakeholders understand Kreol — a situation that he eloquently described as being "ridiculous and a useless waste
of time and money" (Lallah 2001,43).
language policy put forward by successive governments. Although de facto language practices can, eventually, be formalised, this has, so far, not been the case in Mauritius (Rajah-Carrim 2005). In addition, though language alternation is widely used and accepted in different settings and amongst speakers from multiple social backgrounds, its significance is one which is yet to prove to be of any interest to policy makers (Carpooran 2003). In fact, as Carpooran (2003) argues, whenever language alternation has been thrust into the national spotlight, policy makers have tended to, in contrast, adopt an even more liminal role. Consequently, the emergence of a CS continuum in Mauritius is an occurrence which despite its potential relevance as a catalyst to initiate, at the very least, a brainstorming process that could eventually lead to the formal institution of a structure capable of catering to the needs of Mauritian speakers, is, unfortunately, likely to be viewed with mistrust by the local authorities.

Sadly, so far, each time language alternation has found itself at the forefront of all linguistic debates, it has been for all the wrong reasons (Carpooran 2003). One of the oft-cited episodes of social unrest caused by the juxtaposition of codes deemed to be unacceptable by all parties concerned is that of the publication of new banknotes in 1998 (ibid). Available in denominations of two thousand, one thousand, five hundred, one hundred, fifty and twenty-five rupees respectively, the publication of these new bank notes aimed to act as metonymical representations of all ethnic groups by bearing the effigy of a prominent political figure from every ethnic group in Mauritius (Week End 1 November 1998). Unfortunately, this was not to be the case. Two days post the publication of these new bank notes, Tamil socio-cultural groups organised multiple press conferences denouncing what they perceived to be the disrespect of the then Hindu prime minister of the island, Dr. Navinchandra Ramgoolam, against their ethnic group (ibid). They were contesting the hierarchical position in which the Tamil language appeared on the new bank notes. In Mauritius, the utility of local bank notes goes far beyond their financial significance as mere currency. Instead, they act as symbolical representations of both the multi-ethnic and the multilingual nature of the island (Carpooran 2004). Indeed, ever since the publication of the first bank notes during British colonial times, it was customary to indicate the monetary value of each note by writing down its corresponding value in English, Tamil, and Hindi respectively. As a rule, as the symbol of the British supremacy over the island, the English language version appeared in first position, followed by Tamil and eventually by
Hindi. This juxtaposition of codes followed a simple logic: the immigrants who had reached Mauritius first and whose descendants were still residing on the island were bestowed the honour of having their language inserted in first position (ibid). Given the fact that immigrants from South India had reached Mauritius during French colonial rule, it is the Tamil language that has, historically, been inserted prior to Hindi (Caropooran 2004). A pictorial representation of the one thousand rupee note is provided in Figure 5.2.

Unfortunately, on 30 October 1998, the Bank of Mauritius became the unwitting cause of social and racial unrest through its inadvertent flouting of the above rule. In fact, while English still maintained its position at the top of the hierarchy, much to the displeasure of the Tamil Temples Federation and other Tamil socio-cultural groups, Tamil had been demoted to third position (Week End, 1 November 1998). Despite the fact that the three languages had been maintained on the new bank notes at the expense of other prominent languages such as Kreol, Bhojpuri and Urdu, the Tamil community felt that the new form of juxtaposition of codes had violated their position as the first immigrants of Asian descent to Mauritius (Carpooran 2003).

![Figure 5.2: Hierarchy of languages on a one thousand rupee note (picture courtesy of www.banknotes.com)](image)

As a result, on 8 November 1998, two members of Parliament, both hailing from the Tamil community and both holding ministerial posts, threatened to resign from their posts if Tamil were not restored to its former position of glory. Effigies of the then Governor of the Bank of Mauritius were burnt and representatives of Tamil socio-cultural groups took to the streets (ibid).
The outcry resulted in the destruction of that contentious batch of bank notes; new ones were printed a year later. This time the original hierarchy of languages was respected. Satisfied, the Tamil community finally gave it its blessing (Carpooran 2003). Subsequent governments appeared to steer clear of bank notes altogether resulting in the use of the same notes more than two decades on.

The above controversy gives rise to one very pertinent question: In a country where even the Minister of Education is willing to tender in his resignation due to the simple juxtaposition of multiple codes on a bank note, how can the emergence of novel forms of language alternation phenomena, as evidenced in the CS continuum, be valorised? Unfortunately, the answer to the above question remains a fairly elusive one. Over the years, even Statistics Mauritius (2011) has had to acknowledge the growing levels of multilingualism on the island and to include a specific section requesting respondents to provide information about the combination of languages that they are most likely to use in the home domain. While in the year 2000, respondents appeared to shy away from the above question, this did not appear to be the case in 2011 where an increase in the number of participants claiming to be bi- or multilingual in the home domain was noticed (Statistics Mauritius 2011). However, while Statistics Mauritius seemed to have willingly taken the initiative to overtly acknowledge and officially recognise the multilingual competence of its respondents, the Mauritian government itself has been far more reticent to take any kind of action.

Similar levels of apathy are witnessed in other settings where covert language policies are the norm (Shohamy 2006). In multilingual contexts, as Hornberger (1998) argues, overt, top-down language policies are not always very helpful since they are, more often than not, either created by officials who fail to take into account the linguistic preferences of the lay person or not optimally implemented. While it would seem that the adoption of a bottom-up language policy that takes into account the language practices, views and ideologies of the local population would have a positive impact upon the implementation of and adherence to the relevant language laws, this is, unfortunately not the case (Johnson 2013a, 111). In fact, in such cases, governments might be reluctant to invest time and resources in a policy that they might not, necessarily, believe in (Johnson 2013a and 2013c). A case in point is that of the Kreol language in Mauritius.
which enjoys the support of the Mauritian population but does not benefit from much financial support from the Government (Baker 1997). Consequently, Johnson (2013a, 111) advocates for what he terms as ‘meso-level’ language policies which, though crafted by governments, remain responsive to the language needs and practices of the local population. For multilingual communities such as Mauritius, it is these meso-level language policies that have the potential of legitimating innovative language practices such as those showcased in this study.

