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French And Spanish In Contact: Code-Switching Among Spanish Immigrants In France

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FRENCH AND SPANISH IN CONTACT: CODE-SWITCHING AMONG

SPANISH IMMIGRANTS IN FRANCE

By

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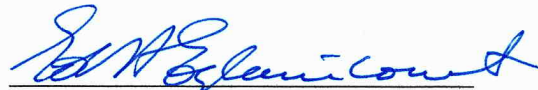
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This sociolinguistic study of the bilingual speech of Spanish immigrants in Toulouse, France focuses on the phenomenon of code-switching (CS). The analysis of the data showed that most CS was situational, rather than metaphorical. Three types of CS were found: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Their examination revealed that the insertion of French words was more common than of Spanish items, the alternation was most frequent in repetitions, and the congruent lexicalization was present at the grammatical and structural level. The speech of the individual participants was also analyzed, and it was found that the sociological aspects greatly affected the use of CS. Finally, the analysis of the frequency effects was conducted revealing that the topic of the nouns influenced the language in which the nouns were used. The results proved that it is impossible to conduct a reliable grammatical analysis without including the sociolinguistic aspects.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my husband, Jamie Dyer, who has motivated and inspired me throughout this project.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The issue of bilingualism has an interesting history in the discipline of linguistics. On the one hand, language translation and comparative studies of languages have been known and practiced for centuries. On the other hand, research with bilingual speakers is a relatively new focus of linguistics. Monolingual speakers have traditionally been in the center of linguistic research. However, as Milroy and Muysken (1995) point out, "mainstream monolingually oriented linguistics has a good deal to learn from research into bilingualism" (4). For example, by studying bilingual communities and individual speakers we can obtain information that may be useful for monolingual language variation research.

Bilingual speakers are becoming the standard worldwide, and it is no longer unusual to speak more than one language. According to Hamers and Blanc (2000), "it is time that bilinguality and bilingualism be recognized as the norm, and monolinguality and monolingualism as the exception" (360). Because of this trend, we have a great opportunity to explore this new area of linguistics and see how the languages can coexist within a community or an individual speaker and how they can influence each other.

The impetus for this study came with the realization that there is little research available on linguistic topics in Spanish and French bilingual communities. The only study dealing specifically with the speech of Spanish immigrants in France was done by Gadea (1983). Her work focused on the sociological functions of bilingualism in general, but it did not include an analysis of CS. Many linguists have urged for more case studies that would provide more data in order to better understand how and, most importantly, why CS occurs (Altarriba and Morrier, 2004; MacSwann, 2004; Muysken, 2004; Silva-Corvalán, 1997). Also, the frequency mode proposed by Bybee (2003) has been tested in monolingual conversations, but not in bilingual ones. The availability of a Spanish / French corpus provided the opportunity to study both of these.

The purpose of this study was to analyze the bilingual speech of a group of Spanish immigrants living in France and to determine how and why code-switching is used by bilingual speakers. First, an analysis of the use of nonce borrowings was conducted, since they are an important part of bilingual conversation. Then, the speech of the individual speakers who participated in the study was examined to determine their language preferences and the bilingual strategies they used. Then, the sociolinguistic aspects, such as the age of arrival to France, years lived in France, and education of the participants were examined. This was followed by a thorough analysis of the CS used in the conversations, with focus on grammatical characteristics such as the type of CS (i.e. insertion, alternation, or congruent lexicalization), situational CS, and metaphorical CS. Finally, the frequency factors

for unitary CS were considered. The frequency model was used to determine if the

rate of recurrence of certain words or topics, in production and perception, affected

the language of the conversation and the use of CS. The sociolinguistic aspects were

included throughout the analysis and proved to be crucial in the understanding of the

use of CS.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Earliest bilingual works

One of the earliest and most well known linguistic works dealing with

bilingualism and code-switching is Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1968). This

publication is generally considered the basis for bilingual studies. In this work,

Weinreich describes some of the issues of language contact and analyzes the

characteristics of bilingual speech. Some of his ideas have been shown to be invalid,

such as for example the notion that an "ideal bilingual switches from one language to

another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation… but not in an

unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" (Weinreich,

1968: 73). Many researchers have shown now that it is the more fluent speakers who

are more likely to use code-switching both intra- and inter-sententially (Zentella,

1997). However, the overall influence of Weinreich's work on the field of bilingual

studies cannot be denied. Since the publication of this work, bilingual research has

steadily become more popular. While the perception of bilingualism and code-

switching within the linguistic community has changed greatly from the original

notion of monolingualism as the standard, the general view of this issue remains in

many cases unaltered, and "some still assume that the main reason for CS is lack of sufficient proficiency" (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 217).

Sociolinguistic and grammatical approaches

The research in the field of CS can be divided into two categories: sociolinguistic and grammatical. The sociolinguistic approach deals with the issue of CS within a non-linguistic context such as the characteristics of the speakers and the situations in which the CS occurs. As pointed out by Boumans (1998) "The emphasis is on the speech event and the factors that motivate the switches" (10). The researchers in this area use discourse or conversational analysis to investigate the social factors involved in CS (Gumperz 1964; Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Auer, 1984; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Some of the important notions of this approach include the distinction between the situational and metaphorical switching.

This distinction was created by Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their study of CS between Ranamål and Bokmål, two dialects of Norwegian. The situational switching "assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972: 294). For example if a speaker changes a code because of the change in the number or type of participants in a conversation, this would be considered a situational switch. The metaphorical CS "relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972: 294). Later Gumperz (1982) referred to metaphorical CS as "conversational code-switching." Therefore, these terms will be used interchangeably. For instance, when the social situation remains unchanged but the

speaker changes the topic of a conversation and at the time of the topic shift also switches the code. Li Wei (1998) points out that in order to correctly classify CS as metaphorical one must have knowledge about the language which is considered the preferred choice for a particular topic before being able to recognize any divergence from the standard. Auer (1984) writes that the conversation analysis approach may be the ideal method of analysis here because in order to classify CS we need to take into account the preceding and following utterances, not just take statements out of context.

The grammatical approach focuses mainly on intra-sentential CS. Interest in this area originated in the 1980s with the publications of Poplack (1980), Bentahila and Davies (1983), Nishimura (1989) and continued with the research of Myers-Scotton (1993, 1995), Muysken (1991) and others. The goal of this approach was to analyze the morphosyntactic structure of CS and its intra-sentential constraints (Myers-Scotton, 1998). Certainly, the in-depth analysis of grammatical aspects of CS provided many answers for technical and structural aspects of this phenomenon; however, the problem of many initial analyses was that they did not take into account the sociolinguistic and psychological aspects which greatly affect the grammatical outcomes. Nowadays, researchers realize that both methods, grammatical and sociolinguistic, are necessary in order to obtain an accurate understanding of CS, and they incorporate both approaches into the analysis.

Nevertheless, many issues remain overlooked. Areas such as psychology and neurology are often omitted in the analysis. One of the reasons for this is the lack of

technology that would allow us to study brain activity in a bilingual setting. In some cases the technology may be available, but it is expensive, and funding for research is an important issue. Another disadvantage of including neurology in the studies is the unnatural setting in which the experiments and recordings would have to be conducted. Not many people have spontaneous and relaxed conversations on an every day basis while getting a brain scan. Such a setting would without doubt affect the data collected and the results of the analysis.

      1.   Linear and categorical approaches

The linear and categorical methods of analysis form a subset of the grammatical approach. The linear approach analyzes the language taking the word order into account. This approach has been used in many of the theories of CS including the Equivalence and Free Morpheme constraints developed by Poplack, which are discussed below. The analysis conducted using this method is based on the order of words in an utterance, which can create problems when analyzing structures that can be moved freely to various positions in a sentence, such as the adverbs in English. This type of analysis may be easier to follow because it seems natural to follow the order of words, but it does not always account for all the possibilities and combinations of items in an utterance.

In the case of categorical method, which is also referred to as insertional, (Myers-Scotton; 1993, Muysken, 2000) the word order is not a major aspect of analysis. The same results can be obtained but the descriptions can be much clearer and simpler because there is no need for word for word analysis of the context. Also,

with the categorical approach the grammatical categories of the words in linguistic context do not have to be specified. In addition, the analysis of complements that can be moved is much easier in a non-linear approach because the location of the complements is irrelevant.

2.   Equivalence and Free Morpheme Constraints

One of the great contributions to the field of bilingual research was the work of Poplack (1980) on Spanish-English CS. From that study, the Equivalence and the Free Morpheme constraints were developed. Even though both of these constraints have been shown to have limited credibility, they have advanced the grammatical research of CS.

The Equivalence constraint states that "the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously" (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981:5). This means that if a certain construction is grammatical in both languages, CS may occur. However, if that construction is possible in only one of the languages, CS is prohibited. Consider the following example: both in French and Spanish the adjective generally follows the noun; therefore it is possible to switch between the two languages and use a French noun with a Spanish adjective. However, in Polish the adjective precedes the noun so, according to this constraint, it would not be possible to use a Polish noun with a French or Spanish adjective. As noted by Boumans (1998), the Equivalence constraint is applicable for English-Spanish CS but not for other language pairs (14).

A similar situation exists with the Free Morpheme Constraint, which states that a bound morpheme from one language cannot be used with a lexical item from another language "unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme" (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981: 5). Also, both of the constraints predict that CS occurs very rarely or is not accounted for completely. In other words, the Equivalence Constraint predicts that CS is possible between words that exist in identical linguistic contexts in two languages, such as function words, but "with the exception of conjunctions and discourse markers, the insertion of single function words is rather uncommon" (Boumans, 1998: 17). The lack of limitations in the predictability of these constraints makes them less credible.

3.   The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model

The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993). The ideas and the principles addressed by Myers-Scotton have been discussed by other researchers before her. However, her terminology has been most widely used in recent years. This model proposes that the language that "sets the grammatical frame in mixed constituents" be called the Matrix Language (ML) (Myers-Scotton, 1998; 220). The language that is inserted into that structure is the Embedded Language (EL). This idea assumes a certain hierarchy. ML is considered to be to a certain degree the dominant language. It is important to point out that the ML does not necessarily have to be the speaker's native language. The MLF also claims that another hierarchy is present. This hierarchy deals with the morphological aspect of the language. Myers-Scotton makes a distinction between system and

content morphemes (Myers-Scotton, 1995: 235), a distinction that requires a more morphologically-oriented data and analysis that is beyond the scope of this study.

Myers-Scotton gives sociolinguistic factors as the criteria for labeling the ML. The first of these is the markedness of a language. In this case, an unmarked language within a certain sociolinguistic situation is more likely to be the ML. The term "unmarked language" refers to the status or general acceptance of a given language in a situation or a society. For example, generally speaking, in the United States the unmarked language is English because it is used by majority of the population. On the other hand, English would be considered the marked language in Quebec, where French is the dominant language. The markedness of a language can be also analyzed on a much smaller scale. For instance, within a group or a family of native Spanish speakers in the United States, English can have the marked status, even though, on a larger scale in the same country, it is the unmarked choice.

The issue of markedness is a subject of many heated debates between linguists mainly because it involves the ideas of standard language dialects and the general acceptance of a speaker by the majority. The character of markedness is usually both linguistic and social. As Muysken (2000) points out, there are several problems with using markedness as a means of classification of languages. One of them is that "there is little indication that the patterns of code-mixing in communities where code-mixing is not an unmarked choice are highly unusual" (Muysken, 2000: 29). In other words, studying the utterances and conversations that include CS is, by definition, a study of a marked form of language.

The second criterion for distinguishing the ML is the judgment made by the speaker. Myers-Scotton (1995) presents studies (such as Kamwangamalu and Lee (1991)) showing evidence that the speakers are able to distinguish the more dominant language in their own speech. While this may be convincing, we have to keep in mind the fact that often the speakers are not aware that they are engaging in CS, and as a result, they may not be able to accurately point to the more dominant language. A third factor that has to be considered in identifying the ML is the quantitative aspect. ML is usually the language which has a higher frequency of morphemes within a course of several utterances. In this analysis it is essential to remember that ML can change within the course of a conversation, especially if the conversation is long. Myers-Scotton (1995) notes that a given language has to dominate for at least two sentences in order to be classified as ML (238).

4. Government theories

DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986) have proposed the application of government constraint in CS studies. This notion is generally applied in syntax studies and was adopted in the area of Generative Linguistics. The principles reflected in those theories are therefore based on the X-bar theory and the idea of government in syntax. In the X-bar theory, the head of the constituent governs the other nodes. The government notions state that certain items will require adjacent elements to take a specific grammatical form. For example, the preposition *w* 'in' in Polish takes a locative complement so that any noun and its complements following this preposition will have to take locative case.

This concept has important implications for CS. DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986) have shown "that ungoverned elements, such as tags, exclamations, interjections, and most adverbs can easily be switched" (Muysken, 2000: 21). The main reason is that they simply do not have to be changed to conform to any of the rules of the language. Since exclamations, for example, are not dependent on other structures, they can be used in another language without any changes. On the other hand, if one were to insert an English word 'house' instead of 'domu' into the Polish phrase, the preposition 'w' would require that changes be made in the form of this word. That creates a problem because there is no locative case in English and therefore the adjustment of this item into Polish would be quite complicated and it would probably have to be accompanied by phonological changes.

As an example of a grammatical approach to CS, the government theory is the most purely grammatical, without consideration of other factors. It has contributed to the research in the field and aided in the increased understanding of the structural aspects of CS. However, it does not take into account any sociolinguistic issues that are undeniably an important part of the CS analysis.

