International Perspectives on Bilingualism

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Edited by

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To my father Pio,
my first and most important mentor,
and to my siblings
Joseph, Pierre, Mario, Simone and Germaine,
for their generous support

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

LYDIA SCIRIHA

Though the overwhelming majority of the countries accommodate more than one language, official bilingualism is not very common. Indeed, Malta is one of a small group of officially-bilingual countries in the twenty-eight member states of the European Union. Malta's official bilingualism in Maltese and English guarantees the use of the two languages in the Maltese archipelago and also ensures that its people have the necessary linguistic tools to interact with international partners. Moreover, unlike much larger societies where knowledge of one other language, in addition to the official one, is sometimes perceived as unnecessary, there is a general consensus among the Maltese that they also need to be fluent in other non-official languages.

This deeply-rooted belief that language learning is imperative for a small island state is clearly manifested at tertiary level. Since its inception in the late eighteenth century as a *studium generale*, the University of Malta has fostered the study of languages, especially in the Faculty of Arts, which offers courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in a kaleidoscope of languages – Maltese and English, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as well as Italian, French, German, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese. Language departments clearly form the backbone of this faculty and it was hardly surprising that in March 2015 the Faculty of Arts hosted the first *International Conference on Bilingualism* in Valletta – a city which in 2018 will be one of the two European Capitals of Culture.

Language learning reflects the geo-political reality of Malta, a small island state, not only a member of the European Union but one which is also geographically close to North Africa. A country with two official languages has its strengths and weaknesses. Similar challenges are also faced by other unofficially bilingual countries.

The seventeen chapters contained in this volume are a selection of papers presented at the *International Conference on Bilingualism*. The editor of this volume, who was also the convenor of this three-day conference, deemed it important to give a taste of the multifaceted

research on bilingualism presented by a few of the two hundred delegates who hailed from no less than forty-five countries. Though Europe attracted the largest number of delegates, there were also participants from more distant countries such as Australia, Brazil, Brunei, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the United States of America, to mention a few.

The international nature of this volume reflects diverse viewpoints from a varied selection of authors who analyse the linguistic situations in Brazil, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Macau, Malta, Poland, Romania, Sri Lanka, and the United Kingdom. This volume comprises six sections. Part I contains only one chapter on *Code-Switching* by Penelope Gardner-Chloros, one of the conference's keynote speakers. Each of the subsequent five sections includes at least three papers by non-plenary participants on topics related to the *Linguistic Landscape* (Part II), *Language Policy* (Part III), *Bilingualism*, *Culture and Identity* (Part IV), *Bilingual Education* (Part V) and *Trilingualism* (Part VI).

In her chapter, Penelope Gardner-Chloros reviews the ways in which research on the intriguing and challenging phenomenon of code-switching has so far been conducted. She convincingly argues that the newer multilayered approach is necessary for a better understanding of the reasons why code-switching occurs.

The Linguistic Landscapes of the Mount Carmel area in Israel, Macau on the China coast and the Brittany region of France are the focus of three chapters in Part II of the present volume. Martin Isleem investigates the presence of Arabic in a Druze public school in Israel. While his findings raise important questions on the importance of Hebrew in this area, Isleem suggests that the predominance of the Hebrew language is strong because of factors such as location, language contact and economic reasons.

Ana Cristina Neves discusses the linguistic landscape of Macau by investigating the visibility of the three most important local languages, Cantonese, Portuguese and English, in the three largest pedestrian areas of the Macau Peninsula. Her research findings reveal the presence of changing linguistic patterns in the three languages as spoken there.

The third chapter in this section homes in on the bilingual region of Brittany in France. Noemi Ramila Diaz analyses the linguistic landscape at the Department of Applied Foreign Languages where students are required to study two foreign languages, with English as

one of the compulsory languages. Her findings reveal that since the linguistic space comprises three levels – the institutional, the academic and the personal – there are tensions especially in spaces which are considered to be neither private nor public.

Part III comprises three chapters discussing *Language Policy* in Brazil, the German-Polish border and Sri Lanka. In the first of the three chapters, Kyria Rebeca Finardi first reviews language policies and internationalisation programmes in Brazil and then shows that the varying roles of English result in a low uptake of scholarships of the *Science without Borders* internationalisation programme. She maintains the necessity for an alignment of language policies across the various educational levels.