Although it is hoped that the findings of this study could potentially help pave the way for meso-level language policies, a measure of caution is still required. As a matter of fact, even in Mauritius where successive governments have used covert language policies as a means to avoid any kind of confrontation with any specific ethnic group, specific laws have been passed to address the perceived contemporaneous language needs of the local population. Their success suggests that more overt forms of policy making could, potentially, become a sociolinguistic reality. One example of a specific language is that of the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) Act which was initially passed in 1971 and subsequently revised in 1982 (Carpooran 2003). In 1971, a mere three years post the independence of the island, colonial languages such as English and French were still highly valued, to the extent that the MBC was mandated to produce programmes mainly in the above two languages. Programmes broadcast in any other language or dialect could be aired only if the approval of the parent ministry had been obtained (Carpooran 2003). In contrast, in 1982, as multilingualism became more entrenched in the daily life of all Mauritians, regulations were amended to include Kreol, Hindustani, Bhojpuri and any other language either spoken or taught on the island (Carpooran 2003). The fact that the 1982 Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) Act took on board the increasingly multilingual nature of its viewers and sought to actively respond to their language needs, bears testimony to the fact that meso-level policy making, drawing from the research and recommendations of linguists, can be successfully operationalised in multilingual contexts.

However, it needs to be also highlighted that the success of the above mentioned strategy hinges on an institution’s or a government’s willingness to democratise access to all levels of policy making and to remain proactive and responsive to the needs of its population. Unfortunately, while the MBC proved itself to be sensitive to the language needs of its viewers, other local
institutions have displayed a worrying tendency to err on the side of caution by avoiding any kind of constructive action that could, effectively, challenge the existing status quo and potentially get them into trouble. One sector where multilingualism, still, has to fight for its legitimacy is ironically that of the judiciary where despite a few landmark cases and the interference of the Queen’s Privy Council, progress has been slow. Indeed, the Kramutally case was not the only one which dealt with linguistic issues (Carpooran 2003). In April 1988, an Indian national was arrested by the Customs Officers at the Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam International Airport and charged with drug smuggling. The interrogation of the suspect was carried out in both English and Hindustani — languages which the latter appeared to understand. However, despite his apparent competence in both English and Hindustani, he also regularly lapsed into Malayalam, a language from the Southern part of India. Despite their inability to understand the interactional segments couched in Malayalam, local investigators made no effort to avail themselves of the services of an interpreter. The suspect was eventually found guilty of drug trafficking and sentenced to death (Carpooran 2003). His lawyers appealed his conviction on the grounds that his linguistic rights had been violated. Unfortunately, the Mauritian Court of Appeal rejected their argument leaving them with no other option but to lodge a complaint at the Queen’s Privy Council (ibid). The latter ruled in his favour and deplored the fact that Mauritian courts had denied the accused the rights to a “fair trial” and were guilty of a “substantial miscarriage of justice” (Case Law Mauritius, 1773 cited in Carpooran 2003, 208). The accused, Mr. Kunnath, was spared the death penalty.

Unlike the Kramutally case which resulted in the use and subsequent valorisation of Kreol in the judiciary, the aftermath of the Kunnath case was hardly a positive one (Carpooran 2003). Contemporary Mauritius is, sadly, still not in a position to respect the linguistic rights of its accused by providing them with language support services. Despite being a nation where multilingualism is part and parcel of the daily life of its inhabitants, respect for the linguistic rights of suspects who do not master any of the languages spoken on the island is not a given. The judgement provided by the Privy Council helped in saving the life of one man; however, its relevance for other suspects whose linguistic status places them in an equally vulnerable position, remains to be seen. The Kunnath case, therefore, illustrates one major flaw in the process of ‘meso-level’ language planning and raises interesting questions regarding the
potential contribution of the empirical insights generated by this study upon language policy in Mauritius. Indeed, ‘meso-level’ policy-making is a process that is deeply reliant upon the commitment and tenacity of policy makers to address urgent issues. Any lack in will-power will, invariably, ensure that no concrete action is ever taken. As the Kunnath case has so convincingly illustrated, even a multilingual nation like Mauritius can remain deliberately insensitive to the needs of other multilinguals and can even choose to ignore the constructive criticism provided by legal experts. Similarly, while the creativity and linguistic innovation displayed by the informants of this study could have acted as a stepping stone for additional discussion regarding the teaching, learning and patterns of utilisation of language(s) in Mauritius, the existing covert language policies will, in all probability, not pave the way for any significant change at the levels of language planning and policy. Despite Johnson’s (2013a and 2013b) deep-seated belief in the efficacy of meso-level policy making, the disparate reactions of the MBC, on the one hand, and the judiciary, on the other, reveal the uncertainty within which this process is shrouded.

Unfortunately, the inability to put into practice more overt forms of language planning and to provide more formal recognition for multilingualism and language contact phenomena such as CS, is a problem that has far-reaching consequences for the local education system (SACMEQ III Report for Mauritius 2007). Indeed, the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality III Report (2007) states that while most districts in Mauritius have a functional literacy and numeracy rate that are higher than the African average, the country could still benefit from a clear-cut policy with respect to the language(s) that are allowed in the classroom. At the moment, Mauritius is still adhering to the Education Act set in place by the British colonial powers in 1957 (SACMEQ Report III for Mauritius 2007, Carpooran 2003). Amendments brought to this act in 1991 did not modify, in any way, the provisos set down by the colonial government (Stein 1982). More than half a century later, Mauritius is still committed to (Stein 1982, Carpooran 2003, Chung and Dalais 2008):

i. the teaching and promotion of the English language across the island;
ii. the use, till Standard III level, of any language that the Minister deems to be appropriate in all state-funded primary institutions;
iii. the compulsory transition to English as from Standard IV onwards;
iv. ensuring that all communication between teachers and students takes place in English; and
v. the use of English as a medium of instruction for the teaching of any other subject, including foreign languages.