The advantages of this approach are that it can be applied to a great number of languages, and it offers a straight forward example for analysis which is easy to follow and apply. However, since it is based on the generative theory and the idea of universal grammar, it has the similar shortcomings as those approaches. While the importance of Chomsky for the growth of linguistics cannot be denied, many of his

ideas have been proven to be limited in their application, and the theories that follow

his ideology, unless they have been substantially modified, will be likewise limited.

     5.   Insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization

Another important part of the grammatical analysis was the classification

formulated by Muysken (2000) of various types of CS based on the structural

characteristics of language mixing. Muysken distinguished three processes of CS:

insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization.

Insertion refers to CS material from language A, which is placed in the

structure of language B. The inserted material can be either a single lexical item or

an entire constituent. Alternation is a process in which two languages are used within

one sentence but in separate clauses. The third process, congruent lexicalization,

refers to a situation in which the two languages are interchanged several times within

a sentence. In this type of CS, the grammatical structure of a sentence does not come

from one language, but is a true mix between the structures of the participating

languages. The difference between alternation and congruent lexicalization is the

level of grammatical convergence within the phrase. Muysken also points out, that,

even though traditionally the dialectal switches are not included in the study of CS,

this type of mixing can be classified often as congruent lexicalization.

Typological approaches

In the 1970s there was a great interest in typological studies in CS, but they

were limited, to a great degree, to studies of Spanish-English cases. Gumperz and

Hernandez-Chavez (1971) examined data coming from Puerto Rican and Mexican immigrants. They found that CS was very likely to occur in certain grammatical situations, such as between a head noun and a relative clause, but it was not likely to occur in others, for example within a verb phrase. Other studies conducted in late 1970s opposed those results (Pfaff, 1979).

Another pair of languages that has received a great amount of attention involves the study of French-English bilinguals, particularly in Canada (Grosjean, 1985). Also combinations of languages native to a country with languages spoken by groups of immigrants, such as French – Wolof (Poplack and Meechan, 1995), Dutch – Moroccan Arabic (Boumans, 1998), etc., have been the focus of many studies in recent years. There still remain many language pairs that have not been studied sufficiently.

These individual case studies are important because, in order to be able to form accurate theories, there has to be sufficient data supporting the claims. What is true for one language pair may not be true for many others. Theory revisions will have to be made as more language pair studies provide data.

Code-switching versus borrowing

Another debate deals with the distinction between CS and borrowing. While most linguists recognize that CS and borrowing are two different phenomena, they tend to agree that they "are clearly related in their motivations… because they meet speaker's expressive needs" (Myers-Scotton, 1998; 228). In the case of both CS and borrowing, the speakers often do not realize that they are in fact using various

languages. It some situations, the use of borrowed material may be more evident than CS to the listeners, because borrowing often occurs within a largely monolingual conversation.

The main issues in this dispute originated from the idea of nonce borrowings, introduced by Poplack et al. (1988). In Poplack's original proposal, this term referred to words that are switched for a single occasion and do not repeat. Unlike borrowing described above, this type of borrowing requires a certain amount of bilingualism since it is not a widespread or repetitive occurrence. More recently, the term "nonce borrowing" includes items that do not add any real meaning to the conversation, such as interjections and function words. In theory, the distinction between nonce borrowing and lexical CS is straight forward, but when analyzing the data, the distinctions become less clear, partially due to the limited amount of situational data available.

Boumans (1998) states that one of the criteria that allows us to distinguish between borrowing and CS is the language proficiency of the speakers. According to Boumans "the definition of code switching as the alternate use of two languages implies a certain amount of bilingualism" (52). Therefore, a certain degree of fluency is required in order to use CS. On the other hand, one does not need to know a foreign language at all in order to use borrowed words. For example, how many native speakers of English who say 'burrito' actually speak or have ever studied Spanish?

Morphological aspects are also included as criteria for the distinction between borrowing and CS. Muysken (2000) points out that "code-mixing involves inserting alien words or constituents into a clause" (69). This means that the material is inserted directly from one language structure to another without being transformed through the lexicon. The borrowed material from language B is introduced into the lexicon of language A where it is adapted to the syntactic structure in language A. This material is then inserted into an utterance from the lexicon of the language A. As noted by Poplack and Meechan (1995) "borrowing is the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language" (200). The CS material is generally inserted with its native phonology and morphology, while the borrowed material is adapted into the borrowing language. While the phonological aspects of borrowing and CS are important in distinguishing between the two phenomena, this criterion fails at times because of the production capabilities of the speakers. For example, if a speaker of French is unable to produce the Spanish [r] when CS between the two languages, we cannot use the pronunciation as a criterion for the analysis. In those cases, other aspects have to be considered, such as the use of the particular item of language A by monolingual speakers of language B.

Frequency factors

Most linguists who study CS conduct a quantitative analysis of the data. As Muysken (2000) points out, frequency of occurrence is an important factor in CS research because we do not know how CS works from a psycholinguistic perspective.

We do not have the technology that would allow us to analyze the brain functioning when engaging in CS. One of the most recent developments in linguistic theory has been the emergence of the frequency model (Bybee, 2003). This model, unlike many others, is closely related to neurolinguistic research. It accounts for the frequency of usage of tokens and applies the neurological findings about brain activity. The main idea behind this model is that items used more frequently have strengthened neurological connections in the brain and, therefore, are more likely to be used again. Usage refers to both production and perception of tokens. The neurological connections can be strengthened by repeatedly hearing a certain item, not just by saying or writing it.

While linguists have taken frequency into account in their analysis, they have not used the frequency model and all of its aspects (such as the perception frequency). However, it is possible that the frequency will greatly affect the items that are switched, and this option has to be studied further.

Theoretical basis for this project

The ideology that is crucial in this project is that one has to use whatever means necessary in order to obtain the most accurate analysis possible of the data. Following this idea, throughout this study no single theory which was adopted. The theories were chosen based on the type of analysis that seemed most appropriate for the data. While it is important to remember that all theories have their advantages and disadvantages, and they all have certain flaws, they are all appropriate for various types of analyses. It is also necessary to not be limited to one option and to utilize

whatever works for each particular aspect of the project. Therefore, many of the theories were used during this study in order to take full advantage of their strengths and limit the shortcomings that they may have.

The sociolinguistic and grammatical issues are essential in the full understanding of CS, and both were included in this project. However, one of the difficulties with examining the sociolinguistic and psychological aspects of CS is that, with limited situational evidence, there is no adequate way of investigating the reasons why individuals engage in CS. Since people are often unaware of their use of several codes within a conversation, it is not easy for them to answer the question: Why did you say part of this sentence in Spanish rather than in French? While we may be able to observe this phenomenon and examine it structurally, the sociological and psychological issues are often left unproven. Certainly, the analytical strategies such as discourse analysis offer more explanations and answers to the questions about the reasons for CS. The grammatical approach, in contrast, allows us to look at how this phenomenon is structured. While both approaches are addressed, the sociolinguistic analysis is partial because of the limited information regarding the reasons for the use of CS. During the interviews, no questions were asked about the reasons why the speakers used CS; our analysis is based solely on the linguistic data and the information obtained from the interviewer.

Aspects of the MLF model were used because they allow for a clear grammatical analysis and also help with the sociolinguistic aspects, such as determining the language and culture with which the speakers may identify. Since

the native language for most subjects was Spanish, in most cases it was used as the

ML. However, following Myers-Scotton (1995), in situations where French becomes

the dominating language, it was considered the ML. Throughout the analysis, the ML

changed according to the data recorded. Even though there are limitations to the

Government theory, there are many aspects of it which are useful for the grammatical

analysis, and they were used as needed.

The issue of CS versus borrowing has also been taken into account. The main

difficulty with this analysis results from the somewhat limited amount of data

available. It was not possible to determine which words, if any, were considered

borrowings in the ML, so, for the purpose of the study, most items were considered to

be CS rather than borrowed.

Since one of the goals of this study was to determine the effect of frequency on CS,

the frequency model was used extensively throughout the project, and its principles

were applied in many of the analyses.

The distinction between nonce borrowings and CS was made partially based

on the classification of and Myers-Scotton (1995, 1998, and 2002). The nonce

borrowings and loan words were analyzed separately from the CS tokens. Unlike in

the classification made by Poplack (1988), who classifies all unitary tokens inserted

into another language as nonce borrowings, we will distinguish between the unitary

items that progress the conversation and the words that do not add much to the

discussion.

 The meaning of situational and metaphorical CS, as applied in this project, was restricted to two aspects. The CS was classified as situational if it was the result of a clear change of the number of participants or the addressee of the utterance. Metaphorical CS was considered to be one resulting from a topic shift or an apparent reference to a particular subject.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to conduct the sociolinguistic analysis, it is necessary to understand the political situation that resulted in the migration of the participants of this project to France. This section presents the state of affairs in Spain in the years 1936-1939. We will describe the events which led to the Spanish Civil War and resulted in political changes, which were the cause of the great migrations of Spaniards throughout Europe and the Americas. Then, we will focus of the regime of Francisco Franco and the migration wave of 1939 and of the post-war period. Finally we will talk about the situation of the refugees in France.

The political situation in early 20th century Spain

1. The beginning of the conflict

The beginning of the 20th century in Spain was quite peaceful. The country was making many changes to internal policies and had granted voting rights for women and autonomy to the Basque country, Galicia and Catalonia. However, the elections of 1936 marked the beginning of a catastrophic political struggle. The elections were won by the Popular Front, which was a coalition of left wing parties. Since the coalition was formed mainly for electoral purposes, once they had won,

they quickly split into their original parties, which greatly weakened their influence.

The tensions between the Popular Front and the National Front (a right wing

coalition) were escalating. In the first half of 1936 a number of political murders

occurred, including the murder of Jose Calvo Sotelo, a right-wing leader.

2.   The Civil War

On July 17, 1936 the military generals on the nationalist side, attempted a

coup d'état. Although their attempt to take over the whole of Spain failed, they did

manage to get control of a third of the country. The generals had hoped for an easy

win, but the coup transformed into a civil war. The war began with great cruelty and

violence: the socialists launched a violent attack known as "Red terror" against the

Catholic Church. They burned churches and convents and destroyed everything that

had religious significance. They also killed approximately "7000 clergymen and

women in what turned out to be the greatest clerical bloodletting in modern times"

(Esenwein, 2000; 237). The nationalists also spread terror in Spain in a wave of

paseos, which were murders of anyone who opposed their regime and anyone who

was not a Catholic. The nationalist violence was called the "White terror." The main

difference between the Red and White terror was in the authorization of their actions.

The actions of the Red terror were not authorized by the Popular Front. At the same

time the Nationalist coalition supported the actions of White terror, even though they

never admitted it. The country was divided into two parties, the Republican and the

Nationalist. This division resulted in the participation of Spaniards on opposite sides

of the conflict during the Second World War. Some joined the Nazi armies, while others fought with the allied forces against Germany (Stein, 1979).

3. International reactions

England and France decided on a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war mainly because they feared that their involvement could result in the spread of this conflict throughout Europe. They also urged other countries to follow the same policy. Germany initially did not pay much attention to the situation in Spain, but on seeing that Germany could benefit by helping Franco, Hitler soon sent aid to the Nationalist forces. Franco also received the support of Mussolini, who sent supplies and equipment to Spain. The leftists received help from Stalin in exchange for a great amount of gold that was transported to the Soviet Union to be stored there until the situation in Spain was settled.

4. Franco's regime

Three years of fighting resulted in the victory of the Nationalists with their leader Francisco Franco. At the beginning of his rule, Franco received support from the Catholic Church, which gave him even more power and validated his regime. He strived to create a perfect, Catholic, Spanish-speaking, and racially-uniform country. The nationalists also wanted to make sure that the gender roles were clearly assigned, with women staying at home and men working for the state. While on the surface the Franco regime did not appear to be as ruthless as those of Germany and Italy, a closer look at the situation of those living in Spain at that time reveals that the moral and

psychological oppression as well as government control, were without doubt cruel and unbearable. It should be noted that even today, some people in Spain would argue against this statement. There were many people who supported Franco and were comfortable during the years of his regime. Franco remained the dictator of Spain until his death in 1975. In 1978 the constitution was approved, marking the beginning of democracy in Spain.

The migration waves

1. The early migrations

The first wave of migrants consisted of exiles and refugees, and it began in early 1939, at the end of the Civil War. Most of the Spaniards who fled in that period were put in concentration camps on the beaches in France. It is estimated that, during this wave, approximately 200,000 to 360,000 refugees arrived in France (Stein, 1979: 6). Overall it is estimated that as many as 500,000 Spaniards fled their native land (Cate-Arries, 2004; Macdonald, 1987).

In this early wave of migration the situation of the refugees was terrible. The French government tried to relocate many of the refugees to the central and northern parts of the country because many cities in the southern regions were not able to support the large numbers of immigrants. The conditions in which the refugees had to live were miserable. Stein (1979) tells stories of refugees who were put in an old factory, slept on straw and were mistreated by the inhabitants of the town. He describes that those who were trying to help the refugees were ultimately prohibited

from visiting the camp because of the dirt and the spread of disease. Weeks after arriving at the camp, the refugees "were still wearing the clothes in which they had left Spain, and many were barefoot" (Stein, 1979: 13). Similar events occurred on a much larger scale in later months of 1939 throughout France.