The second chapter in this section is by Barbara Alicja Jańczak who considers bilingualism and multilingualism as quite common on the Polish side of the German-Polish border. After presenting the partial results of her ongoing research project being conducted in this geographic area, she questions the role of the administration of Polish border towns in supporting both bilingual education and intercultural communication of the inhabitants, and whether their children and adolescents stand to profit from the border location in terms of bilingual language education.

Marie Perera and Suriya Arachchige Kularathne focus on one significant aspect of an ongoing study on bilingual education in Sri Lanka. Through the use of qualitative and quantitative data, they propose that there are no clear micro-level policies ensuring harmony amongst all the stakeholders in bilingual education. They suggest that existing policy documents be amended to accommodate present pedagogical, socio-political, economic and cultural needs.

The four chapters included in Part IV of this volume focus on *Bilingualism, Culture and Identity*. Marina Morbiducci has studied the role of idioms which international students attending Sapienza University in Rome use during interactional exchanges via social networks. Her findings confirm that where grammar competence and correctness fail, effective communication and language creativity may still take place.

In his chapter *Bilingualism and Identity in Selected German-Speaking Regions,* Ralf Heimrath first argues that it is inaccurate to assume that German is the mother-tongue of all inhabitants in German-speaking countries. In fact, by means of examples taken from the linguistic panorama and other sources, he shows the existence of

bilingual communities in specific regions close to Germany and illustrates the role of societal bilingualism in these geographical areas.

The third and fourth contributions in Part IV discuss aspects of bilingualism and culturalism in Romania. Gabriela Scripnic discusses how the European Union's cultural policies have encouraged students to pursue their studies outside Romania. By means of several student testimonies, Scripnic shows the extent to which Romanian students studying in the United Kingdom manage to assume a bicultural identity. Furthermore, she highlights the importance of such an academic environment as one that fosters tolerance towards diversity amongst students.

The last chapter in this fourth part discusses the use and practice of humour among bilingual Romanian students. In her study Alina Ganea presents the findings of the data she gathered after interviewing foreign students enrolled in Dunărea de Jos University of Galaţi (DJUG) in Romania during the academic year 2014–2015. Ganea's findings highlight the difficulties that bilinguals naturally encounter when faced with humour and how the Romanian language determines the bilingual's linguistic command in the use and practice of humour.

Bilingual Education is the theme of the penultimate section of this volume (Part V) with two chapters focussing on the Maltese educational scene, while the third highlighting the linguistic situation in Bulgaria. In her chapter Romina Frendo questions the extent to which one can accurately identify the language used to teach each of the subjects taught at primary level in Malta. In a survey of almost one thousand pupils hailing from state, church and private schools, Frendo finds a lack of conformity in the use of the two official languages during lessons.

While Frendo focuses on primary-school children, Damian Spiteri and Christiana Sciberras concentrate on older students who are pursuing their studies at the Malta College of Arts, Science and Technology (MCAST). This study explores perceived self-efficacy in terms of their linguistic performance, both within academic as well as work-based settings.

The focus of Mariyana Todorova's chapter is the way Content and Language Integrated Learning approach (CLIL) is implemented in classes of tourism and entrepreneurship taught in English to high school students at one high school in Bulgaria. Todorova presents the results of interviews with students who either intend to or are already conducting their studies in English both abroad and in Bulgaria.

Amongst other findings, she shows how the school represents an example of effective bilingual education.

The final section in this volume (Part VI) homes in on *Trilingualism* with three chapters relative to three countries – Malta, Greece and Sri Lanka. In her chapter Lydia Sciriha questions whether Italian, which was an official language in Malta until 1934, is in reality the third language of the country. By providing Census data, MATSEC examination reports and research on the linguistic landscape, she confirms Italian's third position though she predicts that, owing to the ever-growing non-Maltese residents who display different linguistic preferences from their Maltese counterparts, Italian's position might in future be challenged.