Even at that particular point in time, the implementation of the Education Act met with a lot of resistance on the part of the Franco-Mauritians who accused the British colonial office of reneging on the stipulations of the 1810 Act of Capitulation and imposing a monolingual educational policy upon all inhabitants of Mauritius (Carpooran 2003). These protests were of such a vociferous nature that they soon attracted the attention of G. Duhamel, then a member of L'Académie Française, whose article in French newspaper Le Figaro warned all francophone speakers of the emergence of English as a powerful competitor to the French language (ibid). The furore eventually compelled the Colonial Office based in London to issue further clarifications to L'AFP (Agence France Presse) regarding their commitment and support for the French language. To quote (cited in Carpooran 2003, 119, translation mine):

Il n’est pas question de supprimer l’enseignement du français à L’Ile Maurice.

It's not a question of halting the teaching of French in Mauritius.

Despite the above reassurance, though, even today, while English is assessed as the first language of all Mauritians, French is considered as the second language of most students and is also assessed as such. While the teaching and learning of English is compulsory till the Higher School Certificate (HSC) exams, French does not enjoy the same level of prestige (Stein 1982). The Mauritian education system still promotes monolingualism in English and leaves very little scope for multilingualism and language contact phenomena such as CS.

Traditionally, language alternation within the classroom setting has always been frowned upon (Bissoonauth and Offord 2001). However, as per the SACMEQ report (2007), adherence to the monolingual British colonial policy is short-sighted given the developments that have taken place at the linguistic level in Mauritius over the past fifty years. Consequently, it has recommended for the creation and implementation of a more up-to-date language policy that takes into account the language needs of bi- or multilingual students (ibid). As example, it cites the district of Black River which benefits from the most qualified teachers, state-of-the-art infrastructure, the best stocked school libraries of the island and has the lowest rate of
absenteeism amongst its teachers (SACMEQ Report III 2007). Ironically, the rate of failure in Black River is the highest one in the whole of the country. Absenteeism amongst students remains worryingly high while their corresponding levels of functional literacy and numeracy are at an all time low — far lower than that of the African average (ibid). One reason put forward by the SACMEQ Report (2007) to explain the dismal performance of students from Black River is that of the language gap that exists between the home and the school domains. Indeed, the large majority of the students hailing from Black River are primarily conversant with the Kreol language and secondly with vernacular forms of French and possibly Kreol (ibid). The mere fact of having to switch to a monolingual medium at school places them at a significant disadvantage and hinders the overall teaching and learning process. In such a context, the SACMEQ Report (2007) recommends the introduction of a teaching policy that maximises the language skills that these learners already have and allows them to build upon them and to transfer those skills to the learning of a new code (ibid).

As the SACMEQ Report (2007) further argues, the implementation of such a policy is bound to be a slow process. It needs to adopt a systematic approach that firstly identifies, understands and explains the different types of language habits and practices of students before zeroing in on a teaching methodology that allows for a smoother and more seamless transition from the home domain to that of the school. Meeting the above objective requires the active engagement and involvement of linguists whose research can provide policy makers with the theoretical and empirical support required in order to allow them to take informed decisions (SACMEQ Report 2007). It is at this level of policy making, therefore, that an awareness of the existence of a CS continuum in the speech of proficient multilinguals would be the most helpful. Indeed, as the then Minister of Education, Vasant Bunwaree himself acknowledged, a full review of the 1957 Education Act is possible only if all stakeholders, most notably researchers, agree to set up a brainstorming session at the national level and draw from the findings of their own research as a means to come up with sustainable language policies that will, in the long run, prove to be beneficial to all students, especially those who, like the students hailing from the district of Black River, are being indirectly victimised due to the imposed hegemony of English (Business Mega 18 May 2013). Hoping for an enhanced cooperation between his Ministry and all relevant stakeholders in the field of language policy and planning, Bunwaree set up the National Seminar
Diagnosis of the Regulation of the Education System (ibid). Presented as an "opportunity for consultation and dialogue between the various partners to improve the quality of education for all" (Business Mega 18 May 2013), the aim of the National Seminar was to collect the views of all stakeholders and to initiate procedures for the drafting of an overt language policy that can further democratise access to the education system. In his words (Bunwaree 2013, cited by Business Mega 18 May 2013):

Contrary to what it was four years ago. The rate of access to pre-primary level is 98% ... spectacular results. Now we need to look at quality. In this context, equal opportunity must come first and that is the role of government and all institutions to ensure that this is done [...]. However, this work cannot be done [in] isolation, but with all stakeholders, including students and parents.

In the light of the above quote, it can be asserted that one of the major contributions of this research regarding the emergence of the CS continuum is its potential to further the work being carried out by the National Seminar.

One of the priorities of the Ministry of Education is to move away from covert language policies that have the potential to generate mistrust and misunderstandings amongst the multiple ethnic factions of the country (cf. the bank notes issue) and to set into motion a process that can eventually culminate in the drafting of clear, unambiguous and nationally relevant overt policies (Business Mega 18 May 2013). While the findings of this study cannot, automatically, ensure that the juxtaposition of codes does not, henceforth, result in social or political unrest, it can, definitely, create a heightened level of understanding amongst all policy makers regarding the specificities of language alternation phenomena amongst proficient multilinguals. In the case of Mauritius, the emergence of the CS continuum can prove to be of enormous help to policy makers who are hoping to update rules that were operationalised by either the French or the British colonial powers.