2. Migrations during the Second World War

The migrants who arrived in France during the war were enlisted in the French army or worked as laborers in agriculture or in the war industry. Many were employed in the production of guns, gunpowder, and machinery in Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Vichy. Many also joined the French Foreign Legion. The Spaniards were recognized for being able to sabotage many of the Nazi operations and rescue soldiers and prisoners. The numbers of Spaniards in the French army grew and in 1943 twenty percent of the sixteen thousand soldiers in the French Foreign Legion in Africa were Spanish.

During the war, the Spaniards also migrated to Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Argentina and other countries. However, the numbers of those migrants are inconclusive and often inaccurate.

3. Post-war migrations

These migrations were caused mainly by the Franco regime and the post-war situations in Spain. Many of the immigrants from this wave tried to appeal to the international community for help in ridding Spain of Franco, but the United Nations

has decided not to interfere with the situation. They "feared the possibility of a Red Spain more than they feared the actuality of a fascist one" (Stein, 1979: 235).

On the other hand, many Spaniards wanted to return to their homeland and try to start a revolution against Franco's regime. Once they found out that the international community would not get involved in the situation, they decided to take matters in their own hands. The results of their decision were deadly for most of them. Those who attempted starting a revolution were either sent to prison and tortured or killed. Especially in the early post-war years, the fighting in Spain was constant. The guerrillas tried to overthrow the government but failed. The fighting continued throughout the regime, but the intensity decreased.

4. Migrations between years 1960-1970

The migrations continued well into the second half of the twentieth century. Most of the immigrants from that period were forced to leave their homeland due to the economic situation in Spain. This was the wave of the economic refugees. While some were comfortable under the Franco regime, many people lived in unacceptable conditions. Many chose life as refugees instead of a struggle in their homeland. Most of the participants in the study arrived in France as a result of economic hardship and were part of the migration wave in this period.

The situation of immigrants in France

Until recently, it was impossible to research the position of the French public on the arrival of the Spanish refugees because most of the documents containing that

information have been classified and not available as resources. Many of them still remain inaccessible, which suggests that there are things that the French would rather not share with the world about their actions and approaches to the immigration waves. The stories and hardship of the Spanish refugees are often forgotten and their contributions to French society minimized, as pointed out by Stein (1979).

Many of the refugees arrived in Toulouse. The city was close to the Spanish border and provided many jobs for the immigrants in the war industry. Rapidly, Toulouse was transformed into an immigration center (Llorens, 1976). According the *Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques* (1999) there are 316,000 immigrants of Spanish origin living in France. The number of speakers of Spanish living in France is much greater: 485,000. According to information from an interview with a representative of the Spanish Consulate, in the year 2002 there were about 15,000 Spaniards registered with the consulate from the region of Toulouse[1]. However, it is estimated that the number is far greater because many of the immigrants who arrived during the Franco regime are not currently registered with the consulate.

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[1] Telephone interview from January 14, 2002 with the Consulate of Spain in France conducted by the researcher

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data collection

The data were collected over a period of several months in a Spanish

Community Center in Toulouse, France[*]. The location was chosen because of the

large numbers of immigrants who settled in that area after the Spanish Civil War.

The corpus consists of audio recordings of informal conversations and interviews.

There were no scheduled meetings or questionnaires. The participants came to the

center on a regular basis as they have always done, and their routine remained

unchanged. They were asked if their conversation could be recorded, but were given

no rewards for coming to the meetings or for participating in the project.

The interviewer went to the center with a recorder and, depending on who was

at the center at that time, she either conducted individual interviews or group

recordings. In the case of individual interviews, the participants generally described

their life story to the interviewer. For the most part those recordings are monologues

with occasional questions from the interviewer that were asked in order to clarify a

previous statement or to obtain more information.

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[*] Toulouse corpus, interviews conducted by Patricia Manning Lestrade, January - June, 2002.

The group recordings were conducted by putting the microphone on one of the work tables. Often more that one group would be conversing at the same time; therefore, the recordings are at times unclear due to the overlap of dialogues.

Since both the individual and the group recordings were done in a setting familiar to the participants, the resulting data represents very natural speech. This is a great advantage over a recording conducted in a sound laboratory where the conditions would be more formal and unnatural, and the speech patterns would probably be greatly affected. Also, the participants were involved in another activity while talking, which took their focus off the recording. This again is advantageous because there is less chance that they were paying attention to the way they were speaking. If they had been sitting in a laboratory, they would speak differently from their natural pattern. People use various styles and registers in different social contexts, and a change of setting in this case would influence the participants. This does not mean that they would have changed their speech patterns on purpose. This alteration often takes place on a subconscious level.

On the other hand, the informal setting has its disadvantages. The recordings are at times incomprehensible due to background noise. This applies to both individual and group recordings because often the individual recordings were done in the same room where the group members gathered. Also, the number of speakers varies in the group recordings, which increases the variables which have to be taken into consideration during the analysis. Then again, the changes in the number of participants allow us to analyze and distinguish the situational and metaphorical CS,

which would have otherwise been impossible. In interviews where the number of participants is constant, there is no possibility of observing the situational CS, and only the metaphorical CS can be analyzed.

Another disadvantage of this setting is the quality of recordings. Because of the background noise and other disturbances, phonetic analysis of the data is not possible. It would not be possible to obtain accurate measurements of the wave frequencies, which change if the recording contains interferences. However, the analysis of CS can be conducted without an acoustic analysis. For the most part, impressionistic analysis is sufficient for determining the phonetic and phonological aspects of CS.

The participants were recorded in the group sessions as well as in individual interviews. Therefore, there are samples of their speech in monologues and conversations with others. This allows for a comparison of the characteristics of their speech in various social situations.

It is important to point out that the interviewer's native language was English. She spoke Spanish fluently and knew some French. Almost all of her questions and answers were in Spanish. Interestingly, the participants still engaged in CS even though they were not sure of the interviewer's fluency in French.

Data selection

From approximately fifty hours of interviews, six recordings were selected with the total length of six hours. The recordings were chosen based on the quality of the sound as well as the general characteristics of the speech. Only the recordings

contributing to the CS data were retained. In the chosen recordings, there were thirteen participants, three of whom spoke only French and did not engage in intra-sentential code switching. All of the participants who used code switching were recorded individually as well as in a group. Only four of the individual interviews were included in the corpus selected for this study; however, the information from the other dialogues was used in the sociolinguistic analysis.

Participants

    1.   General characteristics

Ten of the participants were fluent in French and Spanish. Most of them went to France as young adults and have lived there most of their lives. The participants were not given any rewards for attending the meetings. Several times the interviewer brought snacks to some of the meetings as it was customary for all those attending. This was not a special treatment or reward to the participants. It actually contributed to the interviewer being viewed more as part of the group since everyone followed the same custom. Twelve women and one man were participants in the recordings.

    a. Age of the participants

Most of the participants were in their sixties or seventies. Many were born in Spain and came to France in their twenties or thirties with their families. Table 1 shows the information about the age of the participants.   In some cases the information was not available because the participants were not asked to fill out a questionnaire.

Table 1   Participants by age

Pseudonym	Age at the time of recording	Age at immigration from Spain	Years living in France
AB69	92	29	63
LM56	88	32	56
MC51	76	30	53
RA46	72	N/A	48
TA67	72	36	36
MP37	70	7	63
SR36	65	18	47
EL57	62	24	38
LR61	62	22	40
ND23	51	French native	

RA46 lived in France for 48 years; but she has never lived in Spain. The reason for that is that she lived in Persia and Uruguay for over twenty years. MP37 lived in Spain for only seven years and exhibits a native-like fluency of French. MC51 was born in France to Spanish immigrants but moved to Spain at the age of 7. She lived there with her family until 1956 when she immigrated to France with her husband. All of the non-native speakers of French are first generation immigrants. Three participants, AA48, SI70, and MA95, were native speakers of French, have always lived in France, and did not provide information about their ages. For these reasons, they were not included in the above table.

b. Language skills

Most of the participants, with the exception of three of the native speakers of French, are fluent in French and Spanish. AA48, SI70, and MA95 can understand

some Spanish but do not speak it. The data for this section was based on the

information given to the interviewer during the recordings as well as on the analysis

of speech samples from each of the participants. The speech of each participant was

analyzed quantitatively based on the number of utterances in each language. The

utterances which included intra-sentential CS were classified based on the number of

words in each language. Table 2 presents the information about the languages spoken

by the participants.

Table 2   Languages spoken by the participants

Pseudonym	Age at immigration from Spain	Preferred language	Other languages
AB69	29	Catalan, Spanish	French
EL57	24	Spanish	French
LM56	32	Spanish	French
LR61	22	Spanish	French
RA46	22	Spanish	French
TA67	36	Spanish	French
SR36	18	Spanish	French
MP37	7	Unable to determine	French, Spanish
MC51	~30	Unable to determine	French, Spanish
ND23	N/A	French	Spanish
AA48	N/A	French	Understanding of Spanish
SI70	N/A	French	Understanding of Spanish
MA95	N/A	French	Understanding of Spanish

For some of the participants there was not enough data to establish clearly

their language of preference. For example, MC51 during the 6 hours of interview

only speaks twice and both times in French. We can assume based on her personal

information that she speaks both languages equally well, but we were unable to

determine her preferred language. One of the instances in which she speaks is a conversation in Spanish but she joins the others using French. Knowing that one of the participants is not fluent in French, one would assume that she would try to accommodate that person by using Spanish, but this is not the case. This would suggest that she prefers French to Spanish. However, there is simply not enough data to support this claim, and we have not classified any of the languages as the dominating one for that speaker.

MP37 also participated in only one of the sessions chosen for the study, and she spoke only French. Considering that she left Spain at the age of seven, it is possible that French is her preferred language. However, in her individual interview she said that she uses Spanish at home with her husband and children, which points to her being equally comfortable in both languages.

The situation with TA67 was similar. From the recordings used in this study it could be concluded that TA67 prefers French because almost all of her utterances are in French. However, the personal information shows us that she is more comfortable with Spanish especially considering the fact that she did not leave Spain until she was 36 years old. In her case the classification was made based on information established not directly from the data in but from the information provided by the participant.

2. Individual descriptions

AA48 – a French native speaker married to a Spaniard. She does not speak Spanish but has been a member of the group for a long time.

AB69 – (92)[†] she was born in Barcelona and her native language is Catalán. She left Spain in 1939 with her husband. He was republican, was accused of being communist, and was sent to several war camps. She has one daughter who speaks French, Spanish and Catalán. They speak Catalán at home.

EL57 – (62) born in Valencia, she arrived in France in 1963 because she married a Frenchman. She has two children and talks to them in Spanish. Her daughter is a Spanish professor. EL57 returns to Spain for vacations. She watches television in both languages. She has become a French citizen but says that in her heart she is Spanish.

LM56 – (88) born in 1914 in the province of Soria. He was a political refugee and was imprisoned because he was trying to stop the right-wing party from gaining control. He escaped to Guadalajara in 1936 and went through several camps. Finally in 1946 he got a stable job in Toulouse and later became a citizen of France.

LR61 – (62) born in León, and her family still lives there. She came to France in 1962 to be with her husband (also a Spaniard). Later they moved back to Spain, but after two years they returned to France. She has three children. They all know both French and Spanish, but they only speak Spanish at home.

MA95 – a native French speaker who joined the group through a friend. She speaks only French but understands some Spanish.

MC51 –born in France to Spanish immigrants. She moved back to Spain with her family in 1933. She later returned to France with her husband and children

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[†] The age of the participants (if known) at the time of the interview is given in parenthesis

because of the economic situation in Spain. Her whole family has French citizenship, and they all speak French at home. Her children do not speak Spanish.

MP37 – (70) born in Barcelona and immigrated to France with her family in 1939. She still has family in Spain but does not want to go back, not even to visit. She has two sons who are fluent in both French and Spanish.

ND23 – (51) born in France but married a Spaniard. She is the president of the Spanish center, where all the interviews took place. She used to go on vacation to Spain with her family. She has two sons who understand Spanish. The older son is also able to speak it.

RA46 – (72) she was born in France near the Spanish border to Spanish parents. She married a Spaniard and moved to Montevideo in 1951. In 1965 they came to Toulouse for one year and then moved to Persia. They returned to France in 1976. She has three children who speak only French.

SI70 – a native French speaker, who has been a volunteer for many years and became interested in the group and its activities. She does not speak any Spanish but understands some.

SR36 – (65) born in Valencia. She has four daughters, none of whom speak Spanish, even though her husband was also a refugee from Spain.

TA67 – (72) she is the daughter of a political refugee. Her father was sent to French Morocco after the war and returned finally in 1950. In 1966 the family moved to Toulouse. She was born in Alicante and much of her family remains there. She has kept her Spanish citizenship but feels she is as much French as Spanish.

Transcription

The data has already been transcribed by other researchers. The purpose of the original transcription was to analyze the speech of the individual speakers. In order to avoid mistakes, all the interviews were checked a second time. This decreased the perception bias, a likely result if only one person had transcribed the data. During the second revision, remarks were also added regarding the pauses, intonation, and pronunciation, which were later used in the analysis.

Grammatical analysis

All data containing French and Spanish vocabulary was identified. A total of 516 tokens of bilingual speech were found, which were divided into two main categories. The first category, with 210 tokens, contained examples of nonce borrowings and loan words. These were analyzed according to the language of origin of the word and the native language of the speaker and possible causes of their use were determined.

The second group included examples of true CS, of which there were 306 examples. The criteria used to classify the bilingual speech tokens were based on Dabène and Moore (1995) who make a distinction between unitary and segmental CS. A unitary code-switch involves only one item, while a segmental one involves an entire utterance or constituent. In the quantitative analysis, each unitary CS was considered to be one token; in other words, the change back to the original language was not included in the count. In those instances, the lack of grammatical switch was

also a criterion for classification. The case of individual insertion of lexical items

was analyzed with particular attention given its similarity with lexical borrowings.