Fotini Anastassiou focuses on multilingual immigrant children in Greece who speak both Albanian and Greek and who also learn English as a third language at school. The findings of her study, in which forty-nine primary school children between the ages of nine and twelve were asked to narrate a picture story in English, evidence the prevalence of Greek code-switches over Albanian.

The trilingual situation in Sri Lanka concludes this volume. Sabaratnam Athirathan and Markandu Karunanithy first discuss the trilingual scenario in Sri Lanka and later identify the issues and challenges faced by Sinhala-speaking students when learning Tamil as a Second National Language. Amongst others, their findings reveal that unfortunately teachers are not that qualified and there is no clear-cut policy as to how suitably-qualified teachers are recruited. These are all issues that pose great challenges in the teaching of the Tamil as a Second National Language.

PART I

CODE-SWITCHING

CHAPTER ONE

MULTILAYERED MULTILINGUALISM: THE CONTRIBUTION OF RECENT RESEARCH TO UNDERSTANDING CODE-SWITCHING

PENELOPE GARDNER-CHLOROS

1. Introduction

As a first-time visitor to Malta on the occasion of the conference which gave rise to this volume, I was intrigued to find a high degree of awareness of linguistic issues among some of the (lay) people I encountered; one restaurant owner even explained to me, without any specific prompting on my part, that in Malta people code-switch a lot. A conference on bilingualism held in such a linguistic environment is clearly predestined to spark off stimulating discussions. There were indeed many such discussions at the conference, some of which concerned multilingualism and code-switching in Malta itself. Research (Sciriha and Vassallo 1998, 2006; Camilleri Grima 2013) evidences the importance of these topics for a small bilingual island.

The purpose of this chapter will be, first of all, to briefly review some of the main ways in which code-switching research has been undertaken so far. I will then mention some of the newer approaches and discuss what further contribution they can make to our understanding of this phenomenon, which continues to intrigue and challenge linguists of many different theoretical persuasions.

As traditionally studied, code-switching research has centred on three main areas:

(i) the grammatical regularities within code-switched speech (Myers-Scotton 1993; Muysken 2000; Poplack 2000; MacSwan 2014);

   (ii) the pragmatic motivations underlying the switches and the
        contribution of Conversation Analysis (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1998;
        Li Wei 2005);
   (iii) the underlying psycholinguistic factors, which are often
        investigated through experimental methods rather than using
        spontaneous natural data (references in Bullock and Toribio 2009;
        for an exception see Gardner-Chloros et al. 2013).

   As we will see below, more recent research considers code-switching
(henceforth CS) as part of a dynamic process rather than as a static set of
linguistic patterns. The trend is towards avoiding discrete, fixed or
bounded constructs of community or identity, and towards considering
instead the processes and dialectic interactions which generate such
constructs and create meaning (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Blommaert 2010).
The overarching themes which emerge from this recent work are those of
power, as exercised through discourse, language ideology, and identity.

2. Pinning down the object of study

   Generally acceptable definitions of CS have proved extremely elusive
(Gardner-Chloros 2009), so the purpose of giving one here is mainly to
specify how wide a field this chapter is attempting to encompass. To this
end, a useful broad definition of code-switching is: "The alternating use of
two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker"
(Bullock and Toribio 2009: xii). But like other definitions, this one begs
various questions: Who exactly is bilingual? How proficient must a
speaker be to be classed as bilingual? What of tri(+)linguals? What exactly
is meant by two languages? Do dialects count too? Should we draw a clear
dividing line between monolingual variation and bilingual speech knowing
that language contact is one of the main sources of language change
(Thomason and Kaufman 1992; Rampton 2011)?
   Researchers have subdivided the phenomena, which are commonly
found in bilingual speech, over a large number of language combinations
by using a variety of alternative terms and concepts, including for example
code-mixing (Muysken 2000; Backus 2015), *interference* (Trask 2000),
code-copying (Johanson 2002), *transfer/transference* (Clyne 2003) – not
to mention *borrowing*. As regards the latter, Poplack, one of the best-
known researchers in the early days of CS research, has continued to
claim, controversially, that borrowing represents a separate process to CS
(Poplack et al. 2012), rather than a conventionalisation of code-switched
elements. The purpose of the other terms, such as those mentioned above,