Overall, this section has provided an insight into the contribution of the findings of this study at two levels of language policy and planning in Mauritius. In the first instance, it has been argued that knowledge of the pragmatic consequentiality of language alternation phenomena can help in initiating the debate regarding the need for more overt language policies on the island. It can
kickstart the brainstorming process regarding the need for a better understanding of the dynamics of language alternation in most multilingual communities around the world. The hope was also expressed that an enhanced understanding of the ways in which language alternation operate in multilingual communities might, in the long run, get rid of the mistrust that exists between the various ethnic groups that call the island of Mauritius home. This should, ideally, lead to the gradual disappearance of events such as the protest against the introduction of new bank notes in Mauritius that have the potential of degenerating into potential racial riots. Mauritius has already witnessed two series of racial riots; it needs to minimise all risks of being subjected to a third one. A better understanding of the dynamics of language contact and contact-induced phenomena is, thus, a stepping stone to the establishment of racial harmony. In the second instance, it has been argued that the findings of this study can be of immense theoretical and empirical value to the ongoing consultative work being carried out by the National Seminar Diagnosis of the Regulation of the Education System. The insights provided by this study can, in the long run, inform the policy making process and result in the overhauling of obsolete colonial regulations in favour of more appropriate and contextually-relevant ones.

5.3 CS continuum in Mauritius: Performing multilingualism

One of the key findings of the thesis has been that of the creative use of language alternation as a form of multilingual performance in relatively novel contexts such as while lapsing into song interludes or as an accompaniment to segments of laughter. More complex forms of language alternation phenomena such as mixed codes and fusion have also been noticed in a dataset where the informants have consistently used CS as a part of a broader system of communication that involves not just multiple languages but also paralinguistic features such as changes in pitch and intonation, resulting in the co-existence of multilingual phenomena alongside song interludes and laughter segments. This indicates that, so far as the participants of this study are concerned, the judicious selection and maintenance of various languages appeared to be as crucial as the actual performance of those multilingual abilities. Indeed, while some of the ways in which multilingualism was performed might, undoubtedly, be unique to this study and its specific set of informants, the emphasis upon CS as a phenomenon endowed with the potential to also provide kinesthetic expression to the thoughts and emotions of its users is one which has been hinted at
in the existing literature. As Gardner-Chloros (2009b, 18) so rightly argues, "code-switchers upset the notion of performance errors by contravening and rewriting the expected rules." In fact, not only does her argument act as a rebuttal to the disdain of a few theoretical linguists who believe that "nothing of any interest to linguistic theory follows from this [that is CS]" (Smith 1989, 180), it also advocates for the potential emergence of forms of language alternation that might either challenge or extend the scope of existing norms.

This subsection will adopt the same perspective by focusing on the ways in which the co-occurrence of performance-oriented features such as song interludes and laughter segments with various types of language alternation phenomena actually fit into the broader macrocosmic sociocultural and linguistic landscape of the island. As theorists such as Auer (1984) and Li Wei (1998) argue, CS cannot take place in a social vacuum; meaning is 'brought about' as a result of the particularities of a specific conversational interaction but this meaning-making process needs to be eventually understood from the perspective of a speaker who is as much a product of the community that (s)he operates in as the analyst is. Limiting the analyst's interpretational leeway does not, in any way, minimise the importance that a speech community's norms has upon shaping the mental repertoire and subsequent linguistic repertoire of the speaker. In deference to the above argument, this subsection will, therefore, attempt to explain the different forms of language alternation practices uncovered in the previous chapter by linking them with the strong performance-oriented culture that has always existed in Mauritius and viewing them as but another means through which interactants can give free rein to their creativity.

While the multilingual nature of Mauritius has been duly acknowledged by scholars (cf. Miles 1999), the performance of multilingualism in the daily life of Mauritians has, so far, remained largely under-studied. Indeed, in contrast to the Caribbean where the co-existence of multiple languages in popular forms of cultural expression such as its musical texts has been the focus of research — for instance, Myers's (1998) and Ramnarine's (2001) work on the music of countries like Trinidad and Guyana — Mauritian pop culture and the language(s) in which it is couched is still shrouded in mystery. As a matter of fact, similar to its Caribbean counterparts, Mauritius also has a rich cultural and linguistic heritage. For the purposes of this thesis, emphasis will be placed on the two most popular forms of pop culture on the island namely Sega and Bhojpuri
songs which have, at both the prosodic and linguistic levels, undergone a process of what Servan-Schreiber (2011) labels as 'creolisation', resulting in increasing levels of similarity between both modes of expression — a merger which has occurred not just at the level of acoustics and choreography but has also been impacted upon by the linguistic developments taking place on the island. Indeed, as the following paragraphs will illustrate, language has always been closely inter-related with issues of performance and patterns of multilingual language use have always been shaped by and has, in turn, also shaped the performance of pop culture in Mauritius.

One of the earliest mentions with regards to the emergence of both a Creole and a popular form of expression on the then *Ile-de-France* is Baissac's (1888) seminal work on what he termed as the 'folklore' of Mauritius. Based on his observations of the way of life of the enslaved population during the French colonisation era, it provides an insight into the sociocultural and linguistic landscape of 19th century Mauritius (Baissac 1888). Although it is, usually, his less than complimentary views about the Kreol language that are most frequently cited, his, at that point in time, unparalleled contribution to the field of pop culture is one which should not be ignored. Focusing on the traditional form of *Sega* known as *Sega Tipik* (literally translated as 'typical Sega'), Baissac (1888 [1998], 425-428) lists the following three specificities of this musical performance:

i. The lyrics were, always, couched in Kreol.

ii. Three key musical instruments played were namely the *ravann* (frame drum), the *maravann* (rattle) and the *triyang* (triangle).

iii. It was always performed around a bonfire as the heat of the fire was used to heat the *ravann*'s top layer of goatskin so that it would produce a deeper percussion sound.