If the switched sample was a more substantial utterance, it was counted as one

token, and the return to the original language was counted as a separate token.

Therefore, it was possible to have several switches within one utterance. The

distinction between the two cases is shown below:

(1)   RA46 : La *blanca* elle est pas plus fine ? Mais faut la rendre. Et la blanche ?
         RA46: The *white one*, isn't she finer? But she should be returned. And the
         white one?

(2)   MA95 : Il est bien cet homme hein ?
         EL57 *: Muy agradable, muy simpático*
         RA46: Très bien.
         AA48: Qu'est qu'il est président là ?
         RA46 : Je sais pas
         SI70 : Il est très bien élevé, très bien instruit

         MA95: He is good, that man, hm?
         EL57: *Very pleasant, very nice*
         RA46: Very well.
         AA48: Is he president there?
         RA46: I don't know.
         SI70: He is very well brought up, very well educated.

Sample (1) shows an example of a unitary CS, in this case an insertion of a

Spanish noun into a French utterance. Cases similar to this one were counted as one

token. In conversation (2), a segmental CS, there are two switches present. The first

one occurs when EL57 answers in Spanish to a question asked in French. The second

one is when RA46 continues the conversation in French. These cases were counted

as two tokens.

All CS tokens were also divided using Milroy and Muysken's classification system, which resulted in three sets of data. The first two sets were both of inter-sentential CS, as in (2) above. Of these, the first set included the CS occurring within one conversation but between different speakers. While some of the recordings were considered to be just one conversation, most of them contained several conversations. The number of conversations was determined based on the speakers present, the topics discussed, and the pauses in conversations. In several cases there were two conversations at once and some speakers participated in both conversations. In those situations, the speakers were counted as present in both conversations. The number of conversations on each recording, and the number of participants in each conversation are shown in Table 3.

Table 3   Number of participants per conversation

Recording #	Number of conversations	Participants per conversation							
		#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
1 SF10	1	2							
2 SF11	4	2	5	2	5				
3 SF 16	1	4							
4 SF17	5	6	8	6	2	8			
5 SF34	8	6	2	7	3	5	4	5	7
6 SF35	1	9							

The second set consisted of examples of CS used by one person but within different utterances. The final set contained examples of CS used by one speaker within one utterance. This type of CS is also known as intra-sentential.

Individual analysis

This part of analysis focused on individual participants. First, the number of CS tokens per speaker was determined. The criteria for this count were consistent with the classification offered by Dabene and Moore (1995), as described above. The unitary CS items were counted as one token, while the segmental items were counted as two. These tokens were then classified further into two groups: inter-sentential and intra-sentential.

Several aspects of the inter-sentential switches were studied. First, it was determined which speakers were initiating the switches and which speakers changed their code based on a switch initiated by a previous speaker. This helped determine which participants were more likely to use both codes and which ones resisted the CS and stayed with their preferred language. Factors such as the presence of native French speakers and the participation of the interviewer, who was not fluent in French, were taken into account.

In this part, aspects of conversational analysis were used in order to better analyze the individual speakers. The conversational analysis, as noted by Li Wei (1998), allows us to view the conversation sequentially and determine some of the individual characteristics and preferences of the participants. The tokens containing both inter and intra-sentential CS were analyzed and possible causes of their occurrence determined.

Sociolinguistic analysis

The sociolinguistic data about the participants was gathered from the individual interviews. During these recording sessions the participants talked about themselves and about their lives. The data was then organized in a 'sociolinguistic profile' following the example of Boumans (1998). A sample of this form is given in Table 4.

Table 4   Sample of the sociological profile of the participants

1	Pseudonym
2	Number of recording(s) on which this participant appears
3	Gender
4	Age (if known)
5	Place of birth
6	Years residing in France
7	Education / profession
8	Languages spoken
9	Nationality
10	Language preference (according to the participant)
11	Language used at home
12	Family information
13	Other comments

The sociolinguistic aspects of this study included the analysis of the initiation of CS, resistance to language change, CS depending on the number and type of participants, and individual factors such as age of arrival in France, years spent in France, education, and everyday contact with both languages.

The use of a particular code based on the native language of the participants as well as the number of the participants in a conversation was determined. For each

conversation, the number of speakers and their native language was established. Then, the dominating language for each conversation was verified based on a quantitative analysis of utterances in both languages. The language of the utterances was based on the number of lexical items in each utterance. Because morphological analysis was not the focus of this study, lexical items rather than morphemes were used.

Another aspect which was studied was whether the dominant language changed with the arrival of certain speakers. This analysis followed the ideology of Glom and Gumperz (1972) and the distinction between situational and metaphorical CS. The CS caused by a change in a non-linguistic context is called situational. The metaphorical CS occurs when the social aspects remain unchanged but the speaker changed the code to convey a certain meaning through the switch. By arrival of a participant we mean not only physical entrance of a person into the room in which the conversation was taking place but also one's joining the conversation after a period of silence.

The factors such as age of arrival and years spent living in France were also considered in the analysis. After the dominant language for each speaker was established, the results were compared with the personal information.

Finally, the data collected from the interviews about the use of both languages in everyday life were considered. It is important to keep in mind that this information was provided by the participants but was not verified by observing the participants

outside of the Spanish center. Therefore, the results of this part are subject to exaggeration or inaccuracy on the part of the participants.

Insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization

All examples of CS were divided also into three groups based on the type of the switch. The unitary items were classified as insertion and the Matrix Language Frame model was used for their analysis. The segmental switches were classified as either alternation, if the switch occurred once in an utterance, or as congruent lexicalization if the structure of the utterance could not be classified as belonging to either French or Spanish. The analysis of these two types was based on Muysken (2000), since the determination of the Matrix Language did not provide constructive results.

Situational and metaphorical CS

Since the recordings were conducted in a center created to support Spanish immigrants and to emphasize their Spanish identity, it could be assumed that Spanish would be the standard for this setting. However, this assumption cannot be made because there are some native speakers of French who also visit the center.

The data was analyzed with respect to the number of speakers and the topics of conversation. In this part of the analysis, all of the inter-sentential CS tokens and the segmental switches from the intra-sentential CS were included. The CS tokens were classified as situational if they were a result of a change in the number of

participants. They were classified as metaphorical if the social situation remained unchanged, and the language was switched because of a topic shift.

Frequency factors

As discussed earlier, the frequency factors could only be established from the perspective of production. A complete perception analysis was not possible due to the lack of data. Nevertheless, some perception aspects were considered because while one person was talking, the others were listening, a factor which could influence what they said later in the conversation.

All tokens of unitary CS were categorized by their part of speech. This study focused only on the unitary noun insertions. All nouns occurring in bilingual context were counted and analyzed with respect to the language and topic. The guidelines for the classification of the nouns were based on Poplack and Meechan (1995) and their analysis of CS of nouns in a Wolof / Fongbe – French conversation. The classification criteria are presented in Table 5. The adjacent context of the unitary items was considered during their classification.

The monolingual items were those which were surrounded by words in the same language as the item in question. In the case of tokens at the beginning or the end of an utterance, the adjacent word had to be in the same language as the token studied. The bilingual tokens were those for which at least one of the adjacent items was in the other language.

Table 5   Classification of the unitary tokens

	Preceding context	Token	Following context	Classification
1	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Monolingual Spanish
2	#	Spanish	Spanish	
3	Spanish	Spanish	#	
4	French	French	French	Monolingual French
5	#	French	French	
6	French	French	#	
7	Spanish/ French	French	Spanish	Bilingual of French origin
8	Spanish	French	French/ Spanish	
9	Spanish/ French	Spanish	French	Bilingual of Spanish origin
10	French	Spanish	Spanish/ French	

The monolingual items were not included in this study because they were far more frequent than the bilingual ones and, therefore, the quantitative analysis would not have been substantial if these items were included. Just in the first conversation, which lasted 24 minutes and 45 seconds, 475 nouns in monolingual context were found; only three nouns in bilingual context were used. Therefore, the bilingual nouns constitute less than one percent of the total number of nouns. This sample showed that the comparison of the monolingual and bilingual nouns throughout the six hours of corpus would not have generated significant results. Instead, the analysis focused on the topic of the conversation and the code-switched nouns.

The nouns were classified based on the topic of the conversation. They were then analyzed only within the bilingual data to determine whether there were any patterns for CS based on the topic of the conversation.

It should be pointed out that the recordings were at times incomprehensible, which affected the frequency analysis. However, the amount of incomprehensible

data was minimal when compared to the total available corpus, and it was judged to

be insubstantial so that the results of this analysis are considered valid.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Nonce borrowings and loan words

In the six hours of recordings, twenty conversations were distinguished. In twelve of them, the dominant language was French. The details about the participants and the dominant language of each conversation are shown in Table 5 in Chapter IV.

The analysis of the nonce borrowings and loan words revealed that the speakers were more likely to insert the French words into the Spanish conversation than vice versa. As presented in Table 6, the most commonly used words were *mais* 'but,' *voila* 'there,' and *oui* 'yes.' Evidence that French insertions were more common than Spanish is given by the 53 occurrences of French *mais*, while there were only four occurrences of *pero* 'but.' Similarly, the French *oui* occurred 51 times in the bilingual context but the Spanish *si* 'yes' was used only 18.

Often, the participants would repeat a word several times and switch between the two languages. The most noticeable was the repetition of the confirmation words.

(3)   ND23: Ben parce que faites pas assez attention à la points.
         MA95 *: Si, si* avec la… l'explication.

         ND23: Well, because you don't pay attention to the points.
         MA95: *Yes, yes* with the…the explanation.

Table 6   Distribution of nonce borrowings per conversation

Conversation Number / Token	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	13	14	15	16	18	19	20	Total
French																	
Voila 'there'	5	1	2	6	4	2		2	6						4		32
Mais 'but'		2	33	1	7					3	2		2	1	1	1	53
Oui 'yes'			16	7	9			1	4	1	2		2	1	6	2	51
Hein 'eh'			10		6		1		5				3	1	2		28
Bon 'good'					2	4							1			1	8
Alors 'then'		1													1		2
Pour 'for'			2														2
Quoi 'what'			1		1												2
Encore 'again'									1								1
Ça va 'okay'											1						1
Comme 'like'													1				1
Spanish																	
Bueno 'good'					1				1								2
Sí 'yes'				1					5			2	6			4	18
Porque 'because'								1	1								2
Como 'like'									2								2
Pero 'but'				1				1				1	1				4
Pues 'well'																1	1
TOTAL per conversation	5	4	64	15	30	7	1	5	25	4	5	3	16	3	14	9	210

This repetition can be explained by applying the conversation strategies used both in monolingual and bilingual dialogues. The strategy used often by the participants was confirmation of comprehension. This was a way of letting the other participant know that everything was understood and that the other person could continue speaking. At other times, the repetition was just an answer to a yes/no question, as in example (4) below.

(4)   ND23 : tu vas prendre les ciseaux ?
         SR36 : Oh, oui *si si*

         ND23: are you going to take the scissors?
         SR36: Oh, yes, *yes, yes*

The French expression *hein* 'eh' was also commonly used by most of the participants in the Spanish conversation. On the other hand, the Spanish equivalent *eh* was rarely used, even in a monolingual Spanish conversation, and there were no instances of its use in a French context. It should be noted here that because of the quality of the recordings, at times the nasal aspect of the French *hein* was not easily distinguishable.

(5) SR36: Pero no, me creo que empezó aquí. La …empezaba…
      Yo creo que ..empezaba aquí, *hein*?
      RA46: No sé. No, a mi m'ha dicho la señora que habían querido probar…
      SR36: Qu'hicieron, *mais* …no hicieron, *hein*?
      Yo creo que es aquí ese dinero, *hein*?

      SR36: But no, I don't think that he began here. It…he started…I think that he
      started here, *hein*?
      RA46: I don't know. No, to me the lady said that they wanted to try…
      SR36: What did they do, but…they didn't do, *hein*? I think that it is here that
      money, *hein*?

Another pair of words, French *bon* and Spanish *bueno* 'good,' confirmed the previous results. In a bilingual context, the participants used *bon* more often that *bueno*. The distinction between the French *non* and Spanish *no* was nearly impossible to differentiate, and a reliable analysis was not possible. For that reason, these words were not included in the analysis, even though they were often used in the conversations.

The quantitative results of the nonce borrowings analysis depend on the amount of data in which each of the languages acted as the Matrix Language (ML). Twelve of twenty conversations were conducted in French; therefore, it is surprising

that most of the nonce borrowings are French tokens used in Spanish context.
However, the gap between the number of tokens from each language in the bilingual
contexts is so large that other factors may be affecting these findings. From the
results shown in Table 7, it can be seen that the ratio of French nonce borrowings to
the Spanish ones was almost 6:1.

Table 7   Nonce borrowings used in bilingual context by language

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	13	14	15	16	18	19	20	Total tokens
French in Spanish context	5	4	64	14	28	7	1	3	16	4	5		9	3	14	4	179
Spanish in French context				1	2			2	9			3	7			5	31
Total per conversation	5	4	64	15	30	7	1	5	25	4	5	3	16	3	14	9	210

One of the possible explanations may be found in the situation in which the
nonce borrowing occurred. In many cases, the speaker would use the French word
when French native speakers were participating in the conversation. For example, in
conversation 11, there were four native speakers of French and four native speakers
of Spanish. As shown in Table 7 above, this conversation contained the third highest
number of total nonce borrowings. It has the highest number of Spanish words used
in French context. This can be explained by the fact that the native Spanish speakers,
when using French in conversations with the French natives, inserted Spanish words.
There are very few examples of French native speakers using the Spanish words.
Even ND23, who speaks Spanish fluently, rarely inserted Spanish nonce words into
her French conversations.