is in fact in many cases to distinguish a type of alternation where the two languages are simply juxtaposed, without either of them changing their character, from other cases where there is evidence of convergence or influence of one system on the other. According to Poplack, borrowing shows interaction between the two varieties, whereas code-switching preserves their monolingual character. Another school of CS research centres around the work of Myers-Scotton (1993) and her associate (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000), who claim that the interaction between the varieties can be described in grammatical terms, with one variety being dubbed the "Matrix" and the other the "Embedded" language. I have discussed in detail elsewhere (Gardner-Chloros 2009) why these attempts to make hard and fast distinctions between borrowing and CS, between "Matrix" and "Embedded" languages, and between converging and non-converging varieties are problematic: very few instances of CS can be unequivocally categorised as being in one or the other of these two camps. Auer and Muhamedova (2005) have argued that so-called "embedded language islands" are not necessarily well-formed according to the rules of the "embedded language" but can show grammatical and other influence from the so-called "matrix" language.

Later research had added to our understanding of CS. One of the clearest ways to show this is by discussing an example from the data in some detail. The CS below will first be discussed in the light of some of the traditional methods of analysis. I will then try to provide further elements from some of the more recent approaches to CS which add to our understanding of the CS in this conversation.

3. Multiple approaches to the data

The passage below is a transcription extracted from a discussion among a group of 20-30 year old second-generation London Greek Cypriots, here called Andy, Keti, Poly and Chris.[1] Second-generation Greek Cypriot speakers in London are part of a 200,000-strong community, known for their abundant CS between Cypriot Greek and English (Gardner-Chloros et al. 2005; Georgakopoulou and Finnis 2009; Paraskeva 2012; Finnis 2014). In this lively informal conversation, Andy is discussing the difficulties of finding a restaurant which makes an acceptable version of his favourite Chinese take-away dish, roast noodle stew, after the place where he used to go closed down. The conversation flows rapidly, with no noticeable pauses whatsoever at the points of transition between the two languages.

Transcription

1. Andy: **Tosin aɣonian toson po tuton na pamen** they closed down!
We were so excited and everything to go (but) **they closed down!**
2. Keti: Shut up man!
3. Andy: Yeah! So well now because **evala to tʰamaχin mu** I want a roasted noodles stew I'm looking in all the shops you know they got their menus outside.
Yeah! So well now because *I was so determined* **I want a roasted noodles stew I'm looking in all the shops you know they got their menus outside.**
4. Poly: Oh yeah yeah yeah. In China Town.
5. Andy: Yeah which one does roasted anyway **ivramen enan**.
Yeah which one does roasted anyway *we found one (shop).*
6. Poly: Yeah.
7. Andy: **Jie mbennumen mesa. Lalo tu** you do roasted? He goes me yes. **Lalo tu** why did they close on the corner?
And we get inside. I say to him **you do roasted***? He goes me yes. I say to him* **why did they close on the corner?**
(laughter)
8. Andy: Anyway **ekamen ma -** you know I could do like them. **Ekamen mas** roasted noodle stew but they can't do it - **efaan j' i th- ji eɣo ji o Pambos jie o -** but they can't do it like eh the ones on the corner.
Anyway *he made u(s)* - **you know I could do like them***. He made us* **roasted noodles stew but they can't do it -** *we ate bo- and me and Pambos and X* **- but they can't do it like eh the ones on the corner.**
9. Chris: Why did they clo-(se)?
10. Andy: They closed down because they - the landlord doubled their rent.
11. Chris: **Eh kapu enna pian allu kalo.**
Well they went somewhere else then.
12. Andy: No! **Pu na pasin re.**
No! *Where can (they) go mate* (Paraskeva 2012).