While the monolingual nature of *Sega Tipik* is often highlighted, labelling this emerging art form as the *Sega* was, in and of itself, an ode to the multilingual nature of the slave population (Cangy 2012). In fact, following his visit to the island, Bernardin de Saint Pierre (1773), described a type of slave performance that he had attended and named it *tchiega*. C.L.de Freycinet (1827) also follows suit using the term *chéga* or *tchéga* to refer to the performance of the slaves. French linguist Chaudenson (1992) has subsequently argued that the */tʃ*/ sound in the word *tchega* was,
actually, of Mozambican ancestry and that the term *Sega*, itself, is derived from Swahili and refers to the iconic act of female dancers who 'roll up' their clothes and gyrate their hips in rhythmically energetic movements. The loss of the /tʃ/ sound in favour of sibilant /s/ sound and the adoption of Kreol-only lyrics in the embryonic stages of its development on the island bear testimony to the gradual nativisation of East African cultural forms as a result of the constant contact between slaves originating from diverse homelands. According to Baissac (1888), the strategic adoption of Kreol during *Sega* performances proved to be of immense benefit to the slave population of the island as it provided them with a common, homogeneous linguistic platform, allowing them to express the vicissitudes of slavery. In a world where the adoption of the *Code Noir* (Black Code) robbed them of both their basic human rights and their voice, performance became the only outlet for their pain and frustration (Baissac 1888). Although, the actual voicing out of any kind of dissent was strictly prohibited, its performance through song and dance sequences was, at best, tolerated (ibid).

Moreover, as Baker and Hookoomsing (1987) argue, the adoption of Kreol was not unilateral. In the 18th century, as additional convoys of slaves were transported to Mauritius from South India and Bengal, allowances were made to accommodate their lack of proficiency in the Kreol tongue. Indeed, the *ravann*, a percussion instrument considered as being at the heart of all *Sega* performances is believed to be of South Indian origins (Baker and Hookoomsing 1987). Derived from the Tamil word *iravanum* (literally translated as 'a small tambourine'), the mere presence of the *ravann* in all performances of the *Sega* is firstly an overt acknowledgement of the contribution of all members of the slave population, irrespective of their country of origin. Secondly, it showcases the strong and reciprocal feelings of unity, love and respect that existed amongst them as they capitalised on their affinity for the *Sega Tipik* in order to survive the indignities of slavery (Baker and Hookoomsing 1987). It was hardly surprising, therefore, for slave owners to view this emerging art form with deep mistrust. This is clearly evidenced in the following recommendations made by the Catholic Church to its administrators in a 1936 Catechism manual (Furlong and Ramharai 2007, 426, translation mine):

> Ne pas trop permettre les ségas. Les règlementer plutôt en ne permettant de les danser que très rarement, et pas jusqu’à des heures indues… et toujours sous la surveillance d’un commandeur.
Not to allow too many Sega performances. Regulate them instead by allowing them to be danced only very rarely and not till too late...and always under the supervision of a commander.

The disapproval of the colonial powers could be attributed to multiple factors such as the fear that such enhanced levels of conviviality could empower the slaves to stage a mutiny, the disdain towards the energetic hip gyrations deemed to be vulgar and finally, their derision for the 'patois' used by the slaves (Baker and Hookoomsing 1987).

Today, the Sega Tipik is also variously known as Sega Ravann, Sega Tambour (drum Sega), Sega Ancien (old Sega), Sega Ritmik (rhythmical Sega) or Sega Sakouye (Shaking Sega, Cangy 2012). A clear demarcation exists between this traditional form of cultural expression and the one that is more commonly practised today namely Sega Modern (Modern Sega, ibid). This change in the appellation of the Sega is believed to have occurred in the 1950s as the popularity of Sega started to gradually permeate every level of Mauritian consciousness. Sega performers such as Ti-Frer and Nelzir Ventre achieved national recognition for their songs and narrations of folk tales that involved a strong emphasis upon performance (Cangy 2012). During his fieldwork in Mauritius in the 1990s, Haring (2011) carried out a series of recordings with the late Ton (Uncle) Nelzir Ventre who constantly underlined the importance of the performance mode for most face-to-face interactions in Mauritius. Labelling 'obscure' non-Kreol words as langaz (language), he revealed that he viewed the process of performance-oriented, interactive and possibly multilingual forms of story-telling and singing as a process of 'translation' (Haring 2011, 186). In his words (Ventre's Interview, 1990, cited in Haring 2011, 186, emphasis mine):

62 I had to have finished presenting [tradwir] the story — to present all the words to the people listening. Do you understand me? Drum players and musicians accompany me. There is no dancing at that point. Tradwir means to tell the whole story beforehand, while singing. No dancing, just drumming. Everybody sits down and listens.

62 Please note that the translation is taken verbatim from Haring’s (2011) work. The translation of Ventre’s interview into English is his own. The original text which would have, in all likelihood, been in Kreol is not provided.
As the above lines illustrate, as the island underwent a demographic change through the arrival of indentured labourers, the traditions developed by the slaves also experienced a gradual evolution. For Nelzir Ventre, multilingualism did not imply either an automatic loss of the tradition of *Sega* performance that evolved during the slavery era or the exclusion of the Indian population from participating in this art form, instead, it provided an opportunity for the Kreol language to expand its lexicon by adopting and adapting new lexical features (Haring 2011). Concurrently, it also offered the storyteller the opportunity to broaden his/her fan base. These story telling sessions still made use of the percussion sounds generated by the *ravann* but instead of the hip gyrations that a Creole-only audience would have been used to, they utilised mainly a sing-song intonational pattern — an echo of the same prosodic particularities that would have been used by the *Sega* singer — and presented their now multilingual text in the form of a public performance. Haring (2011, 186) notes that he has often "wonder[ed] how many other Southwest Indian Ocean story-tellers have been as expert translators as Nelzir Ventre."