Conversation 16 contains the second largest number of Spanish nonce borrowings in a French context; however, the majority of those words are repetitions of *sí.* Interestingly, the several examples of the insertions come from French native speakers. Example (1) above is a quote from a conversation among two French and one Spanish native speaker. The repetition of Spanish *sí* is done here by MA95, a native speaker of French. This suggests that, with time, the native speakers of French may start using some of the most commonly heard Spanish words.

The use of French words was less extensive in conversations with the interviewer. For example, the first conversation was an individual interview in which only the interviewer and EL57 participated. The interview lasted almost thirty minutes, and it was conducted in Spanish. During such a long dialogue, EL57 used CS four times, but there were no Spanish nonce borrowings in these switches. She used the French word *voila* only five times.

Similarly, in the individual interview with LR36, only seven examples of French nonce borrowings occurred. Even though this speaker used more French than EL57, there were still no examples of Spanish nonce borrowings in the French context.

This evidence suggests that the speakers limited the number of words they borrowed from French when talking individually with the interviewer. Since the speakers were not asked if they consciously limited French in their conversations with the interviewer, it is impossible to know whether the decreased number of nonce borrowings in the interview was a result of conscious effort.

Individual participants

       1.   AA48

This speaker participated in five conversations and spoke ninety utterances. She is a native speaker of French, and all of her speech samples were in French. She participated only in the monolingual French conversations. There is no evidence of her understanding Spanish. On several occasions she was in the room when the other participants spoke both languages in one conversation, but she did not join in until they had switched entirely to French. This suggests that she has a limited understanding of Spanish and it seems that even though she had been married to a Spaniard, she has little interest in learning this language. It is also possible that she simply was not interested in parts of the conversation and, therefore, participated in only selected sections.

       2.   AB69

AB69 participated in three conversations and spoke thirty-seven utterances. More than twenty of them were in Spanish. She did not initiate any switches into either French or Spanish. There was one instance of an intra-sentential unitary CS.

(6)   AA48 : J'ai cherché quoi moi ?
        AB69 : Ils ont préféré *estar* à coté, mais bon
        AA48 : Qu'est ce que j'ai cherché alors ?

        AA48: What am I looking for?
        AB69: They preferred *being* on the side, but well
        AA48: What am I looking for then?

In this example, she used the Spanish verb *estar* in a French context. The conversation in which she participated was mostly in French. The other participants included two native French and two native Spanish speakers. There was intersentential CS in this conversation, but AB69 did not participate in the dialogues where it was present. This case of unitary CS is difficult to classify either as situational or metaphorical. The participants of the conversation do not change. The topic of this sentence, however, does not seem to fit the preceding or the following sentences. It is possible that AB69 is making a comment to something which is not said, in which case it is not possible to determine the full situational context. If she is, in fact, commenting on something not related to the statements of AA48, then she may be speaking directly to one of the native speakers of Spanish, which would explain the use if CS. However, due to the lack of evidence for the non-linguistic context of this situation, it is not possible to come to a definitive conclusion.

Another aspect of AB69's speech that has to be taken into consideration is that her native language is not Spanish but Catalan. She and her husband spoke Catalan at home, and their daughter also learned that language. Therefore, in her conversations, she always used her L2. Since both French and Spanish are her non native languages, it is possible that she does not engage in CS between them. This case should be studied further in a separate study to determine if those speaking more than two languages are more likely to CS between their native language and the non native one or between the two or more non-native languages.

3.   EL57

This participant was present on all of the recordings. She participated in sixteen of twenty conversations. She has produced one of the largest amounts of data among all of the participants. Her language of preference is Spanish. This was confirmed in the individual interview in which she said that she always uses Spanish at home, and her children speak it fluently. The analysis of the data also verified that information. One of the clearest indications of that was the count of utterances in both languages.   In the six hours of recordings, EL57 spoke 541 utterances, out of which 483 were in Spanish. The ratio of Spanish to French utterances was 8:1.

The analysis of the inter-sentential CS revealed that EL57 initiated as well as continued CS. She initiated a total of 26 switches. The switches were divided into two groups: those in which the switch changes the language of the subsequent conversation and those in which it does not change the language. The first group, containing eight samples, included the changes that were accepted and continued by other participants.

(7)   MP37: Je vais boire, il faut boire.
        RA46: Là, t'a un verre là
        EL57: *¿Qué quiere, café, café, o qué es lo que quiere?*
        MP37: *No no, de té.*
        EL57: *¿Este té? La cuchara, la cuchara.*

        MP37: I am going to drink, one should drink.
        RA46: There, you have a glass there.
        EL57: *What do you want, coffee, coffee, or what do you want*?
        MP37: No, no, tea.
        EL57L *This tea? The spoon, the spoon.*

Example (7) shows a situation in which EL57 initiates a switch from French to Spanish and this change is accepted by other participants. In all of the examples from this group, EL57 made a switch from French into Spanish. This suggests that she was more comfortable speaking Spanish than French.

The second group contained 18 examples of situations in which EL57 initiated a switch, but the change was not continued by other participants. This occurred most often in conversations in which the native French speakers participated.

(8) AA48: Et pourquoi tu es pas venu plus tôt toi ?
  EL57: *Porque ... su hijo en su casa*
  MP37: Eh, mon fils vient manger, il rentre quand il veut, il sort quand il veut.

  AA48 : And why did you not come earlier, you ?
  EL57: *Because...her son at home.*
  MP37: Eh, my son comes to eat, he returns when he wants, he leaves when he wants.

Clearly, here EL57 attempts to change the conversation language into Spanish, but the other participants do not accept that change. MP37, who in example (8) agreed to the switch and adjusted her language to the one chosen by EL57, here resists the change. It is possible that the reason for her resistance to language change is linked to the presence of a native French speaker, AA48. It is possible that MP37, knowing that AA48 does not speak Spanish, decides to continue the conversation in French. Also, she is in fact answering a question posed by AA48, who asked her why she had not come earlier. The utterance of EL57 is an interruption, and, while it answers the question, MP37's answer is more elaborate and gives further detail. Obviously, EL57 knows MP37's personal situation and does not think that further

explanation is needed. She assumes that saying that she has a son at home constitutes

a sufficient explanation. It seems that AA48 is not familiar with MP37's situation,

and MP37, realizing this, decides to give her more information.

Almost all of EL57's attempts to switch the language have occurred in

situations where she tried to change the conversation to Spanish from French. There

is only one example of her initiating a switch from Spanish to French.

(9)   SR36: Allí de todo. En San Sernín el domingo el de todo
        EL57*: Vous connaissez pas la marche Saint Sernin*?
        SR36*: Il faut* ir el domingo. Hay muchas cosas, muchas más cosas, muy
                barato
        X[1]: El domingo… El domingo a San Sernín
        EL57: A la basílica *Saint Sernin…Saint Sernin*…San Sernín
        X: Pues tengo que ir.

        SR36: There of all. In San Sernín on Sunday of all
        EL57*: You don't know the march Saint Sernin*?
        SR36: *One should* go on Sunday. There are many things, many more things,
                very cheap.
        X: On Sunday…On Sunday to San Sernin
        EL57: To the basilica *Saint Sernin…Saint Sernin*…San Sernín
        X: Well, I have to go.

In the above fragment, EL57 changes the language from Spanish to French.

The response of SR36 begins in French, suggesting that she is willing to accept that

change, but she quickly switches back to Spanish. This can be explained with the

participation of the interviewer in the conversation. Since the subjects know that the

interviewer is not fluent in French, they may be trying to accommodate her by

keeping the conversation in Spanish. The second utterance of EL57 is in Spanish and

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[1] X – marks the utterances of the interviewer

even the pronunciation of the name is noticeably changed between French and Spanish. This is evident from the nasalization of the final syllable. She begins with the French *Sernin* but concludes by saying *Sernín* as it would be pronounced in Spanish. This shows that she is also making the language adjustment to help the interviewer understand the conversation.

In general, EL57 appeared to be more comfortable in Spanish, and often attempted to change conversation from French. The fact that other participants resisted that change on average two out of three times implies that they did not have such a strong preference.

Another aspect of CS which was analyzed pertained to how EL57 reacted to CS initiated by other participants. In fourteen cases, EL57 accepted the language switch, both from Spanish to French and vice versa.

(10)   EL57: *Cuánto dinero ahora y …cuatro veces al banco. . . una vez…*
       SI70: C'est joli hein?
       X : C'est joli, oui.
       EL57: C'est très joli.
       RA46 : Ah, oui.

       EL57 : *Now how much money and …four times to the bank…one time*
       SI70: Isn't this pretty, hein?
       X: It is pretty, yes.
       EL57: It is very pretty.
       RA46: Oh, yes.

The above example shows a situation in which EL 57 has accepted a language change initiated by SI70, a native French speaker. In this situation, the interviewer was also present, but since there were also native French speakers, EL57 chose to

continue in French rather than Spanish. This example is different from others in that

EL57 changes her language not only because of the participants, but also because she

actually joins a new conversation. Previously, she has been talking to two other

women, RA46 and SR36, and was using Spanish. Here, she joins the other group in

their conversation and adjusts her language to theirs. This switch is clearly

situational.

An important aspect of EL57's speech is her resistance to change into French.

In seventeen cases, she has kept using Spanish, even though the other participants

have changed into French. However, there were no examples of her resisting a

change into Spanish from French.

(11)　RA46: Ben oui voilà, mais je dois l'inviter, mais je me retiens, je les invite
　　　　pas, parce que ils fument
　　EL57: *En la noche el respectaba y…fumar…Ahora no fuma pero fuma*
　　　　candidas... Fuma las candidas...
　　RA46: Elle en a fume au moins dix, cigarettes. Elle mange pas et elle
　　　　est grosse, hein. Elle mange pas, elle fume !

　　RA46 : Well yes there, but I should invite him, but I stop myself, I don't
　　　　invite them, because they smoke
　　EL57*: At night he respected and …smoke…Now he does not smoke but he*
　　　　smokes cigars…He smokes the cigars…
　　RA46: She smoked at least ten cigarettes. She does not eat and she is fat,
　　　　hein. She does not eat, she smokes!

The above example shows that even in a French conversation, EL57 is likely to

continue speaking Spanish. Within this conversation there were several instances

when EL57 did not speak French, even when answering a French question. There is

no reason for EL57 to continue her conversation in Spanish other than her preference

for that language. This is especially evident since neither the topic nor the social

situation changes. There is no change in the participants of the conversation.

Therefore, the reason for her resistance to French is clearly personal preference.

One of the few cases in which EL57 keeps using French is after a clear

indication from the man she is speaking with, that he would like to speak French.

(12)   YM: Bon, c'est vous que je cherche.
        EL57: *Soy yo, ¿Quiere hablar conmigo*?
        YM: Oui, mais en français.
        EL57: Comme vous voudrez.

        YM: Well, you are the one I am looking for.
        EL57: *It is me. Would you like to talk to me*?
        YM: Yes, but in French.
        EL57: As you wish.

The man makes it clear that he wants to have a conversation in French and EL57

follows his request. However, even with that request, EL57 slips in a few CS. This is

the only situation in which EL57 does not change the language, and, with the

exception of one word, she uses only French. She uses the Spanish word *familia*

instead of the French *famille* when talking about the people she knew from Spain.

(13)   YM: Vous avez dit qu'elle ressemblait a une de vos cousines qui était là-bas -
            Elle est en bas parce qu'on est mal garé.
        EL57: Parce que je connais deux familles comme ça. *Y* elle je viens de me
            rappeler maintenant que son rapport de cousin, et de cousin germain de
            germain… S'appelait Macilla. La *familia* Descampez…Qu'est ce que
            vous voulez savoir ?
        YM: Mais où c'est qu'ils étaient en Espagne? Parce que j'ai cherché…

        YM : You said that she resembled one of your cousins who was down there.
            She is there because they parked wrong.

EL57: Because I know two families like that. *And* she, I remember now, that her relationship with the cousin, and the first cousin of the cousin…Her name was Macilla. *Family* Descampez…What do you want to know?

YM: But where were they in Spain? Because I am looking for…

This can be easily explained by the fact that she relates this family to her native country and therefore is more used to talking about them in Spanish. This is an example of how the sociological factors and correlations can influence the language of a conversation. This case can be classified as metaphorical CS, because by the use of Spanish in this particular situation, especially after a clear request for French, she emphasizes the connection between the topic and the Spanish culture.

The results of all types of analysis clearly point to the fact that EL57 favors Spanish over French and even though she is fluent in both, in a bilingual situation, she is very likely to attempt to change the language of a conversation. At times, the language she uses depends on the participants of the conversation, such as the conversation with the interviewer or with the native speakers of French. However, in general, she prefers the use of Spanish and often resists the switch into French.

4. LM56

LM56 participated in only one conversation and spoke twelve utterances. He always continued the language used by others and never initiated switches. He spoke nine utterances in French and three in Spanish. While he did not use CS, he did use nonce borrowings. In just those three samples of Spanish, he used the French *mais* two times.