Understanding the "why" as well as the "how" (Li Wei 1999) of the CS involves resorting to a number of different perspectives, only some of which can be mentioned here. From the point of view of speech rate and prosody for example, it is clear from listening to the passage that this is a normal, unremarkable way of speaking among this group (Gardner-Chloros et al. 2013). From the grammatical point of view, the transcribed version above indicates that some of the switches occur at clausal level, e.g. in utterance 1 or in the latter part of utterance 8. But there are mid-clausal switches in utterance 3 – "because **evala to tʰamaχin mu** I want a roasted noodles stew"; in utterance 5 – "anyway **ivramen enan**"; and "**Ekamen mas** roasted noodle stew" – in utterance 8. In order to decide

which is the dominant pattern in these speakers' CS it would be necessary to have access to a much larger corpus (Paraskeva 2012), and even then speakers' CS can vary from time to time depending on their interlocutors and circumstances.

At the functional analysis level, several of the well-documented conversational functions of CS are represented. For example, in utterance 1 the CS allows the two parts of the sentence to be contrasted – a classic function of CS. This is simultaneously marked orally by a rising pattern indicating excitement in the first part of the sentence (up to the inserted 'but'), followed by a contrasting falling tone in the second part, indicating disappointment. In utterance 3, the Cypriot expression **"evala to tʰamaχin mu"** is used for '*mot juste'* purposes, as no exact equivalent exists in English. It covers the sense of "I set my heart on something", as well as "I was completely determined to achieve something". From the point of view of lexical choices, in utterance 7, the switches to English have a quoting function, since the original conversation took place in English. From a processing perspective, we see an instance of "triggering" in utterance 8 (Clyne 1967; Broersma 2009); the expression "Roast noodle stew" leads the speaker to complete the phrase in English. From a conversation-structuring angle, the insertion of a parenthetical phrase "**-** we ate bo- and me and Pambos and X" is marked by CS.

Other functions are somewhat less obvious, but can be identified with the help of ethnographic knowledge external to the conversation itself. For example, one might wonder why Andy's last intervention (12) is in Greek Cypriot? The explanation probably lies in the fact that CS allows the same speaker to have several "voices" (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998), and here Andy is adopting the "voice" or "stance" of a typically laid back, contemptuous persona, associated with Greek Cypriots rather than English people (Jaffe 2009; Finnis 2014), as he mocks his friend's naiveté for thinking that the restaurant owner could easily find another location and start again. This is reinforced by his use of "**re**", translated here as "mate", but in reality somewhat coarser and more familiar in tone than the English equivalent. While all of these are now fairly classic motivations for CS, the change back to Cypriot for utterance 11 may appear to lack any obvious justification. But such switches can plausibly be ascribed to a balancing effect which bilinguals often seek, whereby having used one language they revert to the other in a doubtless subconscious effort to balance out the amount of each language which they have used.

Such an analysis helps us understand the rapid language changes in this passage, but even this only scratches the surface of the multilayered approach which is required to explain why switches occur exactly where

they do – or at all. Blommaert describes this as *layered simultaneity*: "Every utterance displays a wide variety of meaningful features which, each in isolation, are pretty meaningless but become meaningful through their simultaneous occurrence in an utterance" (2005: 126). The most productive recent approaches to CS are precisely those which try to view it in a more holistic manner and integrate different levels of explanation. It is for this reason that a straightforward Conversation Analysis (CA) approach to CS, with its rejection of explanations not derived from what is available in the transcription, is now less fashionable (Auer 1998; Li Wei 2005). In this passage, for example, different reasons for the switches, such as the triggering effect and the impulse to quote others in the language they spoke at the time, are likely to be operating in combination with the overall desire to use roughly equal amounts of each language.

The complexity – and fascination – of CS lies precisely in the fact that we are dealing with several types of multilayeredness at the same time. As mentioned, alongside the multiple motivations which underlie the language choices themselves within any given passage, there is also the possibility of analysing the passage from yet further perspectives. It is in this latter respect that there are interesting new developments, to which we now turn.

4. Newer perspectives

4.1 Diachronic

There have recently been several different attempts to integrate the synchronic study of CS with the study of diachronic language change through contact. As Auer (2014: 327) pointed out:

> Due to a curious division of labor, linguists who work on bilingualism are rarely interested in the long-term consequences bilingualism can have on the language systems of the two languages involved. On the opposite side, linguists working on language contact almost exclusively deal with structural outcomes, but show little interest in the question of how these structural changes have originated in bilingual talk.