This emphasis upon the "tension and excitement [caused by] the combination of speech and song" (Haring 1997, 217) has been the focus of previous academic work which has highlighted the strong role played by lapses into song sequences during narrative performances (cf. Richon 2009). Haring (1997) provides the example of Ton Nelzir Ventre's story of a young lady of marriageable age, who after refusing many eligible bachelors, finally decides to marry a werewolf. She takes her brother Ti Zâ to live with them. The latter soon discovers that Prince Lulu, his brother-in-law is, in fact, planning to eventually murder and eat up his sister (Haring 1997). The next section where Prince Lulu converses with his fellow wolves and Ti Zâ manages to stage an escape by casting a spell over a "basket like a balloon" (Ventre, cited in Haring 1997, 217). Commenting upon Ventre's "hybridization of speech and song" (Haring 1997, 217), Haring (ibid, emphasis in original text) asserts:

The song of the wolves and Prince Lulu's answer ('Let's eat them!' 'Let them get fatter' in quick alternation) and Ti Zâ's song to the balloon are crucial moments in the narrative. The alternation yields a hybridization of 'two *individualized* language consciousnesses', as Bakhtin said. One is the rather impersonal consciousness of the

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63 Haring (1997) makes use of the former orthographic system of Mauritian Creole. Zâ, written today as Zan is pronounced as /zâ/. On the other hand, lulu, written today as *loulou* and pronounced as [lulu], means 'wolf'.

262
narrator; the other is the 'individualized linguistic consciousness and will of the character represented.'

The above description has been cited in full because it makes the following two very important points:

i. Firstly, lapses to song sequences which, as Ventre has previously pointed out, are simply lines of speech that are accompanied by a few percussion sounds, occur at moments deemed to be important by the narrator.

ii. Secondly, they can be considered as a stylistic device which allows the story-teller to flesh out his characters. In most cases, narrators will opt for verisimilitude and will try to craft an individual voice that is as close to the sociocultural reality of the community that they represent.

Similarly, it can be argued that linguistic interaction in Mauritius displays a similar degree of intersection between speech and performance. In a speech community where the transition from Sega Tipik to Sega Modern was facilitated through instances of story-telling that were acutely sensitive to the multilingual nature of its multi-ethnic populace, it is to be expected that the language practices of its inhabitants will perpetuate the same performance-oriented culture. The CS continuum, in Mauritius, is therefore, one that is deeply embedded within a sociocultural framework that has been influenced by the demographic and linguistic changes brought about by centuries of colonisation, resulting in the emergence of an art form that merges elements from both speech and performance. Consequently, language alternation phenomena become another way through which diversity can be performance. Spontaneous lapses into song, the co-occurrence of CS with laughter, the creative use of slang items and the innovative forms of mixed codes and fusion, these are all elements that are simultaneously part of the CS continuum and the sociocultural ethos of the island.

As seen above, the versatility of speakers clearly bears testimony to the sociocultural and linguistic framework within which they operate. It has also led researchers such as Coupland (2011, 573) to call for an enhanced theoretical emphasis upon what he labels as a 'sociolinguistics of performance' which considers "voice [as] the repertoire of meaning-making options available to performers." Subsuming within it issues of "dialect indexicality, the
management of singer identity and singer-audience relations through the performance of lyrics, rhythmic and bodily modalities” (Coupland 2011, 573), 'voice' also allows participants to create a new form of "lingua franca of musical expression" (Tagg 2006, 73), a functional resource which is activated in context-sensitive ways (cf. Hymes 1996). The above perspective finds an echo in Feld's and Fox's (1994) work on the interconnection between music and language in which they draw attention to the inter-relatedness between speech and song and reveal two categories of performance amongst others that fall squarely within the twilight zone that separates speech and song. These are, according to them, "sprechgesang (sung speech) and Sprechstimme (dynamically, rhythmically, and intonationally heightened speech)” (Feld and Fox 1994, 30-31). In the case of the speakers of this dataset, the presence of sprechsang and Sprechstimme can be detected as the interactants use their 'voice' in pragmatically consequential ways so that they can create their own musically expressive language that simultaneously allows them to project their own desired persona while maintaining the status quo that exists between them and their fellow co-conversationalists.

Further corroboration is provided by Bauman (2011) and Bell and Gibson (2011) who maintain that the sociolinguistic emphasis on 'natural, unselfconscious' speech should not render the analyst insensitive to other forms of context-specific and culturally-relevant vocal performances. To quote Bauman and Sherzer (1989, 7), performance consists of the "interplay between resources and individual competence, within the context of particular situations.” In the case of individual speakers, this competence is honed through their continuous contact with the languages and the interactional norms prevalent in their own speech community. The linguistic and paralinguistic resources available to each speaker is then, subsequently, activated in specific situations which provide them with the opportunity to translate their competence into pragmatically loaded performances. A similar scenario is at work in the Mauritian context as well. In a context which as Haring (2011) points out is deeply performance-oriented, the influence of Sega songs and interactive and polyphonic story-telling sessions would have, undoubtedly, shaped the linguistic competence of speakers, culminating in the final activation of these abilities in particular conversational contexts as they utilise their multilingual abilities in creative and impactful ways. Such performances can, unfortunately, sometimes be embroiled in controversy. For instance, Swift (2007) suggests that one reason for the racial riots that tore
the country apart in 1999 was not just the suspicious death of the Creole singer Kaya while he was incarcerated for smoking Marijuana in public but also the violent suppression of a voice that had, for years, campaigned for equality between the marginalised Creole community and other more socially privileged ones. Giving birth to a new art form known as Seggae, a form of fusion music that mixed elements of Mauritian Sega with Bob Marley's English-based Reggae, Kaya (cited in and translated by Swift 2007, 287) famously questioned the ethnic dynamics existing on the island:

Who are you that makes racism and fanaticism here,
Without thinking that our type is mixed...
If you really think that you are better
Then you are a fanatic
I have no shame in saying that I am a hybrid.