(14)   LM56: *Mais* esa señora…se burlaba porque eso se lo habíamos dicho varias
              veces…

       LM56: *But* that lady…she joked because that, we said it many times…

This suggests that he was likely to use French words in a Spanish context. However, the fact that the ratio of French to Spanish sentences was 3:1 implies that he favored French over Spanish. It is possible that because he preferred French, he was more likely to insert it into his Spanish conversation. Unfortunately, we were unable to confirm these hypotheses or draw any further conclusions because of the lack of sufficient data.

5.   LR61

The data obtained from LI61 was for the most part in Spanish. The ratio of Spanish to French utterances was 12:1. She spoke a total of 181 utterances. This, without doubt, is enough data to conduct a reliable analysis of her speech. One factor that has to be considered is that she only participated in two conversations. In both of them, the majority of participants were native speakers of Spanish. For that reason, it is not surprising that her speech samples are mostly in Spanish. What is interesting is that even in predominantly Spanish corpus, she used a great amount of CS. This is not evident in the quantitative analysis of the utterances because the sentences were classified based on the majority of words in one of the languages. Therefore, if there was intra-sentential CS, but the nature of it was unitary, or the segments switched contained fewer words from the language B than language A, the sentence was

classified as belonging to language A. Thus, it is important to consider the intra-

sentential CS occurring in the data from this participant.

(15)   EL57: Pero no me hice nada para ir a vivir, no. Pero la única cosa de que
               tengo miedo sabes que es por la medicina.
         LR61: La medicina en España…*elle ne marche très bien. Quand il était
               malade* tenía una deformación de un pie, *et…et* le dieron de cuatro
               meses…

         EL57: But I did not do anything to go to live, no. But the only thing that I am
               afraid of, you know, that is the medicine.
         LR61: The medicine in Spain…*it does not work very well. When he was sick*
               he had a deformation of a foot, *and…and* the gave him four months…

The above example shows the moment in which LR61 started using French in the

Spanish conversation. Until that point, almost everything, with the exception of a few

nonce borrowings, was said in Spanish. This switch was unusual, because on several

other occasions, when the participants discussed something pertaining to Spain, they

tended to use Spanish in the conversation. Here, the conversation turns to French

when discussing Spanish health system. The following example shows that the other

participants also started using CS and the conversation became a truly mixed

dialogue:

(15)   LR61: Quand j'avais mon fils tout petit et…et il a…*eso le dijo* a mon fils
               que…et j'ai commencé à me déshabiller sur sa…Et il m'a dit « no, no,
               no, no te deshabilles » le dit à la secrétaire « *márcala
               tetetetete* »…*eso* dit *me, eso me* dit
         SR36: Parla espagnol, oui ?
         LR61: Oui, *eso me* dit… « que je… que votre fils …*márcala a la secret…
               tatatatatata* » Oui. …*Más la prueba,* les enfants : le premier… il est
               morte parce qu'il est né en hiver. Le deuxième, je suis allée chez
               lui…il me dit…il me dit…et bon …

LR61 : When I had my little son and …and he…*that is what he said* to my
son that…and I started to get undressed on his…and he told me « *no,
no, no, do not undress* » he said to the secretary « *mark her
tetetetetete* »…*that is what he* said *to me, that* he told *me*

SR36: He speaks Spanish, yes?

LR61: Yes, *that* he told *me*…"that I…that your son…*mark her to the
secret…tatatatatatata*" Yes…*More of a proof*, the children: the
first…he died because he was born in the winter. The second, I went
to him…he told me…he told me…and well…

LR61 is describing the doctor whom she visited in Spain when she was
pregnant with her second child. She uses mostly French but inserts Spanish in the
quotes as well as in other parts of the description. She uses the Spanish neuter
demonstrative pronoun *eso* three times in French context. She also changes the
French verb *déshabiller* and adjusts it to fit the Spanish sentence; she pronounces and
conjugates it as if it were a Spanish verb. She uses it when quoting what the doctor
told her when she started undressing. The words *tetetete* and *tatatata* presumably
refer to the medical terms, which the doctor dictated to the secretary.

Another aspect of CS can be seen in the utterance *eso me dit*. The indirect
object pronoun *me* could be classified either as French or Spanish. There is no way
of determining this by looking only at the pronoun, since the form of the first person
singular indirect object pronoun is identical in both languages. It is clear, however,
that *eso* is a Spanish demonstrative pronoun and *dit* is the French past participle. The
past participles are used in French in the passé composé tense together with the
conjugated form of the verb *avoir* or *etre*. Therefore if this was a French structure,
the correct form would have been as follows: *m'a dit*. However, here there is no sign
of the verb avoir, which suggests that the structure underlying this sentence comes

from Spanish. In Spanish this fragment could have been *me dijo*. This structure is closer to the one which was used by LR61, *me dit*, in which she used the French verb instead of the Spanish one. Interestingly, she did not simply exchange the verb with one that has the same form, but instead, she used the past participle. One of the possible explanations may be that in French the passé composé is the equivalent of Spanish pretérito. The simple past tense is rarely used in France and therefore the closest tense was the passé composé.

If we accept this explanation, then the next question we have to ask is: Why did she not use the auxiliary, which is a required part of the conjugation of verbs in passé composé? It is possible that since she was replacing only one word, she felt that only one word needed to be inserted. Also, since in French, the auxiliary would be attached to the indirect object pronoun, she did not focus on it. One of the factors that may be important here is the issue of education. From the individual interview we know that LR61 grew up in a very rural area and began working at age fourteen and had not continued her education beyond that point. Therefore, it is likely that LR61 learned French only through oral methods, in which case she may not be familiar with the grammatical structure of this language. If this is the case, she may not have a technical knowledge about the structure of passé composé.

Another possibility is that, even though the situation which she describes happened in the past, she used present tense in the description. In this case, the form *dit* could be interpreted as the third person singular present tense conjugation.

Also, it is possible that she confuses the conjugations of the Spanish verbs

decir 'to tell' and *dar* 'to give.' The first person singular preterite form of *dar* is *di*,

which is exactly what LR61 says. Therefore, the mixing occurring here might not be

bilingual, but instead involve the verb conjugation within one language.

This was the only example in the whole corpus in which this occurred, and

further study of this aspect of CS should follow to explore the possible explanations

of this case. The sociological factors should be included in the study, since they are,

without doubt, important in the full understanding of this phenomenon.

6.   MA95

MA95 is a native French speaker who does not speak Spanish but is able to

understand some of it. She participated in only 4 conversations, and almost all of her

speech samples are in French.

(16)   SR36: Te digo que *parlo* yo *comme* una, una vaca lechera.
        MA95: Una vaca francesa.

        SR36: I tell you that I *speak like* a, a milk cow.
        MA95: A French cow.

This example shows that MA95 understands Spanish and at times participates in the

conversations. In this case, SR36 says that she speaks French like a vaca lechera.

The cow is a character from a Spanish song which appears to be a children's nursery

rhyme. MA95, hearing the conversation in Spanish, was able to understand the

meaning of it and join into the conversation, making jokes about the way that SR36

spoke. She even translated parts of the conversation for SI70:

(17)   MA95: Voilà, comme une vache laitière elle dit.

         MA95: There, like a milk cow, she said.

This shows that MA95 had a fairly good understanding of Spanish and was able to participate in Spanish conversations.

In the whole data set of MA95's speech samples, she says only two utterances in Spanish, while there were 149 in French. This indicates that even though she was able to join Spanish conversations, she preferred to stay in the French language.

　　　　7.　　　MC51

Being born to Spanish parents in France, MC51 had the advantage of growing up with two languages. She appears on only one of the recordings, and speaks only twice. Based on the information obtained from the individual interview we know that she has lived in France most of her life. She is fluent in both French and Spanish but speaks French at home with her husband (who is also Spanish) and her children. The children do not speak Spanish.

Since in the corpus selected for this study there are only two samples of her speech, it was not possible to obtain reliable results about her language preference. One of the interesting aspects of the speech samples obtained from MC51 is that both times she uses French. One time she uses French in a bilingual context and the second time in a French context. This could be understood as her language preference leaning towards French. However, when we considered the other participants of that conversation, we noticed that all but two were native speakers of French. The non-

native speakers were the interviewer and EL57. This shows that it cannot be assumed that the preferred language of MC51 is French because she was in a conversation dominated by native French speakers.

The case of MC51 proves that one cannot rely solely on quantitative and grammatical analyses when examining individual speakers. The sociolinguistic information is critical to obtaining complete and reliable results. This also shows that in is essential to have sufficient data, because limited amounts of data can lead to flawed results.

8.   MP37

This participant was present at only one of the conversations. She spoke mainly French even though she is a native speaker of Spanish. The ratio of Spanish to French utterances was 1:3. This is not surprising because she arrived in France when she was seven years old. However, she has always used Spanish at home and her children speak both French and Spanish. Therefore, in her case, the ratio of the Spanish to French utterances is not indicative of her language preference.

During one conversation she initiated one switch from Spanish to French.

(18)   MP37: ¿Ya no vas a bailar?
        EL57: El martes ... más.
        MP37: *Et il y a pas Nicole?*
        SR36: Está …está *occupé.*
        AA48*: Elle est toujours avec les hommes Nicole*

        MP37: You are not going to dance?
        EL57: Tuesday…more.
        PM37: *And Nicole is not there?*
        SR36: She is…is *busy.*

AA48: *Nicole, she is always with the men.*

This example shows that MP37 attempted to change the language of the conversation and the change was accepted by other participants. It is interesting that SR36 mixes French and Spanish in the sentence following MP37's question. She uses the Spanish verb with the French adjective. She was clearly influenced by the use of French by MP37 and, because of that, mixed the two languages in this sentence. The rest of the conversation was in French. This switch was probably accepted partially because the next person to speak, after SR36, was a native speaker of French. Because the answer given by SR36 was truly bilingual, if the next person speaking was a native speaker of Spanish, it is possible that the switch would have been rejected.

9.   ND23

ND23 is the only native French speaker who also speaks Spanish well. She participated in French as well as Spanish conversations. She was present at four out of six recordings and took part in fourteen conversations. She spoke 274 utterances, and the ratio of Spanish to French statements was 1:6. Even though the number of French fragments is much higher that of the Spanish ones, through the analysis of sociolinguistic information we can see that she feels comfortable with both languages. She married a Spaniard and used Spanish at home with her children. Also, as the president of this center, she often uses Spanish with the other members.

She often accepted the language changes initiated by others. She also changed her language if someone was reluctant to change theirs.

(19)   SR36: Mira, mira mi bandido.
        ND23: *Qu'est-ce qu'il beau, hein?*
        SR36 : Ayer en un momento de hizo, ayer en un momento hizo Nicole.
        ND36: Ah, sí, claro.

        SR36: Look, look at my band.
        ND23: *Isn't it pretty, hein*?
        SR36: I made it in one moment yesterday, yesterday in one moment I made it,
              Nicole.
        ND23: Ah, yes, sure.

The above example shows that she accommodated SR36 in her choice of language.

SR36 started the conversation in Spanish and the first response of ND23 was in

French. SR36 did not pick up the French, but continued in Spanish. Recognizing that

SR36 was hesitant to switch into French, she started speaking Spanish.

Overall, ND23 did not initiate many language changes, nor did she use intra-

sentential CS. She accepted the language switches initiated by others and adjusted

according to their language preference. It is possible that this tendency resulted from

her position as president of this Spanish center. She probably seemed more

approachable if she spoke the language favored by others.

10.   RA46

RA46 participated in eleven conversations. Her situation differed from others

in that even though she was born to Spanish immigrants, she did not speak Spanish

until she met her husband. Her mother did not want to teach her Spanish when she

was a child. This can be understood, because immigrant parents often want their

children to be accepted by the society in which they live and tell the children to only speak the language which is native to the country where they live.

RA46 spoke the most of any of the participants, a total of 682 utterances. The most interesting is that there was almost and equal number of French and Spanish statements: 354 Spanish and 328 French. No other speech sample from any of the other participants was this evenly divided between the two languages. Since the amount of data for RA46 is so substantial, it can be said with great amount of certainty, that she is comfortable with both languages and does not favor any particular one.

RA46 initiated switches into French and Spanish equally. Most of them were accepted by other participants. She also changed her language based on the preferences of the others. When speaking with native speakers of French, she used French and did not initiate switches into Spanish. On the other hand, she often changed between the two languages, when both the native French and Spanish speakers were present.

She also engaged in the intra-sentential CS. She used not only a substantial amount of nonce borrowings, but also engaged in unitary and segmental CS.

(20)   RA46: Hacemos fiestas, era te invito, te invito era fiesta de cabaré era fiesta de, de…de grande *catégorie, hein*? Y aún en Montevideo fue menos porque a las chicas más pequeñas y fue en Persia que fue más de, de galá porque estamos invitados por gente de, de, del país que amaba mucho los franceses. Estamos invitado en grandes casas de gente de…de *prince*, de reyes y de, gente de cultura, gente de… estamos invitados a todo los…en sus casas, cuando me los invitados mucho en cabaré, en casa, y en restaurantes, creían que era de, de categoría de invitar a los gente así. Yo les invitaba en cases estaban contento porque hacía comida

RA46: We made a party, it was I invite you, I invite you, it was a cabaret party, it was a party of, of…of great *category*, *hein*? And even in Montevideo there were fewer because of the little girls and in Persia there were more that were more of, of a gala because we were invited by the people of, of, of the country and many of them were French. We were invited to large houses of people of…of *princes*, of kings and of, people of culture, people of…we were invited to all the…in their houses, when many visitors in cabaret, in the house, and in restaurants, they thought that it was of, of category to invite the people like that. I invited them and they were happy because I made food

The above fragment shows two examples of unitary CS, which are shown in italics. . RA46 is describing her life in Montevideo and the parties she attended and organized. The hesitations before the inserted words imply that she had problem remembering these words in Spanish and finally decided on using French translations. The hesitations were approximately one second each but in the course of this description, they were very distinct, because the rate of her speech in this fragment was quite fast.