Auer argues that language fusion or convergence, whether in the form of actual mixed languages or other types of language change, must result from a prior stage of discourse-based mixing, which in due course gives rise to conventionalisation and regularisation. Auer (2007) has even argued that there are frequent linguistic differences between the first, spontaneous code-switch in a conversation and subsequent uses of the

same word or set of words; for example, the first instance is often marked by a pause which signals that the speaker is about to change languages, whereas subsequent uses of the same terms in the same conversation may be quite unmarked.

Over a longer period, and with the aid of large corpora, viewing CS in a diachronic framework as part of a historical process can lead to fruitful collaboration between contemporary sociolinguists and historical sociolinguists, whose work has developed exponentially since the 1990s and who have the advantage of being able to track both CS and language change over long periods in similar text types (Adams, Janse and Swain 2002; Braunmüller and Ferraresi 2003; Schendl and Wright 2011; Hernandez-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2012; Gardner-Chloros, forthcoming). The mixing of Greek with various languages in the ancient period and the mixing of English and French in medieval texts have now been extensively documented; in some cases it has been possible to make diachronic comparisons which show the progression of language contact. For example, in mixed-language texts dating from the 11th to the late 15th centuries, English nouns and verb-roots initially appeared in French texts, followed later by noun-phrase-modifiers, and later still English is found in the form of closed class function words (Trotter 2003). In this respect historical sociolinguists have a clear advantage over contemporary ones, who can only track changes over a very limited time-frame.

Further to considering CS as a stageway within diachronic language, change comes from comparing switching in the same context over a period of time. This approach can be considered intermediate between the long term historical approach mentioned above and the moment-by-moment close-up view provided in much contemporary sociolinguistic work. In a study of changing patterns of French-Alsatian switching in Strasbourg carried out in 2011 (Gardner-Chloros 2013), I was able to return to similar settings and record how CS had changed over this period, and noted several features indicative of language shift and change in progress. Reflecting the decline in the number of Alsatian dialect speakers, which can be shown through large scale demographic surveys, there was a change in the *proportion* of different types of switches since 1985: there were fewer intra- and inter-clause switches but interestingly an increase in single word switches, including an increase of Alsatian words in a French context (overall the less common pattern). Whereas inter- and intra-clause switching requires a certain competence in both varieties, single-word switches are usually thought to fulfil a more symbolic and identity-related function. This corresponds well with the observation that even in the case of language decline and death certain symbolic gestures towards the

moribund variety continue to be found even in the discourse of younger speakers.

Such observations provide one way of using CS to track ongoing change and shift in a bilingual context. But perhaps the main synchronic evidence of language change in progress, as observed by sociolinguists, has traditionally been variation between the speech of individuals forming part of the same community, or indeed (sometimes apparently motiveless) variation within the speech of individuals (Labov 1972). CS can be particularly useful in studying this (Hoi Ying Chen 2015). In the Strasbourg study, it became clear that there was variation within the speech of the same individuals between Germanic word-order and French word-order in following sentences containing CS:

Germanic word-order:
Pour me calmer *muss ich noch lese* (To calm down must I still read)
Les symphonies de Beethoven *kann i alli uswendi* (The symphonies of Beethoven know I all by heart).

French word order:
A mon avis *ich hab* d's selwe problem (In my opinion I have the same problem)
Ceci dit *ich fend* doch d'lit heutsodaej... (That said I find after all that people nowadays... Gardner-Chloros 2013: 171).

As this shows, at different points in the same conversation the same speaker produced sentences following either one model or the other with apparent indifference. This change has been held to be particularly indicative of language change in other situations involving Germanic languages.

Yet another way of looking at language change in relation to language alternation is provided by studies of young people's urban vernaculars which, whether or not they contain CS proper, show their multilingual sources. The phenomenon of "Crossing" (Rampton 1995), whereby speakers appropriate elements from varieties with which they have no family connection, has been observed in multiple contexts:

In a fashion house in Zurich, I am served by a ca. eighteen-year-old shop assistant in Swiss-German. After about ten minutes, a group of young men, obviously friends of the shop assistant, enter the shop. All of them use the common Swiss-German/Italian CS style, which is certainly not surprising. There is nothing unusual about the scene. The group seems to me to be one of many second-generation immigrant peer-groups.