Following his death in police custody, many Creole youths openly blamed Mauritian authorities who they believed felt threatened by Kaya's "lyrical messages" (Swift 2007, 288). Indeed, in a similar vein to the song excerpt presented above, all of Kaya's musical portfolio have the theme of political militancy running through them. Although the level of language alternation in his songs was fairly low, the suggestion that it is his 'voice' of discontent, rather his drug usage, that proved to be fatal to him is one that needs to be taken into consideration (Swift 2007). As Swift (2007) argues, despite his death, ethnic tensions have not been put to rest. The only difference, today, is that speaker-performers are far more aware of the potential pitfalls of not using their vocal performance properly.

As the above perspective reveals, linguistic innovations cannot be viewed in isolation from the sociocultural contexts within which they occur. As a matter of fact, the Mauritian landscape is not limited to the instances of multilingualism that have made their way into Sega and storytelling performances. Indentured labour brought with it not just much-needed relief to the understaffed plantation communities but also a long tradition of Bhojpuri folk songs that are still performed, albeit in a more localised version, today (Servan-Schreiber 2011). The cultural

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64 Since all of Kaya's songs were designed to be performed and not commercialised, the actual date when this song was performed for the first time is unavailable. Copies of the songs, posted by user JMC Sega, are now available on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lzeXJXWNLdU, last accessed 12 April 2015).
and linguistic heritage of these Indian migrants is, at present, visible both in the Caribbean and in other parts of the word where Indentured labour flourished (Myers 1998, Ramnarine 2001). Ramnarine (2001) focuses specifically on the emergence of Chutney songs in Trinidad and Guyana and describes it as a reflection of the multicultural contexts of the Caribbean, culminating in the localisation of Indian forms of music to those that already existed on the local scene. Along similar lines, Myers's (1998) study of the music of Hindu Trinidad reveals a gradual erosion of the dipchandī or chachal tāl, a tune consisting of fourteen beats in favour of either a Bollywood-inspired Kaharwa tāl, a tune consisting of eight beats. The change in beat also makes it easier for the insertion of words that would not have, originally, fit a fourteen-beat tune. The possibility of such an occurrence was predicted by Grierson's (1884) seminal study of Bihari and Bhojpuri folk songs in late nineteenth century India when he had noted that for many performers, the actual lyrics of songs did not really matter. They would readily improvise and find words to fit the beat and metre of the song as the song progressed. He further added that "the melody to which they are sung is the only guide, and so long as the accent and musical ictus is provided for, the author cared little whether his syllables were long or short" (Grierson 1884, 229). Such improvisation was also common amongst the indentured immigrants who mastered those folk songs. As one of Myers's (1998, 257) states: "[H]ere people sing their own texts on the same tune". His complaint was against his fellow performers who felt empowered to change the lyrics of a song so long as they remained faithful to the original tāl or tune of the song. With a tune that has only eight beats instead of the usual fourteen, it is to be expected that performers would modify their lyrics in favour of words whose syllable structure and stress patterns would fit the requirements of an eight-beat song (Myers 1998, Ramnarine 2001). Consequently, in the long run, Bhojpuri folk songs gave way to more local variants which were both acoustically and linguistically different from their original versions.

A similar argument is made by Servan-Schreiber (2011) who believes that Bhojpuri songs in Mauritius have already undergone a process of 'chutnification' as they adapt to the rhythms of the Sega and the particularities of the Kreol language. In so doing, they have opened themselves up to the acoustics, choreography and also the language choices made by Sega performers and the average Mauritian. The implications of these changes are manifold. While

\[65\] Manuel (1997, 2009) makes a similar point regarding the evolution of Bhojpuri songs in the Caribbean.
on the one hand, the localisation of Bhojpuri folk songs indicates the high levels of acculturation and integration of the descendants of the indentured labourers into the increasingly hybrid fabric of contemporary Mauritius society, on the other, it also justifies the linguistic performance of the informants of this study. As shown in Section 4.1.5, some of the participants of this study borrowed a Bollywood-inspired form of musical expression and integrated it within their own speech. Fluent in Hindustani and exposed to Bollywood films and music from a very early age, for them, the shift from the fourteen-beat dīpchandī to the eight-beat Kaharwa of the Bollywood movie would not have been an altogether difficult one. In addition, given the nationwide popularity of Sega and other forms of story-telling performances, the blurring of the linguistic boundaries between Kreol, Bhojpuri, Hindustani, French and to a much lesser extent, English, would have been a staple of their daily interactions. Echoing Servan-Schreiber (2011), Ramnarine (2001) and Myers (1998), it is fair to assert that the emergence of a CS continuum in the Mauritian linguistic landscape is part and parcel of the 'chutnification' process that appears to be affecting various levels of linguistic and paralinguistic performance in Mauritius.

In essence, this section has attempted to situate the presence of the language alternation continuum evidenced in this study within the sociocultural context of multilingual Mauritius. It has attempted to correlate the creative forms of language behaviour of the participants taking part in this study with the linguistic and acoustic changes taking place at the level of sociocultural and linguistic practice in contemporary Mauritius. In the final instance, in keeping with changes that have already taken place and are still taking place in other Creole and Bhojpuri speaking contexts such as the Caribbean, it has argued for the possible consideration of these innovative forms of language alternation phenomena as a form of 'chutnification'.