Overall, even though she had a strong French accent, RA46 exhibited great proficiency in both languages and showed no preference for either one. She was willing to accommodate other speakers, who were favoring one of the languages, and she switched between the two languages very easily.

11.   SI70

She is a native speaker of French and all of her utterances are in French. She understands some Spanish but participates mainly in French monolingual conversations. During the whole six hours of recordings she spoke eleven utterances,

all of them in French. There were two cases in which she used Spanish words. Both

times it was to clarify the meaning of a Spanish word she did not know.

(21)   EL57: …casi siempre
         SI70: Siempre *c'est toujours*?
         EL57: Siempre
         EL57 + X: *Toujours oui*

         EL57: …almost always
         SI70: Always *is always*?
         EL57: Always
         EL57+X: *Always, yes*

This example shows one of the cases of negotiation of meaning between SI70

and EL57. After hearing the Spanish word, she repeated it and gave a French

translation to make sure that she had understood it correctly. EL57 and the

interviewer repeated the word and the translation to assure her that she was correct.

This example shows that she paid attention to the Spanish conversations and was able

to understand some of them.

     12.   SR36

     During the six hours of recordings, SR36 spoke 422 utterances. She

participated in Spanish and French conversation and exhibited great fluency and

confidence in all situations. She spoke 275 utterances in Spanish and 147 in French.

The ratio of Spanish to French statements was almost 2:1. Considering that the data

on the recordings was predominantly Spanish, the percentage of French utterances is

very high, which suggests that she felt comfortable using both languages.

One of the most noticeable characteristic of the speech of SR36 was her use of nonce borrowings. In the Spanish conversations she used *mais* (9 times), *oui* (10) and *voila* (11). When we compare these numbers to the total number of times theses words were used in the entire dataset, we can see that SR36 is responsible for a third of all *voila*, and a fifth of all *mais* and *oui*. This frequent use of nonce borrowings implies that French has greatly influenced her speech and she is likely to insert it into her Spanish conversations.

At the same time, several times she has used Spanish words in French context. The analysis of the inter-sentential CS revealed that SR36 was as likely to initiate a conversation in French as she was in Spanish. She started a switch from Spanish to French ten times and the switch from French to Spanish thirteen times. What is interesting is that, unlike EL57, whose attempts to change the language of the conversation were rejected two out of three times, almost half of the attempts made by SR36 were accepted by other participants, regardless of whether they were in French of Spanish.

(22)   RA46: Sí, No hacía, *je faisais le quiche, hein?..Je faisais de la …*
        SR36: *Mais*, RA46, hace las paellas diferentes que nosotros, yo creo.
        RA46: Toda, toda de mercado

        RA46: Yes, I didn't make, *I made quiche, hein? I made the*
        SR36: *But*, RA46, makes different paellas than we, I think.
        RA46: All, all of the market

The above excerpt shows a situation in which SR36 changed the conversation from French to Spanish and the other participants accepted the change. Even though

all of the participants of this conversation are Spanish, RA46 momentarily switches to French, but SR36 redirects the language back to Spanish. Besides the social issue of the participants, there may be another reason for the switch back to Spanish. SR36 is talking about food that is typical to Spain and therefore Spanish seems a more appropriate language for the description. This may be the same reason for which RA46 changed from Spanish to French in the first place. She was describing the food that she cooked for parties and she said that she prepared quiche and other French dishes. This is an example of how the language changes based on the topic of the conversation.

There were two situations in which SR36 used French in a Spanish conversation when quoting what had been said before. This type of CS is expected because it is easier and more accurate to repeat the quote in the original language rather than translate it.

(23)   SR36: Bueno yo lo he saltado *assise à la…à la table*, le dije '*tu m'excuses*?
           Yo voy a *danser …* esta mesita."
       LR61 : ¿Y no dice nada ?
       SR36: A-ha. ¿Qué va a decirme a mí?
       LR61: *Naturellement*.

       SR36: Well I jumped *sitting on the…on the table*, I told him "*excuse me*? I am
           going to *dance*…this table."
       LR61: And you did not say anything?
       SR36: Aha. What is he going to tell me?
       LR61: *Naturally*.

Here, SR36 uses French when she is repeating what she had said before. It is impossible to tell whether the conversation that she is quoting was in French, but the

fact that she uses French when describing it suggests that it was. The insertion of the French *danser* into the Spanish sentence in this fragment also supports this claim. If the conversation had been in Spanish, she would have been more likely to say *bailar* instead of *danser*.

SR36 accepted the language changes more often than she resisted them. When a conversation was changed from French to Spanish she accepted that change six times. In case of French she agreed to the switch eight times. On the other hand, she only resisted the change into French three times in the entire dataset. Surprisingly, she also resisted one change from French into Spanish. This is unusual because, in general, most native speakers of Spanish did not resist a switch into their native language. These results prove that she was equally comfortable using both languages.

Another aspect of her speech was the she mixed French and Spanish not only on the lexical level, but also on the morphological one. The example (17) above is presented here again as example (24):

(24)   SR36: Te digo que *parlo* yo *comme* una, una vaca lechera.
       MA95: Una vaca francesa.

       SR36: I tell you that I *speak like* a, a milk cow.
       MA95: A French cow.

Here, SR36 uses a French word *parler* 'to speak' and attaches to it a Spanish suffix –o signifying first person singular present tense conjugation. This suggests that she does not distinguish the French and Spanish suffixes. The possible cause of this

may be the lack of formal instruction in French and very limited amount of education

in Spanish. She probably learned French just by listening and is not aware of the

inflectional suffixes of French. It is possible she does not know them well in Spanish

either, which may lead to the confusion between them.

13.   TA67

TA67 participated in five conversations and spoke 83 utterances. The ratio of

the Spanish to French utterances was 5:1. She used CS even in conversations with

the interviewer. Even though the overall number of Spanish data is much greater than

the French, she used a lot of intra-sentential CS. Many of those were unitary

insertions.

(25)   ND23 : …*Il y a plein de gens qui ont dit j'étais malade*
      TA67: …Siempre me dice que *revient* aquí. Un matrimonio de la
          unión…Estábamos en Sevilla

      ND23: …There are many people who said that I was sick
      TA67:…I always tell myself that they will return here. A matrimony of a
          union…We were in Sevilla

This example shows that a single word *revient* has been inserted into the

Spanish sentence. One of the possible reasons for that insertion is that the preceding

conversation was in French. The utterance spoken by TA67 is the first Spanish

sentence in the conversation. Therefore, it is possible that having only spoken French

for some time, she is not able to instantly switch to Spanish. However, we have to

also consider the fact that she is the one who initiated the switch. This suggests that

she was ready to change the language without anyone else's suggestion. Also, the other participants accept the switch and continue the conversation in Spanish.

One of the problems with this particular example was that because of background noise, it was not possible to distinguish the few words directly preceding the sentence "Siempre me dice que *revient* aquí." However, even without full comprehension of all the words, it is clear that the topic of the conversation has been changed. This suggests that the language switch was connected with the topic shift. Maybe since TA67 started talking about Spain, she felt, not necessarily consciously, that Spanish would fit the conversation better.

In general, TA67 adjusted her language to the language of the conversation. She initiated only one switch into Spanish. She used some CS even in the individual interview with the interviewer, which was somewhat unusual, because most of the other participants tended to speak only Spanish when participating in the individual interviews. Even thought she used more Spanish than French in the data collected, it can be seen that she feels equally comfortable in both.

Sociolinguistic aspects

From the results of the analysis of the individual participants, it is clear that sociolinguistic data has to be taken into consideration when studying CS. Factors such as education level, age at the time of arrival to France, and years living in France undoubtedly affect the results of the analysis. Not including these aspects in the analysis can lead to erroneous findings, even when a large amount of linguistic data is available.

The portion of the corpus chosen for this study contains varying amounts of speech from the participants as well as varying types of information about each. No questionnaires were used, but each participant was individually interviewed. While only four of the interviews were included in this data set, information obtained from all of those dialogues was taken into account.

Table 8 below shows the participants of all the conversations and their native languages. Table 9 contains the dominant language of each conversation, and Table 10 gives the distribution of the participants of each conversation. The comparison of the data from all the tables shows that the language of the conversation was directly related to the native language of the majority of the participants.

Table 8 Native language of the participants

Pseudonym	Native language	Pseudonym	Native language	Pseudonym	Native language
AA48	French	MA95	French	SI70	French
AB69	Catalan	MC51	French	SR36	Spanish
EL57	Spanish	MP37	Spanish	TA67	Spanish
LM56	Spanish	ND23	French	X	English
LR61	Spanish	RA46	French	YM	French

Table 9 Dominating language of the conversations

#	Language	#	Language	#	Language	#	Language
1	Spanish	6	Spanish	11	French	16	French
2	Spanish	7	French	12	French	17	French
3	Spanish	8	French	13	Spanish	18	French
4	Spanish	9	French	14	French	19	French
5	Spanish	10	Spanish	15	French	20	French

Table 10   Speakers per conversation

Dialogue #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	EL57	X								2
2	EL57	RA46								2
3	EL57	ND23	RA46	SR36	X					5
4	SR36	X								2
5	ND23	RA46	SR36	X						4
6	EL57	ND23	LR61	RA46	SR36	X				6
7	AA48	EL57	LR61	ND23	SR36	TA67				6
8	AA48	AB69	EL57	LR61	ND23	SI70	SR36	X		8
9	AA48	AB69	EL57	ND23	SR36					5
10	TA67	X								2
11	AA48	EL57	LR61	ND23	SI70	SR36	TA67	X		8
12	EL57	MA95	MC51	ND23	SI70	X				6
13	RA46	X								2
14	EL57	LM56	MA95	ND23	RA46	SR36	X			7
15	ND23	RA46	SR36							3
16	MA95	ND23	RA46	SI70	SR36					5
17	EL57	ND23	RA46	YM						4
18	AB69	EL57	MA95	ND23	RA46					5
19	AA48	AB69	MA95	RA46	SI70	SR36	X			7
20	AA48	EL57	MA95	MP37	ND23	RA46	SI70	SR36	X	9

It can be seen that in the case of individual interviews, where only the interviewer and one subject were speaking, the prevailing language was Spanish. This is not surprising, because the participants wanted to accommodate the interviewer and speak the language that was most convenient for her. Not knowing English, they chose Spanish. It is interesting, however, that even in the individual interviews, a certain amount of CS to French occurred.

Of the eight conversations in which Spanish was the dominant language, the interviewer participated in all but one of them. This suggests that the participants of the study were more likely to use French than Spanish, and most of the time changed to Spanish, probably because of the participation of the interviewer. The word

'participation' rather than 'presence' is used purposefully because the interviewer was present at all the recordings; however, only when she was directly involved in the conversation did the participants take her language preference into consideration.

The observation that the participants were more likely to use French in the conversations, and the fact that twelve out of all conversations were conducted mainly in French, contradicts the findings about the individual language preferences for some of the individual participants. The main reason for this variation is that the amount of data for each individual speaker varies. Four of the individual interviews were used as part of the corpus for this study. They included EL57, RA46, SR36, and TA67. Since these speakers used Spanish in the individual interviews with the interviewer, the number of utterances in Spanish exceeds the number of French utterances. However, when having a group conversation, the participants tended to use French. This was true even in the conversations in which the majority of participants were native Spanish speakers. For example, in conversation 11 there were four native Spanish speakers, three native French speakers, and the interviewer; nevertheless, the dominant language was French.

Another important sociological aspect that affected the use of French and Spanish was the education of the participants. While many of the participants did not say much about their education, there were some who talked about their childhood and their schooling. Table 11 contains a summary of the education levels of the participants, who talked about their schooling.

Table 11   Education and work of the participants

Pseudonym	Education	Work
LR61		Started working in a sewing workshop at the age of 14
MP37	Until the age of 18	Sewing and clothes retail
AB69	No formal schooling; lessons in lace making and embroidery	Sewing
MC51	Until the age of 10	Started working at the age of 10 in an orange warehouse

There was no formal questionnaire that the participants had to fill out; therefore, the information about their work and education is incomplete. However, even within this limited data, we notice certain patterns. The participants started working full time at a very early age. Most of them, as we find out from the individual interviews, were from poor families and rural areas. LR61 began working at the age of fourteen, but it is very likely that she had stopped attending school before that time, because she said she came from a very rural area. AB68 did not receive any formal instruction. She never attended school; she was taught lace making when she was little.

Since some of the participants did not receive much, or any, formal instruction even in their native language, it is very likely that they had no formal instruction in French. As immigrants during a time when thousands of Spaniards were arriving in France, it is likely that they spoke mostly in Spanish even after they moved to Toulouse. The example of LR61 and her confusion of the French and Spanish verbs *dire* 'to say' and *decir* is an excellent example of the possible effects of low level education on language skills.   It suggests that the level of education can influence the

L2 acquisition as well as L1 maintenance and should be taken into account when analyzing the speech of multilingual speakers.

Insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization

The analysis of intra-sentential CS revealed that there were 88 cases of unitary CS and 76 examples of segmental CS. This count excludes the nonce borrowings, which were analyzed separately. The similarity between the counts suggests that the two types of CS were used equally throughout the recordings.