In order to exchange my purchase, I go to the same fashion house the following day. I am now served by the owner of the shop, a ca. forty-year-old Italian. In the course of our conversation, I am told that the shop assistant I overheard the previous day is not a second-generation Italian immigrant at all but a Swiss-German. She grew up in a linguistically strongly mixed area of the town and has had Italian friends since her school years (Franceschini 1998: 56-57).

The exact implications of such complex contact phenomena are still very much a subject of ongoing investigation (Nortier and Dorleijn 2008; Rampton 2011; Sharma 2011), but whatever the outcome, it seems unlikely that the local/indigenous/host country languages – the terminology is fraught because what can be termed local or indigenous in such complex situations – will remain unaffected.

4.2 Cognitive

Another aspect of the multilayeredness of CS referred to above is addressed by recent approaches which seek to integrate a cognitive dimension into the understanding of CS.

The "Usage-based Approach" (Croft 2000; Backus 2015) points out the significance of the fact that speakers are constantly selecting between competing alternatives, whether these appear overtly in the conversation or not. At each moment they have a choice between saying something new ("altered replication") or something old ("normal replication"). A full utterance is almost always new – and this is evidence of our linguistic creativity – since we do not often store whole utterances with specific meaning. But many smaller units whether words or word combinations, are stored in the speaker's mental representations, a process known here as "entrenchment". In the passage discussed in detail above, the expression "roast noodle stew" is not *untranslateable* into Cypriot Greek, but because of the context in which the speaker lives, it is stored in his mental dictionary in English.

For rather different reasons, the expression "**evala to t^{h}ama χin mu**" is stored in his mind in Greek. Creativity is, of course, evident even at these lower levels and speakers sometimes select between competing alternatives. As we have already observed, Andy makes choices between the quotative expressions "he goes me" in English and "lalo tu" in Greek Cypriot.

A number of factors determine the choice of one or the other form, and so the frequency of using one or the other fluctuates. A form in language

A may be chosen more often than the equivalent in language B for a number of reasons, for example because it is part of particular expressions or word combinations (what Backus 2015 terms "multimorphemic units" or "chunks"). This in turn leads to greater or lesser *entrenchment* of forms which appear frequently, and possible disuse of less frequent forms. In turn, this offers an explanation of how usage can change over time, and thus provides a bridge between synchronic and diachronic approaches. Backus considers that alternation between apparent alternatives is a window onto ongoing language change. As he puts it: "Every synchronic act is assumed to have diachronic implications" (Backus 2015: 21). Interestingly, this remark shows how this cognitive approach is ultimately connected with the diachronic research discussed in the previous section.

There is also a long-standing tradition of experimental studies of CS. The reader is referred to volumes such as Bullock and Toribio (2009) and Isurin, Winford and de Bot (2009) in which such approaches are well-represented and structured tasks are used to investigate phenomena such as triggering, which occur in a natural context (examples were mentioned above). A summary of these approaches is given in Gardner-Chloros (2009). More recently, Green and Li Wei (2014) have offered a psycholinguistic model of the decision-making process involved in CS, which takes into account findings related to the dual activation of languages in bilinguals. This explains how, even when speaking monolingually, there is evidence that both languages are active in the brain. Among other aspects, they argue that a process of competing activation between possible items determines the exact form of CS utterances. What such approaches cannot deliver is, of course, an appreciation of *why* a particular item would be selected. Nevertheless, the processes they describe provide a further level of contribution and understanding of how patterns of choice found in CS contexts can lead, in due course, to sedimentation/fossilisation and ultimately to change.

4.3 Identity, discourse and power

The third and last 'newer' approach to be discussed in this section is in fact a group of approaches which can be loosely tied together under the heading of identity, discourse and power. Despite the wide variety of work involved, their common thread is their emphasis on CS as an active process for the creation of meaning, rather than a way of combining meanings which are inherently – and statically – located within the varieties themselves. Taking their original inspiration from Bakhtin (1981), researchers in this tradition know how these more dynamic approaches often