5.5 Directions for future research

Both theoretical and empirical interest in Mauritius has tended to focus almost exclusively on its Creole. Multilingualism, despite being a staple of Mauritian life, has, sadly, not benefited from much scholarly attention. While this study has attempted to shed light upon the emergence of a CS continuum in Mauritius, the findings presented in the mixed lects and fusion stages are still relatively few in number. It is to be hoped that further research will be in a position to provide
additional credence to the arguments presented in this thesis through the provision of additional empirical support. One of the ways through which this can be achieved is through the modification of either the number or the profile of informants taking part in the study. In addition, this thesis has used, as its backdrop, theoretical perspectives derived mainly from the CA school of thought. It would be equally interesting to adopt a more identity-related approach to language alternation phenomena on the island by, for instance, opting for the application of Myers-Scotton's RC model to the local context.

Furthermore, the findings of this study can also act as a springboard for additional research regarding the applied dimension of language alternation research. Indeed, as the presence of fused forms has indicated, the potential for simple CS to eventually transform itself into a fully-fledged FL is a strong one. Although the focus of this study has remained sociolinguistic in bent, the implications of this gradual movement away from simple CS for the local education sector cannot be disregarded. As Sections 1.4 and 1.5 have highlighted, one of the reasons put forward for the high rates of failure at both the primary and secondary levels is the relative discomfort of many students at being expected to leave their home languages behind when they cross the threshold of their classroom. An understanding of the dynamic nature of language alternation phenomena could, therefore, empower teachers to make this transition from the home to the school domain as smooth as possible for young learners. While the presence of CS is anticipated by most teachers working in a multilingual context, very often, they assume that such language alternation would (i) firstly involve the simple juxtaposition of two or three languages and (ii) secondly arise because their learners are struggling for the mot juste. In contrast, as the findings of this study demonstrate, the pragmatic consequentiality of language alternation phenomena transcends the mere need to fulfil an existing lexical gap. It is fair to assume, therefore, that the learning of another language would not consist of simply 'weeding out' the home languages to make way for the target languages endorsed by the education system. In a multilingual context such as Mauritius, an understanding of the language behaviour of speakers can aid both policy makers and practitioners in devising instructional material that is more in tune with the pedagogical needs of learners. It would, therefore, be helpful for theorists and practitioners working in the field of pedagogy to draw from research being carried out from a sociolinguistic perspective. In the Mauritian context, a better understanding of the dynamism and versatility of
language alternation could inject new vigour in the study of language practices and behaviour in the local educational context.

Another key finding of this study has been the impact of constant language alternation over the matrix language, Kreol. Although Mauritian Creole has already been standardised and is being formally taught at primary level, it is to be expected that ongoing changes to the language will have to be taken on board by policy makers. With the gradual emergence of more fused forms, it is to be expected that further corpus planning would become necessary. Consequently, researchers can, in the first instance, focus on the potential impact of language alternation phenomena on the lexical, morphosyntactic and phonetic dimensions of Kreol. In the long run, the knowledge and experience acquired while dealing with the multiple aspects of Kreol language policy and planning can also be used for the revitalisation of the Bhojpuri language. Similar to its counterpart Kreol, Bhojpuri is also part of the Mauritian education system. Currently facing language attrition, it is to be hoped that insights from the field of language alternation could be used to enhance the appeal of Bhojpuri in the eyes of all users. All efforts to revitalise the language could, in the medium term, potentially delay the prospect of language decay and death.

In addition, this study has shed light upon the performance-oriented nature of many language alternation sequences. So far as Mauritius is concerned, the co-existence of language alternation phenomena with local practices such as story-telling and song performance is a research area that needs to be explored in additional depth. The contextually-relevant ways in which multilingualism can be performed in casual, everyday interactions deserves additional theoretical and empirical focus. The impact of such language alternation phenomena on more formal forms of performance such as pop songs can also be investigated. Indeed, the possibility of being able to trace the emergence of a CS continuum in the written and spoken media is one that cannot be disregarded.

In the final instance, this study has underscored the paucity of empirical evidence capable of supporting the theoretical claims made by researchers such as Auer (1999) who are some of the key figures having argued for the nascence of a continuum of language alternation phenomena in
stable and proficient multilingual communities. Although this study has attempted to fill in this gap by providing a few examples of LM and FL features, it is to be hoped that future research in the field of LMs and FLS will be able to move beyond theorising in the abstract and will, consequently, invest more time and energy in offering more concrete examples of the process of linguistic alloying at work.

5.6 Conclusion

On the whole, the aim of this thesis has been to trace the emergence of a language alternation continuum detailing the pragmatic specificities of different types of linguistic alloys ranging from simple CS to more complex forms of language alternation such as mixed codes and fused lects. Following typologies set out by researchers such as Auer (1998), Matras (2000a and 200b) and Muysken (2000) amongst others, it has sifted through the recordings of thirty-five informants carried out over a period of six months and has firstly focused upon the various conversational loci of CS in the Mauritian context. Particular emphasis has been placed on the conversational locus of playfulness and on the production of language alternation phenomena in innovative contexts. One example is the co-occurrence of CS and laughter or the performance of language alternation through paralinguistic performance such as the spontaneous lapses into song and dance sequences. During the mixed codes and fusion stages, the impact of language alternation at the syntactic, phonetic and semantic levels has also been particularly noteworthy. In the final instance, this study has attempted to provide a critical evaluation of the significance of the findings uncovered by this study by highlighting its potential contribution at the level of language policy and planning in Mauritius. In addition, it has also tried to offer a critique of the theoretical framework utilised in this study by elaborating both upon its specificities and strengths and its multiple weaknesses and drawbacks. On a concluding note, it is to be hoped that ongoing research in the field of the CS continuum will further help in refining the current theoretical framework and in providing the relevant empirical support required to flesh out existing theories.
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