In this section of the analysis, the Matrix Language Frame model was used in the investigation of unitary CS. The task of determining the matrix language (ML) for those items was quite simple, since the language A words were clearly inserted into the structures of language B, where language B was the Matrix language. There were 32 Spanish unitary insertions into French sentences and 56 French ones into Spanish. All of the insertions were done primarily by native speakers of Spanish. There were only two examples of insertion used by non-native Spanish speakers: one by a native French speaker and one by a native speaker of Catalan. The main reason for the very limited insertion of Spanish by a non-native speaker of Spanish is understandable: since most of the native French speakers did not speak Spanish, they were simply not able to use intra-sentential CS.

There were several reasons which can explain the insertions of French words into the Spanish conversations by Spanish speakers. One of the most common cases occurred when the topic of the conversation pertained to things or events which were

connected with France or that had occurred while the participants were living in

France.

(26) EL57: Y mi suegro empezó aquí en *la pâtisserie* y continuemos su cuenta.

    EL57: And my father-in-law started here in *pastry business* and we continued his
           business

       In this example, EL57 is talking about the business that her father-in-law

started in Toulouse, and she uses the French word *la pâtisserie* instead of the Spanish

la pastelería. It is likely that since she was living in France when they worked there,

she used French to describe it. Therefore, since the French term was more familiar, it

was the first word she thought of and said. Another factor supporting this argument is

that she did not pause when she was speaking; she was not trying to come up with a

word she could not remember. It was her first instinct to use French.

       This case is important because it gives some insight into how the languages

are stored in the brain. The example shows that both L1 and L2 vocabulary could be

stored together in the brain with the item that they signify. If that is the case, then

whichever word is more common for each individual in certain situations is the one

that will be used. While we cannot be sure that EL57 used or heard the French word

la *pâtisserie* more often than the Spanish la *pastelería*, it is a logical assumption.

       Another interesting example involves the use of a word that appears to be a

mix between French and Spanish.

(27)   X : ¿De dónde viene eso ?
       ND23 : Aquí a la(d)o una, una presa de *facer* copias

X: Where does that come from?
ND23: Here on the side, the printer for *making* copies.

In this case, ND23, whose native language is French, is answering a question in Spanish but uses the word 'facer,' the old Spanish form of 'hacer,' which no longer belongs to lexicon of either of the two languages. The word *facer* seems to have been recreated as a mix between the Spanish *hacer* and the French *faire*, both meaning 'to do, to make.'

The analysis of the segmental CS was more complex than the unitary analysis mainly because, at times, it was not possible to establish the ML. For that reason, Muysken's theory of alternation and congruent lexicalization was used in this analysis (Muysken, 2000), because, in this type of CS, both the lexicon and the grammatical structures are switched, and there can be no embedded language (EL) or ML.

This type of CS was evident in most of the speakers. In several situations the CS could be expected, such as in quotations of what other people said. It was also common to see alternation when the women were talking about their children.

(28)   RA46: …viene y él me dice: « *maman tu as besoin de tondre, maman tu as besoin de couper* »

RA46 : …comes and tells me : « *mom you need to shave, mom you need to cut*"

The above example shows that RA46, when talking about her son, quotes his words in the language in which they were originally spoken. Here, the CS is expected

because not only does she use a quote, but it is also a separate clause within this utterance. In general, the segmental switches were more common in places where there was some type of grammatical division between segments; however, in some cases, the switches occurred in the middle of a statement, with no grammatical boundary between the segments.

Another case of segmental CS included doubling or repetition of certain fragments in the other language.

(29)   EL57: Por el corazón, *c'est pour le cœur.*

EL57: For the heart, *it is for the heart.*

(30)   RA46: No cambia nunca de idea. *Elle n'a jamais changé d'idée.*

RA46 : She never changes her mind, *she never changes her mind.*

In example (29) EL57 repeats the Spanish statement in French. Since most of the participants of this conversation are native speakers of French, she may be repeating it to make sure that everyone understands what she is saying. Another reason may be that she wants to emphasize the importance of her words and, therefore, she repeats them to include everyone. Similarly, RA46 in the example (30) states the exact same sentence in both languages. Again, with both Spanish and French native speakers present, she may have wanted to emphasize the sentence. In this example, the adjacent utterances were in Spanish, but since the French speakers were present, RA46 must have felt that what she was saying should be understood clearly by all those who were in the room.

There were also many examples of congruent lexicalization, in which two languages, combine into one structure both lexically and grammatically. This occurred often in situations in which both the native French and Spanish speakers were present. Generally, the conversation started in one language, then in would turn into a bilingual conversation in which inter-sentential CS occurred. Finally, the individual speakers would use intra-sentential CS, ultimately combining the two languages to such an extent that it was no longer possible to determine the dominant language. In many cases, this was evident in the use of negation, such as the omission of parts of the French negation. Negations in Spanish are formed, in general, by putting the negative particle *no* in front of the verb: *No quiero comer* 'I do not want to eat.' The structure of French negation consists of two required elements which surround the verb: *Je <u>ne</u> veux <u>pas</u> manger*. Often, when using French, the participants would omit the first part of the negation 'ne' and use only the final element 'pas.' This was noticed with native Spanish and French speakers. Since this phenomenon is common among the French native speakers, it cannot be used as an example of congruent lexicalization. However, there were cases of Spanish utterances in which the French post verbal 'pas' was included.

(31)   SR36: …unos están contentos otros están *pas* contentos, *voila.*

         SR36:…some are happy others are *not* happy, *here it is*.

The above example shows how a French negation was used in a Spanish sentence. The use of this negation suggests that the structure underlying this sentence

was not purely Spanish. If it had been, the speaker would have used the initial part of the French negation, since it is similar to the Spanish one. The use of the final element, rather than the initial one, suggests that the underlying structure for this sentence was a mix between the French and Spanish.

The influence of French on Spanish structures could also be seen in the presence of personal pronouns in Spanish sentences. In general, the subject personal pronouns are not required in Spanish because the conjugation of the verb makes clear who is doing the action. In French, however, these pronouns are required, regardless of the verb conjugation.

(32)   EL57: Nosotros tenemos algo eléctrico…

        EL57: We have something electrical…

(33)   LR61: Yo digo '*bon*, vosotros aprendisteis el español gracias a mí.

        LR61: I say '*well*, you learned Spanish thanks to me.

The above examples demonstrate how the subject personal pronouns were used in the Spanish sentences. While the use of subject personal pronouns in Spanish is not uncommon, it is generally limited to situations in which the speaker wants to emphasize that it is the subject, not anyone else, that was doing the actions. In the examples presented here, the pronouns were not used to distinguish between several people; from the perspective of the standard grammatical structure of Spanish, they were unnecessary. The fact that they were used suggests that a congruent grammatical structure was employed.

Situational and metaphorical CS

The results of the analysis of the situational and metaphorical CS can be seen in Table 12. The situational switches occurred almost twice as often as the metaphorical ones. There were almost as many changes from French to Spanish as there were from Spanish to French.

Table 12   Situational and metaphorical CS

	Situational	Metaphorical	Total
Spanish to French	52	37	89
French to Spanish	41	16	57
Total	93	53	146

Most of the situational switches from Spanish to French were a result of either the arrival of a native French speaker or were a direct question addressed to the French speaker. In example (34) SR36 during a Spanish conversation, suddenly directs a question to ND23, who is a native speaker of French, and switches to French. The situational switches from French to Spanish were mainly questions directed at the interviewer. However, in many situations, the participants asked the interviewer questions in French and she answered them in Spanish, as shown in example (35). The conversation has been in French, and when addressing the interviewer, RA46 does not change the language, but rather continues in her native language. However, after the interviewer answers in Spanish, she then switches also

into Spanish. This switch is still considered situational, even though the languages were not immediately switched.

(34)   SR36: ¿Cuantos quieres, uno, dos? *Allez, Voilà. Qu'est-ce que vous voulez?*

SR36: How many do you want, one, two? *OK, there it is. What do you want?*

(35)   RA46 : Vous êtes ici pour longtemps o habitez en France.
X : *No, no. Ah, vivimos en los Estados Unidos*
RA46: Ah, bon.
X: *Y pues estamos aquí por unos cuatro, cinco meses porque mi esposo está trabajando aquí*
RA46: *Estudiando? Ah…*

RA46: You are here for a long time or do you live in France.
X: *No, no. Ah, we live in the United States.*
RA46: Ah, well.
X: *And we are here for four, five months because my husband is working here*
RA46: *Studying? Ah…*

The metaphorical switches were less common, but nevertheless quite frequent. Especially switches from Spanish to French, which occurred mainly when the participants started discussing their children, their life in France, or their work, i.e. crocheting and knitting. The switches from French into Spanish often involved topics related to Spain.

(36)   X: Sí?
RA46: La pequeña, sí. *La société de, de …pour les photos*, por los fotos *transparents, comme ça*. Fotos para eso del trabajo de los aviones.
X: Que bien.

X: Yes?
RA46: The little one, yes. *The society of, of…for the photos*, for the *transparent* photos, *like this*. Photos for that job with airplanes.
X: How well.

The above example demonstrates a Spanish to French switch caused by a topic shift and then a change back to Spanish to accommodate the other participant. In just this short fragment we can see both a metaphorical and a situational switch: the metaphorical switch caused by the topic change, and the situational switch for the purpose of accommodation. Thus the language choices made by the participants depended on "dynamic factors" (Myers-Scotton, 1995; 57) that changed as the conversation progressed.

Frequency factors

The frequency factors were considered for unitary CS, that is, for CS involving individual words. In this project, we limited the scope of the analysis to nouns because they were among the most common words involved in unitary CS. From the 88 tokens of unitary CS, 41 involved nouns. The other parts of speech that were switched were for the most part verbs and adjectives. Table 13 presents the results of the analysis of the topic to which the nouns pertained.

The nouns included in the category 'Other' were those that could not be grouped with any other nouns, for example *prince, catégorie, jour, rapidité, contestador*. There were more French nouns in bilingual context than Spanish ones. This is surprising, because there were more conversations in which the dominant language was French, and, therefore, it was expected that more Spanish nouns would be code-switched. Additionally, since Spanish was the native language of most of the participants, it was anticipated that they would be more likely to insert Spanish nouns.

Table 13   Classification of bilingual nouns

Category	Number of nouns		Total per category
	Spanish noun	French noun	
Family	0	2	2
Swear words	0	4	4
Work at the center	2	2	4
Life in France	0	4	4
Life in Spain	2	2	4
Spanish Civil War	4	2	6
Proper nouns	4	3	7
Other	4	6	10
Total	16	25	41

The division into categories shows that the participants were very likely to use the original language for proper nouns. The names of the countries *España* and *France,* as well as the names of cities, were often used in the original language, regardless of the language of the full utterance.

The nouns referring to life in France included words that were related to the jobs that the participants held while in France and directions to certain places in the city of Toulouse. The nouns referring to life in Spain included similar topics as for the French category. The difference between the two groups is that while in a French conversation about France the participants never used Spanish nouns, they did use French nouns to describe Spanish life, even in Spanish context.

It should be emphasized again, that the number of code-switched nouns was fairly small, and this analysis should be conducted again using the full fifty-hour corpus. Future research projects with this dataset should be conducted to examine the

results obtained here. The potential analysis should include not only nouns but also other parts of speech. The study could be expanded further to include a more detailed analysis of segmental CS.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this study was to analyze the bilingual speech of the Spanish immigrant in France and determine the characteristics as well as the causes of code switching they used.

The examination of the nonce borrowings showed that French words were inserted more often than Spanish ones, even though there were more French conversations in the corpus. It was determined that the primary cause of this was the native language of the participants of each conversation, because when talking with native French speakers, the subjects used French nonce borrowings, but they did not use them when talking with the researcher, whose native language is English. This analysis also showed that the speakers were able to control the number of nonce borrowings they used. However, this aspect should be studied further to establish whether or not they were doing so consciously.

The individual analysis showed that it is impossible to conduct grammatical analysis and obtain reliable results without considering the sociolinguistic aspects. Clearly, the results changed substantially when the sociological information was taken into account. This effect was especially remarkable when the amount of available data for a particular individual was limited. Most influential in participants'

speech were the age at the time of arrival in France and their education. It was determined that those who have been speaking both languages longer, and those who have received less formal education showed more congruent lexicalization.

The results of the grammatical analysis clearly showed that most of the CS was situational rather than metaphorical. The participants were more likely to change the language of the conversation because of the people with whom they were speaking than because of the topic that was discussed. Three types of CS were used: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. The insertion of French words was more common than insertion of Spanish items. The main motivation for this type of CS was determined to be metaphorical, because it occurred with words that were related to a particular country. Alternation involved clauses within one utterance. Often, the speakers would repeat the same thing in two languages, to make sure that everything was understood by all the participants. This type of CS was mostly situational. Congruent lexicalization was also evident. Unlike insertion and alternation, congruent lexicalization was often more covert and could be revealed only through a thorough grammatical analysis of the sentence structures, not simply by study of lexical items. It occurred mainly in conversations in which both native French and Spanish speakers were present, which suggests that it was situational, rather than metaphorical. Also, the involvement of French and Spanish speakers in the conversation was evenly balanced.

The main finding of the frequency analysis was that nouns pertaining to certain topics were likely to be used in the original language, such as proper nouns

(names of people and places), as well as words describing the life of the speaker in a particular country.

Topics for several future studies were proposed throughout this project. Since the data in this project was limited, the frequency results should be verified using the full fifty-hour dataset. Another issue that will require further investigation is CS in those who speak more than two languages. Of particular interest would be to determine whether multilingual speakers are more likely to use CS between the L2 languages or between their L1 and an L2.

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